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A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study



Finding a Path Forward

ASIAN AMERICAN PACIFIC ISLANDER NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS THEME STUDY

Edited by Franklin Odo





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The contributions of the AAPI Advisory Committee, staff of the National Park Service, and the administration and student interns of Amherst College were vital to the completion of the *Asian American/Pacific Islander National Historic Landmark Theme Study*, which promises to open new dimensions of AAPI participation in the nation's historic preservation programs.

Franklin Odo, Editor
Amherst College
Formerly with the Smithsonian Institution
and the Library of Congress

COVER IMAGES

Front cover (clockwise from top right):

Elderly vendors at the Saturday morning market in New Orleans that has been in existence for 30 years. With the gradual passing of the elderly Vietnamese American population, the number of vendors and cultivators of vegetables has declined.
Photo by Christopher A. Airriess, used with permission.

Washington Place, Honolulu, Hawai'i. The palace of Queen Lili'uokalani when the Hawaiian Kingdom was overthrown, the Greek Revival house later served as the official residence of the Governor of Hawai'i. It was designated a National Historic Landmark in 2007. Photo by Kenneth Hays, 2006; courtesy of the National Historic Landmarks Program.

Anna May Wong, one of the few Asian Americans considered among the most influential actors in U.S. history, appeared in more than fifty movies. Photo from the *Hawai'i Times* Photo Archives Foundation, courtesy of Densho.

Back cover (clockwise from top left):

Typical latte stones found at various historical sites on Guam, including Pågat and Latte Stone Park at Hagåtña.
Photo by Hajime Nakano; courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, licensed under Creative Commons.

Melchy Billy's Dance Group entering the stage at the 46th annual Chief Aghurubw Day on Managaha Island, Northern Mariana Islands. Chief Aghurubw saved his people after a devastating typhoon, by leading them to the Northern Mariana Islands to resettle. The special day of commemoration is considered an integral part of the NMI Refaluwasch culture.
Photo by Cinta M. Kaipat; used with permission.

San Francisco, California, April 6, 1942. According to the War Relocation Authority photo caption, "The family unit is kept intact in various phases of evacuation of persons of Japanese ancestry. Above is a view at Wartime Civil Control Administration station, 2020 Van Ness Avenue, on April 6, 1942, when the first group of 664 was evacuated from San Francisco. The family unit likewise is preserved at War Relocation Authority centers where evacuees will spend the duration." Photo by Dorothea Lange, courtesy of The Library of Congress.

Note: The circular symbols on the cover were derived from motifs found on Asian clothing, ceramics and pottery, and in Asian paintings and photos selected for this book.

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Introduction



Asian Americans and Pacific Islander Americans Revisited: An Introduction to the National Historic Landmarks Theme Study

Franklin Odo
Department of American Studies, Amherst College

In *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, Noenoe Silva asserts for Native Hawaiian history what this Theme Study attempts for the experiences of Asian Americans and Pacific Islander Americans: "[f]or those of us living with the legacies and the continuing exercise of power characteristics of colonialism, it is crucial to understand power relations in order to escape or overcome their effects, and, further, to understand the resistance strategies and tactics of the past in order to use them and improve on them."[1] There are many venues through which we might pursue this journey: theory, poetry, fiction, film, psychology, politics, technology, science fiction, among others. But history, memory, and place are crucial, in my view, to the apprehension of colonial power relations and the "resistance strategies and tactics of the past" through which we seek redress. Or, perhaps better to insist on "memory **through** place" as

United States Immigration Station, Angel Island, California. Photo from the collections of the National Register of Historic Places.

potentially subversive of the normalized hierarchies of race, class, gender, and other classifications inscribed in our museums, monuments, historic houses, websites, and the myriad other sites through which public history is manipulated.[2] We can make serious connections among critical issues of the day and relate them to the past when we locate and interpret sites where important events, people, and ideas occurred.[3]

But place is rarely provided the significance it deserves in the contemplation or commemoration of historic events/people/ideas in the narratives of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders within the histories of the United States.[4] This volume, then, foregrounds "place" as a crucial variable in locating AAPIs in the history of the American empire. It does so by inviting 17 senior scholars in the field of Asian American Studies to reimagine or reconfigure special topics in U.S. history. There are two major lists of nationally designated historic sites in the United States. Both are maintained by the National Park Service (NPS) which celebrated its centennial in 2016. Known more widely for its stewardship of the national parks—"America's best idea"—the NPS also maintains the National Register of Historic Places and the National Historic Landmarks program.[5] The National Register lists properties that are important to cities, states, and the nation, while the National Historic Landmarks (NHL) program only designates those of outstanding national significance that retain a high degree of integrity. Fewer than 3,000 NHLs are on this elite list, with properties ranging from Mt. Vernon, birthplace of George Washington, to the Angel Island Immigration Station in the San Francisco Bay, through which many immigrants came into the U.S. but where many Asians were detained and barred from entrance because of their race and nationality. These places are critical, providing effective lessons through which visitors absorb American history and learn about the people who belong in that narrative and in this nation as well as the large numbers relegated to obscurity.

When peoples of color, including Asian Americans and Pacific Islander Americans, are not reasonably represented, the historical narrative of the nation itself becomes biased and skewed. But even the rubric used for this Theme Study, "Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders," is routinely misapprehended and skewered. I use the term intentionally because it may still be a useful intellectual and political construct, understanding full well that for many Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, decades of appropriation of the terminology by Asian Americanists, without reciprocal scholarly or material benefit, have rendered the juxtaposition more than problematic. As Lisa Kahaleole Hall insists, "Asian Americans have taken up the use of the APA etc. construction in an attempt to be inclusive, but the crucial difference between inclusion and appropriation is whether the included benefit equally from their inclusion.[6] Perhaps the operative word might be "at all" rather than "equally." Here, we have several outstanding essays on Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders with important implications. Because it was manifestly evident that the histories and heritages of AAPIs are dramatically underrepresented on both lists of significant historic properties, then-Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar asked the NPS in 2013 to undertake this AAPI theme study. Secretary Sally Jewell carried the project forward. NPS Director Jonathan Jarvis has taken a personal interest in the project and Stephanie Toothman, Associate Director for Cultural Resources, has been a champion for its completion.[7]

On a larger canvas, a theme study of this nature fills in the spaces, the silences, which obscure or obliterate so many critical issues that should be foregrounded in our society. There has been some progress. For example, there have been remarkable advances in our apprehension of the meanings involved with the incarceration of 120,000 Japanese Americans during World War II, in both academic scholarship and public history venues. As Eiichiro Azuma suggests, there has been a rapid growth in the production of scholarly work, expanding our notions of who can describe or interpret these histories as well as the expansive parameters which form its borders or its horizons.[8] At the same time, enormous changes have been taking place beyond the academy, at times in concert with scholars, at others in independent journeys. In her 2012 theme study of Japanese Americans and World War II, for example, NPS historian Barbara Wyatt explored the myriad ways in which previously unheralded people, groups, incarceration sites, as well as museums, memorials, and monuments have exploded onto the public history scene.[9] In addition, the Japanese American Confinement Sites (JACS) program in the NPS has provided over $20 million to support efforts to illu-



From Asia to America: Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders emigrated from a huge geographic area to travel to the United States.

minate that notorious chapter in American history.[10]

This volume seeks to inspire more Americans to discover the stories of America's Asian and Pacific Island heritage. Further, it is intended to motivate and support those seeking National Historic Landmark or National Register of Historic Places designation for places linked to stories about Asian American and Pacific Islanders and their experiences in the United States. Designed to be inviting and inspirational, these essays are not intended to be encyclopedic or comprehensive.[11] Instead, we hope to reach local historians, planners, elected officials, AAPI communities, and all Americans interested in linking power of place to the ideas, people, and movements that have been meaningful to American society. There is overlap among several essays, especially with regard to duplicating information about basic immigration or demographic data about AAPIs. But I thought this was acceptable if only because readers are likely, at any given point, to focus on one or another essay and require the basic data for context. I hope this editorial strategy is not without merit.

When and how, for example, did the Pacific Islands become part of the American empire/fabric? When and where did the people from Asia appear in the United States—or earlier, in the American colonies—or even earlier, in North America? How did ethnic communities like Chinatowns develop? What are the legacies of these vast movements of people, capital, resources, and labor—where do they begin and end? Do they end? If not, how do historic events and contemporary individuals and communities impact one another? The NPS hopes to help answer these and other questions by identifying and designating historic places that can provide stories explaining the long and fascinating histories of AAPIs.

WHO ARE ASIAN AMERICANS AND PACIFIC ISLANDER AMERICANS?

What do we mean by Asian American and Pacific Islander Americans? As the accompanying map shows, some of these peoples travelled farther to get to North America than most European settlers and both free and enslaved Africans. Asia generically refers to the Eastern hemisphere of the globe. The region of interest in this theme study is usually defined by China to the north and Indonesia to the south, and incorporating Afghanistan and Pakistan to Japan and the Philippines. The South China Sea, the Philippine Sea, and the Indian Ocean, in addition to the mighty Pacific Ocean, are major bodies of water in this region.

The Pacific Islands are highly fragmented geographically, but some of the major islands or groups are Hawai'i, Guam, the Marshall Islands, the Solomon Islands, the Northern Mariana Islands, Samoa, and Fiji. People who came to the U.S. from the Pacific Islands and

Asia, or who were incorporated against their will into the American body politic, represent a staggering variety of cultures, languages, and religions, some resulting from an ancient mingling of cultures and others representing more recent merging.

In this Theme Study we refer to the people from these diverse and geographically far-flung cultures as "Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders"—AAPI, in short. Because they share a sense of community in the United States, they often unite for political or cultural reasons under various umbrella terms, sometimes as "Asian Pacific Americans" (APA), "Asian American and Pacific Americans" (AAPA), or simply "Asian Pacific Americans" (APA). While the two groups were once unified for census purposes, they are now disaggregated. There is no common agreement that one designation is more accurate than others; we selected AAPI as a convenient acronym, but we do not consider it superior to others.

WHY THIS THEME STUDY IS NEEDED

The year 2016 marked the centennial of the establishment of the NPS in an act signed by President Woodrow Wilson. The NPS includes 417 units, with properties in every state, American Samoa, Guam, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the District of Columbia. Some of these units already commemorate the historical presence of AAPIs, but people of AAPI heritage are still grossly underrepresented in terms of designated places that tell their stories. AAPI communities and the general public need more sites providing insights about AAPI groups, from indigenous peoples in Hawai'i, Guam, and Samoa to more recent refugees from Southeast Asia.[12] Adding to this list of sites will assure more exposure to large audiences; in 2015, some 307,247,252 visitors enjoyed the natural wonders and historic buildings, museums, memorials, and parks that NPS protects and interprets and that help explain America's complex and diverse history.

The explosive growth of Asian American and Pacific Islander American communities has fueled political, scholarly, economic, cultural, and transnational interest in many circles. The AAPI share of the American population in 1970 was less than 1 percent (about 1.5 million people) but, largely as an unintended consequence of the 1965 immigration reforms and the influx of refugees after the disastrous American interventions in Southeast Asia, by 2015 there were close to 20 million AAPIs in the U.S.[13] AAPIs have experienced the fastest growth rate among all "races" in the United States since 2000, and they appear to be continuing this trajectory into the foreseeable future. This "racial" demographic has enormous potential to influence future policy-making in myriad arenas. The quality and quantity of designated historic sites with significant AAPI linkages will have considerable impact on the ways in which AAPI heritage is understood and embraced or rejected by Americans.

Like other groups that have discovered or rediscovered their need to establish more intimate ties to their nation, their states, and their neighborhoods, AAPIs are looking for real places that harbor (or hide) stories about their histories in the United States. As part of a larger NPS project, this Theme Study joins other communities whose legacies were historically and effectively marginalized; they include the 2013 *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* and *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, launched in October 2016.[14]

THE COLLECTION

What binds our 17 essays about AAPI heritage together most coherently is the sense among AAPI scholars that their history, indeed American history writ large, can logically be understood in the context of the United States as an American empire. The origin of the United States as former colonies within the expansive British Empire serves as a backdrop to the revolution of 1776, giving birth to a new nation. That dynamic entity immediately continued the acquisition of enormous territories at the expense of indigenous hosts and neighbors whom we now call Native Americans. Even earlier, the vast Spanish empire reaching from Mexico to the Philippines became a regular conduit, as early as the 16th century, for Asians coming to the Americas. But living in an imperial order inevitably places individuals and communities in conditions requiring serious, sometimes deadly, moral and political choices. AAPIs became consequential victims and participants as a result, as will be explored in the essays in this theme study. As targets, objects, and agents, they have consistently faced complex alternatives, beginning with the earliest sojourners and continuing with contemporary generations of immigrants and their children.

In the mid-19th century, as the United States



A view from the ancient village of Pågat on Guam's northeast coast. This site is important to the indigenous Chamorro people. Photo by Brian R. Turner.

extended its reach to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, international European competition for Asia and the islands en route to that vast continent unleashed a torrent of imperial adventures. At the same time, the insatiable hunger for new lands and resources committed the U.S. to absorb the indigenous inhabitants of the territories it coveted and seized, as well as others who had settled there. Manifest destiny and Social Darwinism assured us that God and science were on our side. Among other assumptions, we accepted the principle of the racial inferiority of these peoples, but there was considerable tension over democratic principles and rights accruing to people already living on newly acquired "American" soil. Did the Constitution, as some Americans argued or feared, follow the flag? Would these "inferior" peoples insist on rights properly claimed only by European Americans? If so, would that unfortunate outcome contaminate core principles of racial hierarchy in the homeland? Indeed, the insistence on equal treatment under the law/Constitution has long proven problematic to white supremacists.

The quest for empire incorporated Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders into the American body politic, as it recruited limited but important numbers of AAPIs into the U.S. as immigrant workers. A seemingly insatiable need for cheap labor, to develop not only the newly conquered territories but significant sections of the metropole in which Americans lived, created complex and difficult contradictions. For example, the expansion into the Pacific and Asia necessitated the annexation of islands like the Hawaiian archipelago, in 1898, with its indigenous population of Native Hawaiians as well as growing numbers of Asian immigrant workers. And it also effectively created an opportunity to exploit thousands of Chinese workers recruited to build the transcontinental railroad in the 1860s and Japanese laborers to plant and harvest agricultural crops to feed a burgeoning population in the 1890s. While infinitesimal, compared to burgeoning rates of immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe, the introduction of these new "others" precipitated unprecedented ruptures in American patterns of immigration and acculturation.

When periodic crises in capitalist development created recessions and depressions, including in the 1870s, nativist racism surfaced more strongly, resulting in the nation's establishment of its first exclusion laws, including the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. These laws eventually barred nearly all AAPIs from entering the country or becoming naturalized. When the Chinese and Japanese had been effectively excluded, by 1908, Filipinos, as part of the American empire, were recruited to work as sugar and pineapple plantation workers in Hawai'i and as migrant workers and fish cannery laborers on the west coast and Alaska. Even the Filipinos, "nationals" as colonial subjects, were eventually effectively cut off in 1934, albeit at the national cost of a promise of future independence for the Philippines. These contradictions are formidable parts of our legacy; all too often they helped define who Americans could be by excluding AAPIs as unfit to enter or be naturalized. The following are brief summaries of the essays roughly grouped into categories designed to be suggestive; readers will note consistent overlap.

EMPIRE AND IMPERIALISM

Given the salience of empire running through this volume, it is fitting that we begin with the essay "Imperialism and Migration" by Gary Okihiro on that very theme. Okihiro stakes out a wide purview, suggesting that the topic should begin with the Greeks and Romans and not, as other scholars insist, as a stage of late capitalism. And he contends that "[u]nlike most standard U.S. histories that depict imperialism as largely restricted to the 19th century and as an aberration, this chapter maintains imperialism, both as discourses and the material conditions, is a crucial aspect of the republic's constitution. The U.S. was



Farm families of Japanese ancestry boarding buses in Byron, California, for the Turlock Assembly Center, 65 miles away. An official of the WCCA is checking the families into the bus on May 2, 1942.

Inset photo: Civilian Exclusion Orders systematically directed the confinement of "all persons of Japanese ancestry, including aliens and non-aliens" from areas on the West Coast. These orders were posted on April 1,1942, in San Francisco.

WRA photos by Dorothea Lange, 1942; courtesy of the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.

made in the idea and act of expansion." Okihiro further argues that advocates like Alfred Thayer Mahan in his influential *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890) combined lethal doses of imperialism, manifest destiny, and white supremacy to solidify American intentions to secure strategic and material supremacy in Asia and the Pacific. These intrusions and conquests of places like Hawai'i not only disrupted indigenous cultures and societies but also displaced Native Hawaiian peoples by the thousands, forcing many to work on sailing ships in the Pacific Northwest, as well as on whaling fleets based in places like New Bedford, Massachusetts.

The forced removal and incarceration of 120,000 Japanese Americans, primarily on the west coast of the U.S., was the quintessential culmination of necessary consequences for the racialized war between the American and Japanese empires. While Brian Niiya does not overtly utilize empire or imperialism as analytic tools in his essay "Asian Americans and World War II" he reminds us that the clash was perhaps inevitable, given the racialized nature of both empires. Indeed, many white Americans had long sought to remove Japanese Americans from their midst: "This is our time to get things done that we have been trying to get done for a

quarter of a century" – referencing one Californian's outburst on February 6, 1942, urging mass evictions [only 13 days] before President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, officially authorizing the army to begin the forced removal. Niiya's descriptions of the WWII internment/concentration camps, where West Coast Japanese Americans were incarcerated, provide stark notice that, at least for some groups at some times, the notion of internal colonies invoked by Third World Liberation Front activists in the 1960s and 1970s could be graphically depicted.

WWII had demonized Japan and Japanese Americans and provided a brief racial respite to other Asian Americans. Japan was effectively using America's anti-Asian racism, including the exclusion acts and the mass incarceration, to tout its own aggression as part of a race war in which it would lead other Asians to racial victory. In order to counter that propaganda, the U.S. repealed the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act by agreeing to admit a paltry 105 people of Chinese descent. But even with this concession, immigrants of Chinese descent from any part of the globe (not, as with other nations, from that country alone) counted against that quota. Still, and very importantly, it did permit resident Chinese Americans to become naturalized citizens. That respite, however, was short-lived because the American empire's preeminence as the world's only super power was being contested by the Soviet empire and what was perceived to be a monolithic global communist threat.

Rick Baldoz explains in his essay "Asian Americans: The Cold War" that Asian Americans were part of "long-standing stereotypes characterizing Asians as an 'enemy race' that threatened to destabilize the global political order." This unfortunate legacy resurfaced after a brief period of several years when post-WWII policies appeared to favor Asian American communities, whose leaders urged the celebration of wartime heroism demonstrated by ethnic groups loyal to their American homeland. Indeed, all the significant Asian immigrant groups, including their children, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Korean, became intense patriots and military heroes fighting for the Allies. In the process of targeting the Chinese Communist Party, after its victory in China in 1949, the full force of the U.S. government was trained on any Chinese Americans alleged to have ties with the People's Republic. The clash of empires was lethal for many living and working in America.



The Central Utah Relocation Center, also known as Topaz, as it appeared recently. The site is a National Historic Landmark. Photo courtesy of the National Historic Landmarks Program.



Panorama of the Central Utah Relocation Center, also known as Topaz, from the water tower. WRA photo by Tom Parker, October 18, 1942; courtesy of the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.



Lafcadio Hearn called attention to the Filipino settlement near New Orleans in an essay published in *Harper's Weekly* on March 31,1883. Hearn's house still stands in New Orleans. Photo courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

Imperialism and colonialism constitute central themes in Erika Lee's essay "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance, 1800s-1940s." She notes the early arrivals in North America via the Spanish empire and the large emigration of people from China, partly as a result of the destructive impact of British imperialist incursions, such as the Opium Wars of 1839 to 42. The modest numbers of Korean immigrants in the early 1900s may be explained by Japanese control of Korea, formalized in 1910 and ending only with the end of WWII. Japan's imperial concerns included fears that Korean workers would undermine Japanese labor mobility and aspirations in the U.S. Korean immigrants became, then, pawns in the collision of American and Japanese empires in the Pacific.

IMMIGRATION AND COMMUNITIES

Finding and/or creating community has been an ongoing theme in AAPI history. Indeed, one of the major aims of "othering" subordinated groups like indigenous peoples whose lands were appropriated or ethnic workers whose labor was expropriated was to deny them the power of community. AAPIs formed communities as best they could.

In the face of often hostile and intermittently violent lynchings and "drivings out," AAPIs used old cultural forms and newly learned American strategies to protect themselves and advance their community standing. Nayan Shah distinguishes four analytically separate categories of such advocacy and social movement in his essay "Establishing Communities." They include: 1) social, mutual aid, and spiritual institutions; 2) transformation of the physical landscape; 3) labor, advocacy, political, and nationalist organizations; and 4) commercial and entertainment cultures. Among the earliest mutual aid societies was the Sociedad de Beneficencia de los Hispano Filipinos, established in 1870 in the tiny, deliberately hidden, village of St. Malo, just outside New Orleans, Louisiana. Lafcadio Hearn visited this remote village in 1883 and wrote an essay about the early Filipino settlers. He included several images of drawings by Charles Graham after sketches by J.O. Davidson. The essay was published in *Harper's Weekly* on March 31, 1883. These men had probably jumped ship to escape terrible conditions as seamen aboard Spanish galleons while Spain maintained colonial control of Mexico and the Philippines. That Manila Galleon trade flourished in an era predating the American colonies and through the first decades of the young nation, 1565 to 1815. This historical revelation is mentioned in several essays in order to encourage readers to appreciate the long history of Asians in the Americas.

Kelly G. Marsh and Tiara R. Na`puti have provided a wide-ranging essay that could easily serve as an introduction to the experiences and value of considering the stories of Pacific Islander Americans. In "Pacific Islanders in the U.S. and their Heritages: Making Visible the Visibly Absent," the authors list the peoples and islands as well as the extraordinary blue-water voyages and discoveries over the centuries. The range of political jurisdictions alone are sufficiently complex as to invite lengthy discussion; how is it, for example, that unincorporated territories (Puerto Rico, U.S. Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands) can vote in local elections but not for their commander-in-chief? Why are they allowed

to compete as distinct entities in the Olympics but have no representation in the United Nations or in regional cultural programs? How does their status square with our vaunted claims of democratic rule? The essay does its part in making "visible" the "visibly absent."

AAPI communities were not only here from early years; they were highly diverse from their very beginnings. The workers who created railroads, canneries, farms, ranches, sugar and pineapple plantations, seafood industries, and myriad urban businesses are occasionally recognized in our histories, on markers, and in memorials. However, there were also numbers of Asian immigrants who arrived with money and savvy. They were armed with financial and social capital, ambitious to do more than earn a basic wage. Lane Hirabayashi chronicles some of these entrepreneurial projects on the U.S. continent with a wide-ranging account of ventures, including the owners and operators of early gold mine claims or purveyors of luxury goods or tours. In his essay "Asian American Businesses, 1848 to 2015: Accommodation and Eclectic Innovation," Hirabayashi explains that these innovators extend into more recent times with their own businesses, like the Vietnamese businessman who built a veritable empire based on the chili-based Sriracha sauce and the Hmong from Southeast Asia who created farms in California and urban enterprises in Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota. A number of Asian Americans became seriously wealthy, including dot.com entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley; others formed family and kinship-related corporations—such as the Patels, not all related, from India who, beginning in the 1950s, created a formidable national network. The Patels now own and operate perhaps two-thirds of the budget hotels and about 40 percent of all hotel and motel rooms in America.

Catherine Ceniza Choy's essay, "New Asian American Communities: Building and Dismantling" notes that both the Korean and Southeast Asian communities developed rapidly in the second half of the 20th century, largely because of the ongoing wars between empires representing communist and capitalist interests. The large Filipino American community, for example, owes much of its size, complexity, and vibrancy to the colonial history of their homeland within the American empire. Her essay focuses on the development of the five largest ethnic groups within the AAPI demographic: Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Korean, and Vietnamese. Japanese Americans are the sixth; until the 1970s, Japanese Americans were the single largest AAPI group, their relative decline evidently a result of Japan's post-WWII economic and political stability. When the 1965 Immigration Act reforms were implemented, they unleashed dramatic increases from the rest of Asia. So, while there are imperial roots in all their legacies, Choy emphasizes the fact that these AAPI communities have their own trajectories within the U.S.

While primarily focusing on the post-1965 influx of AAPI immigrants and refugees, Linda Vo's essay "Asian Immigrants and Refugees: Demographic Transformations in the United States from World War II to the Present" points to the fact that the wars in Southeast Asia were direct results of the clash between imperial and colonial ambitions inherent in American/Western and the Soviet empires. These wars, like previous ones in Korea, China, and Japan, led first to thousands of Asian women entering the U.S. as brides of American military and occupation forces. Subsequently, economic and political migrants arrived sometimes as refugees. Then, increasing numbers of Amerasian infants and children born to American GIs and Asian women were accommodated, belatedly, as well. These children, despised and abandoned in their Asian homelands, were adopted mainly by white families in the U.S. Tens of thousands of Vietnamese found their first temporary homes in four military bases: Fort Chaffee in Arkansas, Camp Pendleton in California, Elgin Air Force Base in Florida, and Fort Indiantown Gap in Pennsylvania. These communities constituted entirely new and complex sets of communities in the U.S. From these and a multitude of other remote and inhospitable places scattered across the country, many remigrated to more hospitable areas or warmer climates on the Gulf or west coasts.

RESISTANCE AND ACTIVISM

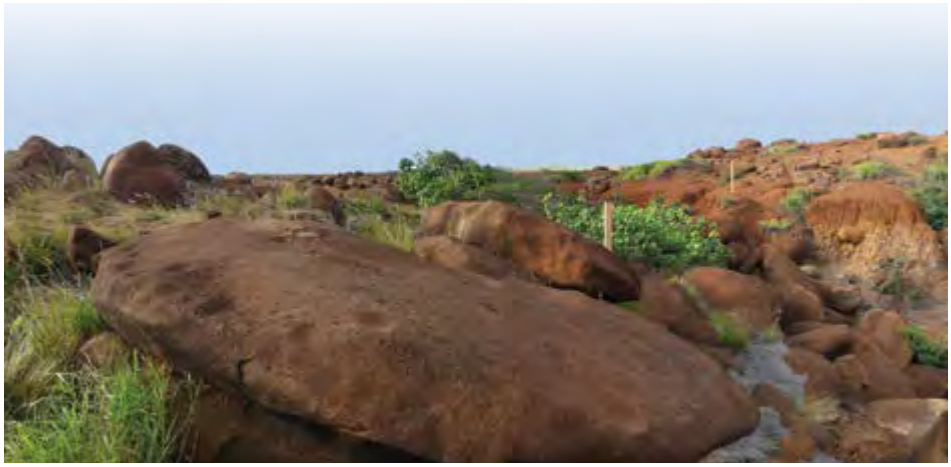
It may appear that every generation of activists sees itself as seriously breaking with historical tradition. But as the following essays demonstrate, certainly for the AAPI populations, resistance and activism were part of the DNA of these communities from their inception.

In "Sites of Resistance to Imperialism," Davianna McGregor uses two contemporary examples from the Pacific, Guam and Hawai'i, to illustrate the long and

involved histories of indigenous resistance to imperial agendas. Pågat is the sacred site of a former village on the northeast coast of Guam, one of the spoils of war acquired by the U.S. after the Spanish-American War of 1898, which also incorporated Cuba and Puerto Rico into the American empire. In 2012, Pågat was targeted as a live-fire training site for 6,000 U.S. marines who were being forced to leave Okinawa, Japan and scheduled for redeployment in Guam. According to McGregor, this military use of Pågat was deemed sacrilegious and provoked a firestorm of protest from indigenous Chamorros. The military backed down and is now considering other sites. Pågat was listed by the National Park Service in the National Register of Historic Places in 1974. McGregor also uses the example of Kahoʻolawe, an island used by the U.S. Navy for live fire exercises from 1941 into the 1990s. Military bombardment of the island, sacred to Native Hawaiians, desecrated the land; a sustained movement, begun in the 1970s and led by Native Hawaiians, finally succeeded in 1994 when the U.S. Navy signed title for Kahoʻolawe over to the Hawaiʻi state government. These are but two examples of native resistance to ongoing American imperial designs on indigenous properties and cultures.

A new perspective on Asian American labor in the West can help all of us, Dorothy Fujita-Rony insists in her chapter "Reframe, Recognize, and Retell: Asian Americans and National Historic Sites." She maintains that understanding "what happened to racialized workers through the United States empire also had an impact on U.S. culture as a whole." One example is a lesson for those seeking places to designate as significant historic sites. In the first decades of Asian labor on the west coast, migrant labor, with no fixed homes or neighborhoods, formed immense and vital units deployed to tend and harvest crops and process seafood. We will need, she suggests, considerable wisdom, to imagine actual places that can function to commemorate their pain, their loneliness, their contributions, and their agency. She reminds us as well that, in the imperial competition for land, resources, and labor, the United States was not the only destination point for migrants seeking jobs. For example, fewer than 100,000 Indians left their South Asian country for the U.S., Canada, Australia, Argentina, Panama, and Mexico, while an astounding 32 million of their countrymen and women went to the Caribbean, Southeast Asia, and British and French colonies in the Pacific and Indian oceans. Truly, AAPI history helps us better apprehend the transnational nature of the AAPI experience as well as approaches to global history.

Kim Geron's essay is an overview of AAPI political history as it intersects with mainstream political institutions. Geron notes, in "Asian American and Pacific Islander Political Mobilization and Participation" that few Asian Americans were elected or appointed to local, territorial, state, or national bodies before WWII, even in areas like Hawaiʻi, where AAPI populations far exceeded whites or *haoles*. A large part of the reason was, to be sure, the existence of racist laws preventing the large population of Asian immigrants from becoming naturalized citizens. In Hawaiʻi, the indigenous Kanaka Maoli had always been significant parts of the elected and/or appointed political officials, even as ultimate political power resided in the small elite of white men. Some progress was made after WWII, especially in Hawaiʻi where returning veterans were supported by



Pokaneloa, also known as Loa's, is a collection of petroglyphs and cupules located on the top surface of this 3x4-meter boulder located in the hardpan area on the island of Kahoʻolawe. Studies indicate that the boulder may possess archeoastronomical significance in Hawaiian culture. Photo by Stanton Enomoto.



Students gathered recently in the quad at San Francisco State University to protest budget cuts proposed for the College of Ethnic Studies. Similar protests in 1968 and 1969 led to the introduction of ethnic studies at San Francisco State and other colleges and universities around the country. Photo by Tomo Hirai/*Nichi Bei Weekly*.

a large and organized labor union work force. But the astonishing growth in sheer numbers of AAPIs in the late 20th and early 21st centuries has been accompanied by noticeable increases in federal, state, and local officials in every major AAPI ethnic group.

Daryl Maeda's essay, "Asian American Activism and Civic Participation: Battling for Political Rights and Citizenship, 1917 to the Present," explores the origins and meanings of Asian American and Pacific Islander American activism in the 1960s and 1970s. While he points, appropriately, to influences from Black Power, Brown Power, Native American protests, civil rights advocacy, and the anti-war movements, he also notes the linkages to anti-imperial/anti-colonial struggles roiling much of the globe. These struggles, loosely combined and acknowledged domestically as the "Third World Liberation Front" (TWLF), gave rise to a pan-ethnic, pan-racial, united front confronting colonialism abroad and what some leaders termed "internal colonialism" within the United States. This direct comparison energized large numbers of both old and new left activists. The student strike in 1968 at San Francisco State College (now University) heralded a new era of unity for activist students of color in the U.S. and generated a host of new movements to bring about positive change for AAPI communities. Followed soon after by student strikes at the University of California, Berkeley, UCLA, Columbia, and then across the country, the TWLF movement proved to be emblematic of a generation of social justice activism.

CULTURAL RETENTION AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

It is not easy to make a case for preserving a history almost universally absent from our mainstream narratives and, while this would be the case for all the larger Asian American ethnic groups, it would be even more clearly so for Pacific Islanders. In the first essay in this last section, Amy Stillman gives us a panoply of "epochs" with wondrous stories in each.

In "A Sea of Islands: Early Foundations and Mobilities of Pacific Islanders," Amy Stillman takes us on a journey lasting thousands of years and traversing thousands of miles of the Pacific Ocean, reminding us that there were vibrant peoples and cultures existing long

before European and American colonialism appeared on the horizon. We now know that long-range, non-instrument navigational skills developed more than a millennium ago and extended the capacity of blue ocean travel for Pacific Islanders well beyond visible horizons, long before the compass and sextant were invented. In mapping the extensive evidence of pre-colonial travels and cultural exchanges among Pacific Islanders, Stillman provides a convincing argument that the Pacific Ocean, covering about one-third of the entire surface of planet earth, served the Islanders as much as a bridge as it did a barrier. In doing so, she effectively challenges us to take seriously the mapping of both islands and islanders within the vast reaches of the Pacific Ocean. Implicit within this essay is a challenge for us to consider and reconsider the limits of immobile historic sites.

Indigenous people found themselves literally outgunned in the numerous wars and struggles against colonial onslaught and were involved in continuous efforts to protect dwindling resources, including land, people, cultures, and heritages. As Mary Yu Danico points out in her essay "Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders and Cultural Retention/Assimilation," Asian immigrants and refugees were quickly put to similar tests. Their collective acts included resistance to restrictive laws and policies, exploitative labor practices, racist wartime conditions, and degrading images in the media and popular culture. But they also responded to hostile assimilation forces with wide-ranging claims to maintaining and creating their own languages, education systems, theater, writings, political movements, and media expressions. The sheer range of these acts of resistance to forced assimilation into a mythical American mainstream is astonishing. Collectively, they constitute a notable testament to the resilience of the human spirit.

Moving beyond the initial confrontation and intersections between AAPIs and the American empire, other essays focus on the existence of these communities within the U.S. Not surprisingly, many of the narratives hark back to troubled times when neighborhoods and the nation attempted to remove or eradicate AAPIs as too foreign and too unalterably different to be assimilated into the American body politic. For the millions of Asian migrants seeking better economic conditions away from their homelands, their reception in many countries was unfortunately similar to hostilities faced by compatriots in the U.S. One result is the strikingly similar accomplishments in the field of Chinese diaspora archeology in places like Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. Doug Ross also mentions Japanese American archaeology in passing, noting that much of it deals with an entire cottage industry involving the WWII incarceration of that ethnic group. In his essay "Archeological Research on Asian Americans," Ross notes that much of Chinese American archeology centers on early Chinese mining camps and Chinese laborers on the Central Pacific Railroad. The Central Pacific led from Sacramento, California, up and through the formidable Sierra Madre mountain range and eastward to meet the Union Pacific Railroad at Promontory Summit in Utah, finally connecting both coasts in 1869. An analysis of artifacts sifted from old sites, especially in Nevada, California and other western states, seems to confirm that early Chinese laborers continued traditional cultural lifestyles even as they adopted western foodstuffs, clothing, and other cultural elements.

As if in counterpoint to the archaeological findings for the early Chinese workers, Gail Dubrow has provided a rich overview of the extraordinary legacies of Japanese American architecture and landscape gardening. In "The Architectural Legacy of Japanese America," Dubrow chronicles some of the outstanding ways in which the American built environment began to reflect Japanese cultural influences brought to bear by a wave of enthusiastic embracing of many things Japanese. This "Japonisme" or "Japanism" inspired an entire cottage industry of artistic pandering to an orientalist fantasy. The U.S. was following European elite cultural tastes in this phenomenon but Dubrow reveals a more ominous side: unlike Europe, America had to deal with significant numbers of actual Japanese bodies who were met with real hostility and racism. One consequence was the ability of white architects designing both buildings and landscapes to secure commissions while their Japanese counterparts, usually more proficient, languished without work. One more corrective from Dubrow: even within the Japanese American community, much more credit should be assigned to a multitude of carpenters, contractors, gardeners, nursery owners, Buddhist and Shinto priests and parishioners, and donors, who provided the real skills and expertise to design and build large numbers



Bok Kai Temple. This traditional Chinese temple is located in Marysville, California. Photo by Elaine Jackson-Retondo, 2016

of Japanese gardens and buildings across much of Hawai'i, the west coast, and across some very elegant properties of America's elite.

HOW THIS THEME STUDY CAN HELP HISTORIC PRESERVATION ACTION

This AAPI theme study of 17 essays is intended to inspire all Americans to consider the history of the many Asian American and Pacific Islander groups that contributed to the development of the United States and to the rich diversity of this nation's cultural heritage. Sites related to AAPI heritage have been neglected among many historic preservation initiatives, and this theme study should suggest potential designation as National Historic Landmarks or listing in the National Register of Historic Places. To that end, the Appendix of this collection addresses the potential for National Historic Landmark designation among properties associated with AAPI history.

But there are specific and large areas left relatively untouched by these essays and it may be helpful to provide an editorial view, certainly delimited and suspect, of what needs more attention. Gender and sexuality are rarely mentioned. Fortunately, the availability of the substantial LGBTQ Theme Study comes to the rescue. Moreover, multi-volume Asian American encyclopedias already exist; they complement a rapidly growing store of monographs, magazines, journals, social media resources, websites, documentaries, and blogs filling the growing demand for content and analyses of AAPI issues. In addition to recognition through the NHL and National Register programs, historic houses, museums, national parks, and other places associated with AAPI heritage are sorely needed to provide the general public with easily accessible, readily digested, readily affordable, educational, recreational, and historically responsible, information about this rapidly growing "racial" demographic in America. Providing these resources will help AAPIs better understand their places in American history. This understanding will empower the U.S. to act positively to secure their roles going forward in complex times, when issues of race, class, gender, and religion make increasing demands on the political and moral character and stamina of the entire nation.

Endnotes

1 Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), p. 9.

2 For a set of brief, provocative, pieces exploring this field, see Max Page and Marla Miller, eds., *Bending the Future: 50 Ideas for the Next 50 Years of Historic Preservation in the United States* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016). The 50 essays contain a wealth of information and references to the vast literature dealing with this set of burgeoning fields.

3 Studying the evolving relationships between historic sites, monuments, and memorials along with collective memories has long been a serious focus. Potential intersections between this field and the similarly growing area of Asian American and Pacific Islander Studies is long overdue. The essays in this Theme Study will suggest both places and narratives that can produce fruitful results. In the interim, some of the important works on memory and place include the following: David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Alice Yang Murray, *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress*

(Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008); Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1998); Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995); Kenneth E. Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy* (Austin: University of Texas, 1997).

4 For a survey of critical topics in the rapidly growing field of Asian American history, see, for example, David Yoo and Eiichiro Azuma, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Asian American History* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2016).

5 Wallace Stegner coined the term. He won the Pulitzer Prize in 1972 for *Angle of Repose* and the National Book Award in 1977 for *The Spectator Bird*.

6 Lisa Kahaleole Hall, "Navigating Our Own 'Sea of Islands': Remapping a Theoretical Space for Hawaiian Women and Indigenous Feminism," in *Wicazo Sa Review*, Vol. 24, No. 2, Native Feminism (FALL 2009), 23. University of Minnesota Press. URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/40587779.

7 Paul Loether, Chief of the National Register of Historic Places and National Historic Landmarks Program, assumed authority over this project; Alexandra Lord, Branch Chief, directly supervised it until she moved to the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History. Theodora Chang was an Advisor to the Director of NPS, and advanced the project. Barbara Wyatt, NPS historian, was critically important, especially in its final stages. JaMarcus Underwood helped enormously by discovering many of the images we eventually used in this volume. Jon Jarvis, Director of the NPS, pushed us along. But it was Stephanie Toothman who shepherded the project from beginning to end to whom this Theme Study owes most. The Advisory Panel was instrumental in setting initial guidelines for the content, suggesting scholars and reviewers for these essays.

8 Eiichiro Azuma, "Internment and World War II History," in *The Oxford Handbook of Asian American History*, ed. David K. Yoo and Eiichiro Azuma(NY: Oxford University Press, 2016).

9 *Japanese Americans in World War II: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*, ed. Barbara Wyatt (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Interior, 2012). The new or revised museums, memorials, and historic sites dealing with the topic have grown at an astonishing rate since her pioneering work.

10 JACS was established by Congress in 2006. "The law authorized up to $38 million for the entire life of the grant program to identify, research, evaluate, interpret, protect, restore, repair, and acquire historic confinement sites in order that present and future generations may learn and gain inspiration from these sites and that these sites will demonstrate the nation's commitment to equal justice under the law." www.nps.gov/jacs/reports.html

11 There are, now, increasing numbers of such useful reference works. See, for example, *Asian American Society: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Mary Danico (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2015); *Asian American History and Culture: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Huping Ling and Allan Austin (NY: Routledge, 2010); and David Yoo and Eiichiro Azuma, op cit.

12 Immigrants and refugees from West Asia, the region usually referred to as the Middle East, is sometimes considered part of this complex group. This region might include Afghanistan and Iran to the east, stretching to Morocco in the west. At times the reference is to the "ethnic" group and Arab Americans or Iranian Americans become the subjects or agents; at other times, the reference is to a religion: Islam can then become the reference point and the fact that the largest Muslim country in the world is Indonesia, clearly within Asia, makes the point. These then, make it clear that, in the U.S., mosques should be apprehended as historical sites in addition to Indian American Hindu "gurdwaras." The fact that Asian Americanists have abandoned the terms, "Orient" and "Oriental" should not obscure the fact that, as Edward Said made clear, "Orientalism" was first systematically applied to the Middle East. The fact that a number of key nations, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, are also in Africa, complicates the issue. See, for an early exploration, Sunaina Maira and Magid Shihade, "Meeting Asian/Arab American Studies: Thinking Race, Empire, and Zionism in the U.S." In *Journal of Asian American Studies,* Volume 9, Number 2, June 2006.

13 The Pew Research Center's 2012 Asian-American survey (updated 2014) is based on telephone interviews conducted by landline and cell phone with a nationally representative sample of 3,511 Asian adults ages 18 and older living in the United States. The survey was conducted in all 50 states, including Alaska and Hawai'i, and the District of Columbia. The survey was designed to include representative subsamples of the six largest Asian groups in the U.S. population: Chinese, Filipino, Indian, Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese. The survey also included Asians from other Asian subgroups." This report was severely criticized by AAPI scholars who condemned its rosy message of super-achieving, model-minority, communities.

14 See NPS websites for more: www.nps.gov.

15 Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2005).

16 See Jean Pfaelzer, *Driven Out: The Forgotten War Against Chinese Americans* (NY: Random House, 2007).

17 Bronner, Simon, ed. *Lafcadio Hearn's America: Ethnographic Sketches and Editorials* (Louisville, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2002).

18 More directly relevant to the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom is the NHL, Iolani Palace. There is now a lesson plan about the coup and annexation by the U.S. in the 1890s. In the lesson, students have opportunities to investigate American expansionism, how indigenous cultures responded to colonization, and how some historic sites hold great power as sites of contemporary activism and political protest. This is the 161st lesson plan from the NPS. Find out more about *Iolani Palace* at

the Teaching with Historic Places website: *http://nps.gov/subjects/teachingwithhistoricplaces/lesson-plan_iolani-palace.htm*

19 Of course, the United States was but one of several Western powers competing in Asia and the Pacific. Samoa is a good example of societies torn asunder by imperial contestation; where the sun first rises over Guam in the American empire, it finally sets over American Samoa just over the international dateline. Initially divided between the U.S. and Germany, Samoa (formerly Western Samoa) is an independent nation, while American Samoa remains firmly under American control.

20 See, especially, Amy Sueyoshi's essay (Chapter 11): "Breathing Fire: Remembering Asian Pacific American Activism in Queer History" and Will Roscoe's piece (Chapter 9), "Sexual and Gender Diversity in Native America and the Pacific Islands," in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History,* Megan Springate, ed. (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016).

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FROM THE CAPE TO CAIRO.

Though the Process Be Costly, The Road of Progress Must Be Cut.

Essay 1

Imperialism and Migration

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The United States was conceived in imperialism. The origins of U.S. imperial history date back to the expansion of Europeans in their search for Asia and their wars against Asians, beginning with the ancient Greeks and continuing through Portugal and Spain's 15th century voyages of "exploration." That spread engulfed the planet in a world-system within which flowed capital, labor, and culture. The U.S. was a consequence of that world-system in its origin as an extractive colony of shareholders in London.

After gaining independence, the U.S. came to dominate that global, imperial network. The U.S. postcolonial nation-state continued Europe's thrust toward Asia across the American continent, conquering American Indian lands and peoples and territory held by Mexico. The U.S. extended its reach beyond the continent to Puerto Rico, Hawai'i, Guam, Sāmoa,

"Britannia," carrying the white flag of "Civilization," leads soldiers and colonists in an advance on an opposing dark-skinned army waving a flag labeled "Barbarism." Illustration by Udo Keppler, published in *Puck*, Dec. 10, 1902; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

and, for a time, the Philippines. In that way, all of Indian country, a substantial part of Mexico, and entire islands in the Caribbean and Pacific became U.S. territories and its peoples, U.S. subjects. Imperialism, thus, is a central feature of U.S. history.

By *imperialism*, I mean powers over peoples and, often, occupation of their lands and waters outside the borders of a nation-state.[1] Those extra-territorial influences include economic, political, and cultural impositions. Unlike most standard U.S. histories that depict imperialism as largely confined to the 19th century and as an aberration, this chapter maintains that imperialism, as discourses and material relations, is a crucial aspect of the republic's constitution. The U.S. was made in the idea and act of accumulation.

SEEKING ASIA

Asia's wealth drew Europeans to Asia. America was an accident of that ancient, imperial pursuit. Christopher Columbus, sponsored by Spain, sailed westward for Asia but instead found America in 1492. Spain retained most of the initiative in colonizing America, a continent named for a human trafficker, Amerigo Vespucci, who, like Columbus, captured and sold American Indians as plunder. Spaniards called the people "indios," or "Indians," because Columbus believed them to be natives of India. In their global expansions, the Spaniards used "indios" to designate native peoples wherever they encountered them in America, Asia, and the Pacific.

The Spaniards soon learned that their lands were not a part of Asia but a "new world," as was described by Pietro Martir de Anghiera in his 1493 account of Columbus's achievement, *De Orbe Novo* (Of the New World). Spanish conquerors captured Mexico with the aid of native allies in 1521 and Peru in 1533. From Mexico City, the representative of the Spanish crown ruled "New Spain," which covered much of the American continent and the islands of the Caribbean. Through violence, enslavement, and disease, in Mesoamerica alone, the pre-Spanish population numbered an estimated 25 million, but by 1650, it fell to 1.5 million.

Extracting gold and silver from the Earth's veins drove the Spaniards' brutal mission of expansion and conquest in America, which built a great empire. Over a 150-year period beginning in 1503, gold from Colombia alone increased the entire European supply by about 20 percent. Silver, however, was the bullion that sustained the Spanish empire, and during the period of 1503 to 1660, more than 7 million pounds of silver from America reached Spain. Besides flowing from New Spain to Spain, silver found its way from Acapulco, Mexico, to Manila in the Philippines.

The Manila galleon trade, begun in 1565, finally connected Spain with Asia. It was American silver extracted by Indians that purchased the goods so coveted by the Spaniards. In the Philippines, American silver bought Chinese silks, satins, and porcelain along with Southeast Asian spices that were transported back to New Spain and from there to Spain and Europe. The trade drew Chinese and Spanish merchants to Manila, which grew into an urban trade hub supported by the agricultural production of Filipino farmers in the rural hinterland.

In 1597, more American silver went to Manila than to Seville, Spain, and from 1570 to 1780, an estimated 4,000 to 5,000 tons of silver were delivered into Asian hands. The Manila-Acapulco galleon trade was so lucrative that merchants in Spain, whose businesses suffered at the hands of merchants in New Spain, petitioned the King to limit the number of ships to two each year. The galleon trade ended in 1815 during the Mexican War of Independence.

Asians, mainly Filipinos and Chinese, moved from Asia to America on board Spanish galleons among the stash of textiles, spices, porcelain, and furniture. Those Asians worked on board the galleons, and Spanish masters enslaved some of them for sale in New Spain until 1700. Spaniards also took Filipina concubines to America, where they produced mestizos who, along with galleon-deserting Asian seamen, blended into Mexico's Indian population. Called "indios" by their Spaniard colonizers, Asians and American Indians alike were of the subject class, and a century later, in 1810 to 1821, when Mexico rose up in rebellion against Spain, hundreds of Mexican Filipinos, including Ramon Fabie, joined the struggle for freedom as soldiers and military commanders.

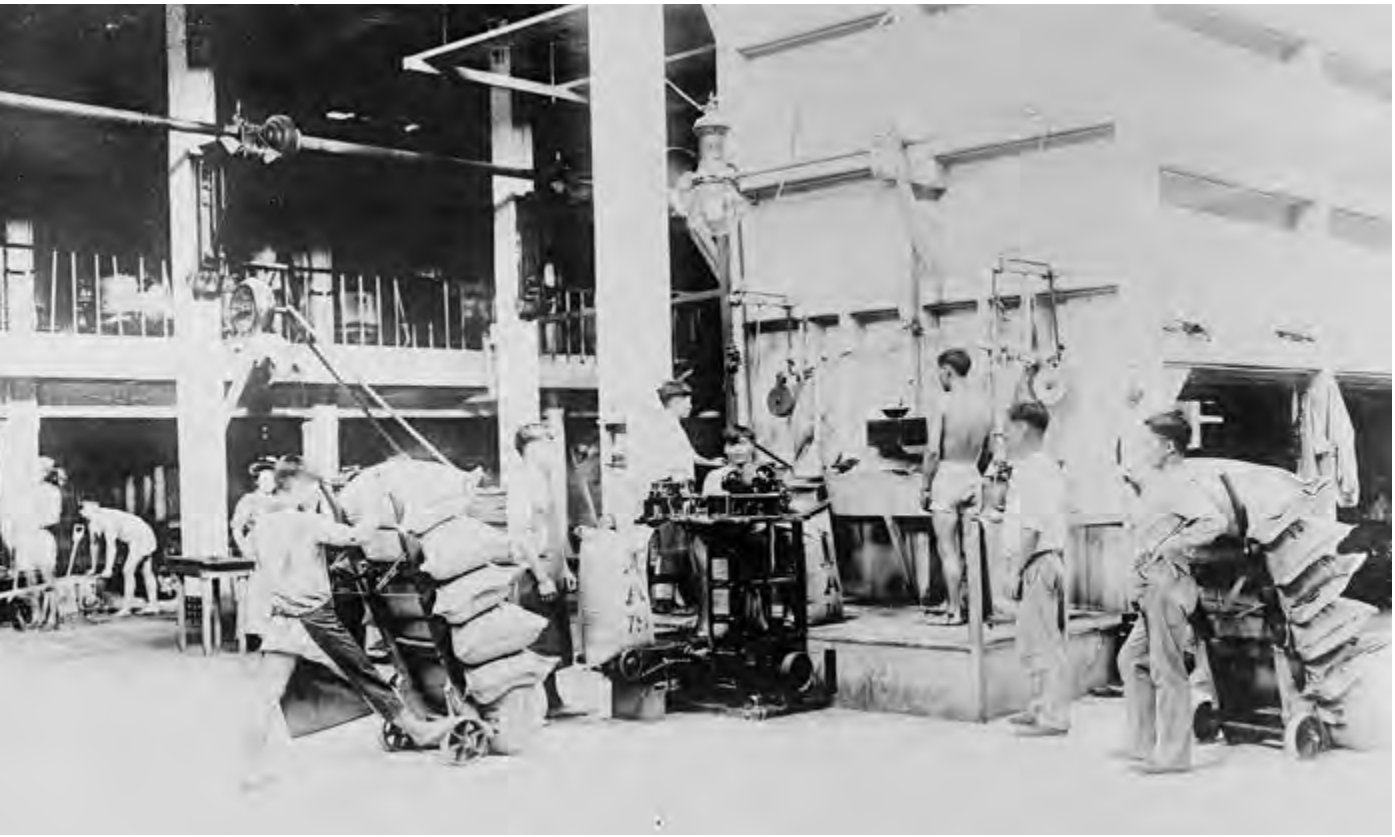
As early as 1635, Spanish barbers in Mexico City expressed displeasure with their Chinese competitors. In a petition to the viceroy, they asked that he impose a limit of 12 Chinese barbers in the city and expel the rest to outside districts. Like Mexico City, the seaport of Acapulco, called "city of the Chinese," flourished and

teemed with American Indians, Chinese, Filipinos, and mestizos. From New Spain, some Filipinos and possibly Mexicans sailed into the Gulf and fished Louisiana's southeastern coast as early as 1765, before the United States declared its independence from England.

EXPLOITING LABOR

European expansions in the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific oceans were directed at securing Asian goods even as African, American Indian, and Asian labor enabled their purchase. In the Atlantic world, the sale of enslaved Africans and Indians helped to underwrite Portuguese and Spanish expeditions, and Indian forced labor extracted gold and silver for Spain. African slaves, later joined by indentured Asians, produced the green gold of tropical plantations, mainly sugar but also tobacco and cotton. That trans-Atlantic commerce of enslaved Africans grew from 275,000 sent to Europe and America between 1451 and 1600 to over a million in the 17th century and then over 6 million in the following century. The boom in sugar and tobacco production in America's plantations accounted for that immense increase. The human traffic was a catastrophe for those enslaved while enriching planters and merchants, and it retarded Africa's development while advancing those of Europe and the U.S.

Indentured labor, a form of bound labor, characterized Asian and Pacific Islander migration. European settlers in Mauritius in the Indian Ocean acquired indentures from India, and by the end of the 18th century South Asian migrant workers, contracted for periods of two to three years, were in most major ports throughout Southeast Asia. The end of the African slave trade at the beginning of the 19th century led to coolie-ism or a "new system of slavery," as described by the British imperial historian Hugh Tinker, devised for Asians and Pacific Islanders as replacements for enslaved Africans. South Asian indentures labored in cane fields in Fiji and South Africa; Chinese contract workers served in tropical plantations, South African mines, guano deposits along Peru's coastal islands, and industries on the U.S. west coast; Japanese contract laborers worked Hawaii's sugar plantations; and traffickers captured Melanesians and Polynesians and sold them to planters in Australia and Peru.



Laborers ready sacks of raw sugar on a Hawaiian plantation. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.



Chinese laborers at work on the Milloudon Sugar Plantation in Louisiana. Woodblock print by Alfred Waud; published in *Every Saturday*, July 29, 1871. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Labor recruiters procured Hawaiians to work in Peru, where many of them perished from diseases and unforgiving work conditions. Over a two-year period beginning in 1845, nearly 2,000 Hawaiians served on foreign ships, and by 1850 that total reached 4,000, or almost one-fifth of the Hawaiian kingdom's population of adult males. To benefit from that labor migration and limit the loss, the kingdom imposed a poll tax on foreign employers of Hawaiians who, by mid-century, were toiling on ships and on land from Tahiti and Peru to the south to the Pacific Northwest and Alaska to the north. Hawaiians served in the Mexican navy and worked on Russian holdings along the west coast. By 1830, Hawaiians comprised the majority of the crewmembers on U.S. ships on the west coast, and they were also found in the Atlantic and its port cities.

When American Indian and African slavery was abolished in Peru in 1854, planters recruited Chinese, and later, during a brief ban on Chinese indentured labor, they sent ships to capture Polynesian workers. The *Adelante*, with its barred hatches and compartments and swivel guns to sweep the deck, returned to Callao, Peru, in 1862 with 253 Polynesian captives whose sale reaped their owners a profit of $40,000, or a 400 percent return. Men sold for $200 each, women $150, and children $100. For those ill-gotten gains, Pacific Islanders were hunted down and captured; marched to the beach in chains to waiting ships; thrust into crowded, unsanitary holds; and sold to the highest bidder in America. Many died from the raids and introduced diseases, with mortality rates ranging from 24 percent of one island's total population to 79 percent of another. Rapa Nui (Easter Island) had an estimated population of 4,126 in 1862 but lost 1,386 to labor raids and about 1,000 to disease, thus enduring a 58 percent population decrease.

British sugar planters in the Caribbean grafted their need for labor onto the empire's circuits in the Indian and Pacific oceans. In India, a British colony since about 1800, the system involved both British colonizers and South Asian accomplices. Working through local bosses or headmen, recruiters offered cash advances as enticements to recruits who frequently were in debt or trouble. The British colonizers privatized land in India to encourage agricultural production for export, and the ensuing land grab concentrated wealth and displaced peasants, making them ideal hired hands and migrant workers. Over a million South Asians served masters on tropical plantations; about half a million labored in America, where today they comprise significant proportions of the populations of Guyana, Trinidad, and Jamaica.

China, too, became a prime source for indentured labor, especially after its defeat by Britain in 1842 in the Opium War, whereby Hong Kong became British until 1997. European entrepreneurs, working though Chinese brokers in Macao, Singapore, and Penang, tapped into China's pools of labor, which were mainly Chinese but also included Vietnamese and Filipinos. Village leaders identified recruits; some signed or were deceived into signing indenture contracts, which bound them to employers for a period of years, while others received credit for their trans-Pacific passage from suppliers who

controlled their movements and the terms of employment. Reduced to commodities, this human traffic was called "pig-dealing" by the Chinese and the transaction "the buying and selling of pigs." Nearly all of those destined for America came from Guangdong Province, clustering around the British and Portuguese enclaves of Hong Kong and Macao. About 125,000 went to Cuba; 100,000 to Peru; 18,000 to the British West Indies; and the remainder to Panama and Costa Rica, the Dutch and French West Indies, Brazil, and Chile. An estimated 46,000 Chinese indentures went to Hawai'i, and primarily via the credit-ticket, some 200,000 made the passage to California.

"Coolies" were an invention of Europeans, beginning with the Portuguese, who used the term to refer to Asian laborers, but by the 19th century, the word specified South Asian or Chinese indentured workers bound for sugar plantations in America to replace enslaved Africans. Coolies were thereby the means to recoup the loss of labor incurred by the emancipation of slaves, but with its roots in slavery and its abuses, the specter of slavery continued to haunt the traffic. Despite hearings, investigations, and regulations by the British government, the planters exercised controls over their labor investments, and laws criminalized resistance by indentures as violations of civil contracts. Moreover, coercion was a central feature of the coolie trade, which involved kidnappings, debt-servitude, ships outfitted as prisons, and rapes, floggings, and corporal punishment.

In the 1850s, one out of six South Asians bound for the Caribbean died before making landfall, and of the first group of 396 South Asian indentures taken to British Guiana in 1838, one-fourth failed to survive the period of their five-year contract and only 60 chose to remain in the colony. The mortality for Chinese indentures on coolie ships during the second half of the 19th century was between 12 and 30 percent, or a rate higher than the middle passage of the African slave trade. Some reached as high as 50 percent. Conditions on board the ships and the length of the crossing—three to four months from India and four to eight months from China—might have accounted for those staggering figures. While nearly all of the Chinese were men, South Asian indentures included men, women, and children; women were susceptible to rape and children to malnutrition and disease. As an example, over half of the 324 South Asian coolies from Calcutta on board the Salsette bound for Trinidad in 1858 died, and according to court papers, a woman on a different ship died en route after having been gang-raped by the crew.



"Two hundred coolie boys we want." A ship captain awakens a Chinese laborer and orders him to find other workers and supplies for their voyage. Illustration by F. C. Yohn and published in "In the Matter of a Bale of Blankets" by James B. Connolly, Dec. 1913. Illustration courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Yuan Guan, a Chinese coolie in Cuba, testified he was kidnapped and taken to Macao in 1858. With more than a hundred others on board, the ship arrived in Havana in April 1859, and about two months later he was sold to a white, sugar plantation owner who had 60 Chinese working for him. After the owner's death in 1864, the new managers and overseers were "as vicious as wolves and tigers" and their hearts were "like snakes," Yuan recalled. Because of the cruelty, Yuan reported, two Chinese committed suicide: Chen jumped into boiling sugar and Lian hanged himself. Chen chose to pollute the product, sugar, that was the source of his oppression. Liu and several others died after having been beaten by overseers.[2]

While "great men" like Columbus "the Admiral" routinely appear as the shapers of world history, the so-called ordinary people, including Yuan, Chen, Lian, and Liu, supplied the labor that ultimately transformed the world. Their deeds, although small when reduced to their brief individual lives, moved mountains when seen collectively. Enslaved and indentured American Indians, Africans, Asians, and Pacific Islanders built and sailed the transport ships and produced the goods that circulated in the world-system. They extracted from the earth precious metals as well as the green gold, such as sugar, cotton, tobacco, and coffee, that changed the course of human history.

UNITED STATES

America, "discovered" and named by Spaniards on their way to Asia, gave rise to the United States of America.



In addition to sugar and fruit, rice cultivation by Japanese and Chinese workers in Hawai'i began in the 1860s and became a staple of the Hawaiian economy. The rice was processed in water-powered mills like the Haraguchi Rice Mill on Kauai, pictured here. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The nation-state first emerged from the generative, destructive world-system as an extractive, plantation colony on the periphery of Europe's core. Like many other settler colonies the world over, in the U.S., settlers rose up in rebellion against their colonial masters, gained their independence, and formed a sovereign nation-state that became a member of the core through its concentration of capital, deployment of labor, and flexing of imperial powers.

ENGLISH AMERICA

Begun as private enterprises, not governmental projects like the Spanish version, English colonies were transplants of companies funded by private investors. Chartered by King James I, the London Company established Jamestown in Indian country in 1607 to turn a profit on its initial investment. Accordingly, the company directed its colonists to find gold, trade with Indians for skins and furs, and carve out a route to Asia. As John Smith, who emerged as the colony's leader, confessed, the religious conversion of the native peoples was simply a covering motive for the colony "when all their aim was profit." Despite that purpose, the colony floundered even as the London investors poured more money and settlers into the venture.

The "free" land of America was, in fact, purchased by blood and at the expense of Indian country. Tobacco, a gift of American Indians, exhausted the soil and exploited laborers—English indentures and African slaves who produced the commodity that became the colony's mainstay. Tobacco plantations, however, required expansive tracts of "virgin soil" and increasing numbers of laborers. At first, those were indentured servants from among England's castoffs such as the poor. Indentures, both men and women, were bought and sold and were subjected to harsh treatment and abuse. Having served their period of indenture, however, Europeans gained their freedom and men acquired property and rights of citizenship.

As the cost of indentures rose, the preference for enslaved Africans grew. Africans, familiar laborers in the Mediterranean and Atlantic worlds, first arrived in the Jamestown colony on a Dutch ship in 1619. By the 1670s, the traffic from Africa became increasingly larger and cheaper. The colony's population of indentured Europeans and enslaved Africans helped to fortify the related ideas of white freedom and black bondage. Although indentured, Europeans were considered eventual members of the community while slavery, a life-long and inherited condition, became a mark of African ancestry.

REBELLION

A worldwide systematic regulation of English colonies gained impetus in England during the 17th century from the realization that profits and prestige could accrue to the nation. Colonies produced raw materials for the

homeland while providing markets for the core's manufactures. Mercantile capitalism within an imperial order thereby produced what Adam Smith called "The Wealth of Nations." However, the extractive nature of that system, involving monopolies and taxation, impoverished the peripheries, which functioned to profit the core. That relation produced a tension between the colonial power and its settlers, who chafed at their exploitation, which they saw as smacking of tyranny.

The British East India Company and its trade monopoly with Asia was a case in point, helping to fan the flames of discontent in America. In 1773, the Tea Act allowed the dumping of the company's huge tea surplus directly onto the colonies tax-free. Enraged colonial merchants, thereby being denied their middlemen profits, feared the loss of their livelihoods at the hands of a powerful monopoly, and a protest against taxation without representation gained traction and wide popular appeal. Tea consumption involved nearly everyone across the colonies, and the calls for a tea boycott mobilized large segments of the population. In December 1773, white men dressed as Mohawks staged the Boston Tea Party, which also involved American Indians and Asians. The Asian trade and settler sovereignty, including as indicated in the Declaration of Independence, freedom from "domestic insurrections" by "merciless Indian savages," were at the center of the rebellion and subsequent independence movements.

SOVEREIGNTY

The new nation-state declared its independence on July 4, 1776, and promptly sought its destiny not only in westward conquests of Indian country but also in Asia across the seas, tracing the footsteps of Spain and the British East India Company.

One of the first acts of the fledgling nation-state was to claim and parcel the lands west of the border along the Appalachians drawn by the British in 1763. The lands from that 1763 line westward to the Mississippi River became its Northwest Territory. In the 1780s and 1790s, Congress tried to coerce American Indians in the territory to surrender their lands, but Indians like the Miami Confederacy resisted the white invasion. The war ended with the Treaty of Greenville (1795) in which the U.S. recognized the sovereignty of Miami Indians. That acknowledgment affirms that U.S. expansion across the continent was, in fact, imperialism and the conquest of extra-territorial lands and peoples. U.S. treaties with and annexation of the sovereign Hawaiian kingdom were, similarly, acts of imperialism.

In pursuing its designs on Asia, the U.S. followed the European formula for national greatness—traffic in Asian goods and labor. About a year after the Treaty of Paris (1783) settled the Revolutionary War, the *Empress of China* slipped out of New York's harbor for Canton, laden with 57,687 pounds of ginseng, a root known to the Iroquois as a medicine that grew in profusion from the Adirondacks to the Appalachians. The venture was financed by Robert Morris of Philadelphia, one of the most important patrons of the American Revolution, and Daniel Parker, a merchant from New York; others included a Caribbean plantation owner who had served the British in colonial India.

The *Empress* expressly set out for China's tea. Sailing on February 22, 1784, the *Empress* returned on May 11, 1785, carrying black and green tea, chinaware, and silk. George Washington bought a set of so-called Cincinnati china from a shipment carried by the *Empress*. Thereafter and for about a hundred years, the patriotic eagle design from Chinese porcelain remained popular in the U.S. market. The *Empress of China* realized a modest



Chinese porcelain commissioned by George Washington. In the post-Revolutionary period, trade between New York City and Canton was initiated with the voyage of the *Empress of China*, which left New York on February 22, 1784. More than a year later, it returned full of Chinese goods, including a 302-piece set of porcelain commissioned by George Washington for the Society of the Cincinnati, whose insignia is featured in the center. The society was an organization whose members had served as officers in the French or American armed forces during the Revolutionary War. This piece is exhibited in the Cincinnati Art Museum. Photo courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, licensed under Creative Commons, accessed on August 15, 2017.

profit of 25 to 30 percent on the initial investment. Despite that inauspicious start, the *Empress* inaugurated the infant nation's entry into the Asian trade, which was then dominated by Europe's imperialists.

Like driftwood carried to these shores, Asians made landfall on board U.S. and British trade ships. A few months after the *Empress* returned from China, another U.S. ship, the *Pallas*, docked in Baltimore with a crew, according to one account, of "Chinese, Malays, Japanese and Moors," although a contemporary wrote to George Washington that the crew were "all Natives of India" except for four Chinese, whose hair, color, and features reminded him of American Indians.

In the 1790s, South Asians with given English names—John Ballay, Joseph Green, George Jimor, and Thomas Robinson—arrived in Boston, Salem, and Philadelphia. Some served their indentures; others were sold and bought as slaves. Upon attaining their freedom, the men perhaps married African American women and became members of the North's free black communities. We know today of one sailor from India, James Dunn, because he filed a petition with the Pennsylvania Abolition Society during the 1790s, appealing for his freedom.

U.S. merchants plied the lucrative Asian trade. In 1797, the *Betsy* returned from China with a cargo that netted $120,000 in profits, and by the 1830s, the U.S. trade with China totaled nearly $75 million, a sum greater than the total debt of the American Revolution. Family fortunes were made in that commerce. Augustine Heard of Ipswich, Massachusetts, built upon his father's business, trading New England lumber and fish for West Indian sugar, molasses, coffee, and other tropical products, a practice common in the 18th century. The son extended his father's business dealings in the Caribbean to India and China during the first half of the 19th century. Working for the large firm Russell & Co. and then his own Augustine Heard & Co., Heard took huge sums of gold and silver dollars on voyages that involved hundreds of thousands of dollars to buy silk, spices, teas, and other Asian products in Calcutta and Canton.

MAKING ALIENS

The new nation's sovereignty entailed not only establishing its lands through a delineation of borders but also defining its peoples. Article 1 of the U.S. Constitution, ratified in 1787, qualified the nation's citizens or those counted for full representation as "free Persons," including indentured servants, meaning all whites, American Indians who were taxed, and "three fifths of all other Persons," referring to African Americans and those not free. Citizenship thus hinged upon race and condition as was shown in the first U.S. Census (1790), which enumerated just three categories: "free whites," "slaves," and "all other free."

The first U.S. Congress, in 1790, passed the Naturalization Act, which declared citizenship through naturalization as limited to "free white persons." Any foreigner "being a free white person" of good character and a resident of the U.S. for two years could apply for naturalization, and upon swearing to uphold the Constitution, "such person shall be considered as a citizen of the United States." Thus race, specifically whiteness, in this foundational law was a condition of citizenship but so was freedom. In fact, at least since colonial Virginia, whiteness was a condition of freedom while blackness a



THIRD CONGRESS
OF THE
UNITED STATES:
AT THE SECOND SESSION,

An ACT to establish an uniform rule of naturalization; and to repeal the act heretofore passed on that subject.

The Naturalization Act of 1790 included one of the first mentions of race in American law, and tied the right of citizenship directly to whiteness. Printed by Francis Childs; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

condition of bondage.

As non-whites, Asians and Pacific Islanders were, like American Indians and African Americans, excluded from citizenship by the 1790 Naturalization Act. In 1854, the Supreme Court of California ruled on the petition of a white man, George Hall, convicted of murder on testimony from Chinese witnesses in *The People v. George W. Hall*. Hall's claim of immunity flowed from a long tradition of race-based segregation beginning in colonial Virginia, which held that Indians and Africans were "incapable in law." California's law, Hall's attorney pointed out, disallowed American Indians and African Americans from testifying for or against whites. Chief Judge Hugh Murray agreed: "A free white citizen of this State" had his rights abridged by having been subjected to a trial contaminated by evidence provided by aliens "not of white blood." The "European white man," Murray reasoned, must be shielded from the testimony of "the degraded and demoralized caste," like Africans, Indians, Pacific Islanders, and Asians. Moreover, if given equality and the rights of citizenship, the Chinese would constitute "an actual and present danger" to the nation's stability. Hall's conviction was overturned.

The phrase "free white persons" thus defined citizenship as a matter of race but also of gender, insofar as freedom, including property rights, was a virtue possessed by white men, not women. The alienation of Indians, Africans, and Asians and Pacific Islanders as comprising "degraded castes" and "inferior races" purchased white men's citizenship and freedoms and with them the rights to life, liberty, and property, including dependents—women, children, and servants and slaves. Herein we find the intersection of race, gender, sexuality, class, and nation.

African Americans, considered "aliens," "property," and "other Persons" for nearly the first century of the U.S. nation-state, only became "persons" in 1868 with the adoption of the 14th Amendment, which allowed that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States…are citizens…." In 1924, Congress granted citizenship to American Indians, former "aliens," who were born after that year. All American Indians were absorbed as U.S. citizens in 1940. Asians remained "aliens ineligible to citizenship," per the 1790 Naturalization Act until 1952, when Japanese and Koreans were the last Asians to receive naturalization rights.



Newly arrived Chinese immigrants wait as their belongings are inspected in a customs house. Illustration published in *Harper's Weekly*, Feb. 3, 1877. Illustration courtesy of the Library of Congress.

CONQUESTS

Like American Indians and Mexicans, Pacific Islanders fell within the grasp of the U.S. nation-state through conquest. Their loss of land and sovereignty were the means of their incorporation.

About the time of the U.S. Declaration of Independence, Britain outfitted and sent one of its most famous "explorers," James Cook, to the South Pacific to find, name, classify, and collect the region's flora and fauna. Directed north, the expedition bumped into the Hawaiian Islands and continued on to reconnoiter America's west coast up to the Aleutian Islands and Bering Strait. Although he found no Northwest Passage, Cook found fur-bearing animals that were valuable commodities in the China trade, as the Spaniards of New Spain had long known. Both Hawai'i and the furs of the Northwest would figure prominently in the new nation's land expansion and its Asian and Pacific destiny.

The coming of whites to Hawai'i signaled a new phase in the life of the Hawaiian people. "If a big wave

comes in," prophesized Hawaiian scholar Davida Malo in 1837 of the European flood, "large and unfamiliar fishes will come from the dark ocean, and when they see the small fishes of the shallows they will eat them up."[3] Educated by Christian missionaries and a convert to that foreign religion, Malo witnessed the swift decline of the Hawaiian kingdom's sovereignty.

Called "Indians" by some foreigners, Hawaiians suffered population losses comparable to America's indigenous peoples. Variously estimated at 250,000 to 800,000 in 1778 when the first Europeans arrived, the Hawaiian population plummeted by more than 50 percent by about the time of Malo's premonition of his people's dispossession.

Among the company of scientists and artists on Cook's third and final Pacific expedition was an American, John Ledyard. Before enlisting, Ledyard had tried to gain support from Robert Morris of the *Empress of China* enterprise, among others, for a trade expedition to the Northwest to obtain furs to exchange for China's tea, silk, and porcelain, which would reap "astonishing profit," he promised. After voyaging with Cook, Ledyard published *A Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, and in Quest of a North-West Passage, Between Asia & America…* (1783), which restated the case for his commercial scheme. He failed, however, to attract sponsors in the U.S., so he traveled to Paris where he met the U.S. minister to France, Thomas Jefferson, who showed an interest in his plan.

That contact, according to a biographer, later fired Jefferson's desire as U.S. President to find a direct route across the continent when France offered to sell its Louisiana Territory. In April 1803, the nation nearly doubled its size when Jefferson purchased Louisiana's some 830,000 square miles for $15 million. About two months after the acquisition, Jefferson directed Meriwether Lewis, his personal secretary, and William Clark, an army officer, to open a highway to the Pacific Ocean "for the purposes of commerce" and report on the availability of furs in the Northwest.

IMPERIAL REPUBLIC

The U.S. is an imperial republic because the nation began as a product of English expansion into the Atlantic world and as a white settler colony that appropriated American Indian lands through negotiations as well as conquest by force. That extra-territorial spread engulfing Indian country continued after independence. In the 19th century, the Louisiana Purchase added not only land but also new populations to the nation:



"American Progress," a famous painting by John Gast, depicts the American spirit leading westward expansion, in keeping with the idea of Manifest Destiny. Chromolithograph reproduction published by George A. Crofutt, 1873; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

French citizens, Spaniards, Africans, American Indians, Filipinos, and their mixed offspring. The nation's westward march across the continent extinguished the sovereignty of American Indians, conquered and annexed Mexico's northern territories, and, upon reaching the Pacific Ocean, extended its reach to the islands within. And throughout the 20th and 21st centuries, the U.S. waged multiple wars, declared and undeclared, against Asians and continues to occupy military outposts, notably in Hawai'i, Guam, Okinawa, Japan, Korea, and West Asia to secure its powers in Asia, the Indian Ocean, and the Pacific.

MANIFEST DESTINY

It was in 1845 that a Democratic editor, John O'Sullivan, coined the phrase "manifest destiny" to describe the ideology and movement that justified the nation's spread across the continent's girth. U.S. expansion, O'Sullivan declared, was "by the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federative self government entrusted to us." Fanned by those flames of nationalism and the imperatives of capitalism, manifest destiny drove the nation's border westward from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

President Theodore Roosevelt echoed, in 1903, the sentiment captured by O'Sullivan's term at an exposition celebrating Jefferson's purchase of Louisiana. "We have met here today," he noted, "to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the event which more than any other, after the foundation of the Government and always excepting its preservation, determined the character of our national life—determined that we should be a great expanding nation instead of relatively a small and stationary one."[4]

The first period of manifest destiny took place during the first half of the 19th century, as the nation surged across the continent, swamping Mexico's northern territories and lands to the north settled by American Indians but claimed by Mexico, Russia, and Britain. In 1846, the U.S. and Britain signed a treaty that fixed a division between British and U.S. territory at the 49th parallel, a line that today forms the boundary between the U.S. and Canada. Oregon Territory eventuated into the states of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho.

In the Southwest, the principal instigators in the conquest of Mexican lands were white settlers from the U.S. seeking agricultural landholdings cultivated by enslaved, black laborers. Initially invited by Mexico to settle Texas in the 1820s, whites came to dominate the area and then fomented rebellions against their newly independent host nation. Settler discontent included a desire to legalize slavery, which Mexico had banned in all of its territories. In 1836, the white settlers defeated the Mexican army, declared an independent Texas Republic, and promptly petitioned for U.S. annexation.

Smitten by expansionist fervor, Congress admitted Texas as a state in 1845, and President James Polk dispatched an army to Texas as well as a naval expedition to California to seize Mexican lands. The provocation led to a U.S. declaration of war against Mexico in 1846. After an invasion of Mexico and military offensives in New Mexico and California, where white settlers had declared a "Bear Flag Republic," Mexico agreed to surrender its lands to the U.S. The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848) ceded lands north of the Rio Grande to the U.S. for $15 million and stipulated that former Mexican citizens would become U.S. citizens and thus be racialized as whites.

Critics of expansionism in the U.S., mainly Northeasterners, feared that Southern interests to acquire new slave lands propelled the nation's westward march. Sectional conflict intensified in the years after the conquest and annexation of Mexican territory. News of gold's discovery in 1848 at a sawmill owned by John Sutter in the Sierra Nevada foothills of California attracted hundreds of thousands of fortune seekers to the gold fields. Like the expansion of whites into Texas, that demographic shift rekindled debate around newly settled lands as free or slave, which the Compromise of 1850 sought to resolve. The act admitted California as a free state and the rest of former Mexican lands—what became New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming—as territories without restrictions on slavery.

Throughout this period of continental manifest destiny, U.S. trade with China continued. President Millard Fillmore instructed Commodore Matthew Perry to "open" Japan to U.S. vessels and for the China commerce. Since 1638, Japan, under the Tokugawa Shogunate, had closed its doors to foreigners, fearing



A three-scene cartoon depicts an Irish and a Chinese man consuming Uncle Sam from the head and feet, respectively, before the Chinese man eats his fellow immigrant. The background details a series of railroads spanning the land. Illustration published by White & Bauer, c.1860; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

erosion of its sovereignty. After consulting with U.S. businessmen, Perry headed for Japan with an expeditionary force of four ships, having received executive powers to use arms if necessary to accomplish his mission. After a "dress rehearsal" in Okinawa, Perry arrived in Tokyo Bay on July 1853. Japan's government delayed negotiations, and Perry sailed away, promising to return the following year. In February 1854, Perry arrived with seven warships determined to wrest a treaty from Japan. He succeeded with the Treaty of Kanagawa, which opened the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate to U.S. vessels. Later that year, the British, Russians, and Dutch also gained access to Japan's ports, thereby emulating Perry's achievement.

U.S. imperialism or the acquisition of new lands during this first phase of manifest destiny reveals a central problem—the existence of non-white peoples in those territories. Whites assimilated into the nation as citizens, but non-whites, with the exception of Mexicans, remained foreign bodies within the nation as non-citizens. Territorial expansion during this period also reveals the tensions at work in the nation-state between enslaved and free labor, between industrial capitalism in the Northeast and the plantation economy of the South. The conflicts would lead to a rupture between regions and, some have argued, cultures and to a brutal war between brothers.

CIVIL WAR

The U.S. Civil War redirected the nation's destiny and transformed it in many ways. Most pertinent to this history of Asians and Pacific Islanders in the U.S. were the passage of the Constitution's 13th Amendment (1865), which abolished slavery; the first Civil Rights Act (1866), which declared African Americans to be citizens; the 14th Amendment (1868), which conferred citizenship on those born in the U.S. and ensured to "all persons" equal protection under the law; and the 15th Amendment (1870), which guaranteed the right of citizens to vote regardless of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Those transformative advances in U.S. democracy illustrate the complexity of the social formation in the intersections and articulations of race, gender, and class. The National Woman Suffrage Association, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, opposed the 15th Amendment because, observed Stanton, it gave political power to "the lower orders of Chinese, Africans, Germans, and Irish, with their low ideals of womanhood."[5] That opposition divided the suffragist from the abolitionist cause and movement, which had worked together for decades, and it underscored a longstanding positioning of race against gender and class.

Stanton's association of Germans and the Irish with people of color might appear puzzling in light of our present notion of whiteness. The Irish, however, were once called the "niggers of Europe" and only attained whiteness by distinguishing themselves from African and Chinese Americans. Before that racial transformation and indicative of their non-white status, some Irish women worked with and married African and Chinese American men. In lower Manhattan, amidst a polyglot of mariners and migrants, Irish women and Chinese men drank, danced, slept together, and married. Chinese

ship steward William Brown, living in New York City in 1825, wed Irish Rebecca Brown, and Chinese seaman John Huston, a resident of New York in 1829, married Margaret, an Irish woman, and they had two daughters. Of an estimated 150 Chinese in New York City in 1856, 11 were married to Irish women. Apparently some of those Chinese were former coolies from Peru, while others were seamen in the U.S.-China trade.

The admission of African Americans into U.S. citizenship, while not with full political and civil rights, redressed some 250 years of exclusion and relegation to "another and different class of persons." The "citizen race," per the Supreme Court's *Dred Scott* (1857) ruling, henceforth included a people of color, and that change was truly revolutionary. For Asians, the 14th Amendment was the only means by which most of them acquired U.S. citizenship before 1952, when the final barrier to Asian naturalization was removed. The importance of the 14th Amendment's guarantee of equality under the law for all persons cannot be overstated. Those basic realignments coming from the Civil War put to rest the prior discourse and fiction of a white republic and a nation-state of a single people or race. Equal protection under the law and voting rights in disregard of race and, in 1920, gender, remain foundational constitutional rights even though they were not always observed.

Asians and Pacific Islanders, indeed, all of the nation's peoples, benefited from that advancement of democracy. Those civil rights, nonetheless, were not simply gifted to them. They, like African Americans, earned their claims to equality through the blood they shed on the nation's battlefields during the Civil War. Hawaiians, Chinese, Filipinos, South Asians, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans served in the African American U.S. Colored Troops (USCT) and, a few, in white units.

About 30 Filipinos and over 60 South Asians served in the Civil War, but most prominently documented were the more than 60 Chinese who served both the Union and Confederate causes. In the South, Chinese and Filipinos served in Louisiana units, fighting on the Confederate side, along with Christopher Bunker's sons, Chang and Eng, the original "Siamese Twins." The Bunkers were slaveholders and, like other Southerners, they fought to preserve white supremacy and the white republic.

DESTINY'S CHILD

The first period of manifest destiny ended with the treaty with Mexico in 1848. The second period of manifest destiny, which I call "Destiny's Child," took place during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Because both phases involved the acquisition of territories populated by non-white peoples, manifest destiny and its child tested the imperial republic's original intention to limit citizenship and therewith membership in the nation to "free white persons." White settler machinations in Hawai'i and a war with Spain expanded the nation's limits beyond the continent, opening the nation to other people of color and their island homes in the Caribbean and Pacific.

In the late 19th century, unprecedented numbers of immigrants largely from southern and eastern Europe flocked to cities in the North. Between 1865 and 1915, 25 million immigrants streamed to these shores, more than four times the total of the previous 50 years. By 1890, foreign-born immigrants and their children comprised 80 percent of the population of New York City and 87 percent of Chicago. While industrialists might have welcomed them as workers, nativists agitated against their entry. United in a hatred of foreigners, blaming the nation's social ills on them, the 500,000 members of the American Protective Association and the Immigration Restriction League clamored for immigration restrictions.

Mirroring that wider fear of aliens and the perils they allegedly posed, in 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act because, in the framers' words, "the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof." The language of the act suggests Chinese workers, as perpetual aliens or "aliens ineligible to citizenship," introduce disorder and danger affecting the national defense and interest.

In addition to the immigration influx, the 1890 U.S. Census declared that the nation had been fully settled or, in the words of historian Frederick Jackson Turner, "the task of filling up the vacant spaces of the continent" had been completed—a statement made in utter disregard of the land's native peoples. He and many others saw this achievement as "the closing of the frontier." Ominously, the frontier, Turner and his supporters held, was central to the constitution of the nation and its people because it was the site that sired and fostered the American



The destruction of the USS *Maine* in Havana Harbor, Cuba, sparked war between America and Spain as the former began to eye territories overseas. Stereographic print published by the Keystone View Co., c.1898; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

spirit—rugged individualism, initiative and self-reliance, and democratic values. Moreover, the engine for the nation's economic growth was the energy generated by the constantly expanding frontier with its seemingly limitless resources and opportunities. Its closure, thus, was a cause for alarm. Capitalism's crisis of the 1890s served to reinforce those fears. Markets and land and labor abroad seemed to offer exits that the frontier's continental end appeared to foreclose. Pressed from within, the U.S. sought outlets abroad.

European empires reveal, Alfred Thayer Mahan argued in his widely read *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890), that sea power leads to economic and national greatness. Domestic production requires overseas markets, a strong navy to protect the sea-lanes, and colonies to provide anchorages and supply resources and labor. Ideology fortified imperialist arguments such as Mahan's for material gains. Racism justified the conquest and colonization of inferior, backward peoples, and imperialism trembled with religious fervor. Josiah Strong, a Christian minister and author of the best-selling *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* (1885), believed that the "Anglo-Saxon race" was "divinely commissioned" to spread and "move down upon Mexico, down upon Central and South America, out upon the islands of the sea, over upon Africa and beyond." He closed with the certainty of social Darwinism: "And can any one doubt that the result of this competition of races will be the 'survival of the fittest'?"[6]

SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

The nation's destiny beyond the continent began with a war with Spain over Cuba and Puerto Rico in 1898. This conflict was an outgrowth of economic interests Americans held in various Caribbean islands from the colonial period, as well as the nation's flexing of powers in the western hemisphere as exhibited by the Monroe Doctrine (1823), which warned Europe against encroaching on U.S. sovereignty that included the Caribbean and Latin America. In 1897, annual U.S. trade with Spanish-ruled Cuba totaled $27 million. The U.S. animus over Spain's "uncivilized and inhuman" conduct in Cuba, as President William McKinley charged in 1897, and its brutal suppression of Cuban anti-colonial movements also fueled the war.

The immediate cause of the conflict was the explosion that killed more than 260 on board the U.S. battleship *Maine*, anchored in Havana harbor, on February 15, 1898. At the time, many held Spain responsible for the ship's sinking, but later evidence suggested the cause was an accidental explosion inside the ship's boiler room. War on Spain was declared in April 1898 and ended by August the same year. It was, Secretary of State John Hay pronounced, "a splendid little war" in which many more U.S. soldiers died from malaria, dysentery, and typhoid than bullets.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt, an ardent imperialist and Mahan follower, ordered Commodore George Dewey and the Pacific Squadron to Manila to battle the Spanish there, extending the war into the Pacific. In May 1898, Dewey steamed into

Manila Bay and destroyed the antiquated Spanish fleet. As had been the case in Cuba, in the Philippines, the Americans walked into an anti-colonial revolution against a teetering Spanish empire. The Filipinos had driven the Spaniards into the city of Manila and had surrounded them. The U.S. forces lay anchored in the bay awaiting the arrival of ground troops to complete the defeat of the Spaniards. After several months, the army arrived. The Spaniards, caught between the Filipinos and Americans, eagerly capitulated to the latter to avoid the humiliating spectacle of whites surrendering to their colored subjects.

Under the terms of an armistice and the Treaty of Paris that ended the 1898 war between Spain and the U.S., Spain recognized Cuba's independence and ceded Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam to the U.S. for $20 million. During the Senate debate over ratification of the treaty, a mixed group of anti-imperialists opposed the acquisition of the Philippines and Puerto Rico, which some feared might lead to a pollution of pure American blood by Asia's "inferior" and Puerto Rico's "mongrel" races. Others warned of the flood of cheap Asian laborers, while U.S. sugar interests did not relish competition from tropical island plantations in the Caribbean and Pacific.

Imperialists, in response to those arguments cited as a model the longstanding treatment of American Indians, who were absorbed territorially but not politically or socially. Massachusetts's Senator Henry Cabot Lodge reminded his anti-imperialist detractors that from the beginning American Indians were held as subjects but not as citizens. Congress held plenary powers over Indians who were "domestic dependent nations" as the Supreme Court had ruled in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831). Filipinos, Lodge expected, were organized as "tribes" like the "uncivilized" American Indian "tribes." They were, thus, unfit to rule themselves and would not become U.S. citizens.

INDIAN WAR

Senate ratification of the Treaty of Paris was achieved on February 6, 1899. The "gift" of the Philippines, according to President McKinley, troubled him at first, but after prayer it came to him that he should "take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them…." Contrarily, the "little brown brothers" who were the objects of the U.S. President's "benevolent assimilation" refused to recognize the gift and instead continued their struggle for independence against the United States. The war was prolonged, bloody, and costly for the U.S. and Filipinos.

As analogized by imperialists like Senator Lodge, the U.S. war of conquest in the Philippines was waged as an Indian war in which, in the words of Secretary of State Hay, America's Far West became the Far East. Many of the same troops who had fought against the Sioux and chased and captured the Apache chief Geronimo in the U.S. West marched against Filipinos. Major General Adna Romanza Chafee, who in 1901 led the invasion of the Philippines, had spent decades fighting against the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Apache. A contemporary said of Chafee that he "brought the Indian wars with him to the Philippines and wanted to treat the recalcitrant Filipinos the way he had the Apaches in Arizona—by herding them onto reservations."[7]

Filipino troops, unable to match U.S. firepower in the open, resorted to guerilla warfare. The invaders responded in kind, demolishing crops and burning villages, corralling civilians into concentration camps, and executing those suspected of being or collaborating with the enemy. "Kill and burn, the more you kill and burn the better it will please me" and "shoot anyone over the age of 10," a U.S. commander directed his troops. Torture, such as the "water cure" that simulated and induced drowning, was routinely practiced.[8] In that war, genocide was defensible because, as John Burgess, a Columbia University professor, declared, "there is no human right to the status of barbarism."

African Americans both at home and in the Philippines saw a connection between racism in the U.S. and abroad. Imperialism's intent, Frederick McGee, a founder of the Niagara movement stated, was "to rule earth's inferior races, and if they object make war upon them." In 1883, the Supreme Court voided the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which had ensured equal rights for all in public places, and in 1896, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Court ruled that separate was equal and thus did not violate the 14th Amendment. An African American soldier in the Philippines wrote to his family in Milwaukee. White soldiers, he reported, "began to apply home treatment for colored peoples: cursed them [Filipinos] as damned niggers, steal [from] and ravish them, rob them…dese-

crate their church property…looted everything in sight, burning, robbing the graves."[9]

The war in the Philippines continued for three years, from 1898 to 1902, despite a robust anti-war movement in the U.S. and disenchantment among the troops in the field. The conquest required approximately 200,000 U.S. soldiers and resulted in over 4,300 American deaths. Besides the destruction of property, tens of thousands of Filipinos perished; some figures put the number of deaths as high as nearly a million, including those who died of disease and starvation as a result of the fighting. The capture of Emilio Aguinaldo, the leader of the Filipino republican army, in March 1901 was a factor in the war's end. That same year, the U.S. installed a civilian government headed by William Howard Taft, who would later become U.S. President. But the war was not over, and fighting continued especially in the southern, Muslim islands. Like the use of American Indians in the Indian wars in the U.S. West, the army inducted Filipinos as "scouts" and then ground soldiers.

Meanwhile in the Caribbean, the U.S. installed a colonial governor in Puerto Rico in 1900, and after passage of the Platt Amendment in 1901, which gave the U.S. control over Cuba's foreign relations, it granted independence to Cuba. Still, the U.S. military remained on the island to suppress dissent and protect U.S. economic investments such as sugar plantations, refineries, and railroads, whose fortunes soared during the occupation. The military also maintained Guantanamo Naval Station, which it used as a coaling and naval base and, in 2002, as a military prison for U.S. captives in its "War on Terror."

The U.S. established itself as an economic and military presence in other locations as well. A busy Secretary of State Hay declared in 1898 an "open door" trade policy with China, and in 1899, the U.S. gained the coveted harbor and naval station, Pago Pago on Tutuila Island, Sāmoa. In addition, Hawai'i presented yet another opportunity for Yankee imperialists in the tropical zone. The frontier, closed on the continent, was again open for business, now, off- shore.

IMPERIAL RESIDUES

Manifest destiny, as was feared by many white supremacists, changed the face of the nation. The white or "citizen race" was joined by "persons of color," "another and different class of persons" who were not "included in the word citizens," in the words of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Roger Brooke Taney in the decision he wrote for the ruling on the infamous Dred Scott case (*Dred Scott v. Sandford, 60 U.S. 393*), 1857. That distinction was upheld in the differential treatment extended to the overseas acquisitions. In 1900, Congress formalized the incorporation of Hawai'i as a territory, indicating its eventual absorption into the union as a state, unlike Puerto Rico, Guam, Sāmoa, and the Philippines, which remained "unincorporated" U.S. territories. The distinction was crucial for the rights extended to those peoples, whether as "citizens" or "nationals." Their status as "wards" of the U.S. government derived from the state's policies toward American Indians.

With regard to the people of color on the U.S. continent, expansion absorbed Mexicans as citizens who were rendered white by treaty (1848). The citizenship of African Americans in the wake of the Civil War terminated the narrative of a single race and nation, and the Jones Act (1917) bestowed a second-class citizenship to Puerto Ricans on the island. The Dawes Act (1887) sought to dismantle the structure of American Indian "nations" by privatizing land holdings and granting to adult owners U.S. citizenship. That act reversed a nearly 100-year-old policy recognizing American Indian sovereignty beginning with the Treaty of Greenville (1795) and *Elk v. Wilkins* (1884), a Supreme Court ruling that American Indians were not U.S. citizens but citizens of their tribal nations. In 1924, Congress declared American Indians, born after that year, to be U.S. citizens, and extended citizenship to all American Indians with the Nationality Act of 1940. A consequence of expansionism and the imperial republic, consequently, was a "darkening" of the nation's peoples.

Asians and Pacific Islanders were particularly problematic to that process of expansion and incorporation. Their lands, waters, and resources were vital to the imperial republic and their labor sustained the nation's economy. Pacific Islanders and Asians, however, posed a peril to the nation as aliens and competitors in the Pacific, and their Oceania, an imagined imminent danger to the domestic tranquility. Those problems and their attendant threats evolved over time, as did their solutions, which were extensions of treatments accorded to all "persons of color." But peculiar to Asians and Pacific Islanders was the language of the 1790 Act, which limited

naturalization to "free white persons." Thereby rendered "aliens ineligible to citizenship" up to the mid-20th century, unlike African Americans, American Indians, and Mexicans, they were especially well suited to serve as migrant laborers as we will see in subsequent chapters.

Endnotes

1 Many scholars understand imperialism as a stage of capitalism. While I see capitalism and its search for markets and resources as influential in extra-territorial expansions, I define imperialism more broadly than those conventional views.

2 Lisa Yun, *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indentured Laborers and African Slaves of Cuba* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 80-82.

3 As quoted in Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986), 106.

4 Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, *Addresses and Presidential Messages of Theodore Roosevelt, 1902-1904* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904).

5 Alan Brinkley, *American History: A Survey*, 9th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1995), 420.

6 Josiah Strong, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* (New York: Baker & Taylor, 1885), 159, 160, 161, 175.

7 Russell Roth, *Muddy Glory: America's 'Indian Wars' in the Philippines* (West Hanover, Mass.: Christopher Publishing, 1981), 24.

8 In our time, this same treatment was not considered torture under the George W. Bush administration and by many in Congress.

9 Letter published in the *Wisconsin Weekly Advocate*, May 17, 1900.

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Essay 2

A Sea of Islands: Early Foundations and Mobilities of Pacific Islanders

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An essay tasked with introducing the Pacific Islands and its inhabitants might begin by acknowledging late 20th century constructions that coupled together Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. These range from political alliances, demographic initiatives, and socio-cultural formations that grow out of intersections of Asians and Pacific Islanders in island communities as well as within the continental United States. Among the earliest scholarly endeavors, the "P" or "PI" appears in variant namings, such as in the first iteration of the Association for Asian Pacific American Studies (now Association for Asian American Studies) and, at this writing, the White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. In the United States context, it is not difficult to connect Asian and Pacific Islander peoples conceptually via the geographic contiguity of the Asian continent and the Pacific Ocean. While doing so comes at the

Portrait of Kaneena, a chief of the Sandwich Islands in the North Pacific Ocean. Drawn by J. Webber; engraved by A.W. Warren, n.d.; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

cost of effacing profound historical differences, an absolute adherence to maintaining those very historical distinctions also ignores more recent histories of intersection. Scholarship on Asia and the Pacific Islands is pursued in two distinctly separate interdisciplinary fields with attending professional learned societies, publication venues, and claims on academic and institutional resources. Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, especially in the U.S. Possessions, fall in the gaps between *ideas* of homeland authenticity and diasporic disconnection, and contrasting narratives of immigration and indigeneity. The reception and representation of Asians and Pacific Islanders in the U.S. is also marked by juxtaposition. Asians have endured stereotypes of "yellow peril" and "perpetual foreigner," while Pacific Islanders have historically been valued as desired objects of colonialist exoticness.

Three points of intersection between Asians and Pacific Islanders are relevant to this overview. First, systematic mass immigration from Asia to the United States, catalyzed by the 1848 discovery of gold in California, took place through the Pacific Islands, when transportation routes required provisioning stops between Asia and North America. Second, Hawai'i occupies a pivotal point, as capitalist sugar and pineapple plantations brought Asian immigrant laborers in the 1860s, and the multiethnic plantation milieu became the basis for interracial marriage and a multicultural community formation already well rooted by the time of the U.S. acquisition of Hawai'i in 1898. Third, following World War II, the migration of Pacific Islanders from American-administered areas—Native Hawaiians and Asian descendants from Hawai'i, along with Samoans, Guamanians, and residents of the Trust Territory of the Pacific— to the continental United States produced various community formations. This was especially true along the west coast, in proximity to neighborhoods settled by Asian immigrants, U.S.-born Asian descendants, and Japanese Americans returning after internment.

The 20th century development of U.S. political and economic power in the Pacific region can be viewed in four steps. First, the U.S. possession of Guam and Hawai'i in 1898 and a portion of Samoa in 1899 marked the formal establishment of U.S. colonialism in the Pacific. Second, during World War II, the U.S. military entered the war involving the Pacific Islands to curb Japanese expansion eastward. Third, U.S. involvement in post-war economic reconstruction in Japan (during which time the U.S. also took control of the United Nations-mandated Trust Territory of the Pacific, comprising multiple island groups across the northern Pacific stretching westward from Hawai'i), followed by subsequent Cold War geopolitics in Korea and Southeast Asia, carried over, even as Asian economies rebounded. Fourth, by the 1990s, the economic power of multinational corporations and transnational trade agreements operating beyond the reach of nation-based regulation were encompassed in the terms "Pacific Rim" and the touting, especially in the news media, of a "Pacific Century." All of this took place despite the fact that the worlds now linked largely passed over the islands[1]—a reality made possible by advances in jet transportation and the capacity to eliminate mid-Pacific refueling stops.

The incorporation of Pacific Islanders into a combined "Asian Pacific" construction has been uneven. Pacific Islanders have long protested the marginalization and invisibility by—as well as among—their more numerous Asian colleagues[2] and have since successfully negotiated incorporation into the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA), formally constituted in 2009. However, federal government policy has been mixed. While Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders have been disaggregated from the "Asian American" racial category on the U.S. Census, the White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders has maintained a coalition approach, and heritage month celebrations for Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders continue to be observed in May with Asian Americans, rather than in November with Native Americans.

Beyond considerations about how Pacific Islanders and Asian Americans have been grouped together bureaucratically, an orientation to Pacific Islanders and their oceanic world inevitably casts light on Pacific Islander distinctiveness from Asian cultures and histories. It also illuminates a key epistemological fault line between systems of knowledge through which Pacific Islanders have come to be known outside the region. From the advent of western European presence in the Pacific in the early 1500s, the conduct of scholarship and the circulation of knowledge about the region were monopolized by the tenets of western European

Enlightenment rationality and empiricism. It has taken several generations of Pacific Islander-centered scholars since the later 20th century to place islander worldviews alongside those documented by outsiders.[3]

The epochal perspective proposed in this essay takes European presence and Euro-American colonialism as simply another era during which Pacific Islanders have continued to exist. This is in contradistinction to generations of scholars who have figured the moments of "first contact" between islanders and outsiders as constitutive of radical rupture and irreversible alterations in island societies after Euro-American colonialism.[4] Even the Pacific-centered perspective proposed by Australian scholars in the 1950s simply shifted the locus of island histories from metropolitan centers to the islands[5] but still maintained the structural separation of colonizer and colonized. It is instructive to view the eras of Euro-American colonization and decolonization as equally constitutive of Pacific Islands societies in order to begin to understand how historic preservation must not be limited only to marking the presence of others in the region, but more fundamentally must acknowledge the worlds and worldviews of Pacific Island societies themselves.

CARTOGRAPHIES (SEE TABLE A)

The first problem that anyone new to the study of Pacific worlds encounters is how that space is defined. Does it include all continental rims along the edges of the ocean? Is it limited to islands within the ocean? Are we to draw distinctions between indigenous settlers and subsequent waves of migrants, including descendants of European, American, and Asian settlers? A cartographic perspective helps to bring this complexity into view.

The Pacific Ocean, at 162.25 million square kilometers (63.8 million square miles) comprises approximately one-third of the earth's surface and nearly half of its oceanic waters. Its boundaries are Asia and Australia in the west, the Americas in the east, the Arctic Ocean in the north, and Antarctica in the south. The floor of the Pacific Ocean is made up of multiple tectonic plates, atop of which sit islands numbering in the tens of thousands.

Studies of paleogeography and biodiversity suggest that insular land masses result generally from two processes: 1) breakaways from continental crust; and 2) volcanic activity as plates move over hot spots in the earth's core, and volcanic activity results in mountainous underwater ranges whose peaks rise above sea level.[6] Where volcanic activity ceased, many islands eroded, pushing up coral reefs ringing the island above sea level until only coral atolls remained.

Within geological boundaries of the oceanic region, multiple approaches to defining "Pacific Islands" over centuries of habitation have shifted based on migration and settlement patterns, along with the ebb and flow of empires with their structures of trade and tribute. Through various methods of reckoning, the "Pacific Islands" has been narrowed from all physical land masses touching the Pacific Ocean to a subset of islands within the ocean that excludes those archipelagoes that are deemed socioculturally and linguistically more closely allied with continental Asian and southeast Asian societies. Among the islands usually excluded from discussions of the Pacific Islands are the East Indies (which includes present-day nations of Indonesia and the Philippines), as well as the Bonin Islands, Okinawa, and Taiwan.

The most widely adopted geographic schema is that imposed by the French explorer Jules Dumont d'Urville, who commanded the Astrolabe on a global scientific and cartographic expedition from 1826 to 1829. In the Pacific, he spent time in New Zealand, Tonga, Fiji, the Loyalty Islands, coastal New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and the Caroline Islands. In an 1832 article, Dumont d'Urville proposed classifying the Pacific islands into four broad regions: Malaysia—referring to the islands of the East Indies; Melanesia—referring to the islands in the southwest Pacific islands populated by racially dark islanders; Micronesia—referring to the thousands of small islands across the northern Pacific from the Marianas to the Marshall Archipelago; and Polynesia—including the islands within the triangle bound by Hawai'i in the north, Rapa in the east, and New Zealand in the west.[7] This schema continues to organize regional and scholarly endeavors.

Knowledge-making about the Pacific is also complicated by two other commonplace cartographical conventions. First, world maps conventionally place the Atlantic Ocean at the center, which requires dividing the Pacific Ocean in half, placing the eastern Pacific on the left side and the western Pacific on the right.

Scholars of the Pacific who adopt a Pacific-centered world map work in a context where such maps are considered "alternate" to the "standard" representation of the world that centers the Atlantic Ocean. Second, the placement of the International Date Line in the Central Pacific (at the antipode of the Prime Meridian in Greenwich, England) underscores how dividing the world on world maps is logical and, thus, naturalized. Both frameworks function similarly to national borders on continental landmasses for which political purposes often operate at odds with the networks of kin, communities, and circuits of relations along such borders.

EPOCHAL CHRONOLOGIES

I propose five epochs of peopling in the Pacific islands that ultimately account for present-day multicultural islander populations on and off islands.[8]

1. The modern landmasses of Australia, Tasmania, and New Guinea were settled between 30,000 and 60,000 years ago, as people moved from mainland Sunda (a continental landmass covering the present-day Malaysian peninsula and the islands of western Indonesia) across a now-submerged land bridge into the Pleistocene-era continent of Sahul (a connected landmass now separated into Australia, Tasmania, New Guinea, and islands in eastern Indonesia).[9] Nomadic bands entering the area that comprises Australia's Northern Territories are considered to be ancestors of the Aborigines. Settlements in river basins, jungles, and mountain valleys became the basis for the cultures of Papuan-speaking peoples. Further Pleistocene-era voyaging extended settlement into the island archipelagos off Sahul, comprising the present-day Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands.



Map of Sunda and Sahul. Made by Maximilian Dörrbecker (Chumwa) for Wikimedia Commons, 2007.

2. Several waves of migration by Austronesian-speaking peoples moved eastward from the region around Taiwan. Linguistic analysis classifies the languages of these peoples in the Austronesian language family.[10]

– Some migration trails moved through the northern Philippines and into the northern Pacific islands, into the southwestern region of Micronesia.

– Other migration routes moved through Papua and intermixed Austronesian people with earlier Papuan settlers. Their descendants included the anthropologically renowned "Kula ring" circuits of long-distance voyaging canoes carrying tributes of shell necklaces and bracelets across hundreds of miles.

– Yet another migratory trail of Austronesian speakers moved south through the present-day Bismark Archipelago, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa. These settlers are known for the production of ceramic "Lapita" pottery (named after an excavation site in New Caledonia). Importantly, these people had produced the technology to sail and navigate great distances, with the intention of finding habitation by bringing along domesticated animals.

3. After the demise of the technology of Lapita pottery, voyages eastward from the central Pacific archipelagos of Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa carried settlers into the island archipelagos of Tahiti and the Marquesas Islands.

4. From this eastern Pacific center, the final great voyages of settlement across the longest stretches of open ocean were accomplished:

- Eastward to Rapa;
- West-southwest through the Cook Islands to Aotearoa (New Zealand); and
- Northward to the Hawaiian Islands.

5. European presence, dating from Spanish, Portugese, and Dutch interests in the so-called "East Indies," followed by British, French, German, American, and Japanese colonizations.[10]

Even as the three settlement sequences of Austronesian-speaking peoples account for the peopling of islands and landmasses in the southwest, northern, and eastern Pacific, histories accrued as intra- and interregional trade networks, migrations, warfare, and empire waxed and waned. Through much of these epic epochs of initial settlement, the central, northern, and eastern oceanic island groups had little or no interaction with the island archipelagos adjacent to the Malay Peninsula, where sea lanes enabled trade and travel between the Indian and Pacific oceans. The continuity of Indian cultural influences is expressed in the label "East Indies," one of many identifiers applied to the region over time. This world of trade and tribute empires drew in imperial ambitions from the Arab world and China, and this is the "Pacific World" that drew mercantile interest from Europeans and, eventually, Americans. So despite the fact that the islands of present-day Indonesia, the Philippines, and Okinawa (among others) are inhabited land masses within the boundaries of the Pacific Ocean, the moniker "Pacific Islands" also draws a watery boundary between those island archipelagos directly engaged in wider trade relations outside the Pacific and the remote islands settled by Austronesian-speaking peoples that remained outside the circuits of Indo-Pacific trade until the arrival of Europeans.

The advent of European presence beyond the East Indies area began with the Spanish connecting colonial conquests in the Western Pacific with its possessions in the Americas through a trade circuit between the



Indigenous people from the Upper Ten of Tonga, c. 1918-1920. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Philippines and Mexico starting in the 1500s. It was not until the 18th century that Britain, France, Germany, and eventually the United States joined Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch presence in the Pacific by launching scientific expeditions of exploration. During this epoch, the islands throughout the Pacific were gradually sighted, visited, and charted. Fascination with published accounts from these voyages contributed to two developments: 1) interest in islands in support of expanding trade circuits; and 2) interest in islanders' salvation. In the first schema, islands became nodes within global capitalist developments that sought products for markets in Asia that could be traded for goods in demand in Europe and the Americas. Islands were valued for strategic locations as provisioning stations—including food, rest and recreation, and labor recruitment, especially in the 19th century fur and whaling industries. Island natural resources harvested into these trade circuits included exotic woods, beche-de-mer, and coconut products. In the second schema, islanders residing in lush tropical climes fueled continental European philosophers' fascination with ideas of "noble savages;" these depictions were refigured by Christian revivalists into fallen primitives to whom Christianity must be delivered. Simply put, European and American colonization in the Pacific Islands resulted out of European and American naval policing of European and American economic and religious interests.

Christianity was delivered to the Pacific by missionaries primarily from England and the United States and, slightly later, from France. Missionaries followed traders into island ports and communities; they, in turn, were followed by settlers. While austere beliefs promulgated by missionaries frequently clashed with libidinous recreation sought by naval and mercantile ship crews, both missionaries and traders enjoyed the protection of their home governments in the form of colonial agents who were quick to use military force (often referred to as "gunboat diplomacy") to resolve conflicts between Euro-American nationals and islanders.

The web of benign protectorates and pugilistic conquests across the Pacific is both intricate and unsystematic. Some islanders sought the protection of one government to check aggression by another government; some islanders waged protracted warfare against colonial agents and militaries; some island groups were passed from one government to another as spoils of war; some islanders were left out of diplomatic negotiations altogether as jurisdictions were divided among colonizers. And so it is that by the early 20th century, the sovereignty of every island group except the Kingdom of Tonga passed over to European, American, or Japanese control.

Reforms in land tenure opened the way to capitalist agricultural development, which in turn necessitated the importation of labor. Capitalists turned to Asia, where socioeconomic conditions produced push factors alongside the pull factor of economic opportunity. Asian peoples made their way eastward to plantations across the islands as well as toward the Americas. Islanders, too, increasingly took advantage of new opportunities available in metropolitan centers. And thus traceable is a colonialist logic in the emigration of Pacific Islanders and the formation of diasporic communities along pathways of colonial transits.

Throughout the 20th century and early 21st century, Pacific islanders responded to regionally distinct colonialisms in varied ways. Christianity was widely embraced, and mission stations administered from colonial metropoles morphed into independent synods. Education at primary and secondary levels was delivered via Eurocentric curricula in colonial languages, in turn weakening indigenous languages. Anthropological, archaeological, and historical research on Pacific Islanders, couched in the frameworks of westernization, acculturation, and cultural loss, effectively figured islanders as objects and separated them from the production of knowledge about them.

Island groups began attaining independence from colonial control beginning in 1960. At this writing, France still claims possession of French Polynesia and New Caledonia; Rapa Nui or Easter Island is still claimed by Chile; the country of Tokelau remains a dependent of New Zealand; and the United States has incorporated Hawai'i as a state and still claims possession of the territories of American Samoa and Guam.

Processes of decolonization in the later 20th century are marked by both top-down and grassroots development. The South Pacific Commission (SPC), founded in 1947 by the six then-active colonial powers (Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, United Kingdom, United States), laid the foundation for regional



Indigenous people of Rarotonga, Cook Island, located in the South Pacific. Note Cook Islander native in indigenous clothing and headwear, c. 1930-1940. Photo by Alfred T. Palmer, courtesy of the Library of Congress.

inter-governmental cooperation in scientific and economic development. Its membership currently includes all 22 Pacific island countries and territories.[11] (See Table B for a list of Pacific Islands countries as of 2015.) Hawai'i is excluded since it has gained full membership in the United States through statehood in 1959, but American Samoa and Guam, still U.S. territories, are members.

Grassroots activism, however, is the impetus among islanders for the assertive groundswell of sociocultural self-determination that swept across the Pacific in the late 20th century. Islanders across the Pacific embraced indigenous cultural practices and connections, much of which had been disrupted by—and devalued during—colonial territoriality. Islanders asserted their social and cultural relationships to their environment, which in all cases was impacted by the ocean. While the precise impact varied from one location to the next, what they all shared was ways of life in which the ocean and its bounty figured into transactions of daily living and community cohesion. And finally, Islanders reaffirmed cultural kinship with each other. These ties had been presumed broken after indigenous long-distance voyaging ceased several centuries before the arrival of Europeans. Perhaps ironically, it was European explorers who noted commonalities of language and lifeways as they carried islander adventurers among island archipelagos.

The epistemological paradigm shift that emerged is best captured in the essay published by scholar 'Epeli Hau'ofa, titled "Our Sea of Islands":

> The world of our ancestors was a large sea full of places to explore, to make their homes in, to breed generations of seafarers like themselves. People raised in this environment were at home with the sea. They played in it as soon as they could walk steadily, they worked in it, they fought on it. They developed great skills for navigating their waters, and the spirit to traverse even the few large gaps that separated their island groups.
>
> Theirs was a large world in which peoples and cultures moved and mingled, unhindered by boundaries of the kind erected much later by imperial powers. From one island to another they sailed to trade and to marry, thereby expanding social networks for greater flows of wealth. They traveled to visit relatives in a wide variety of natural and cultural surroundings, to quench their thirst for adventure, and even to fight and dominate.[12]

From this islander-centered perspective, contemporary sociocultural developments are a logical extension of millennia-old lifeways around seafaring, environmental knowledge and stewardship, and the varied social organizations that emerged to support survival and manage natural and cultural resources. Although local distinctions emerged among linguistic and cultural groups over centuries and millennia, those distinctions have accreted over a deep shared experience of understanding how to survive and prosper in a world dominated by the ocean and limited—initially—to the natural resources of volcanic islands and coral atolls.

CULTURAL RUBRICS

Two rubrics capable of schematizing Pacific Islander cultural histories are mobility and place. Each has the capacity to frame discussions of islander experience; together they offer capacious perspectives to understand cultural commonalities that trace back to shared Austronesian ancestry. Importantly, these perspectives also offer ascending constellations of possibility to conversations on historic preservation in the Pacific's long duree.

The rubric of mobility enables a conceptualization of the ocean as a means to move among islands. It is then possible to survey the range of technologies involved in traveling across the ocean, from the oceangoing vessels to the means of navigating them across the water. While canoes could be sufficient for everyday utilitarian sailing and moving along coastlines, seafaring vessels gained expanded scope through primarily three basic structural configurations: the addition of a single outrigger, the addition of double outriggers, and the joining of two canoes into one double-hulled vessel. Throughout the Pacific, basically three types of woven pandanus-mat sails are classified as the rectangular lugsail, the triangular spritsail, and the triangular lateen sail. Spirituality, respected through ritual practices, entered into many facets of canoe building and sailing from the identification and gathering of raw materials, through the construction processes, and to the preparations for embarking on journeys and ensuring the safe passage of those aboard. The ocean, as the realm of the god most widely known as Tangaroa, thus required obeisance marked by ritual practices that governed conduct on the ocean, as well as harvesting of its resources for human use and consumption.

Knowledge systems of celestial navigation and wayfinding provide the means by which landfall could be attained, and return voyages could be accomplished: "Oceanic seafarers look to heavenly bodies, ocean swells, winds and other signs supplied by nature to set their course, steer, track their canoe, make course corrections and home in on islands before they can be seen."[13] Navigators use their knowledge of the rising and setting positions of the sun, moon, and stars to set their course and check their position. Throughout the northern Pacific, navigators organized their knowledge into local variants of star compasses. Those systems are the basis for the late 20th century revival of celestial navigation and renaissance of long-distance voyaging.

Traditions and knowledge related to long-distance voyaging went on hiatus when voyaging ceased between the most remote landmass outposts (especially Hawai'i, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Rapa Nui/Easter Island) and the Central Pacific island groups. Following what appears to be several centuries of isolation, those landmasses were reconnected by European and American ships in the epoch of colonial presence. Throughout this period, traces of epic voyaging and interactions remained in oral tradition as well as in linguistic and archaeological evidence. That evidence was the basis for theories of original human settlement across the Pacific in eastward movements from the western Pacific. This evidence met with a formidable competing thesis of human settlement by accidental drift from the Americas on prevailing counterclockwise ocean currents in the southern hemisphere by people who lacked technologies of seafaring and navigation.[14]

In response, an American anthropologist based in Hawai'i launched an initiative to replicate a Hawaiian voyaging canoe and conduct a voyage navigating celestially without western scientific instruments. The double-hulled canoe constructed for this venture was named Hôkûle'a. Although celestial navigation was no longer practiced in Hawai'i or proximate island groups, an unbroken tradition of celestial navigation had continued in the islands across the present-day Federated States of Micronesia. The navigator Mau Piailug was brought from Satawal to Hawai'i, where he studied star locations in the eastern Pacific at the Bishop Museum Planetarium, apprenticed Native Hawaiian waterman Nainoa Thompson in his techniques of wayfinding,

and successfully sailed Hôkûle'a to Tahiti and back in 1976.[15] In 1980, Nainoa Thompson successfully navigated Hôkûle'a on the same route using celestial means of wayfinding.[16] Hôkûle'a's successes sparked the revival of canoe building, celestial navigation, and long-distance voyaging across the Pacific islands.[17] More importantly, indigenous wayfinding was a powerful trope for assertions of stepping away from colonialist knowledge regimes and asserting universal human rights of cultural sovereignty and self-determination.

From the deck of a double-hulled sailing vessel, the material traces of mobility of interest to historic preservation efforts extend beyond archaeological sites where artifacts have been unearthed, to consider sites of living activity—sites significant for ensuring the continued supply of raw materials, sites that accommodate the construction and maintenance of oceangoing vessels, and sites upon which knowledge is transmitted across generations.

In addition to documenting the record of mobility on the ocean, there is the more fundamental matter of appreciating the very ocean that is traversed. In this context, marine national monuments, administered by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), are raising awareness of the ocean as a focus of preservation. The Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument was first established in 2006 over 140,000 square miles. Declared by UNESCO a World Heritage Site in 2010, its citation states the following:

> The area has deep cosmological and traditional significance for living Native Hawaiian culture, as an ancestral environment, as an embodiment of the Hawaiian concept of kinship between people and the natural world, and as the place where it is believed that life originates and to where the spirits return after death. . . . Much of the monument is made up of pelagic and deepwater habitats, with notable features such as seamounts and submerged banks, extensive coral reefs and lagoons.

In 2016, President Barack Obama extended the monument to the limit of the exclusive economic zone to encompass 583,000 square miles of ocean waters surrounding the islands and atolls of the northwestern Hawaiian Islands.

In contrast to the rubric of mobility, the rubric of place encompasses the physical geography and ecology, and the systems of stewardship to support all aspects of daily living. Intimate knowledge of the environment, combined with keen awareness of the limitations of natural resources on and surrounding islands, was manifest in systems of stewardship that could ensure survival and sustainability. Shelter, attire, and sustenance were drawn from endemic natural resources, as well as the pigs, chickens, dogs, and plants transported initially by settlers and subsequently by residents and visitors; cattle, sheep, goats, and other animals came with Europeans and Americans (in many cases to great environmental destruction). Needs to support growing populations led to the development of systems of cultivation and irrigation. Needs to regulate the management, accumulation, and distribution of resources were closely aligned with the development of political systems. And ultimately, the mysteries of life itself gave rise to a panoply of gods, demigods, and other deities of varying divine status, as well as rich sets of cosmologies and mythologies. Linguistic analysis has demonstrated that the major gods Tane and Tangaroa, the superheroes Maui and Rata, and the cosmology of a Skyfather and Earthmother were shared across much of the Eastern Pacific.

The land-based rubric of place is more directly linkable with discourses of historic preservation. Where in the landscapes are the traces not only of settlement, but of interaction in circuits of transit, exchange, conquest, and tribute? One model to look to is the archaeological ruins of Nan Madol along the eastern shore of Pohnpei Island, in what is presently the Federated States of Micronesia. Declared a National Historic Landmark in 1985 when Pohnpei was still part of the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific, Nan Madol was designated a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 2016. The citation reads in part:

> Nan Madol is a series of more than 100 islets off the south-east coast of Pohnpei that were constructed with walls of basalt and coral boulders. These islets harbour the remains of stone palaces, temples, tombs and residential domains built between 1200 and 1500 CE. These ruins represent the ceremonial centre of the



Native people of the South Sea Islands, c.1918-1920. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

> Saudeleur dynasty, a vibrant period in Pacific Island culture. The huge scale of the edifices, their technical sophistication and the concentration of megalithic structures bear testimony to complex social and religious practices of the island societies of the period.[18]

Nan Madol bears witness to social relations and political systems operating on an imperial scale centuries before the arrival of Euro-American imperial projects, when islanders were moving among and between places using indigenous technologies and epistemologies to order their worlds and their places within.

In conclusion, a historical overview of the Pacific Islands before the arrival of Europeans and Americans must account for settlement and habitation as well as mobility and transit. While settlement and habitation will always be examined in relation to place, the concept of mobility will always bring with it possibilities of encounter and exchange with others. Pacific Islanders enact relationships of indigeneity to island homelands, and these relationships are always going to render them distinct from Asians who have established multi-generational communities—over multiple generations—in the United States. But Pacific Islander histories of mobility also offer possibilities of interaction with Americans of Asian ancestry across centuries of circulation and transit. We would do well to be open to witnessing such moments, places, and movements of Pacific Islander experience.

Endnotes

1 For critical discussion on "Pacific Rim" constructions, see the essays in Arif Dirlik, ed., *What Is In a Rim? Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea* (Taipei: Westview Press, 1993).

2 See, for example, J. Kêhaulani Kauanui, "Asian American Studies and the 'Pacific Question," in *Asian American Studies After Critical Mass*, edited by Kent A. Ono (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 123-144.

3 See Damon I. Salesa, "The Pacific in Indigenous Time." In David Armitage and Alison Bashford, eds, *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People* (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 31-52.

4 This is the prevailing perspective developed particularly among anthropologists, who viewed much of their early 20th-century fieldwork as salvage ethnography. Archaeological scholarship buttressed perspectives of cultural loss after European arrival by pointing out the material differences between then-contemporary islanders and the evidence of lifeways being dug up. Because the technology of literacy in the Pacific is largely due to the efforts of Christian missionaries whose agenda was directed at preaching the word of God in the Bible, anthropologists and historians alike privileged the written documents of voyagers and government administrators over orally-transmitted systems of knowledge, and even, in places such as Hawai'i and New Zealand, where indigenous-language presses flourished by the late 19th century.

5 J. W. Davidson, "The Problem of Pacific History," *Journal of Pacific History* 1 (1966), 5-21.

6 For a succinct overview, see Vincent E. Neall and Steven A. Trewick. "The age and origin of the Pacific Islands: a geological overview." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B* 363 (2008), 3293-3308.

7 Jules-Sébastian-César Dumont d'Urville, "Sur les îles du Grand Océan," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 17 (Paris: Société de Géographie, 1832). Translated by Isabel Ollivier, Antoine de Biran, and Geoffrey Clark, "On the Islands of the Great Ocean," *Journal of Pacific History* 38 (2003), 163-174.

8 For an overview, see the essays in *Vaka Moana / Voyages of the Ancestors: The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific*, edited by K. R. Howe (Auckland: David Bateman, 2006).

9 For a synthesis of archaeological scholarship on which theories of settlement are based, see Patrick Vinton Kirch, *On the Road of the Winds: An Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands Before European Contact* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

10 Scholarship on European presence in the Pacific divides into two foci. On Dutch and Portugese activity in the western Pacific as well as Spanish activity that links the western Pacific and South America, see Matt Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). On Island-focused histories, see Howe, Campbell, *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*, edited by Donald Denoon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

11 "Pacific Community," Wikipedia (acc. September 10, 2016).

12 See Epeli Hau'ofa. "Our Sea of Islands" in *The Contemporary Pacific 6/1* (1994), 148-61. Reprinted in Epeli Hau'ofa, *We Are the Ocean* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 27-40.

13 Ben Finney and Sam Low, "Navigation," in *Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors*, edited by K. R. Howe (Auckland: David Bateman, 2006), 155.

14 These speculations were fueled further by the 1947 drifting of the balsa raft named "Kon-Tiki" from Peru to Raroia in the Tuamotu islands by the Norwegian ethnographer and adventurer Thor Heyerdahl, documented in his best-selling book *The Kon-Tiki Expedition: By Raft Across the South Seas* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1950).

15 Ben R. Finney, *Hôkûle'a: The Way to Tahiti* (NY: Dodd, Mead, 1979).

16 The process by which Hawaiian navigator Nainoa Thompson learned from master Satawalese navigator Mau Pialug is related in Sam Low, *Hawaiki Rising: Hokule'a, Nainoa Thompson, and the Hawaiian Renaissance* (Honolulu: Islands Heritage, 2013).

17 Ben R. Finney, *Voyage of Rediscovery: A Culture Odyssey Through Polynesia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), and *Sailing in the Wake of the Ancestors: Reviving Polynesian Voyaging* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2003).

18 "Nan Model: Ceremonial Centre of Eastern Micronesia (1503)" at UNESCO, World Heritage Convention, accessed on Dec. 12, 2016, at http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1503.

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TABLE A

Major European & American Scientific Expeditions in the Mapping of the Pacific Islands

COMMANDER	DATES	NATIONAL FLAG	PACIFIC LANDFALLS
Antonio de Abreau & Francisco Serrao	1512	Portugal	Moluccas Islands
Ferdinand Magellan	1519-1522	Portugal	Guam
Toribio Alonso de Salazar & Diego de Saavedra	1525-26	Portugal	Caroline Islands
Alvaro de Saavedra	1528	Spain	Ulithi Islands
Alvaro de Mendana	1568	Spain	Solomon Islands, Tuvalu
Alvaro de Mendana	1595	Spain	Marquesas Islands
Pedro Fernandes de Queiros	1606	Spain	Vanuatu
Willem Schouten & Jacob Le Maire	1616	Dutch	Tonga
Abel Tasman	1643-1644	Dutch	Tasmania, New Zealand, Australia, New Guinea, Fiji
Samuel Wallis & John Byron	1764-1766	British	Tuamotu archipelago, Tokelau
Samuel Wallis	1766-1768	British	Tahiti
Louis Antoine de Bougainville	1766-1769	French	Samoa, Tahiti
James Cook	1768-1771	British	Tuamotu & Society Islands, circumnavigation of New Zealand, New Holland
James Cook	1772-1775	British	Easter Island, Marquesas Islands, Tahiti & Society Islands, Cook Islands, Niue, Tonga Islands, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Norfolk Island, Palmerston Island
James Cook	1776-1780	British	Tasmania, New Zealand, Mangaia, Palmerston Island, Tonga Islands, Tahiti, Hawaiian Islands
Laperouse	1785-1788	French	Hawaiian Islands, Samoa Islands, Tonga Islands, Australia
D'Entrecasteaux	1791-1793	French	Australia, Solomon Islands
William Bligh	1787-1789	British	Tahiti
William Bligh	1791-1793	British	Tahiti
George Vancouver	1791-1795	British	Australia, Hawaiian Islands
James Wilson, missionary ship Duff	1797	British	Gambier Islands
Adam Johann von Krusenstern	1803-1806	Russia	Marquesas Islands, Hawaiian Islands
Otto von Kotzebue	1815-1818	Russia	Society Islands, Samoa Islands, Hawaiian Islands, Marshall Islands
Louis Claude de Saulces Freycinet	1817-1820	French	Western Australia, Timor, Moluccas, Samoa Islands, Hawaiian Islands
Louis Isidore Duperry	1822-1825	French	

Table A Continued

COMMANDER	DATES	NATIONAL FLAG	PACIFIC LANDFALLS
Otto von Ktozebue	1823-1826	Russia	Society Islands, Samoa Islands, Hawaiian Islands, Mariana Islands, New Caledonia
George Anson Byron	1824-1825	Britain	Hawaiian Islands
Jules Dumont-D'Urville	1826-1829	French	Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Loyalty Islands
Charles Wilkes	1838-1842	American	Tuamotu Islands, Samoa Islands, Australia, Fiji, Hawaiian Islands

TABLE B

2015: Contemporary Political Entities

NAME	STATUS	NOTES
Australia	Independent nation; member of Commonwealth of Nations	1788 – British colony of New South Wales established 1901 – Federation of colonies into Commonwealth of Australia as a dominion of the British Empire 1942/1939 – 1931 Statute of Westminster formally ended constitutional links between Australia and United Kingdom 1951 – Australia establishes military alliance with United States under ANZUS Treaty
New Zealand	Independent; member of Commonwealth of Nations	1840 – Treaty of Waitangi empowers British colonization 1907 – New Zealand proclaimed a self-governing dominion of the British Empire 1947 – New Zealand adopts Statute of Westminster formally ending constitutional links
Hawai'i	State of the United States of America	1795 – Unification of major islands into Kingdom of Hawaii 1840 – First constitution ratified 1893 – Overthrow of independent kingdom 1894 – Republic of Hawaii declared 1898 – Annexation to United States as incorporated and organized territory 1959 – Statehood granted
Guam	Unincorporated territory of the Unites States of America	1565 – Spain claims Guam and Northern Marianas 1898 – After Spanish-American War, Spain cedes Guam to United States
Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands	U.S. Territory with Commonwealth status	1565 – Spain claims Northern Marianas islands 1899 – Northern Marianas Islands sold to Germany 1919 – Northern Marianas included in South Pacific Mandate granted by League of Nations to Japan 1947 – League of Nations revokes South Pacific Mandate and establishes Trust Territory of the Pacific, to be administered by United States 1986 – Trust Territory terminated; Northern Marianas negotiates new status as commonwealth in political union with United States
Federated States of Micronesia	Independent; in free association with United States	1528 – Spain claims Uliti islands 1885 – Spain declares sovereignty over Caroline Islands 1899 – Caroline Islands sold by Spain to German Empire 1914 – Japan invasion and occupation 1920 – Caroline Islands included in South Pacific Mandate granted by League of Nations to Japan 1947 – League of Nations revokes South Pacific Mandate and establishes Trust Territory of the Pacific, to be administered by United States 1986 – Trust Territory terminated;

NAME	STATUS	NOTES
Republic of Belau (formerly Palau)	Independent; in free association with United States	1574 – Incorporated into Spanish East Indies 1899 – Northern Marianas Islands sold to Germany 1920 – Palau included in South Pacific Mandate granted by League of Nations to Japan 1944 – US took control after Battle of Peleliu 1947 – League of Nations revokes South Pacific Mandate and establishes Trust Territory of the Pacific, to be administered by United States 1981 – Republic of Palau established 1994 – Trusteeship terminated; full sovereignty achieved under Compact of Free Association with U.S.
Republic of the Marshall Islands	Independent; in free association with United States	1528 – Incorporated into Spanish East Indies 1884 – Sold by Spain to German Empire 1920 – Marshall Islands included in South Pacific Mandate granted by League of Nations to Japan 1943-1944 – US took control as part of Gilbert and Marshall Islands campaign in World War II 1947 – Marshall Islands included in Trust Territory of the Pacific, established by League of Nations to be administered by United States 1986 – Trust Territory terminated; full sovereignty achieved under Compact of Free Association with U.S.
Samoa	Independent	1899 – Tripartite Convention formally partitioned Samoan archipelago; western islands became a German colony, and the eastern islands became a U.S. territory 1920 – League of Nations conferred a Class C Mandate over the former German Colony of Samoa to the Dominion of New Zealand, and named "Western Samoa Trust Territory" 1962 – Independence gained as Western Samoa 1997 – Name changed to Independent State of Samoa
U.S. Territory of American Samoa	Unincorporated territory of the U.S.	1899 – Tripartite Convention formally partitioned Samoan archipelago; western islands became a German colony, and the eastern islands became a U.S. territory
Cook Islands	Independent; in free association with New Zealand	1888 – British Protectorate established 1901 – Cook Islands included in Colony of New Zealand 1965 – Independence granted by New Zealand
Tonga	Kingdom	1900-1970 – Kingdom entered into a protected state under a Treaty of Friendship with Britain 1970 – Tonga joined the Commonwealth of Nations 1999 – Tonga became a member of the United Nations
Republic of Fiji	Independent	1874 – Cession to Britain 1970 – Independence granted from Britain
Kiribati	Independent nation; Commonwealth of Nations	1892 – British protectorate declared over Gilbert & Ellice Islands 1916 – Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony 1979 – Independence from Britain
Tuvalu		1892 – British protectorate declared over Gilbert & Ellice Islands 1916 – Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony 1974 – Independence
Tokelau	Territory of New Zealand	1877 – British protectorate declared 1916 – Annexed into Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony 1926 – Removed from Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony and placed under jurisdiction of New Zealand 1949 – Sovereignty transferred from United Kingdom to New Zealand
Niue	Independent; in free association with New Zealand	1901 – Niue included in Colony of New Zealand 1974 – Independence gained

NAME	STATUS	NOTES
Solomon Islands		1893 – British protectorate declared 1978 – Independence gained
New Caledonia		1854 – French 1946 – French territory 1999 – Special collectivity status extended
Republic of Vanuatu		1906 – British-French Condominium established to administer islands jointly 1980 – Independence gained
French Polynesia/ Polynesie francaise	French overseas collectivity	1842 – French protectorate declared over Society & Marquesas Islands 1880 – Status changed from protectorate to colony; France claimed Tuamotu archipelago 1889 – Austral Islands claimed 1946 – Status changed to overseas territory 2003 – Status changed to overseas collectivity


Cambridge

Essay 3

Archaeological Research on Asian Americans

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Broadly speaking, historical archaeology is the archaeology of times and places for which written records are available but is more narrowly defined in North America (and elsewhere) as the archaeology of the modern world in the post-Columbian era of the past five centuries.[1] In the United States, historical archaeologists have studied a diverse range of sites spanning the 16th through 21st centuries in both urban and rural contexts and including upstanding, buried, and underwater resources. Such studies have been conducted at the individual, household, and community level in residential, commercial, industrial, military, mortuary, and other contexts and with close attention to behavioral patterns influenced by things like ethnicity, class, gender, and sexuality. Today, most historical archaeology in the U.S. is conducted in a resource management context in compliance with federal or state heritage legislation. However, there is

Archeological dig at the Riverside Chinatown, California. Great Basin Foundation's "Bonza" pit-primary trash pit. Photo by Kate Whitmore; courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

also a vibrant community of academic historical archaeologists at colleges and universities across the country, along with a series of regional and international professional organizations led by the Society for Historical Archaeology that serve the needs of academic and resource management archaeologists alike.

While some resources studied by historical archaeologists are visible, even prominent, on the landscape, most are easily overlooked by the casual observer because they have become buried over time and leave few if any traces on the surface. Consequently, in the absence of above-ground architecture and other historic features, resource managers and the public should not assume that a given parcel of land contains no heritage resources to be preserved or interpreted. The presence of subsurface archaeological deposits should be considered in any National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) evaluation and National Historic Landmarks (NHL) nomination. This is particularly true of short-lived, transient, disadvantaged, or erased communities for which such resources may be among the only surviving material remains.

ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE ASIAN DIASPORA

Archaeological research on Asian Americans focuses primarily on the Chinese diaspora, although in recent years increasing attention has been paid to the lives of those of Japanese and, to a much lesser degree, Filipino descent. The first formal archaeology on Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the western United States began in the late 1960s and 1970s, coinciding with federal heritage legislation mandating the evaluation of historic sites, the emergence of historical archaeology as a formal discipline, and increased scholarly interest in ethnicity and social history.[2] Some early studies were university-based, but most were legally mandated resource management projects often completed in the context of urban redevelopment or in protected parks. However, it wasn't until the 1980s and 1990s that Overseas Chinese archaeology (as it is commonly known) coalesced into a distinct field of study, accompanied by a significant increase in the volume and diversity of academic and resource management studies, including an increasing number of graduate theses. These developments were accompanied by establishment of the Asian American Comparative Collection at the University of Idaho in 1982, an extensive reference library and comparative collection of Asian artifacts commonly found on North American sites, and publication in the early 1990s of an edited volume of papers about Chinese diaspora archaeology.[3] Outside the U.S., Chinese diaspora archaeology has also become established in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, but to date, very little work has been done in other countries to which Chinese migrated in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.[4]

Over the years, researchers have excavated sites in a range of contexts in western North America, from urban Chinatowns to rural labor camps, although the largest studies have occurred in cities. Asian sites are typically identified through a combination of archival records and imported consumer goods distributed through far-reaching merchant networks extending from urban ports to the most remote labor camps. Archives and oral histories are also used to aid in archaeological interpretation, with all three sources of data used to complement, contradict, or contextualize one another. The most common Asian artifacts encountered archaeologically are ceramic tableware and food preparation and storage containers but also include glass beverage and pharmaceutical bottles, opium paraphernalia, coins, gaming pieces, butchered animal bones, and a number of other culturally diagnostic objects. Of these, in-depth studies have been done on Chinese ceramics, opium, coins, pharmaceuticals, architecture, and butchering practices and on Japanese ceramics and beverage bottles. However, a wide range of Euro-American artifacts have also been recovered from Asian sites and researchers must be cautious in equating artifacts and ethnicity.

Early research in the United States focused on identifying and describing Chinese archaeological sites and developing typologies of Chinese ceramics and other artifacts recovered archaeologically, although there were also attempts to explore and theorize patterns of cultural persistence and change. Much early theorizing drew on acculturation models, arguing that a predominance of imported Chinese consumer goods demonstrated that Chinese immigrants largely maintained traditional practices, resisted acculturation into Euro-American society, and segregated themselves in ethnic enclaves.[5] However, there were also early critiques of this approach that emphasized the heterogeneity of Chinese communities, highlighted ongoing relationships with Euro-Americans,



Main Street in Chinatown, Riverside California, c.1898. Photo courtesy of the Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside, CA

and urged archaeologists to interpret archaeological sites as products of unique historical circumstances.[6] Beginning in the 1980s, and becoming increasingly prevalent throughout the 1990s and 2000s, many archaeologists have argued that, while Chinese maintained distinct ethnic identities and retained aspects of their traditional culture, they also adapted to elements of Euro-American culture out of necessity or to serve strategic interests.

Compared with the Chinese, relatively few sites associated with other Asian American communities have been the subject of archaeological research. The most common are sites connected to the removal and confinement of Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans during World War II. Most of these studies have been resource management surveys and heritage inventories of former relocation centers conducted to evaluate potential significance for National Register eligibility or for site management and preservation, pubic interpretation, and commemoration. The most substantial work of this kind has been done by Jeffery Burton and Mary Farrell for the National Park Service, who have undertaken survey and testing on internment sites in Arizona, California, Idaho, and Hawai'i, while other researchers have completed similar surveys on other relocation center sites. Within the last decade an increasing number of internment camps have been targeted for academic research as university field schools and graduate student research, including Manzanar in California, Amache in Colorado, Kooskia in Idaho, and Honouliuli in Hawai'i.[7] Japanese internment is the subject of a previous NPS theme study and will not be dealt with in detail here, although one case study is presented as an example of the information potential of internment archaeology.[8] Archaeological research has also been done on a small number of pre-war Japanese sites in urban and rural contexts in the western United States, the Pacific Islands, and Canada, including an urban Japantown, agricultural labor camps, a salmon cannery, and a fishing resort. There are also an increasing number of studies seeking to compare the lives of two or more Asian communities, including members of the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino diasporas. These studies will be discussed or cited below.

The following overview will summarize recent thematic and theoretical trends in the discipline and present a series of case studies exemplifying the contributions archaeology can make to an understanding of the lives of Asian immigrants and Asian Americans. Select case studies were chosen over a laundry-list approach to capture some of the nuance and complexity of this research. An effort has been made to survey contributions from a range of site types and geographic locations, but there is a distinct emphasis on the Chinese diaspora and on California, which have been subjects of the most substantial archaeology over the past half century. Furthermore, only a sampling of site types, businesses, industries, and artifact categories are presented, but an effort has been made to cite other relevant studies where appropriate.

CURRENT THEORETICAL AND DISCIPLINARY TRENDS

Currently, there are no dominant theoretical frameworks or research paradigms in Asian diaspora archae-

ology, and the field is characterized by considerable diversity in subject matter and interpretive approach. However, there is a strong emphasis on interpreting patterns of cultural persistence and change within particular Asian American communities and exploring how material goods and practices aid in the maintenance of distinct ethnic identities. In the past couple of decades, there has been a gradual interpretive shift toward emphasizing cultural interaction and exchange among ethnic groups, multiple simultaneous identities that are fluid and dynamic, and patterns of cultural persistence and change that are strategic and dependent on local circumstances. Some of the diversity within the field of Chinese diaspora archaeology is captured in a 2008 thematic volume of the journal *Historical Archaeology*, addressing appropriate scales of analysis, gendered approaches to Chinese material culture, urban and rural Chinese cemeteries, and the lives of Chinese farm workers, urban Chinatown residents, and a solitary seaweed gatherer, accompanied by critical overviews and commentaries of the field and prospects for the future.[9]

One notable trend in Asian diaspora archaeology is a significant increase in the number of graduate theses, and this student research offers a useful gauge of developments at the cutting edge of the field. In the five years between 2009 and 2013, at least 15 Masters theses and Ph.D. dissertations were completed on Chinese diaspora archaeology in the United States and Canada. This research exhibits considerable thematic and geographic diversity, but centers on sites and collections in Nevada and California, with five of the 15 projects completed at the University of Nevada and the rest from universities in Wisconsin, Montana, California, Colorado, Ontario, and British Columbia. Sites are located in Nevada, California, South Dakota, Hawai'i, Montana, Colorado, and British Columbia. Topics exhibit a mix of urban and rural/industrial sites, with a notable skew towards Chinatown contexts, which themselves are nevertheless internally diverse, e.g., stores, cemeteries, boarding houses, laundries, and community organizations. The rural sites include a salmon cannery, fishing village, mining district, and ranching community.[10] In terms of interpretive frameworks, there is a strong emphasis on ethnicity and patterns of cultural persistence and change but with an increasing focus on comparisons between ethnic groups plus inter-ethnic interaction, globalization, material consumption, cultural hybridity and ethnogenesis, social networks, structural racism, and models rooted in transnationalism and diaspora, recognizing that immigrants maintain multiple ongoing connections and identities linking them simultaneously to home and host societies. Students also draw on previously published data to identify patterns across multiple sites.

Recommendations for the future of Asian diaspora archaeology include increased collaboration with descendant communities, research drawing from a range of disciplines and involving interdisciplinary groups of scholars, greater use of Asian language sources and research resources overseas, more attention to the role of structural racism in the lives of Asian communities, and greater efforts to avoid perpetuating cultural stereotypes of Asian vs. Western culture.[11] In particular, Fong draws attention to the role that historic stereotypes of Chinese Americans have played in the development and current practice of Chinese diaspora archaeology.[12] Unfortunately, there is no tradition of 19th and 20th century historical archaeology in China and Japan to provide comparative data on life prior to emigration, but scholars are beginning to reach out to colleagues in Asia to develop research connections. Also needed are studies of Asian communities in eastern North America, studies of immigrant communities from other Asian countries, and additional comparative studies with other Asian and non-Asian diasporic communities in a range of contexts.

ASIAN MATERIAL CULTURE IN THE CONTACT AND COLONIAL ERAS

Chinese and Japanese porcelain tableware has turned up on Euro-American archaeological sites across the United States since the contact and colonial eras, but it is predominantly export ware intended for Western consumers. Chinese porcelain, including domestic and export ware, has also been found along the Pacific coast and on 18th and 19th century Native American sites, and may have come from shipwrecks or arrived on European trading vessels.[13] The same sources may, along with aboriginal trade networks across the Bering Sea, have introduced Chinese coins into Native American sites from the same time period, although neither ceramics nor coins from pre-c. 1850 contexts have been linked to

a direct Chinese presence in the U.S.[14] In fact, the quantity and diversity of this material pales in comparison to the huge volumes of Chinese and other Asian consumer goods imported into western North America by Chinese merchants beginning shortly after the arrival of the first substantial numbers of Chinese labor migrants in 1849 in conjunction with the California Gold Rush. Similar networks were established by Japanese merchants after Japanese migrants began arriving in numbers in the 1880s.

URBAN CHINATOWNS AND JAPANTOWNS

Chinatowns

In terms of project scale, duration, and volume of material recovered, urban Chinatowns have been the subject of more archaeological attention than any other aspect of Chinese life in America. Since the 1970s, archaeology has been conducted in a number of cities in California mainly in the context of urban redevelopment and in Chinatowns, large and small, in other states including Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, and Wyoming. Focus has been on a range of site types, including residential neighborhoods, laundries, temples, boarding houses, cemeteries, gardens, and others.[15]

A series of influential publications has resulted from resource management archaeology conducted in Sacramento, California, in the 1980s and 1990s by the Anthropological Studies Center at Sonoma State University.[16] Excavations centered on surviving remnants of the city's Chinese district on I Street between 5th and 6th streets, including remains of Chinese businesses and district association boarding houses dating to the 1850s Gold Rush era when Sacramento was a gateway to the Sierra Nevada goldfields. Analysis focused on the lives of Chinese merchants, who maintained elevated wealth and status above most Chinese immigrants and served as representatives or middlemen in relations between the Chinese community and local governments and other influential organizations. Researchers examined how merchants alternately advertised and downplayed their ethnic distinctiveness for business purposes and as a survival strategy and form of impression management



East Portal of Tunnel 1, Central Pacific Railroad, Placer County, California. Chinese workers made tremendous contributions to railroad construction, particularly tunnels. This tunnel was built in 1868. HAER photo by Ed Anderson, courtesy of the Library of Congress.

in an environment of strong anti-Asian sentiment. For example, they held an annual banquet attended by influential members of the Euro-American community, in a room decorated in Chinese style and including traditional foods. This overt display of Chinese ethnicity was combined with champagne and American-style table settings conveying the strategic message that, despite its alien appearance, Chinatown was in the hands of a people who understood and shared American customs and values.

Chinese merchants encouraged continued use of traditional goods among Sacramento's Chinatown residents because they profited from the import and distribution of things like porcelain tableware, reflected by a broken shipment of Double Happiness pattern bowls excavated from commercial deposits on I Street. In contrast, archaeological evidence from domestic contexts shows merchants themselves used a combination of Chinese and Euro-American ceramics and cuts of meat. Rather than acculturation, this pattern reflects merchants' access to a greater variety of goods and use of Euro-American objects as a visual display of their role as middlemen. Euro-American items were acquired by Chinese merchants and district associations through American agents as part of a system of reciprocal business relationships known in China as *guanxi*. Transient laborers living in district association boarding houses in the 1850s also used Euro-American ceramics and meat cuts, along with a heterogeneous assortment of Chinese tableware. The authors argue that this reflects the erratic nature of supply networks from China during the early years of immigration; by the late 1850s, these networks had stabilized and archaeological assemblages from the 1860s on are more homogeneous.

A particularly innovative research initiative is the Market Street Chinatown Archaeology Project established at Stanford University in 2002.[17] It is an interdisciplinary, collaborative, community-based research and education program involving archaeologists, museum personnel, cultural resource managers, and various community stakeholders focused on artifacts recovered from San José, California's first Chinatown. The Market Street Chinese community was established in the early 1860s but was destroyed by arson in 1887 during a period of heightened anti-Asian hostility in San José. During redevelopment of the city's downtown in the 1980s, portions of the Market Street Chinatown were subject to salvage excavations, largely due to community pressure by local Chinese Americans. Funding was not available to properly curate, analyze, or publish the artifacts, and they were locked away in a warehouse. The 1887 fire, and other actions like it linked to anti-Asian movements in San Jose and elsewhere, along with ongoing neglect and discrimination in the 20th and 21st centuries, have played a major role in systematically eliminating Asian American communities from urban and rural landscape across the West. This is one reason why archaeological excavations, accompanied by robust analytical and interpretive programs are so important in preserving Asian American heritage.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the artifacts from Market Street were rediscovered and transferred to Stanford University as a research and teaching collection. Upon discovery of their research potential, the Market Street Chinatown Archaeology Project was initiated in 2002 through the combined efforts of the university, History San José, the Chinese Historical and Cultural Project of Santa Clara County, and Past Forward (now Environmental Science Associates).

Initial emphasis was on cataloguing the collection and preparing exhibits to raise public awareness about San José's early Chinatowns, accompanied by a website to share updates with stakeholders, other researchers, and the public and serve as a research archive. This was followed by an interdisciplinary scholarly symposium to develop research themes and priorities that could be addressed by the collection. Drawing on these themes and priorities, Stanford students conducted research projects on various classes of artifacts, focusing on topics like health and hygiene, childhood, consumption of recreational drugs like opium and alcohol, dining habits, and religion. For example, Michaels studied ceramic plates and bowls with Chinese characters pecked into their surface, denoting family names or blessings, identifying them as marks of ownership.[18] Emphasis was also placed on categories like animal bones, botanical remains, and soil samples that offered significant research potential, leading to partnerships with other research institutions with expertise in analyzing these materials.

Preliminary results indicate community members had a diverse and abundant diet incorporating local

and exotic fish, plus a range of animals that included preparations like pigs' feet, bear paws, and turtle soup that were common elements in Qing Dynasty imperial feasts, suggesting they were consuming foods people of their class would not have had access to in China.[19] Plant remains recovered from soil samples also indicate a diet rich in local and imported fruits, vegetables, and grains, including rice, corn, barley, wheat, and sorghum, which varied between household and perhaps class and occupation.[20] These and other studies contribute to our understanding of trade networks, dietary practices, and the local environment. Once cataloguing is completed, research can shift from small-scale projects to analysis of objects like ceramics and animal bones across the entire collection and systematic comparisons with other sites.

The public component of the Market Street Project includes a service learning course at Stanford combining classwork with collections-management activities and public archaeology events coordinated by History San José, including mock excavations to teach children about archaeology and Chinatown history. A website called "There Was a Chinatown Here" uses individual artifacts as accessible entry points into the history of San José's Chinese community. In 2011 to 2012, the project partnered with the San Jose Institute for Contemporary Art on an exhibit titled "The City Beneath the City," using artifacts from Market Street to bring the hidden history of the Chinese community to new audiences. Moving forward, participants seek to use the collection to address present-day issues, including developing greater public awareness of the nation's history of racism and anti-immigrant sentiment. One of their main achievements is to demonstrate the research and education potential of orphaned and understudied archaeological collections.[21] It also shows the value of drawing on collective expertise across multiple institutions, organizations, and disciplines.

Chinese also lived in small towns and cities, and a common business they operated in large and small communities was laundries, often run by groups of relatives, attracting Chinese and non-Chinese customers. Knee studied a collection of Chinese and Euro-American artifacts excavated in the 1970s and 80s from the rear of a Chinese laundry (c. 1890s to 1920s) located in the red light district of the small mining city of Ouray, Colorado, focusing on the nature of social interaction between Chinese and non-Chinese members of the community.[22] She argues that focus on large Chinese communities results in a homogenization of urban Chinese experiences, and that more work is needed in areas with very small Chinese populations, like Ouray with a peak Chinese population of 19 at the turn of the century.

Knee draws on social network theory to explore the role of material objects in creation and maintenance of social relationships among community members. Network theory divides social relationships into their basic components, consisting of actors/nodes (individuals, groups, places, ideas) and links (relationships), with material things representing links between nodes or the physical remnants of social relationships. Because small communities like Ouray had few Chinese residents, they often lived and worked side-by-side and had daily interactions with Euro-Americans, developing a range of social and economic networks that included acquisition of non-Chinese goods. Archival evidence indicates Chinese residents experienced a combination of support and hostility (labor discrimination, vandalism, boycotts) from the Euro-American community, with Chinese inside and outside of the red light district perceived and treated differently. Although racism played a role in their experiences, a combination of occupation, place of business and residence, social status, personal relationships, and wealth appear to have been more significant in whether Chinese residents had positive or negative relationships with their neighbors.

Knee's reconstruction of social relationships involves identifying intimate (close friends and family), effective (friends and colleagues), or extended (friends of friends, associates of associates, or acquaintances) networks. Food-related artifacts from the laundry were dominated by Euro-American tableware, and bones exhibited signs of Euro-American butchering practices, suggesting regular interaction with Euro-American merchants as part of effective and extended networks in the local business community, which may have engendered sympathetic feelings among ethnic groups. In contrast, Asian tableware and food containers indicate relations with Chinese merchants and the preparation of Chinese-style meals key to maintenance of Chinese social networks because of the centrality of eating to the Chinese social world. Relations with Chinese merchants and dining companions (meals were often consumed



A street scene in Japantown, San Francisco, on Monday after the December 7, 1942, attack on Pearl Harbor. Fewer archeological studies have focused on Japantowns in the U.S., compared with Chinatowns. Photo by John Collier; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

communally, especially on weekends and holidays) reflect effective and intimate relationships within the ethnic community.

Chinese gaming pieces from the site reflect intimate and effective relationships within the Chinese community, as residents engaged in gaming with friends and colleagues in the laundry in the absence of formal Chinese gambling halls. Opium paraphernalia from the laundry and archival evidence that Euro-Americans in the red light district purchased opium suggest recreational use among Chinese in the laundry (intimate and effective relations) and social and economic relations with Euro-American patrons (intimate, effective, and extended). Intimate relations between Chinese and Euro-Americans in the red light district are suggested by negative attitudes among local residents towards opium, necessitating trust between merchant and customer. Together, all of these relationships suggest Chinese were active members of the Ouray community, rather than living in an isolated Chinatown.

Japantowns

Compared with Chinatowns, few archaeological studies have focused on urban Japanese households and neighborhoods.[23] One recent exception is excavations conducted between 2008 and 2010 on a residential property in Oakland, California, occupied by a series of Japanese immigrant and Japanese American working-class families between the 1910s and early 1940s.[24] The neighborhood included a mix of Japanese and Euro-American families until the former were interned in 1942. Excavators recovered a range of Western style household items dating to the 1930s associated with the Ono and Orimoto families, plus objects of Japanese origin like porcelain tableware and a Japanese stoneware mortar bowl. Archaeological remains from this site reveal that the occupants maintained a dual Japanese and American identity that included selective preservation of homeland traditions, especially foodways, alongside adoption of American habits and values. This is evident in the predominance of Japanese ceramics among food preparation and consumption artifacts, which, as part of regular mealtimes, played an important role in preserving Japanese family structure and ethnic identity. Nevertheless, the vast majority of artifacts recovered from this residence are Euro-American, including food and beverage containers (e.g., Coca-Cola bottles, a nursing bottle, a Disney Snow White glass tumbler), demonstrating a desire by immigrant parents to prepare children for a successful life in America. Adults also adapted to aspects of American culture, as evident in the prevalence of Ponds cold cream jars at this site and others occupied by Japanese Americans.

RURAL AND INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITIES

Outside urban environments, Asian immigrants and Asian Americans lived in a range of rural contexts and participated in businesses and industries including railroad construction and maintenance, logging, mining, fishing and canning, and gardening, offering a range of goods and services to these communities. Such industries were also located in or adjacent to larger population centers. A common pattern was for Chinese



A Farm Security Administration camp for Japanese American families forcibly removed from their homes as a result of Executive Order 9066. The Nyssa, Oregon, camp provided housing for Japanese Americans recruited for agricultural work. The tent camp site may have archeological interest. Photo by Russell Lee, July 1942; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

and other Asian laborers to move between industries following seasonal cycles and from year to year as labor demands fluctuated, and so there were few strict divisions between individuals participating in any given sector of the economy.

Railroads

Between 10 and 12 thousand Chinese men worked on construction of the first transcontinental railroad in the United States during the 1860s, and many continued in railroad construction and maintenance during succeeding decades.[25] Few documents survive describing the lives of Chinese railroad workers and none written by Chinese themselves, providing archaeology with an opportunity to fill this void. The Chinese Railroad Workers in North America Project, formed in 2012 at Stanford University, is a transnational, interdisciplinary project involving researchers in the United States and China, whose goal is to recover archival, oral history, and archaeological evidence of this neglected history, including publication of an edited volume on the archaeology of Chinese railroad workers.[26] Relatively few substantial archaeological studies have been done on Chinese railroad sites, but this volume presents results of previous and ongoing research, and new field projects are planned in conjunction with the CRWNAP.[27] Research has tended to be descriptive and focused on large, long-term work camps, whereas most camps associated with the Chinese were small and occupied only briefly.[28]

Among the earliest investigations at a Chinese site in the United States was a brief surface survey in 1966 and 1967 by Chace and Evans at Summit Camp near Donner Pass in California's Tahoe National Forest, where Chinese railroad workers spent four years blasting tunnels through the Sierra Nevada.[29] The site, subjected to several subsequent surveys, is important because of its size and longevity, including substantial dwellings with stone foundations and hearths that help us understand how camps were organized. The pioneering work of Chace and Evans introduced the study of Chinese sites to the burgeoning field of historical archaeology, and their descriptions of Chinese artifacts from the site helped define the material signature of Chinese immigrant settlements and the degree to which they relied on imported consumer goods and maintained homeland practices. In 2008, Baxter and Allen recommended Summit Camp for eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places based on its age, size, physical integrity and setting, and its key role in the completion of the transcontinental railroad, and in 2009, the California



A view of the Bayside Cannery and its adjacent Chinese dormitory in Alviso, Santa Clara County, California. Developed by Thomas Foon Chew, it became the third largest cannery in the U.S. and employed hundreds of people of various ethnicities. The archaeological potential at such industrial sites could have high research value. HABS photo by Sally Donovan, 1997; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

State Historic Preservation Officer agreed.[30]

Briggs compared two 1882 railroad construction camps 16 miles apart along deserted sections of the Southern Pacific Railroad in Val Verde County, Texas, one occupied by Chinese workers and the other by Europeans, focusing on lifestyles, settlement patterns, and subsistence.[31] At the Chinese camp, artifacts were concentrated along the edges of the site, suggesting residents kept the main living area clean. Visible features, marked by rock outlines, indicate remains of nine tents and four or five double hearths housing an estimated population of 60 to 100 workers, plus a nearby blacksmithing area. The double hearths consist of two adjacent circular piles of stacked rocks, while similar rocks were used to hold down the edges of the tents, marking their former locations. Significant portions of the site have been destroyed by road work and the total population may have been much larger. Twin hearths were necessary in Chinese cooking, with one used to steam rice and the other to fry meat and vegetables. The blacksmithing area was identified by the presence of a horseshoe, horseshoe nails, bar and rod cuttings, and anthracite fragments. The European camp also bore remnants of tent outlines, as well as dugout shelters, a laundry, a blacksmith forge, and other structures, including a nearby habitation area perhaps for families; some distance away were remains of a possible restaurant/saloon, hotel, and general store.

Artifacts from the Chinese camp include objects of Chinese and Euro-American origin, including Chinese ceramic food containers and tableware, glass medicine and beverage bottles, cast iron woks, coins, and opium pipe bowls, along with Euro-American food cans and bottles, beverage and medicine bottles, ceramic tableware, cooking and eating utensils, carpet bags, clothing buttons, stoves, tent pegs, oil cans, lanterns, and firearm cartridges. Most of the ceramic tableware is Chinese, but most food containers were American, although the presence of woks and double hearths suggest preparation of Chinese-style meals. The European camp is dominated by food cans of American manufacture, containing beans and sardines, with food prepared over open fires or cast iron stoves and consumed on British ceramic tableware. Also present are Euro-American beverage bottles, tobacco tags, buttons and buckles, tent pegs, oil cans, lamps, and tool making hardware, and firearm cartridges, a similar range of objects as found at the Chinese camp.



A man smokes a long pipe in Rag Pickers Alley in Chinatown, San Francisco. Ragpicking was the practice of collecting salvage material from street refuse and selling it. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress, c. 1921.

According to Briggs, distinct clusters of tents and hearths indicate the Chinese camp was organized into domestic groups that pooled their resources to hire service staff and purchase communal supplies at bulk rates. Use of imported items from China permitted continuation of traditional habits in terms of diet, medicine, and drug use, but adoption of Euro-American goods like clothing, baggage, and some foods indicates some Anglicization. Conflict with European workers may have necessitated establishment of the camp a considerable distance from the railroad tracks and from fresh water. At the European camp, consisting of workers from several European ethnicities, clusters of tents may reflect settlement according to ethnic origin. The presence of nearby businesses suggests they purchased individual goods locally rather than in bulk from distant suppliers, perhaps at inflated prices, but the ready availability of European goods limited the degree of necessary culture change. Nevertheless, the two camps are very similar in

the range of good and activities represented, reflecting the nature of the work and the isolated living conditions.

Mining

Outside Chinatown contexts, mining is the most intensively studied aspect of Chinese life in America from an archaeological perspective, with research focusing on mining towns, the industrial landscape, the layout, vernacular architecture and refuse deposits of mining camps, and market gardens serving mining communities. Industry-wise, Chinese were involved in mining of gold (placer and hard rock), borax, coal, and other materials across western North America.[32]

An important study of Chinese placer gold mining is LaLande's research on the Applegate River Valley of the Siskiyou Mountains in southwestern Oregon, c. 1860-1900.[33] Most Chinese operations were small, employing fewer than 15 men, and developed their own hydraulic mines or purchased existing claims from Euro-Americans. A prominent Chinese miner was Gin Lin, who formed partnerships with Euro-Americans and even hired some of them for his mining operation. Part of LaLande's study is based on excavations at three sites: a large hydraulic mining camp (c. 1875 to 1885) of long duration operated by Gin Lin; a small briefly-occupied ditch-diggers' camp from the late 1870s with remains of seven residential terraces excavated into a slope and evidence for separate eating and opium smoking areas; and a rectangular six-foot-deep privy in the Chinese section of the county seat of Jacksonville that produced a large quantity of Chinese and Euro-American objects dating from the late 1860s to early 1880s.

Research explored patterns of cultural stability and change among Chinese miners across the three sites, focusing on diet, dress and grooming habits, and recreational activities like drug use and gambling, supplemented by an 1864 to 1865 account book from the local Kubli Store, operated by a Swiss immigrant who obtained Chinese imports from San Francisco. Archaeology showed a predominance of Chinese ceramic tableware and pig bones among food remains, and store records document purchase of a wide range of Chinese-style foods, some imported and others produced locally. Purchase of baking powder, butter, and wheat flour in place of rice as the main starch staple, suggests modifications to the Chinese diet. Recovery of metal food cans also confirms consumption of Euro-American products. LaLande argues that, rather than acculturation, non-Chinese items represent practical substitutions for expensive or unavailable items that fit within principles of Chinese cooking.

In contrast, archaeological and archival evidence shows Chinese miners chose Euro-American style clothes and footwear like jeans and leather boots, which were more appropriate to a mining environment, showing their willingness to adapt to job requirements. Recreation-wise, archaeology offers substantial evidence of opium smoking at all three sites, absent in Kubli Store records, indicating persistence of this tradition. Store records and excavated artifacts (e.g., pipes, tobacco cans) show substantial use of tobacco, a practice long established in China. All sites and the store indicate Chinese miners purchased a range of Euro-American alcohol (wine, ale, and liquor), often in large quantities, indicating a degree of acculturation, although patterns of consumption may have been consistent with Chinese customs. All told, evidence suggests little adaptation to Euro-American society in food and recreational behavior, but significant adoption of Euro-American clothing and footwear, and LaLande argues for relatively little acculturation among Chinese miners. Changes that did occur represent adaptation to limited aspects of Euro-American culture easily integrated into Chinese culture or necessary in adapting to new circumstances.

LaLande also focused on industrial activities of Chinese miners, including methods and tools used to extract gold from alluvial stream deposits.[34] Southern China had no tradition of placer mining, but archaeological evidence in Oregon shows Chinese miners capable of adapting to the unfamiliar Euro-American technology, including remains of water delivery ditches, hydraulically excavated channels and pits, and extensive piles of waste rock. Furthermore, archival data indicates Chinese miners used tools and methods similar to Euro-Americans, with local store records from the 1860s indicating Chinese miners purchased typical mining tools.

One debate among scholars is whether there are ethnically distinct patterns in remnant mining features useful in identifying mines worked by Chinese immigrants. Linear stacks of cobble tailings are often referred to as "Chinese walls," following the argument that

Chinese were more meticulous miners who arranged waste rock into neat piles. LaLande surveyed 13 hydraulic mines in the Applegate drainage and found that ethnic affiliation could only be determined through archival sources and campsites with diagnostic Chinese artifacts. Stacked tailings are a response to the need to maintain open channels for waste water and sediment to flow away from the mine and were used by both Chinese and Euro-American miners. As with clothing, LaLande argues that Chinese miners responded to the requirements of the job by adapting to Euro-American technology in order to achieve financial success.

Logging

Among the industries employing Asian immigrants was logging, supplying wood for mining, construction, fuel, and other purposes, with workers living in both logging camps and sawmills across the west.[35] In 1998, archaeology students excavated remains of a Chinese bunkhouse at a 1870s coastal sawmill in Miller Gulch in Sonoma County, California.[36] Artifacts included Chinese ceramics, opium paraphernalia, medicine bottles, and gaming artifacts, along with Euro-American ceramics, beverage bottles, and other household and work-related artifacts. Among the faunal remains, excavators recovered a large quantity of abalone and mussel shell and, besides supplementing their diet with fresh seafood, bunkhouse residents may have sold dried abalone and abalone shells to augment their income. The abundance of Chinese goods recovered from the site may have had less to do with personal choice and more a product of *guanxi*—intricate networks in Chinese society of mutual obligation in social and business relations—between work crews and merchant labor contractors, whereby laborers felt obliged to purchase provisions from contractors in exchange for work. Douglass notes that very little is known historically about the lives of Chinese workers in the coastal redwood lumber industry, and projects like this help flesh out their role.

Regarding Japanese involvement in the logging industry, White et al. present archaeological, oral history, and archival data on the Japanese Gulch Site, a Japanese community (c. 1904-1930) associated with a lumber mill near Mukilteo, Washington, that employed both Euro-American and Japanese workers. Japanese workers lived in a separate settlement comprised of single men and families and included individual residences, boarding houses, community hall, boys' club, playground, and store and, therefore, differed from rural work camps.[37] Oral history indicates the Japanese built their own houses with materials provided by the company and were free to adapt them to their needs, including construction of a large Japanese-style bathhouse. Although residents of Japanese gulch largely adapted to Western-style dress as indicated by clothing artifacts like buttons, shoes, and garters, recovery of a Japanese sandal (*geta*) indicates continuation of some traditional practices outside of work. Japanese cosmetic bottles also show that women continued using familiar beauty products, and the fact that nearly half of ceramic tableware was Japanese demonstrates substantial retention of traditional dining habits. However, recovery of American food, medicine, and beverage bottles, including a bottle of mercuric chloride used to treat syphilis, indicate consumption of national products and a combination of Japanese- and Western-style meals. Artifacts show women also used Western cosmetics, and thus combined elements of Japanese and American beauty regimes.

Maritime Industries

Chinese Americans were involved in a range of maritime industries along the west coast, ranging from fishing, to salmon canning and the harvest of seaweed and abalone.[38] As part of their long-term study of the 13,000-year history of California's Channel Islands, Braje and colleagues gathered data from the 19th century Chinese abalone fishery on San Miguel Island.[39] Between the 1850s and 1880s when they were driven out of the industry by restrictive legislation, Chinese dominated the California abalone industry, drying the meat for sale locally and to ship to China and Japan, along with the shells used for cement and for ornamental purposes. Historical accounts are vague on harvesting techniques, sizes of abalone collected, and effects of the fishery on local ecology and abalone populations. The authors conducted a systematic survey of the island's shoreline and identified 17 historic abalone middens, dominated by black abalone shells with relatively few artifacts or features like hearths or shelters, except one large base camp at Adams Cove. It comprised two discrete activity areas and contained rock hearths used for rendering seal blubber and boiling abalone, areas paved in abalone

shell, and abundant artifacts spanning the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, including Chinese, Japanese, and Euro-American ceramics. Particularly notable, were 67 fragments of sawn sea-lion teeth testifying to the manufacture of finger rings and smoking pipe stems. The authors suggest the camp was used at different times by Chinese abalone harvesters, Japanese fishermen, and Euro-American sea mammal hunters.

Researchers collected detailed faunal data from six of the Chinese camps for comparison with prehistoric camps on the island going back nearly 10,000 years, including test excavations and measurements on hundreds of abalone shells. They found that the average size of black abalone harvested by Chinese fishermen was significantly larger than for prehistoric Native Americans, who harvested a wider range of sizes and were able to sustain their fishery for thousands of years. This contrasts with historic reports that Chinese were harvesting abalone without regard for size and suggests they had access to rebounding abalone populations following overhunting of sea otters and displacement of Native peoples from the islands in the early 19th century, their two main predators.

Most research on Asian American sites focuses on communities living and working together. Greenwood and Slawson explore the dwelling of a solitary Chinese immigrant in San Luis Obispo County, Wong How, who is thought to have been the last seaweed gatherer on California's central coast.[40] By the 1870s, seaweed was a major source of income for Chinese in the county, with seaweed harvest peaking between May and October when it was gathered and processed by hand before being shipped to Asia. The industry continued well into the 20th century before dying out by the mid-1970s. Wong How was the son of a Chinese American citizen who arrived in San Francisco in 1909 and lived and worked in the seaweed business with a cousin. In the off-season, they resided elsewhere for recreation and companionship, and Wong made several long trips back to China to get married and visit his family. Wong sometimes took work in ranching and shipping and obtained a visa for his wife in 1951, but she disliked the rural isolation and moved to San Francisco.

The house occupied by Wong and his cousin, and later Wong alone, is located on a steep bluff overlooking the Pacific Ocean. It was probably built in the 1890s. It is a one-story structure comprising three rectangular sections built at different times, including a core dwelling, kitchen, and storage room. The building was constructed by amateur builders and incorporates a wide range of salvaged and recycled materials, but exhibits elements of turn-of-the century American and Chinese vernacular building styles. Floor planks lay directly on the ground, shelves are made of packing crates, the sink is a homemade wooden box lined with tarred sheet metal with a tin can drainpipe, and there is no running water. Security is indicated by bolts, bars, and chains on the door and windows covered with wire mesh or padlocked metal shutters. Besides architectural recording, surface material was collected from an adjacent ravine, including Chinese ceramic tableware and food containers, medicine bottles, toothbrushes and toothpaste, matches and cigarette papers, tofu and soy sauce jars, etc., plus Euro-American ceramics, beverage bottles, boots, corn oil cans, and photo finishing supplies. Also recorded were bones of chickens, pigs, and abalone and other shellfish. Interestingly, no Euro-American food containers were found except several condiment bottles. From these remains, it is likely Wong's diet consisted largely of Chinese-style meals, including a large amount of stir-fried foods.

Wong's dwelling is in a remote spot in response to requirements of the seaweed industry. Despite this isolation, Wong acquired Chinese tableware and foods and sought out social support in local Chinese settlements. He developed cordial relationships with Euro-American neighbors and business connections with those who transported his seaweed crop. Studies like this are important because the Chinese were pioneers in California's maritime industry, and few documents and buildings have survived from this era. Wong's house has important elements of American and Chinese vernacular architecture, combined with a unique individual style, reflecting his limited economic resources. It tells a story of self-sufficiency, frugality, and responses to local environmental conditions and reveals how Chinese immigrants combined ethnic traditions with individual adaptations and ongoing relations with Euro-Americans.

Agriculture

Chinese farmers worked in urban and rural contexts as independent entrepreneurs or as laborers on

Euro-American farms. For example, Van Bueren studied the lives of Chinese workers at a small Euro-American farm in Amador County, California, while Diehl et al. examined diet and acculturation in a turn-of-the-20th century Chinese gardeners' household on Spruce Street in Tucson, Arizona.[41] Analyzing plant and animal remains and ceramic fragments, Diehl and colleagues argue that the family adapted to local economic and environmental circumstances by preparing non-traditional foods using traditional cooking practices. There was a strong desire among Chinese immigrants to retain familiar cooking practices, in part because of the close relationship between food, health, and social and religious traditions. Chinese immigrants often maintained a healthier, more diverse diet than European workers. Historical records indicate Chinese in Tucson often kept substantial gardens for personal consumption and for sale to local groceries and restaurants. However, many familiar Chinese crops like rice, soybeans, and Chinese cabbage commonly grown in California were unavailable in Arizona because of unsuitable climate and poor transportation networks. Pork was the preferred meat in southern China during the 19th century, and archaeological evidence indicates it was the most common meat consumed among Chinese immigrants in the western U.S. However, in Arizona archaeology from multiple sites has shown that beef was more common than pork.

Plant remains suggest Chinese gardeners maintained a traditional cooking style, despite absence of Chinese vegetables, by substituting local crops like squash and wild plants like Miner's lettuce and cactus fruit. Animal bones indicate consumption of a diversity of domestic and wild animals, but support evidence from other Arizona sites indicate that beef was the primary meat source due to a local scarcity of pork. Saw, rather than cleaver, marks on many bones indicates use of Euro-American butchering practices, but recovery of Chinese food storage, preparation, and serving vessels suggests efforts to retain traditional dining practices. However, they combined these with Euro-American containers and a predominance of Euro-American alcoholic beverages. Diehl et al. argue that culture change is evident but is largely a product of economic constraints and supply issues, with local products acquired due to cost and availability, but mostly representing functionally equivalent substitutions. Historical data on the local livestock industry confirms the limited availability and higher price of pork, in contrast to widespread availability of beef from local ranches.

Although archaeological research on pre-World War II Japanese life in America remains limited, many existing studies focus on agriculture.[42] Dixon reports on pre-World War II (1910s-1940s) Japanese sugar plantations on the island of Tinian, Commonwealth of Northern Mariana Islands, which employed Okinawan, Korean, Japanese, Chinese, and local Chamorro laborers.[43] Laborers and their families lived in barracks in the company town or on rural tenant farms similar in plan to contemporary Okinawan housing. Farmsteads are easily identifiable by their layout, resembling contemporary Okinawan residences and Japanese porcelain tableware and glass bottles (e.g., food, alcohol, pharmaceutical) on the surface. Rural habitations were often found near railroads and road intersections, indicating the importance of maximizing access to market networks across the island. To evaluate possible differences in class and ethnicity, Dixon compared the number and type of features found on 27 tenant farmsteads in four parts of the island, including houses, baths, privies, cisterns, cooking ovens, etc. and found that privies, ovens, and bathing facilities were restricted to larger sites. Furthermore, larger sites and sites with multiple cisterns were concentrated in certain areas. More work is necessary to clarify reasons for these differences, but Dixon suggests they may be associated with ethnicity (Japanese vs. Okinawan and Korean farmsteads), longevity, or family size. He notes that personal memories of the plantation system in oral histories emphasize an egalitarian spirit among workers, in contrast to the potential for ethnic and class differences suggested by archaeological surveys.

JAPANESE AND JAPANESE AMERICANS DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Archaeology of World War II Japanese internment has grown significantly since the 1990s, initially in the context of resource management, but now the subject of substantial academic research in California, Colorado, Idaho, and Hawai'i.[44] Resource management surveys have also been done on the remains of Japanese military installations in the Pacific Islands, but these are largely outside of U.S.-controlled territory and will not be addressed here. Japanese internment sites are the

subject of a previous NPS thematic study and will not be discussed in detail. However, one case study is presented to demonstrate the value of archaeology on sites of the recent past despite the presence of extensive archival sources.

One of the best studied camps is Granada Relocation Center (Camp Amache) in southeastern Colorado, operated by the War Relocation Authority between 1942 and 1945 and housing over 7,000 Japanese and Japanese American internees at its peak in 1943. Bonnie Clark at the University of Denver has been directing community-based archaeology and heritage research at Amache since 2005, and she and her students have studied several aspects of the camp, including gardens, ceramic tableware, saké consumption, and other traditional Japanese practices, modified objects, and the lives of women and children.[45] The case study presented here focuses on the latter, particularly children, who have been poorly studied archaeologically. Shew and Kamp-Whittaker (2013) participated in a 2008 surface survey across the remains of the camp and collected a range of artifacts, thus contributing to our understanding of Japanese families and how they coped with adversity and maintained traditional lifestyles and family structure.[46]

Traditional Japanese family structure placed emphasis on the household over the individual and had established roles for each member, with men serving as head of household with primary authority and responsibility and women expected to be good wives and mothers. Children were expected to be loyal and obedient and support their parents when they grew up. This structure bore many similarities with 1940s American family ideals, although its emphasis on individual sacrifice for the good of the family contrasted with American individualism. Both stressed the importance among children of proper education, manners, and discipline, with adults expected to provide an environment encouraging proper development that included playgrounds, educational toys, organized sports, and various classes and clubs.

Maintenance of traditional family structure faced two major challenges: influence of American culture, creating divisions between first-generation immigrants (Issei) and their second-generation children (Nisei), and life in confinement that upset family unity. For example, at Amache, families lived in tiny one-room apartments in cramped barracks and were forced to undertake most domestic activities outside the home, including dining. In communal mess halls, children often chose to sit with peers rather than families, in contrast to traditional Japanese mealtimes that served to reinforce parental authority. This shift eroded family unity and led to increasing influence of peer groups at the expense of family. Archaeological evidence indicates ways internees sought to combat these problems. Ceramic and glass artifacts associated with food and cooking were found in unusual abundance in residential areas of the camp, suggesting some families were preparing meals in the barracks to keep families together. Some ceramics were government-issue dishes from the mess hall, but Asian ceramic were also recovered, and these may be evidence of Japanese-style meals prepared as a means of maintaining family traditions and a sense of cultural identity in a time of upheaval.

Toys found at Amache also provide information on consumer choices of internees, as they incorporated aspects of mainstream American society, including gender norms, into their lives and sought to give their children what society perceived as a normal childhood. These toys, including marbles, military toys, and glass tea sets, match merchandise available through contemporary mail order catalogues from which they were probably acquired. That toys were purchased at a time of financial hardship when most internees had limited income and were thus luxuries, indicating their importance to Japanese American families as an essential part of childhood and a means of adapting to camp life by maintaining continuities with prior lives. Such continuities included spaces where play occurred, as demonstrated by the distribution of marbles, the most common toy recovered archaeologically. Many internees came from urban environments and residential areas of internment camps resembled cities in layout and density. In cities, children play on streets, sidewalks, playgrounds, and in yards where they can be monitored by adults and in vacant lots where they can escape supervision. Marbles, as indicators of children's movements across the internment landscape, show they played around barracks and schools (supervised) and in low traffic areas along edges of residential blocks (unsupervised). Data like this help reveal how space was organized by the community.

ASIAN CEMETERIES AND MORTUARY BEHAVIOUR

A growing number of researchers have focused on Chinese cemeteries and mortuary behaviour. Emphasis is on bioanthropological studies of skeletal remains, analysis of grave markers, the role of feng shui in cemetery design, and patterns of continuity and change in funerary ritual.[47] Using a transnational framework, Kraus-Friedberg studied ethnically segregated cemeteries associated with Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino sugar plantation workers at Pahala on the island of Hawai'i dating to the late 19th through mid-20th centuries. She examines how the global status of each Asian homeland affected expressions of ethnic/national identity abroad, as reflected in cemetery design and maintenance.[48] The Filipino cemetery has 162 graves, most marked by numbered cement markers or formal gravestones erected as replacements for the originals after a controlled burn in the 1990s, accompanied by eight surviving lava rock mounds. Because most grave markers lack dates and identifying information, few patterns are identifiable.

The Chinese cemetery consists of 34 graves, 13 marked by mounds of lava rock, some with food-related offerings, while the rest have formal marble or cement headstones engraved with epitaphs, most of them in Chinese. The mounds may reflect impermanent graves meant to be exhumed for the shipment of bones back to China. Native Hawaiians also practiced secondary burial and built lava rock mounds over graves, and Chinese plantation workers may have adapted elements of mortuary behaviour from the host society while maintaining homeland practices. The presence of permanent burials with gravestones in later years may reflect an inability to ship bones back home due to political problems in China or hostile relations between China and the U.S. or the presence of family members able to look after the graves. By combining elements from both home and host countries, Chinese migrants contributed to constructing the multiethnic local identity characterizing Hawai'i today.



Chinese Cemetery, Payette National Forest, Idaho County, Idaho. July 1993. Photo courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

The Japanese cemetery, largest of the three with 411 graves, contains an equal number of lava rock mounds and cement gravestones. Kraus-Friedberg analyzed temporal patterning in epitaphs on these gravestones in terms of language, geographic information, and date format to gauge degree of continued identification with the homeland. In the late 19th century, when Japan and Hawai'i had strong diplomatic relations and Japan actively interceded on behalf of its citizens abroad, Japanese migrants felt encouraged to identify with the homeland. Gravestones from this period contain text and dates in Japanese characters with information on prefectural origins of the deceased. In the 1890s, when Hawaii's interests shifted toward the U.S. (with annexation in 1898) with its strong anti-Asian sentiment, gravestones continue to exhibit strong links to Japan, perhaps because of a continued need for Japanese labor on Hawaiian plantations that limited anti-Asian measures. Japan remained an emerging world power, perhaps encouraging migrants to react to anti-Asian sentiment with resistance rather than hiding their ethnic identity. When Japan restricted emigration in 1908 because of the Gentlemen's Agreement, many migrants probably prepared to remain in Hawai'i. Despite growing anti-Asian prejudice, Japan continued to be a global power and migrants may have felt protected, enough to continue expressing their ethnic identity on gravestones. During and after World War II, however, Japanese in Hawai'i felt strong pressure to appear patriotic and downplay their ethnic origins, and the number of gravestones inscribed in Japanese declined. This persistence suggests the continued importance of transnational identity linked to the homeland, and the gradual emergence of a sense of Hawaiian identity as multiethnic in nature.

A few Chinese cemeteries have been excavated in the U.S.; the most well-studied is the small railroad terminus town of Carlin, Nevada.[49] It was discovered on

private property in 1996, when a coffin and body were uncovered that included a queue, a carved smoking pipe, and Chinese clothing. Subsequent examination revealed the graves of thirteen men in a single row, ranging in age from early 20s to 50s or 60s, and dating between c. 1885 and 1923.

The cemetery was apparently laid out according to feng shui, with a creek in front and distant mountains in the rear and many graves oriented to the northwest. Variation in orientation may reflect presence or absence of Chinese burial personnel or a lack of adherence to feng shui. Other evidence of Chinese burial traditions include a cloth in one grave, perhaps from the practice of interring four blankets with the body reflecting the four seasons and two graves with silk scarves found over the face. Among the wooden coffins were two of higher quality placed inside wooden vaults, suggesting men of elevated wealth and status, and one crude wooden box with no hardware that probably marks a man of limited economic means. Hairstyles are suggestive of burial date and cultural tradition: one man had hair braided in a long queue and four others had short hair with false queues of braided cordage attached, suggesting they died prior the 1911 revolution in China when this practice was largely abandoned. Clothing and grave offerings suggest a gradual transition to Western habits, with the earliest seven burials containing more Chinese style dress (e.g., buttons, shoes) and more abundant grave goods (e.g., coins, food, utensils) linked to the Chinese belief that they were needed in the afterlife, while later graves had more Western style clothing like jeans, belts, and shirts with cufflinks.

All 13 men suffered skeletal fractures or other trauma sometime in their lives, while most showed signs of arthritis, poor oral health, and moderately or severely strenuous physical labor. Ten had more than one traumatic injury, and six had cranial and post-cranial trauma, suggesting repeated violent encounters. Two had injuries indicating violent deaths through occupational accidents or interpersonal violence. Harrod and coauthors argue this pattern of hard labor, trauma, and pathology is indicative of Chinese immigrants' low social status and the exploitation and institutionalized abuse inflicted on them. Using cranial measurements on skulls from Carlin and Alaska, Schmidt and colleagues confirmed Chinese immigrants comprise a relatively homogeneous biological population originating in southern China, indicating most emigrants were also born there. Researchers found it difficult to identify individuals, although a few were identified by identification bricks and comparisons with coroners' reports. Chung and colleagues argue that by the early 20th century, many Chinese had adjusted to American society, including clothes, hairstyles, and grave goods, that there were status differences in grave treatment, but that physical trauma and limited health care remained a major part of many people's lives.

Gardner and colleagues documented Japanese graves and rock art in association with railroad section camps and coal mining towns in southwestern Wyoming.[50] The three examples of rock art documented consist of Japanese characters carved or pecked into sandstone. The first, at Gun, a coal mining town northeast of Rock Springs, is an undated inscription including an individual's name and place of origin. The second is located north of Thayer Junction and comprises the outline of a tombstone with the name of the deceased and the name of the carver and date the memorial was inscribed. The third panel, created in 1926 between Thayer Junction and Superior, consists of a naked Asian man and woman lying head-to-head carved by well-known Japanese American artist Paul Horiuchi, who worked for the Union Pacific Railroad for 16 years prior to World War II when anti-Asian sentiment led to his firing. In protest, he burned his pre-1941 paintings, and this rock art panel represents one of only a few examples of his pre-War work.

Among Japanese cemeteries in southwestern Wyoming are those at the coal mining towns of Rock Springs, Superior, and Hanna, dating to the early 20th century. Most tombstones were for men, and were inscribed in Japanese characters giving their names, dates of birth and death, and place of birth in Japan. Tombstones for children followed the American practice of including a carved lamb. Of the 18 tombstones at Hanna listing place of origin, half list Fukuoka Prefecture, whereas in Rock Springs the most common home prefecture is Hiroshima. This information is important because little archival data survives on the points of origin for many of these immigrants.

GENDER AND SEXUALITY

Two underdeveloped themes are gender and sexuality. No existing studies have focused on the archaeology of

sexuality within the Chinese diaspora, but a few studies have addressed gender, mainly in the context of "finding women" in the archaeological record. Wegars summarizes the range of Chinese artifacts recovered from archaeological sites in the western U.S. once owned by women, including jewellery, cosmetics, hair ornaments, and pharmaceutical bottles.[51] Likewise, Gardner et al. focus on identifying material traces of Chinese women and children in late 19th century Evanston, Wyoming, where 14 percent of the Chinese population was women.[52] They describe earrings from a relatively high status Chinese household as the clearest indicators of women, and a ceramic doll fragment as the best example of a child's toy. Such preliminary efforts at identifying gendered artifacts have rarely been followed by more substantial studies contributing to our understanding of gendered lives in the Asian diaspora.

One exception is Williams' proposed framework for studying masculinity in Chinese communities, drawing on theoretical literature in archaeology, cultural anthropology, history, and Asian American Studies.[53] He adopts the concept of "hegemonic masculinities" to explore relationships between nineteenth century ideas about masculinity and everyday objects used by Chinese men. Hegemonic masculinities are dominant ideologies or discourses in a given society dictating how men should think, look, or behave. Since such masculinities are created and enacted in the performance of everyday life, objects studied by archaeologists can contribute to understanding how ideas about gender influenced the experiences of Chinese immigrant communities. Williams identifies two dominant discourses of Chinese masculinity: one rooted in Western colonialism and orientalism that views Chinese objects and individuals (including men) as feminine, and another linked to Chinese history and literature that perceives an ideal masculinity as embodying both literary and artistic skills (*wen*) and military strength and wisdom (*wu*). *Wen* is typically associated with the elite class and *wu* with the lower class. The feminized view of Chinese culture was prevalent in Western popular media and Chinese-style decorative items produced for Western consumption, including porcelain tableware. Most ceramics recovered from Market Street were Chinese porcelain, and Williams argues that to their non-Asian neighbors these items would have reinforced the orientalist view of Chinese masculinity. Chinese users of these items would have perceived them differently, with tiny porcelain liquor cups, for example, reflecting a tolerance for alcohol that is a central part of *wu* masculinity.

APPROACHES TO ASIAN MATERIAL CULTURE

Chinese consumer goods have been the focus of research since the late 1960s, emphasizing identification, classification, and dating, although more wide-ranging material culture studies have become increasingly common. Heffner (2012) analyzed medicinal artifacts excavated from seven mining communities in Nevada occupied by Chinese and Euro-American residents between c. 1860 and 1930 to determine what ailments were being treated by both groups and how and to explore the intersections between Chinese and Euro-American healthcare practices.[54] As part of her study, she created a visual guide to the identification of medicinal artifacts recovered from Chinese archaeological sites using data from museum collections, and includes a discussion of the material culture of Chinese medicine, including ingredients, preparation, application, packaging, and advertising, drawn from archival research and visits to Chinese medicine stores in Taiwan.

Medicinal artifacts reflect cultural beliefs regarding treatment of disease and the structure of the human body. Chinese medicine differs from Western medicine in its emphasis on functional rather than structural anatomy and its holistic approach to treatment. Chinese doctors set up practices across the western U.S., often using English signs and advertising in local papers to attract Euro-American customers. In 19th century America, they focused on internal medicine and prescribed herbal remedies like soups, pills, powders, teas, oils, and tonic wines made from plants, minerals, and animal parts. Euro-Americans both embraced and rejected Chinese medicine, some finding it an appealing alternative to invasive Western treatments and others perceiving it as fraudulent and ineffective.

A total of 212 medicinal artifacts were identified from Nevada: 113 associated with Chinese residents, 90 with Euro-Americans, and 9 unaffiliated. Most Euro-American artifacts were patent medicine bottles, whereas Chinese artifacts were mainly small single-dose medicine vials. These bottles contained pills or powders for treatment of things like venereal disease, eye diseas-



This portrait of a young Wisham woman shows the appropriation of hollow-centered Chinese coins by Native Americans for use in their headdresses, c. 1910. Photo by Edward S. Curtis; courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.



Moore Gulch Chinese Mining Site surface artifacts found by archeologist Karl Roenke, Clearwater National Forest, Pierce, Idaho, July 15, 1981. Photo by Kate Whitmore; courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

es, stomach ache, depression, skin irritation, and a host of other afflictions. Also present were embossed Chinese bottles for kidney strengthening tonic, labeled paper packets containing treatments for things like coughing and menstrual pain, betel nuts, alum, turtle carapace, and mammal and fish bones, each with its own medicinal properties. These collections show that Chinese residents used a combination of Chinese and Western pharmaceuticals, but there is no archaeological evidence that Euro-Americans used Chinese medicines. In contrast, archival evidence indicates they used at least some Chinese remedies and this discrepancy may be a product of archaeological preservation or local historical factors in these communities.

Medicinal artifacts from Nevada show residents suffered from a range of ailments. Stomach ailments, in particular, are indicated by the range of Euro-American patent medicine bottles recovered, including Hostetter's Bitters and Fletcher's Castoria, a common phenomenon in frontier mining communities with poor sanitation and limited access to clean water. Heffner concludes that Euro-American medicines were adopted by Chinese immigrants out of necessity and practicality, including isolation from traditional health care options and discrimination by local healthcare providers that may have led them to self-medicate using patent medicines. They may also have viewed Chinese and Western medicine as complementary, with Chinese medicines offering a sense of comfort and connection to the homeland.

Also subject to substantial research are animal bones, often studied for signs of ethnically diagnostic butchering patterns and evidence that Chinese retained or altered their traditional dining habits. Ellis et al. analyzed animal bones from the China Gulch site in the Cedar Creek Mining District of western Montana to identify possible evidence for starvation among Chinese gold miners in the 1870s.[55] Chinese miners appear to have established a temporary camp here c. 1870 with limited access to food and money, after being driven out of an adjacent area by white miners and before they could re-establish themselves elsewhere. Researchers found concentrations of small animal bone fragments adjacent to a series of hearths, showing signs of multiple episodes of butchering and cooking. Evidence indicates occupants were reprocessing these bones for grease extraction, a laborious process that yields only a modest amount of nutrients.

Bone fragments from China Gulch were compared with similar fragments recovered from an 1840s Donner Party campsite in California, whose occupants are

known historically to have suffered from starvation, and found strong similarities in terms of fragment size, types of processing, and multiple cooking events. Ellis and colleagues conclude that both groups dealt with a severe food shortage by reprocessing bones to extract additional nutrients from them, suggesting that responses to nutritional stress may transcend spatial, temporal, and cultural differences between communities faced with starvation. Besides confirming that this small group of Chinese miners suffered from nutritional stress, this study aids in developing a qualitative material signature of starvation that may be applicable in other archaeological contexts.

HOLISTIC STUDIES

While most archaeologists draw on a range of sources in interpreting sites, some researchers have adopted an interdisciplinary approach that uses archaeology as just one of many sources of data in a holistic study of an entire community or region.[56] Stapp refers to this approach as historical ethnography that uses all available data to produce an in-depth descriptive and interpretive synthesis of a specific historical context.[57] As a case study of this method, he developed a historical ethnography of the Chinese placer gold mining community in and around Pierce, Idaho from the mid-1860s to the early 20th century, including census and county records, mining records, newspapers, oral histories, and archaeology. It comprises a historical overview of the area, descriptions of the environmental setting, and summaries of the major cultural groups (Nez Perce, Euro-Americans, and Chinese) living and interacting in the area. The core of this study consists of detailed examination of the economic orientation, demographic makeup, size, settlement patterns, domestic activities, architecture, and material culture of households of each of these groups and of their social structure, including political and economic systems and interethnic relations. It includes detailed descriptions of data from a series of Chinese mining camps explored in the 1980s.

The Pierce locality was primarily a bachelor community with few women or families, with the mining district occupied during spring and fall mining seasons and Pierce City occupied year round and offering a range of goods and services for miners. One thing that distinguished the Pierce locality from other mining communities was that it had a majority Chinese population between the 1860s and 1890s. In Pierce, Chinese and Euro-Americans lived and worked side-by-side, although there were few inter-ethnic households. Little historical evidence exists on the internal structure of households, highlighting the importance of archaeological data. Evidence from rural mining camps indicates households could include discrete living, working, and refuse disposal areas. Buildings were typically log cabins, plank structures, or dugouts excavated into a bank with log walls and plank floors, many containing rock hearths. Artifact distributions suggest certain structures were used as residences, while others served for cooking and industrial activities like blacksmithing.

Archaeology and inventories from mine sales offer details on foods miners consumed. For example, Chinese miners consumed a range of Chinese and Euro-American style meals, including animals hunted locally, served using imported Chinese tableware with the addition of European plates, which lacked a functional equivalent in China. There is evidence they acquired some goods from Euro-American merchants. For recreation, archaeology shows they smoked opium and tobacco, for personal health they used a combination of Chinese remedies and Euro-American patent medicines, and for clothing they wore a combination of Chinese and Euro-American garments. Evidence of blacksmithing activities for tool manufacture and repair is demonstrated by discoveries of a quenching pit, broken and cannibalized tools, and scrap iron. Although no archaeology has been done on Chinese sites in Pierce City, archives document the presence of a variety of Chinese businesses, including gambling houses, blacksmiths, laundries, butchers, stores, etc., indicating significant economic diversification within the Chinese community.

In terms of community structure, Chinese miners worked for Chinese owners or managers of major mining operations, who often purchased working mines from Euro-Americans, although some worked for themselves and others for Euro-American operations. With respect to inter-ethnic relations, Chinese were initially excluded from the district but became increasingly welcome as Euro-Americans sold their depleted claims and left the area, leaving a gap in the market for goods and services that Chinese miners filled, providing

the new economic base for the county. For a time, they were accepted as part of the community, but resentment increased through the 1870s and 80s. Based on accumulated evidence, Stapp argues that the Chinese in Pierce were more entrepreneurial than previously thought and made major contributions to the local economy and that interethnic relations were for a time more cooperative than observed in other contemporary communities.

HISTORIC PRESERVATION, COMMEMORATION, AND HERITAGE TOURISM

The Market Street Chinatown Project, described above, is one major effort at commemorating the material remains of Chinese American heritage in the U.S., emphasizing the interpretive potential of excavated artifacts. Other efforts seek to preserve intact remains of Chinese communities or landmarks themselves or foster appreciation for Asian American heritage and promote the local economy though heritage tourism. Among major Chinatown excavations in the 1970s and 1980s were those conducted on Riverside, California's second Chinatown in the mid-1980s.[58] This community was established in 1885 along Tequesquite Avenue after Chinese were forced out of downtown Riverside by racist local ordinances. It was occupied until the late 1930s but remained under the ownership of the last resident, George Wong (Wong Ho Leun) until 1974. As such, it is the only complete Chinese commercial and residential settlement in California that has not been subject to redevelopment. In the 1960s and 1970s, the site became a city and county historical landmark and was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1990 for its physical integrity, the role of its residents in the development of citrus agriculture in the region, and its potential to yield additional information on patterns of Chinese American life.

In 1980, the property was acquired by the Riverside County Office of the Superintendent of Schools, which planned to lease it as a parking lot. This proposal led to a grass roots movement within the Chinese and Anglo American communities to halt construction until an archaeological assessment could be conducted. This work was completed between 1984 and 1985 and funded by the City and County of Riverside and by the Great Basin Foundation of San Diego, which undertook archaeological testing. Archaeologists, excavating only a portion of the site, recovered a massive quantity of artifacts and revealed that many building foundations



Chinese men pass time in a San Francisco opium den. Fragments of opium pipes have been found archeologically at urban and rural Chinese sites throughout the west. Photo published by the Detroit Publishing Co., c.1910; courtesy of the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



The excavated fireplace at a Chinese mining camp near Warren, Idaho, at the Payette National Forest. Photo courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

and archaeological deposits were still intact. Results, including detailed studies of artifact categories, along with in-depth archival research and oral histories, were published in two large volumes in 1987 by the Great Basin Foundation.

In 1990, the City, County, and Board of Education of Riverside, with strong community support, endorsed the creation of a Chinatown Historic Park on the site. However, the Board of Education decided against the park and in 2008 approved a medical office building on the property. A court ruling in 2012, based on a lawsuit brought against the project by the Save our Chinatown Committee, halted the development, and in 2014, an alternate site was found for the medical building and efforts have resumed to establish a park on the remains of the former Riverside Chinatown.

Historic urban Chinatowns across the United States are popular tourist attractions, in large part for their refurbished heritage architecture and elaborate gateways often designed in an exoticized ethnic style. However, Chinese heritage tourism also incorporates museum exhibits, rural destinations, and archaeological sites, as outlined by Wegars for the state of Idaho.[59] For example, the Payette National Forest has developed interpretive displays, audio presentations, booklets, and reconstructions of semi-subterranean dwellings to bring the experiences of Chinese miners to life. Likewise, the U.S. Forest Service's Passport in Time program has hosted volunteers on archaeological projects, including excavations beneath the floor of the 1860s Pon Yam House in Idaho City that recovered artifacts like firecrackers, incense, and seeds discarded by its Chinese occupants. Raft trips along the Salmon River include stops like Chinese placer mining sites with rock-walled dwellings and the home of Polly Bemis, a female Chinese pioneer who married a Euro-American man. Wegars notes that such heritage tourism can be valuable in revitalizing local economies but cautions that it must be done in culturally sensitive ways and to avoid inaccurate myths and ethnic stereotypes.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

National Register of Historic Places criteria recognize the significance of properties at the local, state, or national level that maintain integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and are associated with significant events, people, or types of construction, or that possess significant information potential. A number of properties connected with Asian Americans are listed in the National Register, but the vast majority relate to standing architecture or other above-ground landscape features.[60] Among sites that are largely or entirely archaeological, many World War II Japanese relocation centers are listed in the National Register, including Manzanar, Minidoka, and Amache where substantial archaeology has been done in an academic or resource management context. Aside from these former camps, very few archaeological sites associated with Asian Americans are listed in the National Register. Exceptions include the following:

1) Moore Gulch Chinese Mining Site, Idaho (1983, Criteria A and D)
2) Chinatown Archaeological Site, Riverside, California (1990, Criteria A and D)
3) Chinese Sites in the Warren Mining District, Idaho (Multiple Property Listing, 1990), including the Chinese Mining Camp Archaeological Site (1994, Criterion D) and the Chinese Cemetery (1994, Criterion A)
4) Waldo Chinese Cemetery, Oregon (2001, Criteria A and D)
5) Japanese Jail Historic and Archaeological District, Northern Mariana Islands (2011, Criteria A, C, and D)[61]

The range of property types included here is narrow and emphasizes mining and cemeteries, plus one Chinatown and one Japanese administrative/military complex, and fails to capture the functional and geographic range of heritage resources explored archaeologically since the 1960s. Furthermore, the archaeological components of these listed sites were determined eligible for the National Register with reference to Criterion A (significant events) or D (information potential), with little attention paid to sites associated with significant persons (Criterion B) or with a distinctive type, period, method, or artistic achievement (Criterion C). This imbalance should be corrected in future nominations. For example, the Wyoming rock art created by Paul Horiuchi, discussed above, may qualify under Criterion B, and a number of 19th century mines like the ones studied by LaLande in Oregon and others in states like California and Nevada retain remains of industrial structures and features that may qualify under Criterion C.

Among properties or districts listed in (or nominated to) the National Register, including Chinatowns in Hawai'i, Portland, Seattle, and other locations highlighted on the National Park Service Asian-Pacific American Heritage Month webpage, it is probable that many contain intact archaeological deposits worthy of consideration and inclusion in the listing or nomination.[62] This is one way to increase the number of archaeological sites incorporated into the National Register, and the inclusion of known or potential archaeological resources could provide added support for National Register nominations, increase the public's appreciation for the value of archaeology, and contribute to the preservation of archaeological resources.

Another way to increase the number of archaeological sites on the National Register is to nominate sites already deemed eligible through the Section 106 process. Many, if not most, archaeological studies of Asian American sites in the U.S. were initiated by public or private undertakings requiring evaluation of historic resource eligibility for the National Register under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act or equivalent state legislation and associated heritage registers. Consequently, a large number of Asian American sites, including many cited in this chapter, have already been determined eligible for the National Register, primarily under Criterion D. Even many academic and other studies that have not gone through formal significance evaluations contain sufficient data within available reports and publications to assess eligibility and draft a formal nomination. Such was the case with Summit Camp discussed above.

The archaeology of Asian Americans, then, owes much of its origin and development over the past half century to the Section 106 process. However, this close connection has both helped and harmed the ultimate goal of heritage preservation for Asian American sites. Although preservation in place is the preferred option for archaeological sites determined eligible for the National Register, in practice data recovery through excavation is regularly deemed an acceptable mitigation measure for archaeological resources encountered in the process of urban development or other ground-altering activities. This has resulted in widespread destruction of Asian American heritage resources across the country, especially in the West. Resource management practitioners and government agencies should consider pursuing in situ preservation more aggressively, and a concerted effort to nominate a greater number of Asian American archaeological sites to the National Register, including representative examples of a range of site types, would be an important first step in transforming our preservation ethic into practice.

CONCLUSIONS

As is evident in the foregoing case studies, archaeology, in conjunction with other sources of information, can provide valuable details on the everyday domestic and

working lives of Asian immigrants and Asian Americans and the role of material things in patterns of cultural persistence and change, diasporic ethnic and gender identities, relationships with Asian and non-Asian neighbors and business associates, social and religious customs, economic pursuits, child rearing practices, responses to structural racism, and a host of other questions. It is also clear that archaeology has a powerful role to play in community identity, heritage commemoration, and public education in the modern world. For these reasons, greater efforts should be made to preserve Asian American sites and nominate a wider range of these sites to the National Register. Hopefully ongoing efforts will be made to preserve and study tangible aspects of the Asian American past and that archaeological data and expertise are permitted a central role in dialogues regarding heritage preservation in the U.S.

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WHITE & POLLARD
GROCERY
FRUITS
AND
VEGETABLES
I AM AN AMERICAN
WANTO CO.
WANTO CO.
VEGETABLES
PHILIP MORRIS

Essay 4

Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance, 1800s-1940s

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Asian immigrants and their descendants have a long and rich history in the United States. They have made and remade the places where they have settled, and some of the sites where Asian immigrants first entered the country, like the Angel Island Immigration Station in San Francisco, California, are now National Historic Landmarks. This essay focuses on Asian immigration, the formation of early communities, and the backlash against Asian immigration during the early 20th century. Asian immigrants in the United States were but a fraction (around 1 million) of the total number of immigrants arriving in the country (around 35 million) during the "century of migration" from 1830 to 1930. Yet their presence ignited an unprecedented anti-immigrant movement that shook the very foundations of U.S. politics, immigration law, and the definition of what it means to be an "American." As a result, by 1935 nearly all Asians were

"I am an American," declares a sign posted in the window of a Japanese American grocery store in Oakland, California; the store owner, a University of California graduate, has been forced to close following removal orders. Photograph by Dorothea Lange for the Office of War Information, March 1942; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

barred from coming to the United States.

Charged with being inassimilable and even dangerous to the United States, Asian Americans used the very values of American democracy as their inspiration to protest against exclusion and discrimination. Although the exclusion laws affected different groups in different ways, the era of Asian exclusion was one of inequality and discrimination for Asian Americans overall.

BEGINNINGS: ASIANS IN EARLY AMERICA

The first Asians arrived in the Americas as part of Spain's Pacific Empire that connected the Spanish colonies in the Philippines and Latin America. Massive trading ships known as "Manila Galleons" sailed across the Pacific Ocean as early as 1565. Manned by Chinese, Filipino, and Spanish sailors, these ships left Manila with holds full of luxury goods like porcelain and silks from China, pearls from India, diamonds from Goa, cinnamon from Ceylon, pepper from Sumatra, and lacquered wood and silverware from Japan. An estimated 40,000 to 100,000 Asians from China, Japan, the Philippines, and South and Southeast Asia voyaged to the Americas between 1565 and 1815 as part of the "first wave" of Asian migration to the Americas.[1]

By the late 18th century, the growing U.S. presence in Asia also brought Asians to the United States. In 1785, for example, a ship called the *Pallas* arrived in Baltimore with "Chinese, Malays, Japanese, and Moors" among its crew.[2] A woman named Afong Moy, who arrived in New York in 1834 on board a ship owned by two U.S.-China traders was the first Chinese woman recorded in the United States. In the 1840s, the Filipino fishing village of St. Malo, near the mouth of Lake Borgne in Louisiana, was founded. Another Filipino fishing village called Manila Village was established in Barataria Bay, and a number of other Filipinos settled in New Orleans between 1850 and 1870.[3]

A parallel movement of South Asian and Chinese migrants sailed to Latin America as indentured laborers, or "coolies," to replace African slaves on plantations after the end of the African slave trade. Between 1838 and 1918, over 419,000 South Asians went to the British West Indian plantations in British Guiana, Trinidad, and Jamaica. An estimated 140,000 Chinese men went to Cuba from 1847 to 1874. Another 90,000 Chinese went to Peru from 1849 to 1874. They entered into what some have called a "new system of slavery."[4]

CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN SEARCH OF GOLD MOUNTAIN

While both small and large communities of Asians were in place in North America and Latin America by the mid-19th century, it was the 1848 discovery of gold in Northern California and the resulting California Gold Rush that helped to inaugurate a new era of mass migration from Asia to the United States. The Chinese came first.

In 1849, there were 325 Chinese "forty-niners" in California's gold country. One thousand more reached San Francisco by 1850, and as many as 30,000 Chinese migrated to San Francisco in 1852.[5] They came in search of *Gum Saan*, "gold mountain," mostly from just eight districts in the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong province. But it was a mixture of domestic crises and foreign intervention in China that sustained and expanded the immigration of Chinese from this region to the United States over the next several decades.

A population explosion, natural disasters, and wars and rebellions like the Taiping Rebellion (1850 to 1864) and the Opium Wars (1839 to 1842) with Great Britain created much domestic instability in the region. Unequal treaties and economic relationships between China and western imperial powers meant higher taxes on local peasants. Western imperialism also brought the establishment of regular steamship routes between Hong Kong and San Francisco, Seattle, Vancouver, and many other ports along the west coast of the United States. American traders and missionaries introduced the Chinese to the idea of America. Labor recruiters and steamship agents made it easy to buy tickets and arrange for the journey to the U.S.

By the early 20th century, China experienced further economic, political, and social instability as attempts to restore order under the Qing Empire faltered and Japan defeated China in the Sino-Japanese War (1894 to 1895). European imperialist powers tightened their grip on China's economy by forcibly occupying more territory and port cities. When the 1911 Chinese Revolution led by Sun Yat-sen failed to bring stability, powerful warlords emerged as the dominant power brokers in many parts of the country, and foreign imperialism continued to hinder China's economic

development. Internal rivalry between the Guomindang (Nationalist Party) and the Communists beginning in the late 1920s, and a full-scale war with Japan in the 1930s continued to foster economic, social, and political insecurity and provided additional incentives for Chinese to seek work and permanent resettlement abroad. At the same time, industrialization and the expansion of American capitalism drove an incessant need for labor in the United States.

Chinese immigrants answered the call. Lee Chi Yet, orphaned at a young age in Poon Lung Cheng, Toisan, expressed some of the feelings of desperation common amongst Chinese immigrants during this time. As he told an interviewer, he was "kill[ing] himself for nothing" as a farmer in the early 1900s. He emigrated to the United States in 1917. More than 80 years later, he explained his decision: "What the hell kind of life I have? I suffer! My eye just looking for a way to get out. I got to look for a way to go. I want to live, so I come to the United States."[6] Once in San Francisco, he became a domestic servant and then moved to New York where he worked in Chinese laundries and restaurants for the rest of his life.

Once the initial stream of Chinese immigrants had begun to go abroad, chain migration networks easily fell into place. Faster and bigger trans-Pacific ships competed for passengers, and a multinational network of Chinese and white labor recruiters brought Chinese from Hong Kong and the Pearl River Delta across the Pacific to fill labor shortages on Hawaiian and Caribbean plantations and mines and railways in the United States, Canada, and Mexico.[7]

Immigrants were overwhelmingly young, male laborers who came from the farming and laboring classes in the Pearl River Delta. Over time, a growing number of non-laborer Chinese also chose to migrate abroad as a necessary form of economic survival. Chinese women immigrated to the United States, but a number of factors limited Chinese female migration. Labor recruiters wanted a mobile male labor force and discouraged the migration of women and families. Chinese families viewed migration as a temporary condition and thus encouraged the men to go without their wives and children. And U.S. immigration laws like the 1875 Page Act either treated Chinese women applying for admission as suspected prostitutes or allowed them to enter only as dependents of a husband or father who was himself eligible for entry under U.S. law.

By 1870, there were 63,000 Chinese in the United States, most of them (77 percent) in California. Many had been recruited to help build the United States' great transcontinental railroad. The Central Pacific Railroad (CPR) Company president praised the Chinese as "quiet, peaceable, industrious, economical," and acknowledged that "without them it would be impossible to complete the western portion of this great National highway." As the CPR was being built eastward, the Union Pacific Railroad was being built westward to Promontory Point, Utah, where the two railroads would meet and finally link the country by rail for the first time. Chinese laborers proved to be such a capable and reliable work force that CPR agents sent for more laborers from China and paid their passage to the United States. By 1867, 12,000 Chinese, representing 90 percent of the workforce, were building the railroad.[8]

The Chinese cleared trees, blasted rocks, and laid tracks. The rugged mountains of the Sierra Nevada "swarmed with Celestials, shoveling, shoveling, carting, drilling and blasting rocks and earth," described one observer. Many Chinese died during the winter of 1866 when snowstorms covered construction workers and trapped them under snowdrifts. Others lost their lives in explosions while trying to dynamite tunnels through the mountains. One newspaper estimated that at least 1,200 Chinese immigrants died in the building of the railroad.[9]

In 1867, 5,000 Chinese went on strike to demand higher pay and fewer hours. "Eight hours a day good for white men, all the same good for Chinamen," they declared. Railroad baron Charles Crocker responded by cutting off the miners' food supply. Isolated and starving in their work camps in the mountains, the strikers surrendered.[10] When the Central Pacific and Union Pacific Railroads met at Promontory Point on May 10, 1869, to lay the last spike to link the transcontinental railroad, the Chinese workers who had made it possible were nowhere to be found in official photographs commemorating the occasion.

With industrialization and the expansion of American capitalism driving an incessant need for labor, Chinese immigrants also worked in the rapidly expanding mining, lumber, fishing, and agricultural industries in the American and Canadian West. On the Hawaiian Islands, Chinese were heavily recruited to work on sugar

plantations. Chinese laborers quickly became "indispensable" as miners and railroad and farm laborers. They were hired again and again for jobs that were believed to be too dirty, dangerous, or degrading for white men and were paid on a separate and lower wage scale than whites.[11]

At the turn of the century, 95 percent of the Chinese population in the Sacramento and San Joaquin Delta region worked as farmers, farmworkers, fruit packers, and in other agriculture-related occupations. By the end of the 19th century, Chinese immigrants had also turned marshland in California's Central Valley into some of the most productive and fertile farmlands in the country.[12]

Working-class Chinese women also filled important niches in the rural and urban economies in which Chinese lived. They worked alongside their husbands in Chinese-owned restaurants, shops, and laundries. By World War I, Chinese women dominated the garment industry in San Francisco, sewing clothes. Juggling their dual responsibilities as homemakers and wage earners, Chinese women were indispensable partners in their families' struggles for economic survival in the United States.[13]

HUGE DREAMS OF FORTUNE: JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS

After the initial migrations of Chinese to the United States, other Asian immigrants followed. Japanese were the second largest group, and 338,459 Japanese emigrated to Hawai'i and the U.S. between 1868 and 1941. Most were from farming families who struggled to make ends meet, as the Japanese government imposed higher and higher taxes to fund its modernization and industrialization programs during the "Meiji Restoration." These programs were designed to protect Japan from encroaching European and American dominance in Asia, but the high taxes hit Japanese farmers particularly hard.

Following the pattern of labor recruitment first used with the Chinese, American labor agents quickly established themselves in Japan. By the 1880s, the Japanese government was also actively promoting emigration abroad. On January 20, 1885, the first group of Japanese immigrants boarded the *City of Tokio* at Yokohama and headed to Honolulu to work on the Hawaiian sugar plantations. Word spread back across the Pacific Ocean that a common plantation laborer in Hawai'i could earn four to six times more in Hawai'i than in Hiroshima. Labor contractors and emigration companies fed the emigration *netsu*, or fever, and many Japanese could talk only of going to *Amerika*, which collectively referred to Hawai'i, the United States, and Canada. One poet captured the feelings of many *issei* (immigrant) dreams:

Huge dreams of fortune
Go with me to foreign lands
Across the ocean



A view of the Arlington Heights citrus groves in Riverside, California, where the agricultural development of the region by Asian laborers transformed California into a premier citrus producer in the twentieth century, 1968. Photo courtesy of the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



Workers harvest oranges in the Arlington Heights citrus groves, 1968. Photo courtesy of the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

Family fortunes
Fall into the wicker trunk
I carry abroad.[14]

The first Japanese immigrants were predominantly *dekaseginin*, young men who intended to return home. Few women or families came to the United States until the early 20th century. In Hawai'i, the Japanese joined Chinese, Korean, and Filipino laborers on the islands and, together, they helped transform the sugar industry in the U.S. colony. Grouped in work gangs of 20 to 30 workers, the plantation laborers "worked like machines," as one Japanese laborer complained. *Lunas*, or field bosses, constantly supervised their work, sometimes using their sharp whips to discipline workers. To pass the time, many of them sang "hole hole bushi," plantation songs created by Japanese immigrant plantation workers to express their frustrations and sustain their spirits during the hard workday. "Kane wa Kachiken. Washa horehore yo. Ase to namida no. Tomokasegi," some women sang. (My husband cuts the cane stalks and I trim their leaves. With sweat and tears we both work for our means.)[15]

Japanese plantation workers organized together to fight for better working conditions and fairer pay. In the early 1900s, Japanese labor activism sparked an upheaval in the plantation system, culminating in the great Japanese strike of 1909, one of the most massive and sustained strikes in the history of Hawai'i. They continued to protest labor conditions on the plantations, but soon, the majority were leaving them altogether to pursue other economic opportunities, especially beyond the Hawaiian Islands.[16]

On the United States mainland, Japanese filled the jobs that Chinese immigrants once held. Labor contractors sent them to railroads, mines, lumber mills, fish canneries, farms, and orchards throughout the Pacific Coast states. In the cities, Japanese worked as domestic servants. In 1909, 40,000 Japanese worked in agriculture, 10,000 on the railroads, and 4,000 in canneries.[17] As they began to consider permanent residency in the U.S., many turned to agriculture just as increased demand for fresh produce in the cities and the development of a distribution system that carried produce across the nation in refrigerator cars helped fuel an agricultural revolution in the state. Japanese contracted, shared, and leased farmland throughout the U.S. West. In 1900, there were 37 Japanese farms in the U.S. with a combined acreage of 4,674 acres. By 1910, Japanese had 1,816 farms with a total acreage of 99,254. On the eve of World War II, they grew 95 percent of California's fresh snap beans and peas, 67 percent of the state's fresh tomatoes, and 44 percent of its onions.[18]

As economic conditions in the U.S. improved, many Japanese men focused on settling down. They engaged in *yobiyose*, or the "called immigrant" system, and asked



Filipino gang labor in a Japanese-owned pea field near Pismo Beach, California, 1936. Photo by Dorothea Lange; courtesy of the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

relatives and matchmakers back home to introduce them to suitable wives. To convince their prospective brides that they were a good match, they often sent photographs of themselves in western suits in front of fancy American cars and big houses. What the women who received these photos did not know was that the suits were borrowed, the backdrops were staged, and the photographs themselves were often years old. Buoyed by high hopes, many "picture brides" had their expectations dashed when they finally arrived in the U.S. and found their husbands to be older and poorer than they had represented themselves to be. The reality of their harsh lives in the United States also often led to life-long disappointments and difficult, if not failed, marriages. But with grit and perseverance, these early *issei* raised their families and helped form a vibrant Japanese American community before World War II.

KOREAN IMMIGRANTS

Korean immigrants arrived in the United States later than the Chinese and Japanese immigrants, and their numbers were much smaller. With Korea a protectorate and then a formally annexed territory of Japan by 1910, Korean migration was promoted by U.S. businessmen and labor recruiters but strictly regulated by the Japanese-controlled government in Korea to serve its own colonial needs. It allowed Koreans to leave beginning in 1902 but then banned emigration in order to prevent Koreans from competing with Japanese laborers already in Hawai'i and to keep an ample supply of Koreans at home to support Japanese expansionist projects.[19] Thus, only 7,400 Koreans left for Hawai'i between December of 1902 and May of 1905. "The Japanese were cruel oppressors," Korean immigrant Duke Moon explained.[20] Ten percent of Korean migrants were women, far from representing an equal sex ratio, but larger than the female Chinese immigrant populations at the time.[21]

Most Koreans on the U.S. mainland were farm laborers who, like other Asian immigrants, helped to turn California agriculture into a multi-million dollar business in the 20th century. They often worked together in cooperative Korean "gangs," following the crops or working in light industry. The agricultural towns of Dinuba, Reedley, Sacramento, and Delano attracted nearly 83 percent of the Korean population in the U.S. Many of them became tenant farmers and truck farmers and worked alongside California's multiracial farm laboring populations of Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, South Asians, Filipinos, whites, and African Americans.[22]

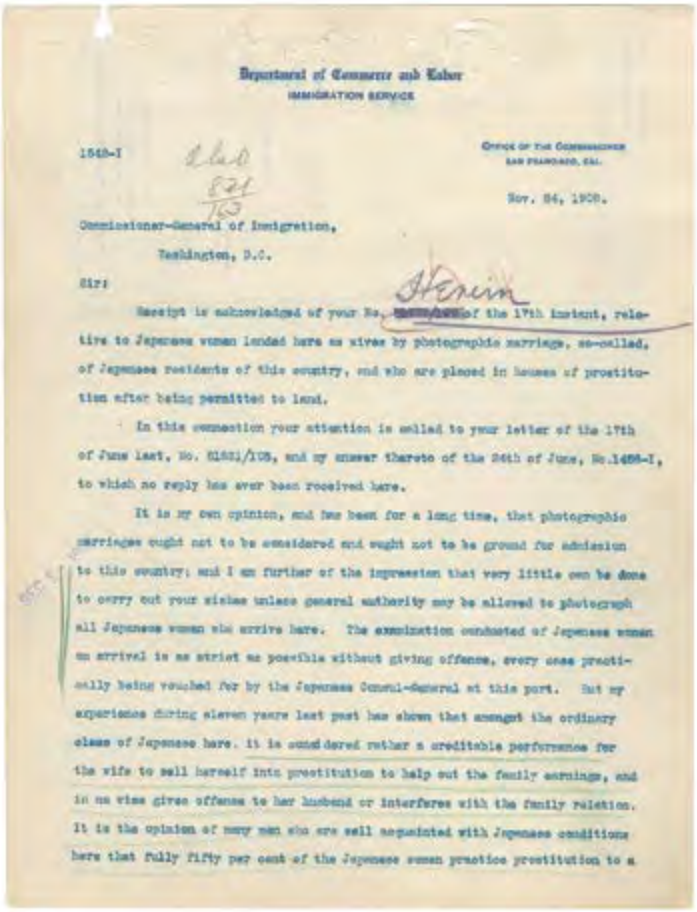
SOUTH ASIAN IMMIGRANTS

At the same time that Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans were coming to the United States, South Asians were also heading to both Canada and the U.S. From 1904 to 1907, 5,179 South Asians entered Canada. From 1910 to 1932, 8,055 South Asians were admitted into the United States. The beginnings of South Asian migration to North America came on the heels of and overlapped with the migration of South Asian indentured laborers to the Caribbean. Decades of economic dislocation, high taxes, and farming losses caused by British colonial policies encouraged people to leave their homes for mul-

tiple destinations abroad. Many came from Punjab, in present-day Pakistan and India, which suffered heavily from a population explosion, droughts, famines, and severe epidemics.

Steamship company agents advertised cheap fares and flooded the Punjabi countryside with flyers that described great riches and "opportunities of fortune-making" in Canada and the United States. As one migrant explained, the advertisements and recruiters typically stated that "if men were strong, they could get two dollars a day," which was considered a fortune at the time. Forty men went abroad from his village alone in just two years.[23]

A diverse group of Sikh, Muslim, and Hindus answered recruiters' calls to cross the seas. Most were single, young men in their early 20s who had been independent farmers in their native villages, but there were also small numbers who came as students, merchants, and peddlers. Those who were married often left their wives and children at home, for passage to North America was expensive. U.S. and Canadian immigration policies made it almost impossible for women and children to immigrate, and many migrants intended to return home. By the 1910s, South Asians were hired in droves to keep California's agricultural industry booming. They worked in the fruit orchards of Vaca Valley; the beet fields of Hamilton, Oxnard, and Visalia; the celery, potato, and bean fields near Stockton; and the orange groves in southern California.



Department of Commerce and Labor
IMMIGRATION SERVICE

1548-I

Office of the Commissioner
San Francisco, Cal.

Nov. 24, 1908.

Commissioner-General of Immigration,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Receipt is acknowledged of your No. [redacted] of the 17th instant, relative to Japanese women landed here as wives by photographic marriage, so-called, of Japanese residents of this country, and who are placed in houses of prostitution after being permitted to land.

In this connection your attention is called to your letter of the 17th of June last, No. 51821/108, and my answer thereto of the 24th of June, No.1486-I, to which no reply has ever been received here.

It is my own opinion, and has been for a long time, that photographic marriages ought not to be considered and ought not to be ground for admission to this country; and I am further of the impression that very little can be done to carry out your wishes unless general authority may be allowed to photograph all Japanese women who arrive here. The examination conducted of Japanese women on arrival is as strict as possible without giving offense, every case practically being vouched for by the Japanese Consul-General at this port. But my experience during eleven years last past has shown that amongst the ordinary class of Japanese here, it is considered rather a creditable performance for the wife to sell herself into prostitution to help out the family earnings, and in no wise gives offense to her husband or interferes with the family relation. It is the opinion of many men who are well acquainted with Japanese conditions here that fully fifty per cent of the Japanese women practice prostitution to a

A 1908 letter from the Commissioner of Immigration at San Francisco to the Commissioner-General in Washington, D.C., requesting the authority to photograph Japanese women entering the country on the grounds that Japanese culture encourages proxy, or picture, brides to sell themselves into prostitution to support their families. He complains that, indeed, "fully fifty per cent of the Japanese women practice prostitution to a greater or less extent."
Letter courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration.

U.S. NATIONALS: FILIPINOS

The last large group of Asians to come to the United States before World War II was Filipino, U.S. nationals coming from the Philippines, a U.S. colony beginning in 1898. As a result, Filipinos were raised to pledge allegiance to the flag and consider themselves Americans. "We have heard much of America as a land of the brave and the free, land of opportunity, and we pictured her as a land of 'Paradise,'" one Filipino told an interviewer in 1924.[24]

U.S. imperialism also allowed Filipinos freedom of movement during a time of increasing immigration regulations. Unlike immigrants, Filipinos, as U.S. nationals, were not subjected to immigration laws or immigrant inspections, and 150,000 migrated to Hawai'i and to the U.S.[25] The first Filipinos to come to the United States came at the invitation of the U.S. government under the "Pensionado Act of 1903," which brought a few thousand elite Filipino students, known as *pensionados*, to attend U.S. universities around the country.

By the early 20th century, Hawaiian plantation labor recruiters had identified the Philippines as the next source of labor from Asia. Soon, labor agents known as "drummers" were flocking to the Philippines to show prospective migrants movies about the "glorious adventure[s] and the beautiful opportunities" for Filipinos in Hawai'i.[26] Between 1907 and 1919, recruiters from the Hawaiian Sugar Plantation

Association brought over 24,000 Filipinos to Hawai'i. From 1920 to 1929, 48,000 more followed.[27] After 1924, when new U.S. laws closed the door even further to Asian immigration, more than 4,000 Filipinos arrived in California each year. By 1930, there were 56,000 Filipinos in the United States.[28] Most were young men joining their fathers, uncles, cousins, brothers, and friends. In 1930, there were only 2,500 Filipino women out of a total of 42,500 Filipinos in California. They were outnumbered 14 to one in the state. The few women who did migrate to the United States came as students, accompanied their husbands, or were sent to join family already there.[29]

Filipinos were a crucial source of labor in Hawai'i, California, the Pacific Northwest, and Alaska. Their labor helped to turn California's agricultural industry into an economic success, but they worked in unbearable conditions and were horribly exploited. In Salinas, they earned 15 cents an hour up until 1933, when the wages were raised by five cents.[30] They were, according to writer Carey McWilliams, among the "most viciously exploited" laborers recruited by California growers to "make up their vast army of 'cheap labor.'"[31]

THE ANTI-CHINESE MOVEMENT AND THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT OF 1882

Almost from their initial arrival into the U.S., Asian immigrants were treated differently from other immigrants. Viewed as another "race problem," they were treated more like African Americans and American Indians than like European immigrants. Asians were singled out for discriminatory laws that affected their ability to enter the country, their rights in the U.S., where they could live, what work they could do, and even who they could marry.

As the first to arrive in large numbers, the Chinese were the initial targets of anti-Asian movements and policies. As early as 1852, Chinese miners were required to pay a special tax in California. Although the law was aimed at all foreigners, it was primarily enforced against the Chinese. In 1854, the California Supreme Court ruled that Chinese immigrants, like African Americans and American Indians, should be prohibited from giving testimony in cases involving a white person. In support of its decision, the Court argued that Chinese immigrants were a "distinct people…whom nature has marked as inferior," and as such should not have the right to testify against a (white) citizen. In 1855, California Governor John Bigler approved a bill which taxed any master or owner of a ship found to have brought Asian immigrants to the state. The bill was later struck down by the California Supreme Court as being unconstitutional. The next year, the state assembly issued a report that described Chinese as a "distinct and inferior race," a "nation of liars," and a danger to white labor.[32]

A full-fledged anti-Chinese movement was in place by the 1870s, especially in the West but also growing nationally. The California Workingmen's Party leader Denis Kearney charged that the Chinese were imported "coolies" engaged in a new system of slavery that degraded American labor. Chinese men were depicted as a sexual threat who preyed upon white women and a menace to acceptable gender roles in American society, because they engaged in "women's work" of cleaning and cooking. The "Chinese Must Go!" became the rallying cry heard throughout the U.S. West.

Beginning in the 1850s and continuing until the end of the 19th century, Chinese were systematically harassed, rounded up, and driven out of cities and towns across the West. During the winter of 1858 to 1859, a race war began in California's gold fields, as armed mobs forced Chinese out of various campsites and towns. By the end of the 1850s, only 160 Chinese miners remained in California's Shasta County, down from 3,000 in 1853. On October 24, 1871, 17 Chinese were lynched in Los Angeles after a policeman was shot by a Chinese suspect, and a mob of nearly 500, which represented nearly a tenth of the entire population of Los Angeles at the time, attacked the Chinese community. The Chinese massacre in Los Angeles was the largest mass lynching in American history. On November 3, 1885, a mob of 500 armed men descended upon two Chinese neighborhoods in Tacoma, Washington, and forced all 800 to 900 Chinese residents out of the city. Three days later, Seattle demanded that all of its Chinese residents leave town.[33]

Anti-Chinese race riots, violence, and local laws were all preludes to federal immigration exclusion. After decades of lobbying, anti-Chinese groups succeeded in convincing the federal government to pass laws restricting Chinese immigration. "The gates must be closed," senators testified in the U.S. Senate.[34] In 1882, the United States Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion



"The tables turned - how our streets will look next year as a result of the Chinese invasion." A caricature shows a Caucasian women standing idle as Chinese men advertise themselves as babysitters, launderers, and servants, 1880. Drawing published in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Act prohibiting the entry of Chinese laborers into the United States and allowing only select "exempt" classes of Chinese (merchants, students, teachers, travelers, and diplomats) to enter the country. It was the first time in U.S. history that the federal government had enacted such broad restrictions on immigration based on race and class.

The Chinese in the United States referred to the Chinese Exclusion Laws as a "hundred cruel laws" that were "more ferocious than tigers." "Why do they not legislate against Swedes, Germans, Italians, Turks and others?" asked Yung Hen, a poultry dealer in San Francisco. There are no strings on those people…For some reason, you people persist in pestering the Chinamen."[35]

THE 'YELLOW PERIL' OF JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

With America's gates closed to Chinese immigration, anti-Asian activists next targeted the growing numbers of Japanese. Japanese were often viewed along the same lines as the Chinese: both groups were inassimilable cheap laborers who were threats to white workers and to existing race relations. But restrictionists were also concerned about Japanese immigrants' connection to their increasingly powerful homeland. Many whites suspected that Japanese immigrants were actually a colonizing force sent from Japan to take over the west coast of North America. And unlike Chinese immigrant communities, the Japanese population included a substantial number of women and an increasing number of children, meaning that the Japanese communities in North America were likely to stay in the U.S.

On May 14, 1905, delegates from 67 local and regional labor, political, and fraternal organizations met to form the Japanese-Korean Exclusion League in San Francisco. Their goal was the total exclusion of Japanese and Korean immigrants from the United States, including the territory of Hawai'i. The movement to restrict Japanese immigration grew nationally. In 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt issued an executive order that excluded from the continental United States any individuals involved in secondary migration from Hawai'i, Canada, or Mexico, an order aimed at Japanese immigrants.[36]

As part of the 1908 "Gentlemen's Agreement," the Japanese Government agreed to stop issuing passports to any laborers, skilled or unskilled, destined for the United States. Although laborers were barred, family members of Japanese already in the United States could still apply for admission. From 1909 to 1920, almost 93,000 Japanese came to the United States. The largest number were so-called "picture brides," young women in Japan who had been arranged in marriage to Japanese immigrants in the United States.[37] Supporters of Asian exclusion viewed the increase and permanency of Japanese migration with alarm, and a new phase of



Japanese picture brides arriving at Angel Island, California, c. 1910. Between 1909 and 1920, the largest number of Japanese to come to the United States were so-called "picture brides," young women in Japan who had been arranged in marriage to Japanese immigrants in the United States. Photo courtesy of California State Parks. Image 090-706.

the anti-Japanese movement, one that focused on the so-called "Yellow Peril" of Japanese immigration, began.

Laws aimed at checking Japanese economic competition were passed in many western states beginning in the early 1900s. In California, the 1913 Alien Land Law allowed "aliens ineligible to citizenship," a legal category applicable only to Asian immigrants, to lease land for only three years and barred them from further land purchases. By 1921, Washington, Colorado, Arizona, and Texas had all adopted similarly restrictive alien land laws as well, and two years later, Oregon and Idaho passed similar bills.[38]

An extensive "yellow peril" literature argued that Japanese immigrants were "colonists" in disguise who could easily facilitate an invasion from Japan. With such wide circulation of "yellow peril" fears in almost every form of North American politics, writing, and popular culture, support for restricting Japanese immigration grew. In 1924, a new immigration act closed the door to any further Asian immigration by denying admission to all aliens who were "ineligible for citizenship, (i.e. those to whom naturalization was denied). This clause was specifically aimed at the Japanese. And it was effective. After decades of activism by anti-Japanese activists, the gates to the United States were closed to Japanese immigrants.

THE 'HINDU INVASION'

Following closely on the heels of the anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese movements along the Pacific coast was a new anti-immigrant movement targeting South Asians. Nativists argued that South Asians were taking away white jobs and were immoral public health menaces to America. They were also labeled the least assimilable of all the immigrant groups in America, and their growing involvement in Indian nationalist activities made them appear as dangerous radicals. Racial tension and violence targeting South Asians escalated in the summer of 1907 in Bellingham, Washington. White leaders of the growing labor movement made Asian exclusion their central issue. When white workers were fired at the Whatcom Falls Mill Company plant and South Asian workers were hired to take their place, a thousand union supporters marched down the main streets of Bellingham on Wednesday, September 4th, shouting "Drive out the Hindus." Newspapers reported that a crowd numbering 500 participated in the violence. South Asians were pulled from their beds, robbed of their money, beaten, dragged off of streetcars, or driven out of town or to the city jail. The next day, the rest of the South Asian community gathered up what they could find of their belongings and left Bellingham by boat or train for Vancouver, Seattle, or Oakland.

A few months later, a "Continuous Journey" order effectively barred South Asians from Canada, including the wives and children of South Asians already in the country. In the United States, claims that a "Hindu invasion" was ruining the country began to circulate. In 1917, exclusionists achieved their goal. The Immigration Act of 1917 established the "Asiatic Barred Zone," which officially excluded much of Asia and the Pacific Islands. At the same time, South Asians fell victim to western states' alien land laws that prevented them from owning and leasing land like other Asian immigrants. And in 1923, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Bhagat Singh Thind v.*

the United States that South Asians were not eligible for naturalized U.S. citizenship.

"NO FILIPINOS ALLOWED"

As U.S. nationals, Filipinos faced little opposition when they first arrived in Hawai'i and in the U.S. But as Filipino migration grew steadily in the 1920s, they were increasingly seen as another "Asiatic invasion" that was worse than the Chinese, Japanese, and South Asian "invasions" that had preceded them. Despite the fact that Filipinos worked largely in agriculture with Mexican and other Asian immigrant laborers, California labor officials argued that Filipinos, like other Asians, took away jobs from a broad swath of white American workers. Filipinos were considered "backward" and "untamed." Signs that read "Positively No Filipinos Allowed" or "No Filipinos or Dogs Allowed" were blatantly displayed in many California towns.[39] But the primary complaint against Filipinos seemed to be that their frequent associations and unions with white women crossed the taboo against interracial sex. One anti-Filipino activist complained that Filipinos were the "worst form of Orientals," because their interracial relationships brought about the "delinquency of young girls." In 1933, California's attorney general extended the state's antimiscegenation civil code to include Filipinos, and, thereafter, Filipino-white marriages were illegal.[40]

With such deep-rooted and passionate racism circulating in towns and cities in the U.S. West, it was common for Filipinos to be victims of violence by both official law enforcement officers and those seeking to impose vigilante justice. Writer Carlos Bulosan put it bluntly: "It is a crime to be Filipino in California."[41] On October 24, 1929, a mob of 300 whites threatened a Filipino man in Exeter, California, after he had wounded a white truck driver with a knife.[42] A few months later in 1930, mobs ranging in size from 200 to 800 gathered outside a Filipino club outside of Watsonville, threatening to lynch the Filipino patrons inside.

In the wake of the well-publicized race riots, labor, and patriotic organizations made Filipino exclusion a federal legislative goal. Because the Philippines were part of the U.S. empire, Filipinos were colonial subjects who could not be excluded from coming to the United States. A coalition of Philippine nationalists in the Philippines and Filipino exclusionists in the United States worked together to craft a compromise. The result was the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which was signed into law in the United States on March 24, 1934. It granted the Philippines commonwealth status and a promise of independence after a 10-year waiting period. It also changed the status of Filipinos from U.S. "nationals" to "aliens." The Philippines were henceforth to be considered a "separate country" with an annual immigration quota of 50. Exclusionists had won. And so had Filipino nationalists. On the other hand, prospective Filipino migrants had lost.[43]



Detention Center, Angel Island Immigration Station in San Francisco Bay, May 2013. Photo by Carol Highsmith; courtesy the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

ANGEL ISLAND: IMMIGRANT GATEWAY TO AMERICA

One of the most important places where the history of Asian immigration and exclusion was made was the Angel Island Immigration Station in San Francisco Bay. From 1910 to 1940, over half a million people from over 80 different countries sailed through the Golden Gate. As the main port of entry for immigrants crossing the Pacific Ocean from Asia, Angel Island is thus the place where many Asian American families first started their American journeys. Now a National Historic Landmark, it is also one of the country's foremost historic sites related to Asian Pacific American history.

The largest island in the San Francisco Bay, Angel Island was once used as a temporary hunting and fishing camp for the area's Hookooeko tribe of the Coast Miwok Am Indians. The Spanish, French, Russian, and British used the island as a base of naval, whaling, and colonial operations. It was a cattle ranch during Cali-



Interior of the men's dormitory at the Angel Island Immigration Station in San Francisco Bay, California. May 2013. Photo by Carol Highsmith; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

fornia's Mexican era. After the U.S.-Mexican war, the U.S. turned Angel Island into a military base. In 1904, the federal government began constructing an immigration station on the island.

The need for such a facility was great. The Chinese Exclusion Act required all Chinese passengers to be inspected and approved for admission. At first, these inspections took place on the steamships that brought the Chinese across the Pacific. But immigrant inspectors soon faced obstacles as inspections became lengthier and more complex. To help solve this problem, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, one of the largest shipping lines carrying people and goods across the Pacific Ocean, built a detention facility for Chinese passengers near its offices on Pier 40 in San Francisco. Inspectors admitted that it was a "fire trap" but did not provide proper security. What was needed, immigration officials insisted, was an isolated and secure facility where Chinese (and other immigrant) detainees could be separated from the citizens of the U.S. while they were examined for contagious diseases and examined and interrogated to insure that they were eligible to enter the country. Angel Island seemed to offer the perfect solution.

On January 22, 1910, the immigration station on Angel Island opened its doors. Over the next thirty years, it processed, admitted, detained, and rejected immigrants from Europe, Asia, and Latin America. An estimated 300,000 immigrants were detained at the immigration station, including 100,000 Chinese, 85,000 Japanese, 8,000 South Asians, 1,000 Koreans, and 1,000 Filipinos.

Angel Island thus became one of the most important sites where America's unequal immigration laws were enforced. It was a gateway into America for thousands of immigrants who went on to strive towards their own version of the American Dream. But it also turned away countless newcomers and processed the deportation of thousands of U.S. residents. How Asian immigrants fared on Angel Island depended on a number of factors: U.S. international relations, histories of colonialism, and U.S. immigration policies that treated individuals differently according to their race, class, gender, and nationality.

Chinese immigrants had to contend with the ever-tightening Chinese exclusion laws and the strict enforcement procedures put into place by the U.S. government. At the same time, the desire and need to immigrate to the U.S. pushed Chinese to try to come to the U.S. in spite of the exclusion laws. Many learned to evade or circumvent the laws by taking the "crooked path" into the United States. It began when some falsely claimed membership in one of the classes that were exempt from the exclusion laws, such as Chinese merchants or native-born citizens of the United States. The 1906 earthquake and fire in San Francisco destroyed all of the city's birth records and the number of Chinese claiming birthright citizenship increased. If successful, their citizenship status allowed them to enter and reenter the U.S. and to bring in their wives and children. A multinational business in false papers and relationships, or "paper sons," sprang up to meet the demand for immigration to the U.S. "The trick is this," explained Mr. Yuen, an immigrant who bought paper son papers. "You tell the immigration office, 'I have been in China three years, I have three sons, these are their birthdays, the names and so forth.' Few years later, if you do have your own [sons,] then you bring them over here, if not, then

you could sell these papers, you know. There's always a lot of buyers ready to buy. You try to sell to your own village, or a similar last name."[44]

The Chinese experience on Angel Island thus became a contest of wills and wits. Immigration officials were tasked with enforcing the exclusion laws and ensuring that all who applied for admission were eligible under the terms of the law. Sometimes their own biases as well as the institutionalized discrimination built into the laws made enforcement practices arbitrary and degrading. On the other hand, Chinese applicants for admission—those who had a legal right to enter and those who were trying to enter under false pretenses—were subjected to longer and longer interrogations, cross-examinations, detentions, and legal bills.

In attempts to distinguish false claims from legitimate ones, Chinese applicants were questioned for hours about their status, family relationships, and home villages. Typical questions included: What are the marriage and birth dates of all of your family members? Where are your paternal grandparents buried? How many steps lead up to your house? How many rows of houses are in your village? Who lives in the third row?



A 1922 signed affidavit by Goon Mar Sam, a native-born U.S. citizen, requesting permission to bring his two sons, Goon Yuey Wah and Goon Yuck Wah to the United States. Further investigation revealed both to be paper sons. Photo courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration.



Part of a transcript of the interrogation of Leong Wing Dong, on November 7, 1966, in San Francisco. He confessed to entering the country under a false name as the alleged son of Gong Lun, a U.S. citizen. Leong admitted to immigrating with seven other "immigration siblings" and claimed three "immigration children," in addition to his real children, although those immigration slots remained unused. Image courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, Records of the INS.

These intensive interrogations led to lengthy detentions. Chinese made up 70 percent of all immigrant detainees and their average stay was for two to three weeks, the longest of all the immigrant groups coming through Angel Island.[45] Some were even detained for months or years. The poems carved into the walls of the detention barracks at the Angel Island Immigration Station reflect Chinese migrants' frustration, anger, and sadness of having to endure such discrimination.

> I clasped my hands in parting with my brothers and classmates.
> Because of the mouth, I hastened to cross the American ocean.
> How was I to know that the western barbarians had lost their hearts and reason?
> With a hundred kinds of oppressive laws, they mistreat us Chinese.[46]

Japanese immigrants—mostly returning residents and "picture brides" sent for by Japanese already in the U.S.—were the second largest group to be processed through Angel Island. Although they were also inspected

and interrogated like the Chinese, Japanese immigrants faced much less scrutiny. Their home government of Japan—then a strong imperial power—took care to protect its citizens abroad, carefully vet all prospective immigrants, and had the diplomatic respect of the U.S. government. Japanese were generally admitted within a day or two, and less than 1 percent was excluded.

The approximately 8,000 South Asians who entered the United States through Angel Island were a diverse group of laborers, students, and Indian nationalists. Most started coming just as the immigration station on Angel Island opened its doors for operation in 1910. Labeled a "Hindu Invasion" or a "Tide of Turbans," South Asians became the targets of increased anti-Asian sentiment. As a result, South Asians had the highest rejection rate of all immigrants passing through the Angel Island Immigration Station during its 30 year history, reaching a peak of 54.6 percent from 1911 to 1915. Unlike other immigrant groups entering through Angel Island, South Asians lacked both strong ethnic organizations and supportive home governments. Because many South Asians in the U.S. fought for an end to British rule in South Asia, they also came under more scrutiny by the U.S. government, a strong British ally. Unfortunately, for many South Asians, the experience on Angel Island would mirror lifetimes of discrimination in the U.S. As Vaishno Das Bagai, a South Asian who entered the U.S. through Angel Island in 1915, heartbreakingly described, the lives of too many South Asians in the U.S. were full of "obstacles this way [and] blockades that way."[47]

Only 7-8,000 Koreans immigrated to the United States before World War II. "A people without a country," Koreans faced immigration obstacles from both Japan, which had annexed Korea in 1910, and the U.S., which subjected Koreans to the existing restrictions on Japanese immigration. About 1,000 were admitted into the U.S. through Angel Island. Mostly refugee students and picture brides fleeing Japanese colonial rule in Korea, they were greatly assisted by the Korean National Association, which actively protected the interests of Koreans overseas and lobbied on the behalf of many incoming Koreans. Once in the U.S., Korean immigrants continued their fight for Korean independence as they also struggled to survive and raise their families in a foreign land.

As U.S. nationals, Filipinos had a unique experience coming to the U.S. Not subject to U.S. immigration law, they were able to migrate freely from the Philippines to the United States, while other Asians faced increasing restrictions. Once the Philippines received nominal independence from the United States in 1934, however, their ability to come to the U.S. changed dramatically. No longer considered U.S. nationals, Filipinos became "aliens" subject to U.S. immigration laws and immigration rates dropped significantly. The change in legal status affected both newly-arriving Filipinos as well as returning residents. Prior to 1934, hardly any Filipinos spent time on Angel Island. After 1934, Filipinos were subjected to some of the same interrogations and detentions that applied to other Asians. The immigration station also served as the processing center for Filipinos returning to the Philippines as part of the U.S.'s Filipino Repatriation Program, which sent 2,190 Filipinos to the Philippines in 1936 to 1939.

THE REMAKING OF ASIAN AMERICA DURING THE ASIAN EXCLUSION ERA

By the 1930s, the United States had closed its doors to almost all Asian immigrants. The Asian exclusion regime—the combination of laws, social attitudes, and actions that excluded Asian Americans from the United States and from full participation in American life—might have easily resulted in the dismantling of Asian America. Asian immigrants were barred from coming to the U.S., prohibited from becoming naturalized U.S. citizens, prevented from owning land and property in many states, harassed, beaten, driven out, and segregated from mainstream America. Many immigrants returned to their homes in Asia. But many others stayed, fought, adapted and remade Asian American families, communities, and institutions during these difficult times.

In spite of the Chinese exclusion laws, for example, many Chinese immigrant men decided to stay in the U.S., and an increasing number of Chinese women joined them. In 1910, 9.7 percent of Chinese entering the country were female. Ten years later, they were 20 percent, and by 1930, the percentage of women immigrants entering the country had risen to 30 percent. Families became a more common sight in Chinatown, and between 1900 and 1940, the U.S. born Chinese population quadrupled in size.[48]

When they could, Chinese Americans retreated to

Chinatown, where they could visit friends and family, buy products from China, eat comfort food, and hear the latest news. Home to the oldest and largest Chinese community in the United States, San Francisco and its Chinatown—known as *Dai Fou*, or "Big City"—was the economic, cultural, and political center of Chinese America for most of the 19th and 20th centuries. Barred as they were from American political, social, and economic life, Chinese immigrants also turned to Chinatown to feel the warmth of community and family that was often missing in their daily lives. As one Chinatown resident told an interviewer in the 1920s, "It is only in Chinatown that a Chinese immigrant has society, friends and relatives who share his dreams and hopes, his hardships, and adventures."[49]

Similar changes were occurring in the Japanese immigrant community as well. Organizations, businesses, and associations connected Japanese immigrants together across wide distances, fostered support and community, and helped sustain Japanese culture and traditions far away from home. *Kenjinkai* were established to support Japanese who shared roots in the same prefecture (*ken*) in Japan, for example. Japanese language newspapers reported on news from Japan and from other Japanese communities in North and South America. Japanese immigrants formed economic associations to pool resources together through a rotating credit system that could be used to purchase or expand businesses. Japanese also formed farming cooperatives to buy supplies and market crops.

When they could, Japanese visited *Nihonmachi*, the Japanese sections of big cities like Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle. By 1910, a vibrant ethnic economy of Japanese-owned boarding houses, restaurants, barbershops, poolrooms, grocery stores, and laundries served Japanese communities in these cities and beyond. San Francisco alone had over 3,000 Japanese-owned businesses.[50]

As they opened businesses, started families, and gradually settled into their new lives in the United States, the *issei* forged a transnational immigrant identity that was shaped by both their experiences of discrimination in the United States as well as by their homeland ties to imperial Japan. Immigrant leaders urged their countrymen to assimilate into mainstream U.S. society by wearing only American-style clothing, following American customs, and celebrating American holidays. *Nisei*, the American-born children, were sent to American public schools, spoke English, and played baseball.[51] But efforts to be fully accepted as "Americans" were largely unsuccessful, and this practice of treating Japanese Americans as Japanese and not American would have a great impact on them during World War II.

Changes were also transforming the Korean immigrant community during the early 20th century. Another 600 political refugees and over 1,000 "picture brides" made it to the U.S. from 1905 to 1924, often arriving in the country through the Angel Island Immigration Station. Like Japanese women, Korean "picture brides" came to join men already in the United States who were seeking to settle in the country. Like their Japanese counterparts, many Korean picture brides were unprepared for the harsh lives that awaited them in the United States, but as they settled into their new lives, they persevered and built families and communities.

Like many Asian immigrants, Koreans retained strong ties to their homeland. But because of the colonized status of Korea, their homeland ties took on a fierce nationalism that focused on Korean independence and helped to form a cohesive community around Korean nationalism. Political activities took place at the international level, on the streets, and in the backrooms of stores and church basements. Korean churches were among the first community organizations to be formed on the plantations and soon became the center of Korean immigrant society and Korean nationalist politics.

Korean women played especially important roles in the nationalist movement in Hawai'i and the U.S. They spearheaded important activities through Korean churches and other groups. They also organized their own separate women's organizations to support Korean independence by raising funds and spreading the nationalist message. On March 15, 1919, the Korean National Association held the first Korean Liberty Congress in Philadelphia. Two hundred representatives from 27 organizations in the U.S. and Mexico as well as a few from Europe were there to witness the public Proclamation of Independence of Korea and to recognize the newly-established Korean provisional government. On April 9, 1919, nationalist leaders gathered in Shanghai and formed the Korean Provisional Government led by Syngman Rhee. It would eventually lay the founda-

tion for the formation of the Republic of Korea (South Korea) in 1948.[52]

South Asians in the United States also remade their communities during the era of Asian exclusion. Because traditional gender roles discouraged women from leaving home, few women came. The expense of migration, discrimination in the United States and Canada, and immigration policies also kept the South Asian immigrant population mostly male. But a small number of multiethnic families of South Asians and Puerto Ricans, African Americans, and West Indians did form in the Northeast and South, and Punjabi-Mexican families were created in Southern California. Worlds were built amongst immigrants outside of the formal boundaries of nuclear families, ethnic neighborhoods, and community organizations. Immigrant workers on the move could still form attachments and associations amongst each other and across racial and ethnic lines.[53] South Asians also built important community, religious, and political organizations that provided communal support, a way to practice their faith, and a means to express their growing support for Indian nationalism. The first Sikh gurdwara (temple) in the United States was established in Stockton, California, in 1912.

Filipinos also found ways to make the best of their new lives and create community and comfort out of hardship. On the Hawaiian plantations, holidays like Rizal Day, December 30, when Filipino revolutionary leader Jose Rizal was executed by the Spanish in 1896, were an excuse to bring far-flung friends and family together. Filipinos flocked to the "Little Manilas" that sprung up in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, New York, and Washington, D.C. Stockton's Little Manila was known throughout the country for its many Filipino businesses and vibrant community. There, weary migrant farmworkers could buy Filipino food, read Filipino newspapers, play pool, gather their mail, hear the latest labor news, search for jobs, and worship at St. Mary's Catholic church. They could also spend their evenings (and often much of their hard-earned wages) at the dance halls that employed white, African American, and Mexican women dancers. Stockton's Little Manila helped sustain and nourish the Filipino American community in the U.S. for generations.[54]

IMMIGRANT ACTS: ASIAN AMERICAN RESISTANCE

In addition to forming families, communities, neighborhoods, and organizations, Asian Americans made a place for themselves in the United States by challenging the various forms of discrimination they faced. Sometimes these battles took place in the courts, immigration stations, schools, and media. Sometimes they were more subtle individual "immigrant acts" designed to restore one's humanity in the face of obstacles. Each group faced forms of inequality that were both unique to their particular ethnic group and the state of U.S. international relations and commonly applied across groups as a form of racial discrimination.

A few Chinese Americans made American legal history with their attempts to guarantee equality for the Chinese in America. In 1884, Mary and Joseph Tape sued the San Francisco Board of Education when school officials refused to allow their daughter Mamie to enroll in the public school. They argued that as a native-born citizen of the United States, Mamie was entitled to the free education that was every American's birthright. The Tapes' legal challenge affirmed that Chinese children in the United States had the right to a public education.[55]

Wong Kim Ark was a native born American citizen of Chinese descent whose 1898 Supreme Court challenge affirmed the constitutional status of birthright citizenship for all persons born in the United States despite the immigration status of their parents. A restaurant cook and native of San Francisco, Wong was 24 in 1894 when he returned to California after a visit to China. To his surprise, he was denied entry into the United States.



The identification photograph submitted by Wong Kim Ark with his departure statement (May 1904), confirming that he was a native-born citizen of the United States and intended to facilitate his reentry into the country. Photo courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, Records of the INS (NAID 296479).

John H. Wise, collector of customs, claimed that Wong, though born in the United States, was not a citizen because his parents were Chinese nationals who were ineligible for citizenship under the Chinese exclusion laws. According to Wise, Wong's claim to citizenship was invalid, and he should be excluded as a laborer "of the Mongolian race." A self-described "zealous opponent of Chinese immigration," Wise attempted to apply the exclusion laws as broadly as possible, including to second-generation Chinese Americans. He ordered that Wong be returned to China.

Wong and his lawyers challenged the decision with a writ of habeas corpus. He claimed that he had a right to be re-admitted into the United States based on his status as a United States citizen under the 14th Amendment. The question for the court was: how does the United States determine citizenship—by *jus soli* (by soil) or by *jus sanguinis* (by blood)? The District Court for the Northern District of California ruled for Wong, but the U.S. Attorney appealed the decision and the case was argued before the United States Supreme Court in March 1897. With a majority opinion by Justice Horace Gray, the court ruled in Wong's favor. *Wong Kim Ark v. United States* affirmed that all persons born in the United States were, regardless of race, native-born citizens of the United States and entitled to all the rights of citizenship. The Court has not reexamined this issue since this ruling.[56]

Another citizenship case focused on the status of Japanese Americans. In 1922, Japanese immigrant Takao Ozawa challenged the United States' ban on naturalized citizenship for Japanese immigrants with a test case before the U.S. Supreme Court. With a fervent desire to become an American, Ozawa described how he was "at heart…a true American." A long-time resident of the United States, he explained that he had been educated in American schools, taught his own children English, foreswore any connections to Japanese churches, schools, or organizations, and fervently desired to "return the kindness which our Uncle Sam has extended me" by becoming a naturalized citizen. Ruling that the U.S.'s 1790 Naturalization Act expressly allowed the naturalization of only white persons, the Court argued that since Ozawa was not white or Caucasian, he was ineligible for naturalized citizenship.[57]

Bhagat Singh Thind, a naturalized South Asian American citizen, who had first entered the United States in 1913 and served in the U.S. armed forces during World War I, also brought the matter of citizenship to the U.S. Supreme Court. When U.S. officials began an effort to denaturalize South Asian Americans on the grounds that they were not white as the law required, Thind refused to back down and took his case to the Supreme Court. He claimed that he was a descendant of the Aryans of India and thus belonged to the Caucasian race and as a result was "white" within the meaning of U.S. naturalization law. The Supreme Court disagreed. The words "white persons" in the law, the court ruled, referred to "common speech and not to scientific origin." They were not to be considered synonymous with "Caucasian." The court continued that the "great body of our people" recognized the great racial differences between whites and South Asians and "instinctively… reject the thought of assimilation" of South Asians into Americans.[58] Thind was denaturalized.

For many South Asians, the Gadar (meaning "mutiny" or "revolution,") Indian nationalist movement represented hope not only for an independent India but also for equal treatment in the United States and Canada. Within a short period of time, a majority of South Asians along the West Coast subscribed to the revolutionary ideology of the Gadar Party. From 1913 to 1917, the Gadar party had active followers in Sikh communities throughout California, Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia.

For Filipinos, labor activism became the primary means of organizing for social and economic justice. Stuck in what writer Manuel Buaken called "a pit of economic slavery," they began to organize collectively. In 1928, the Stockton-area *Anak ng Bukid*, or Children of the Farm, became the first formal Filipino American labor organization.[59] The first Filipino strike occurred in Watsonville in 1930. Over the next six years, there were more than 20 Filipino labor disputes throughout the San Joaquin and Imperial Valleys of California. By the mid-1930s, there were seven different unions. One of them was the Filipino Labor Union (FLU) formed by D. L. Marcuelo, a Stockton businessman in 1933. It soon had 4,000 members. Filipino lettuce workers in Salinas waged two massive strikes in 1933 and 1934, bringing the lettuce industry in Monterey County to a standstill. Filipino strikers faced an onslaught of violence. The

growers rallied local police and armed vigilantes to threaten and beat up the strikers, but the FLU was able to win some important concessions. Wages were raised to 40 cents an hour, and the FLU was recognized as a legitimate union.

More importantly for the long run, the Salinas Lettuce Strike helped introduce Filipinos to the larger U.S. labor movement. After the FLU organized another strike in Salinas two years later, the American Federation of Labor chartered the formation of a combined Filipino-Mexican agricultural union.[60] On April 6, 1939, an independent, all-Filipino union called the Filipino Agricultural Laborer's Association (FALA) was formed. It represented an effort to unite Filipinos together around shared goals of economic security and the campaign to fight discrimination. By 1940, FALA had organized branches throughout California's agricultural belt. FALA and other organizations also turned their attention to gain political recognition and civil rights amongst Filipino Americans.[61]

CONCLUSION

Beginning in the early 19th century up through World War II, successive generations of Asian immigrants came to the United States in search of work, economic opportunity, and freedom from persecution and to join family. Some were recruited by U.S. companies or called by other immigrants already in the country. Others came to pursue their own dreams of gold, new lives, and new beginnings, and they formed the first Asian American communities in the United States. Considered racial, economic, and social threats to the United States, however, Asian immigrants faced discrimination, segregation, disfranchisement, exclusion, and racial violence. But Asian Americans remade their families and communities in in spite of these obstacles, and a new Asian America was in place on the eve of World War II. It had a growing number of families, a second generation of American-born citizens, ethnic businesses and community organizations, and politically active leaders who fought for equality in the United States and democracy in their homelands. Over the decades, Asian America would continue to be made and remade in in response to world war, new immigration policies, and globalization. But the legacies of these early generations continue to shape contemporary Asian America today.

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Essay 5

Establishing Communities, 1848-1941

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The 19th and 20th century imperial wars, conquest, and the expansion of market capitalism in Asia displaced millions of people and created opportunities for large scale migration from China, Japan, India, Korea, and the Philippines. In the first half of the 19th century, a number of factors profoundly impacted the livelihood, land arrangements, trade, and everyday lives of inhabitants who survived a number of catastrophic events. These included the British conquest of India, the British Opium Wars and defeat of the Chinese empire, the implementation of port treaties and trade concessions, and the U.S. forcible trade agreements with Japan. By the late 19th century, they also endured the Japanese empire's competition with Russia and China over the Korean peninsula and Manchuria and the U.S. assumption of control of the Philippines from Spain and bloody war of invasion and suppression of the Philippine independence movement. In

The Nishimura family and friends on their farm in Seattle, Washington, 1936. Left to right: Kumataro Nishimura, Kadju Nishimura, Emily Herold holding Mary Nakashige, Peggie Yorita, Patsy Yorita, Tom Nishimura, Jiro Matsumura, Harry Oki (behind Matsumura), Hanni Nishimura, and Alex Ando. Photo courtesy of Densho Archive, Bain Family Collection.

addition, the demands of industrialization centered in Europe, the U.S. and Japan intensified demands for large-scale resource extraction, plantation cultivation, infrastructure development, and the intense demand for large numbers of laborers.

Similar in size and scale to mid-19th to mid-20th century global migration streams from Europe, the Middle East, and Russia, historians have estimated that more than 52 million people from India, coastal China, and Northeastern Asia migrated across the globe. The development of steamship and railroad travel accelerated the pace and numbers of people migrating away from their birthplace. More than 90 percent of these migrants from China and South Asia migrated as laborers to British and French plantations in South and Southeast Asia, as well as plantations in the Caribbean islands and the Pacific basin. Approximately 2 million Chinese, South Asian, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino migrants journeyed to North America.[1] Although there are prior documented migrations of Asian sailors, merchants, and laborers to the Americas, the large-scale migrations from 1848 to the onset of World War II had a much more substantial impact on establishing Asian immigrant communities and populating Hawai'i, the Western United States, and locations across the maritime east coast and Midwest.

This essay focuses on the development of communities and the waves of expansion, contraction, and transformation they experienced during this period. Asian community development will be explored in five ways: first, the development of migration networks that shaped the flows of movement; second, the establishment and development of social, mutual aid, and spiritual institutions that sheltered and supported community-building, advanced community networks, and formed the basis for adaptation and resilience in new environments; third, the Asian American impact in transforming the physical landscape by their activities in building roads and railways, agricultural and viniculture development, resource extraction, and fisheries, as well as introducing new kinds of plants and tending to and shaping gardens; fourth, the emergence of civic and political associations, which included civil rights and advocacy groups, labor unions, and nationalist political organizations; and fifth, the development of commercial and entertainment cultures that sheltered leisure and social activities and provided the grounds for inter-ethnic associations. These leisure and entertainment businesses included restaurants and cafes, opium dens, and gambling houses. Taxi-dance halls, social venues where men could pay to dance with young partners, usually per dance number, for example, were spaces of interracial and interclass mingling. In addition, Asian entrepreneurs toured Chinese opera troupes, film exhibition cultures, and American touristic entertainment.

MIGRATION NETWORKS

New research in migration history and sociology has focused attention on the networks and factors that accounted for the sources, direction, and flow of migration from very specific regions and villages to regions across the globe. Business, family, and kin networks were vital for people to sustain migration. Without information, assistance and opportunities from friends and relatives, and credit, employment, and housing resources from trading networks, it would be too risky and expensive to sustain migration streams. The strength of these networks and the channeling of travel, information, funds, and opportunities explain why specific villages and small micro-regions in China, Japan, India, and Philippines accounted for the majority of international migrants to North America. These networks shaped the streams of migration in the periods of their largest flows: for the Chinese in the 1850s to 1870s; for the Japanese in the 1880s to 1920s; for Koreans, 1900 to 1910; for South Asians, 1900 to 1910s; and for Filipinos in the 1910s to 1920s. These networks also helped shape the stream of later migration periods, as nativist Americans negotiated more restrictive immigration policies.

These ethnic business and kin networks assisted migrants through credit and information to secure travel, employment, and housing in Hawai'i and the continental United States. From the 1850s to the 1910s, Chinese, Japanese, and South Asian immigrants were employed in work gangs in infrastructure construction—railroads across the Western United States, as well as Texas, Alabama, and Tennessee. Chinese and Japanese workers worked on reclamation projects to build levees and irrigation and drainage systems, primarily in California, but also in the Southwest. In the same period and continuing into the mid-20th century, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, South Asian, and Filipinos were recruited

to work on sugar plantations in Hawai'i and for a short period in 1869 to 1870 on cotton and sugar plantations in Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana. They planted and harvested fruits, vegetables, grains, and cotton in California and across the western United States. They also worked in salmon and tuna canneries and in coal mining and timber processing. They worked in manufacturing shoes, cigars, clothes, and other consumer products. They peddled and traded goods and food and established businesses like laundries, grocery and drug stores, and restaurants. They worked alongside European immigrants, Native Americans, African Americans, Native-born whites, and Mexicans and Chicanos.

In the wake of changes in government regulation, legal rights, and territorial boundaries that influenced migration flows, family and business networks reckoned with potential barriers and leveraged new sources of opportunity by navigating multiple regulatory regimes and migration obstacles and harnessing their skills to make a living. For instance, The Chinese Exclusion Law in 1882 and subsequent legislation prohibited the immigration of laborers and tightened their circular migration patterns. Immigration exclusion laws, identity registration, and immigrant interrogations encouraged Chinese residents to settle. The laws favored the immigration of merchants, students, and the wives and children of U.S. born citizens, and Chinese men, women, and children continued to immigrate to the United States in the first decades of the 20th century. Both formal and informal immigration regulations also favored the entry of Japanese and South Asian merchant class and student immigrants over unskilled or semi-skilled laborers.[2] Throughout the late 19th and early 20th century, mob-violence in rural and urban locations across the western United States caused Asian workers to flee to urban enclaves where there were concentrations of migrants, relative safety, and opportunity.[3]

In the first two decades of the 20th century, the majority of Filipino migration to the United States was directly related to the conquest and colonial administration of the Philippines, for example, through training programs for teachers, nurses, and administrators in the United States. Filipino laborers were also recruited to work in the sugar plantations in Hawai'i. Both flows of



Worker housing south of Locke, California, near the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks. Locke was settled by Chinese immigrants; many worked on the railroad or in agriculture. HABS photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.



View from dock of Keku Canning Company in Kake, Alaska: former office, stores, and cooling building. The complex was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1997. HAER photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

migration combined in the 1920s to encourage Filipino migrants to work as farm laborers, as well as domestic and hospitality workers on the U.S. mainland, with concentrations in Washington State and California. Within this larger migration, there were instances of black and white U.S. soldiers marrying Filipino women and living with them and their children on U.S. military bases. Some of them returned from duty tours in the Philippines and returned to civilian life in the United States.[4]

The British and American transoceanic steamship industry depended on Chinese, South Asian, and Filipino laborers. In the 19th century, Chinese sailors worked on American and British ships.[5] In the early 20th century, Filipino sailors labored on the U.S. merchant marine fleet, and in the first half of the 20th century, Filipino sailors in the merchant marine jumped ship at west coast ports. In addition, South Asian sailors, primarily Bengali Muslim youth and men, as well as some Arab sailors, worked on ships for the British Empire. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, South Asian and Chinese sailors often jumped ship and stayed for a time in east coast ports, as they did in Britain and in Europe. On the Pacific Coast, Filipino sailors became part of the stream of transient labor in Alaska salmon canneries, before moving to be field workers to the interior Northwest and California.[6] On the east coast, South Asian and Arab sailors used their skills as firemen on coal-fired steam ships into working boiler rooms of large apartment buildings and offices in coastal cities such as New York, Boston, and Baltimore. Some traveled by rail to the large steel mills in Lackawanna, New York, and manufacturing industries in Detroit, Michigan, and Toledo, Ohio. Some of the South Asian sailors, along with other Arab, Syrian, and Lebanese migrants, in Southern ports, such as Savannah, Jacksonville and New Orleans, worked as peddlers and merchants in the regional south.[7]

SOCIAL, MUTUAL AID AND SPIRITUAL INSTITUTIONS

The development and resilience of Asian communities shaped how family and business networks responded to employer labor demands and negotiated jobs, wages, and housing for migrant workers in the U.S. West. In the second half of the 19th century and the first several decades of the 20th century, speculative invest-

ments in rail transportation, irrigation, electricity, and communication infrastructure in the U.S. West made viable large-scale agricultural production, packing and distribution, seafood harvesting and canning, timber harvesting and processing, and mining for national and international markets. The extraction and harvesting economy necessitated the labor of thousands of migrant laborers from across the continent and the globe. That labor pool moved from agricultural fieldwork to fishing and canneries, timber camps, and mines. Demands for a flexible, seasonal, transient labor force required the management skills of labor contractors who recruited, transported, housed, and often supervised workers hired by farms, canneries, and processing and packing plants. On ranches and camps, itinerant work gangs, individual laborers and families often found temporary housing in bunkhouses, tents, barns, and freestanding houses on or near the properties of their employers. Labor contractors emerged from the ranks of migrant work gangs of Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Mexican, Portuguese, Greek, and South Asian workers. Successful labor contractors would disassociate from a particular work gang and hire short-term pick up crews, who sometimes shared ethnic, religious, and linguistic ties but just as often supervised work teams with a range of ethnic and religious backgrounds.



View of Kake, Alaska, looking north. HAER photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.



The headquarters of the Chinese Six Companies in San Francisco. The organization was established in 1854 by six associations that conducted business with non-Chinese, and was long recognized as the representative organization of the overseas Chinese in the United States. It was later named the Chinese Association and still later the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, the name which it registered with the state of California in 1930. Photo by Jiang, 2006; courtesy of the Wikimedia Commons.

Over time, informal kin and business networks became formal, corporate associations, businesses, and institutions. Asian immigrants relied upon the establishment of immigrant mutual aid organizations that provided social and financial support to immigrants who shared village, dialect, religion, and occupational identities. Chinese associations (called *huiguan*) were made up of people from the same districts in Guangdong province; these were important community organizations that became established in Chinese immigrant communities. Beginning in 1851 in San Francisco, two huiguan were established: the Sanyi Huiguan (Sam Yup Association) and the Siyi Huiguan (Sze Yup Association). In 1862, the huiguan banded together to create a U.S. national organization, comprised of elected representatives from each huiguan, to arbitrate disagreements between individuals and companies, fight discriminatory laws, hire legal counsel to protect Chinese immigrants, and organize celebrations and other public events in the Chinese American community.

In 1870 in St. Malo, Louisiana, Filipino immigrants founded the first Filipino social club called Sociedad de Beneficencia de los Hispano Filipinos to provide relief and support for the group's members, including the purchasing of burial places for their deceased. In the



Chinese fishing village, c.1907, Monterey, California. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

1920s, Filipinos developed fraternal organizations such as the Dimas Alan, Legionarios del Trabajo, and Gran Oriente Filipino. The Filipino Federation of America, founded in 1925, advocated high moral standards and respect for U.S. constitutional law among its members; in Hawai'i, they opposed the unionization of Filipino plantation laborers.[8]

Mutual aid organizations and cooperatives enabled Japanese immigrants to lease and sharecrop land for the production of vegetables, berries, fruits, and rice in California, Oregon, Washington, Oregon, Utah, Arizona, and Colorado. Cooperatives developed to connect Japanese farmers with Japanese and Chinese urban businessmen for labor supplies and capital as well as for distribution networks to sell produce in towns and cities. In particular, Japanese cultivators and contractors established numerous local agricultural cooperatives, agricultural associations, and farm labor contractors' organizations. These associations enabled Japanese immigrants to gain vertical control over production, distribution, and retailing of agricultural produce. They were able to broker and share resources and information, buy supplies in bulk, and assist newcomers in various aspects of the production, distribution, processing, and retailing processes. The agricultural associations also served many valuable community support functions by holding annual picnics, supporting festivals and fairs, awarding scholarships, and establishing youth and women's groups.[9]

In 1918, the Hindustani Welfare and Reform Society was founded in California's Imperial Valley for the mutual aid and assistance to Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim immigrants. A number of South Asian men who had tenancy partnerships married Mexican Catholic women. In some traditions, such as Catholic baptism and confirmation, the ritual ties between godparents and children became redrafted and reinforced in the migration process, creating innovative, dense webs of emotional and economic sustenance among male migrants. This added new layers of ties that helped networks adapt and navigate economic opportunities and strengthen social ties.[10]

Over time many of these specific business and family networks gave support to more U.S. based non-profit religious and social welfare organizations. In the 20th century, Chinese residents, particularly in large cities, created a range of social welfare organizations to meet the needs of their communities. These included Chinese language schools, Chinese YWCA and YMCA groups, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce as well as Chinese hospitals, clinics, and dispensaries. Japanese residents established the Japanese Association of America with branches across the U.S., and they developed a range of language schools, Japanese YMCAs and Japanese YWCAs, and a variety of trade associations for shoemakers, art goods, cloth dying, dry goods stores, grocers, laundrymen, barbers, bathhouse operators, restaurant owners, and doctors, which made it possible for Japanese Chambers of Commerce to develop in major population centers.[11]

Colonialism, global communications, industrialization, and international migration exerted tremendous pressure on the forms, teaching, and institutions of spiritual practice in many regions of Asia. Religious revivals, institutions, and communication practices enabled the flourishing of new sects as well as the sharpening of distinctions among faith traditions. Older religions like Taoism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Sikhism, Islam, and Christianity witnessed increased demands for internal coherence and orthodoxy on the one hand and the rise of heterogeneous, hybrid, spiritual practices, and organizations on the other. Asian immigrants built traditional temples but adapted their spiritual practices and organization in new contexts, establishing rituals, festivals, and events that organized the calendar and spaces in their immediate environments. Since many of these faith traditions practiced a lunar calendar and oriented their ritual practices to both seasons and the

physical landscape, they adaptively reoriented both to their locations and to the European Christian church's physical and ritual structures. Spiritual and religious organizations formed social centers and ritual communities for Asian immigrants. The Chinese established Taoist temples and altars as well as Buddhist temples in the new towns they inhabited. These traditional Chinese temples and altar buildings, frequently referred to in English as "Joss Houses," served individual worship and provided community rituals for the spirits of departed relatives. Often community members served as deacons and caretakers of the temples because ordained priests were not usually available.

Buddhist religious practice first appeared in some of the early Chinese temples built in the 1850s. The first Japanese Buddhist temple, in Paauhau, Hawai'i, was built in 1896, and a Japanese Buddhist temple was built in San Francisco in 1899. At the turn of the century, Japanese Buddhist missionaries and immigrants established a Young Men's Buddhist Association. Buddhist temples spread across the United States. Soyen Shaku, the first Zen Buddhist master to teach in the United States, spoke at the World Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in 1893 and lectured in Chicago and California. His students followed and established Zen meditation centers and sitting halls across the United States in the early 20th century. In 1931, the Buddhist Society of America was established.[12]

The famous Hindu teacher, Swami Vivekananda also spoke at the World Parliament of Religions and established, in 1893, the Hindu Vedanta Society in New York, "designed to attract American adherents." On a subsequent trip Vivekananda established the Vedanta Society in Northern California. The Vedanta Society built the first Hindu temple in the U.S., in San Francisco, in 1906; others followed, including the Hollywood Temple in 1938. Other Hindu teachers from India followed and established institutions primarily to teach Hinduism to Americans in Boston, New York, Chicago, and California.[13]

In 1912, Sikh immigrants established the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan Society. They used homes, as well as outdoor grounds and rented halls for their services throughout Pacific Coast settlements. In North America, Sikh temples or Gurdwara were first established in Canada in Victoria, British Columbia. Shortly after the founding of the Khalsa Diwan Society, the first outdoor services occurred in 1915 in Stockton on property that housed the first Sikh temple in the United States. In addition to ritual, devotional, and musical practice, the Gurdwara has a langar, or community kitchen attached, where free vegetarian food is served without consideration of caste, creed, or religion. Hindu and Muslim immigrants, as well as residents of different ethnic and faith communities, also participated in the services and activities of the Gurdwara.

In 1920, Mufti Muhammad Sadiq, an Indian Ahmadi Muslim missionary, went to Philadelphia and proselytized among immigrants and African Americans in the Northeast. His converts built mosques in Detroit in 1921 and Chicago in 1922; they are the oldest standing mosques in the United States. Although their missionary efforts ranged broadly among a range of racial and ethnic groups, including Balkan and Turkish Syrian immigrants, subsequent realization of the deep-seated racial tensions and discrimination made Ahmadi Muslim missionaries focus their attention primarily on African Americans. Afghani and Punjabi immigrants in California practiced their faith in homes or rented halls and built mosques in El Centro and Sacramento, California, after the 1940s.[14]

Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist Christian missions, churches, schools, and orphanages also served Chinese, Japanese, and Korean communities. These Protestant Christian churches created ethnically segregated educational and welfare institutions that were domestic outposts to their foreign mission operations in China, Japan, and Korea. Reverend Shigefusa Kanda established the first school in Kohala, Hawai'i, in 1893, and others soon followed, including several attached to Hawaiian Hongwanji missions. On the mainland, the first Japanese language schools were established in the early 1900s; subsequent schools were established throughout California and the western United States. The schools in Hawai'i were accused of having direct links to Japan and supporting labor strikes, including the 1909 and 1920 strikes against the sugar plantations. These confrontations exposed fault lines of religion and class within the Japanese American community. Since Buddhist organizations were heavily involved in the establishment of schools, many Japanese American Christian churches founded their own competing schools that favored rapid assimilation.



The Stockton, California, Sikh Temple, c.1920. Photo courtesy of the Holt-Atherton Special Collections, University of the Pacific Library, P80-138.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE PHYSICAL LANDSCAPE

The labor and cultivation techniques employed by Chinese and Japanese workers transformed the physical landscape of the western United States. In the Sierra Nevada Mountains, Chinese immigrants built many of the roads, railways, and wooden flumes that carried water in a gravity flow system to the gold mining districts in the 1850s. In the Sierra Nevada Foothills in Mariposa, Tuolumne, Stanislaus, and Calaveras counties, there is evidence of stonewalls crafted by Chinese workers in the mid-19th century. These stone fences and corrals for livestock were built in response to problems of containing livestock. With the scarcity of wood and barbed wire, Chinese workers cleared uncut field stones from the surrounding land for pasture or farming and skillfully constructed walls, without mortar, on rolling hills. In addition, they remade the physical landscape by employing Chinese building and ranching techniques. One of the ancient building techniques brought from China was construction using rammed earth. While adobe and rammed earth are often associated with Spanish and Mexican cultures, rammed earth was a construction technique in use in China as early as 1500 B.C. This technique involves packing mud between wooden forms and hammering it until it becomes as hard as stone.[15]



Trestle at the Sweet Mine, Coal City, Carbon County, Utah, 1968. The mine is significant as the first mine in Utah where the majority of the initial miners were Japanese. HAER photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

As mining became less profitable, Chinese workers left the gold fields in the 1850s and 1860s to drain swamps and build levees to prevent flooding and bring more land into agricultural production in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. They constructed large networks of earthen levees that eventually turned 500,000 acres of swamp into some of California's most valuable farmland. The reclaimed land was able to support large farms and the expansion of the sugar beet, pear, and asparagus industries that demanded manual laborers to plant and harvest crops. Many of the Chinese workers stayed in the area and made a living as farm workers and sharecroppers. In the 1850s through the turn of the 20th century, Chinese and Japanese laborers drained swamps and terraced and irrigated farmland. They used techniques developed in South China and coastal Japan as cultivation techniques to increase the productivity of marginal farmland.[16]

Worker housing was built by employers and also creatively adapted and used by Asian workers on Hawaiian plantations, mainland farms, and mines and in small towns and cities. Culturally specific items include architectural woodcarvings; kitchen utensils; pottery and cooking methods; the fruit, flower, and vegetables in the kitchen gardens; and bathing facilities. These are all evident in the ruins of bunkhouses, apartments, and other habitations. There are examples of culturally specific, adaptive use now uncovered in abandoned housing in farming, timber harvesting, and railroad construction sites across the western United States. Workers' houses have been restored in places like Locke, California.

CIVIC AND POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS

With the establishment of specific Asian communities in the United States and the challenges that the family and business networks faced in protecting the rights and interests of Asian immigrant groups, a generation of English-educated leaders created new institutions that mirrored both ethnic European and black organizations. They were also inspired by nationalists organizing in their native lands. They built organizations that could advocate for political, economic, and social interests as well as develop an institutional base for expressing identity and community for Chinese, Japanese, Korean, South Asian, and Filipino groups.

The primary civic and political organization for Chinese immigrants was the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association. The association provided legal assistance, advocacy, and assistance to Chinese immigrants facing discriminatory local and national laws and regulations. A Chinese "Native Sons of the Golden State" came into existence in San Francisco in 1895. By 1915, it was renamed the Chinese American Citizens Alliance to reflect its national reach. By the 1920s the organization developed branches in San Antonio, Houston, Albuquerque, Tucson, Phoenix, Sunnyvale, Washington D.C., New York, and Sacramento. In the wake of discriminatory municipal regulations in New York in the 1930s and the reluctance of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association to advocate on their behalf, the Chinese laundrymen created the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance. It hired attorneys to effectively lobby city officials. It also raised public awareness of the Japanese invasion of China and sent support for humanitarian purposes.[17]

Korean immigrant organizations developed to respond to the Japanese imperial control over Korea in 1910. Ahn Chang-ho established the Friendship Society



Farmers field day in Truk District, Federated States of Micronesia, 1979. Photo N-2991.03, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands Archives; courtesy of the University Archives & Manuscripts Department, University of Hawaii at Manoa Library.

in San Francisco in 1903 and the Young Korea Academy in 1913. Young-man Pak established military training academies for the independence struggle, first with the establishment of the Korean Youth Military Academy in Nebraska in 1909 and then opened four other academies in California, Wyoming, and Kansas City. He consolidated the efforts for developing a fighting force with the establishment of the Korean National Brigade in Hawai'i in 1912. After the Japanese colonial government violently suppressed the peaceful Korean March for self-determination on March 1, 1919, Maria Hwang organized the Korean Women's Relief Society. It boycotted Japanese goods and sent funds to the Korean independence movement. Both institutions were revived in the wake of the Japanese invasions of Manchuria and China in the 1930s. The Korean Women's Patriotic Society was founded in California to unite all Korean women's organizations in North America. Syngman Rhee formed the Comrade Society in 1921 and established a separate Korean Christian Church. In the 1920s, he lobbied and fundraised in the U.S. and became the first president of independent Korea after World War II.[18]

The struggle for freedom from British rule led to the organization of the Indian Independence League in Portland, Oregon, in 1908 by South Asian students. Many of these students, including Har Dayal and Tarak Nath Das, subsequently founded the Pacific Coast Hindustan Association, which was subsequently called the Ghadar Party in San Francisco. The party quickly gained support from Indian expatriates and held meetings and created chapters in the United States, Canada, Latin America, and Asia.

Ghadar's ultimate goal was to overthrow British colonial authority in India by means of an armed revolution and to entice the Indian soldiers in the British Empire to revolt. In November 1913, Ghadar established the Yugantar Ashram press in San Francisco. The press produced the Hindustan Ghadar newspaper and other nationalist literature. In New York, Lala Lajpat Rai established the India Home Rule League, which advocated "home rule" for India, and they produced a monthly journal entitled "Young India". Another similar and critical organization was Friends of Freedom for India.[19]

COMMERCIAL AND ENTERTAINMENT CULTURES

In U.S. towns and cities, businesses developed that contributed to the economic and social circulation of migrants and participated in broader transnational spheres of ethnic cultural influences. Ethnic coffeehouses, saloons, grocery stores, and boardinghouses emerged in the urban transit zones. They provided places for Greeks, Mexicans, Japanese, South Asians, and Syrians to experience comforting entertainment and food, receive mail and news from home, provide an arena to discuss opportunities and jobs, and share grievances, information, and survival skills.

Japanese bathhouses were established in Seattle, Santa Barbara, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, as well as in smaller towns in the Sacramento Delta. These institutions were an important fixture in Japanese American communities from the 1910s until the beginning of WWII. In Rancho Palos Verdes, two Japanese brothers harnessed the sulfur hot springs and built the White Point Hot Spring Resort on the shores of the Pacific in 1917.[20]

Pool halls, saloons, vaudeville theaters, cinemas, opium dens, gambling halls, coffee shops, cafes, and restaurants also encouraged the mingling of different ethnic groups of males and some women. The rise of early 20th century commercial amusements enabled new practices of courtship, dating, negotiation of sexual mores, and social practices among men and women of different races and classes. Moral reformers, police, and anti-vice societies paid particular attention to the public activities of adult women and male and female youth. A great deal of the history of these institutions is understood in relationship to municipal policing of suspected illicit social and sexual activity resulting in arrests for soliciting prostitution, public drunkenness, narcotics and alcohol consumption, public disturbance, and physical assault. Police were particularly attentive to the potential for interracial sexual and social dynamics in taxi dance halls as well as on the streets.[21]

Chinese and Japanese art forms also circulated internationally in transnational circuits of cultural influence that followed closely on ethnic migration networks. For example, traveling Chinese opera troupes circulated not only regionally in China but also followed migration routes in Southeast Asia, North America, the Caribbean, and South America. From the late 19th century through the mid-20th century, Cantonese opera troupes per-

formed throughout the United States. In 19th century San Francisco, several Chinese opera theaters operated on Jackson Street, including Hing Chuen Yuen (Royal Chinese Theater), Luk Suhn Fung company (Oriental Academy of Music), and Lon Sun Fung (Peacock Theater). Two Chinese Theaters were established on Doyer Street in New York City in the last two decades of the 19th century.

These travelling opera troupes created a lively circuit of performances across the western U.S., in Midwest and Northeast cities, as well as in Cuba and Canada. Once the Chinese exclusion regulations exempted Chinese opera entertainers in the 1910s, a lively touring circuit was developed, including both Canada and Cuba. In San Francisco in the 1920s, the Mandarin Theater and the Great China Theater opened their doors. New York City had several competing theaters, while the Kue Hing Company Theater set up in Honolulu and provided a popular stopping point for trans-Pacific touring troupes. Chinese theaters began to appear in Boston, Chicago, Portland, Seattle, and Los Angeles. During the vibrant renaissance of the 1920s to 1940s, these venues became important arenas for the performance of Chinese myths and cultural beliefs, historical and fictional figures, and epic stories and folklore. In the 1930s, with the widespread availability of radio and movies, Chinese theaters began to decline as new entertainment media like radio and movies provided strong competition.

Japanese and Chinese proprietors leased theaters and created impromptu tent theaters on Hawaiian plantations and agricultural fields to exhibit Chinese, Japanese, and American films from the 1910s to the 1940s. Japanese proprietors hired *benshi*, Japanese performers who provided live narration for silent films. Asians, blacks, and Latinos often watched movies on segregated balconies, known as the "peanut galleries" (or worse), separated by walls and curtains from white patrons. In some theaters, "special" and separate back doors and refreshment areas accompanied the often times higher priced movie tickets for people of color. Japanese Americans in Los Angeles's Little Tokyo built and patronized their own theaters, which included the International Theater, built in 1907. It featured both Japanese and American films. The Toyo-za theater and Fuji-kan theater followed, offering mostly Japanese-made films to Japanese American audiences living in and around Los Angeles. The theaters drew urban audiences living in the city but also attracted Japanese living and working in outlying farms outside the city. These theaters also served Filipino, Mexican, and European immigrant workers.

In 1909, the Nippon Kan (Japanese Hall) Theater opened in Seattle's International District. The Nippon Kan served as the cultural center of the Japanese community. It was busy several nights a week with actors and musicians from Japan and included kabuki, movies, concerts, variety shows, judo and kendo competitions, and community meetings. The Kokusai Theater in the Seattle International District was opened by *benshi* who had begun screening and narrating silent films in Buddhist temples and Christian churches.[22]

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, Chinese restaurants and nightclubs put on all-Asian revues for predominantly white audiences. Singers, tap dancers, acrobats, fan dancers, and musicians performed nightly at the China Doll in New York and at clubs such as the Shangri-la, Kubla Khan, Chinese Sky Room, and Forbidden City in San Francisco. Performers who made the rounds at these clubs referred to them collectively as the "Chop Suey Circuit," an allusion to other vaudeville circuits such as the Orpheum, Loews, and "Chitlin'" Circuits. The Chop Suey Circuit clubs, billed as "all-Chinese" variety shows, featured performers who were mostly American-born Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino.[23]

CONCLUSION

The emergence of Asian immigrant communities in Hawai'i and the mainland United States was shaped by dislocations resulting from competing imperial wars, as well as trade and settlement. Migration networks shaped not only the flow and direction of population movements but also the development of social, mutual aid, and spiritual institutions. They also fostered the growth of commercial establishments that sheltered and supported ethnic communities. The labor of Asian workers also transformed the physical landscape through significant contributions to development, transportation systems, and cultivation with techniques and aesthetic influences from different regions of Asia. As the 20th century progressed, the struggle to create strong, independent nations and the claims of common people to participate in democracy and government fostered the emergence of civic and political associations to advocate

for the interests of ethnic groups in the United States. At the same time, these common people supported the struggle for independence and strong national homelands in Asia to resist the imperial ambitions of U.S., British, French, Russian, and Japanese powers.

Asian immigrants and second- and third-generation Asian Americans struggled to create better lives for themselves, their families, and their communities. They drew together with people within their own networks and with other immigrants and settler communities across the United States. The community organizations, commercial establishments, work practices, and civic and political organizations they created left their marks and presence in the construction of the national landscape. They are part of the dynamic multiplicities in the making of America.

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Essay 6

Reframe, Recognize, and Retell: Asian Americans and National Historic Sites

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Both of my parents worked on Capitol Hill at the Library of Congress for decades. My father was a Southeast Asia Area Specialist in the Asian Division, and my mother was a senior cataloger in the Regional and Cooperative Cataloging Division. I have very vivid memories of visiting the Library of Congress as a young child and, because of my parents' jobs, it was always through the lens of work. I remember the underground network of tunnels enabling workers to go to different Congressional buildings, the busy movement of cataloguers and various administrative staff through the hallways, the people pushing carts of books to be re-filed and sent to their proper places, the cooks and servers in the cafeteria where my parents would treat us to lunch, and the members of the public who were conducting research in all of the various readings rooms. Work, of course, structured our home life as well, from determining when

Bodie, California, is a ghost town that once had a thriving Chinatown. Gold was discovered near Bodie in 1859; the town was abandoned by 1940. It was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1961 and is a California state park. Photo by Carol Highsmith; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

my parents would leave the house to when they would return, to giving me a whole range of "aunties" who were my mother's colleagues from her job, to inspiring my own future career as a researcher and as a teacher. For decades, a stack of recycled cataloguing cards, repurposed as note cards for grocery lists or phone messages, stood ready near the kitchen phone, a symbol of how integrated my parents' workplace was with our daily lives at home.

I begin with this anecdote to ask this question: if, as members of U.S. culture, we all have relationships to national historic sites, how does the history of Asian American labor help us better understand this relationship? For me, this connection between the Library of Congress and Asian American labor history was a profoundly intimate one, because it is where my parents worked. Even in my own case, however, it took me some time to realize this relationship. It was not until I spent a few weeks helping my mother organize her personal photographs this past summer that I realized that a whole segment was devoted to her workplace, even though she has been retired from the Library of Congress for several years.

Writing this essay challenged me to reflect deeply about issues of national culture, historical sites, and Asian American labor. On the one hand, I want to make the argument that all of us in the United States have a linkage to these sites as participants in U.S. culture, as these sites are symbolic representations of our nation's past and present. As such, we also have a connection to the labor that made these sites possible. Labor was instrumental, not only in creating the actual physical places, but also in making them buildings and sites of work and activity. All of us have been affected by legislation, for example, that was debated over in the House of Representatives or have received letters delivered by the U.S. Postal Service. Labor is an arena in which relations of power get worked out.

But on the other hand, how are these issues qualified when it comes to Asian American workers? Labor has regularly determined the relationship of Asian Americans to nation and has been the terrain where they are judged as belonging to the United States or being seen as outsiders. Often, Asian American workers have been seen as competition by other racialized groups and targeted as "foreign" or "other," especially if they were seen as undercutting wages. In the past, Asian American workers were regularly excluded from membership in union activity. In the famous 1903 strike in Oxnard by the Japanese Mexican Labor Association (JMLA), the JMLA enlisted more than 90 percent of the sugar beet workers, numbering over 1,200, in its organizing efforts, despite facing violence and other oppression. When the strike was successful, the JMLA applied for a charter from the American Federation of Labor (AF of L). Although Mexican workers would have been able to join the union, the AF of L denied Japanese laborers entrance into the union. The Mexican laborers refused to abandon their co-workers, despite the cost to their organizing efforts, an example of the extraordinary community solidarity developed through coalition-building.[1]

In this essay, I wanted to take the opportunity to reflect on how we might tackle the process of locating Asian American labor through these historic sites. This essay is not an exhaustive summary of Asian American labor history. My goal is more focused upon imagining how these landmarks, in themselves, tell a history of Asian American labor as well as gesture towards directions we might want to pursue in the future. I also want to emphasize the important historical reclamation that already has been established for historic sites related to Asian American labor, such as the highlighting of the Colorado River Relocation Center, where Japanese Americans were incarcerated during World War II, or Forty Acres, the United Farm Workers site that had a significant contingent of Filipino workers. As an essay that builds upon previous and ongoing efforts to develop historic sites relevant to Asian American labor history, this is part of an ongoing conversation about the connection of Asian Americans to historic sites.

I will argue for three stages to this process. First, I want to posit the need to *reframe* how we understand established historical sites and landmarks and to reevaluate and re-see them in the context of Asian Pacific American history. Secondly, I would like to discuss the responsibility to *recognize* this history, and the kind of categorical analysis we can employ to locate these sites. In particular, I will highlight two industries, agriculture and the military, as two areas that already have a wealth of existing sites. In the third section, I want to argue the need to *retell* the stories about these sites, especially to pass on tales of different forms of resistance as well as

to build continued discussion of what these sites might represent in national culture, including the counter narratives that emerge from these stories.

REFRAMING

How do we find the often "missing" history of Asian Americans in regard to historic sites? When I began this essay, one of the first things I did was to read through the lists and lists of National Historic Landmarks and other historic sites. The difficulty of pursuing this topic, of course, was that Asian Pacific Americans were largely absent in the central narratives being told. Take, for example, the building of the transcontinental railroad completed in 1869. With one group building rail track from the East, and the other group building rail track from the West, the two groups at last met at Promontory Summit in Utah, connecting a rail system that would span the continent of the United States. The group from the West, which included many Chinese workers, had the far more arduous task—they had to dynamite their way through the blistering summer heat and the bitter winter cold of the Sierra Nevada. When the winter snows melted in the spring, some workers were found frozen, still standing upright as if attending to their duties, the victims of a sudden winter avalanche. In 1869, the opening ceremony for the railroad featured dignitaries and officials driving in the "golden spike," connecting the two sets of tracks.[2] When they were joined, the cameras went off and the moment was documented for generations to come. Yet, there were no Chinese present in the photograph, as their foundational labor in railroad building was not considered significant enough to document. Less than a decade and a half later, the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Laws cemented their absence.[3]

Stories like the deliberate erasure of Chinese American workers in the context of the transcontinental railroad challenge us to look further and deeper into past history and to imagine earlier moments in U.S./Asia relations. One place to begin, in documenting U.S./Asia relations in North America, is to consider how importantly Asia figured in the imagination of early explorers in the 15th century, such as Christopher Columbus, who was seeking a westward route to Asia.[4] Then there was Spain's Manila Galleon trade, which sailed ships from Spain, to China, to Mexico, and sought valuable imports and lucre to build its economy. Workers were recruited from different parts of its journeys, including what are now India, China, and the Philippines. These workers sometimes abandoned ship in North America to establish new homes. For example, Filipino workers jumped ship in Acapulco in the 18th century, later moving to Louisiana where they worked in the shrimping industry.[5] Maritime employment took other forms as well: perhaps Filipinos fought with the privateer Jean Lafitte, a likely outcome since Asians were regular crew members in the Manila Galleon trade.

Multinational and multiracial crews made it possible very early on for ships to sail around the world, resulting in the migration of workers to new sites. For many, travelling to the United States was just



A re-creation of the Transcontinental Railroad "wedding of the rails" at the Promontory Point Golden Spike National Historic Site, Utah, where the Union Pacific No. 119 and Central Pacific No. 60 locomotives met face-to-face, and the famous golden spike was driven into the track. The eighty-seven miles of the Central Pacific railroad grade in Utah was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1987. The Golden Spike National Historic site in Utah recognizes the valuable contributions of Chinese workers. Photo by Carol Highsmith; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

one of many options. More than 30 million Indians, for example, were contract laborers in the Pacific and Indian oceans, as well as in the Caribbean, and another 2-million went to other sites in Southeast Asia, as well as to Hong Kong, Macao, and Shanghai. However, only 80,000 Indian migrants travelled to the United States and Hawai'i, as well as to Canada, Australia, Argentina, Panama, and Mexico. These statistics help us to understand Asian migration to the United States in a more balanced perspective.[6]

As a colony of Great Britain and then in its independence, the United States was vitally interested in the China trade, as well as in spreading Christianity, and actively gained access to the Chinese economy, as evidenced by the bustling commerce in New England ports like Salem, Massachusetts. During the Revolutionary War, tea and porcelain were highly desired as marks of status.[7] The Boston Tea Party was fought in 1773, after all, over a tax on this valuable Asian import: tea.[8] These early histories not only remind us of how the past is racialized but also how selective U.S. history might be, even in accounts of our national origins.



Ruins of the Old Sugar Mill, Koloa, Kauai, Hawai'i, 2009. The site of the mill and associated ruins were designated a National Historic Landmark in 1962. Photo by Joel Bradshaw; from Wikimedia Commons; released into the public domain.

RECOGNITION: INDUSTRIES AND COMMUNITY SPACES

Asian American laborers traversed a geography that was determined and organized by larger forces, including U.S. militarism, economic interests in the Pacific region, rapidly developing agricultural and extractive industries in the U.S. West, and stringent racialized legislation which constrained their ability to find employment. In light of these forces, two particular industries became valuable locations for Asian American workers with national significance: agriculture and the military.

In order to understand the relationship of Asian Americans to the workplace, i.e. the actual physical location where Asian Americans were employed whether in the public or private spheres, it is important to understand the relationship of Asian Americans to the processes that shaped people's relationship to resources. These structures included, for example, racial discrimination, unionization, U.S. political ties with areas of family origin, and gender privilege. Thus, analyzing Asian American workers in relation to historic sites, especially for previous eras, demands that we take a wider, expanded view of how and why Asian Americans were located in these work sites and, in many cases, why they were confined to particular kinds of labor or banned from finding employment in other locations.

Labor was one of the key places where racialization of workers happened. David Roediger and Elizabeth Esch argue that racialized management, i.e. ascribing certain characteristics to particular groups and then pitting them against each other, was developed in the U.S. West—as seen by the employment of Chinese workers to build the western half of the transcontinental railroad.[9] Certainly, these characterizations were used to confine different groups of workers into particular economic sectors, their status reinforced through prohibitions to permanent settlement because of race and nationality.[10] In the

late 19th and early 20th centuries, common laborers were essential to the developing infrastructure of the U.S. West, and Asian Americans were a key part of the labor force. Agriculture, timber, canning, and other industries all developed into "big business," requiring large groups of workers to cull the earth's products. With intensive development from the U.S. economy, as well as interests in transportation, electricity, communication, and water, business owners were able to develop large agricultural concerns.[11]

A number of agricultural places are already represented as historic sites. In Hawai'i, sugar plantations became a key job site for Asian American workers. Trade in the Pacific and interest in the valuable products of sandalwood and whaling oil led U.S. businesses to establish footholds in Hawai'i. The establishment of the Old Koloa Mill in 1835, which became the first commercially viable sugar mill in the region, heralded the new rise of sugar capitalism.[12] As American corporate businessmen established domination in the agricultural fields, radically reshaping land ownership and economic practices, they developed sugar into a major business. By the 1870s, business owners realized that sugar would be a profitable crop and consolidated their interests in a corporate oligarchy that would be known as the "Big Five" after the five major companies that dominated Hawaii's economy and society.[13]

California agriculture was another important site for Asian American labor. In the 1880s, the railroad was key in stimulating a national demand for California agricultural products like truck crops and citrus, with the advent of the transcontinental railroad connecting the country and the development of refrigeration for railway cars.[14] Through consolidating land properties and promoting irrigation, California growers were able to amass major holdings and profits by industrialization. By the end of the century's third decade, more than 75 percent of California's agricultural output was in cotton, vegetables, and fruits, with citrus crops as a dominant crop from around 1890 to 1940.[15] The largest industry in California, agriculture, was responsible for promoting other allied industrial fields, like canning and packing, as well as the development of transportation systems, financial organizations, and a political structure to support growers.[16] By depending on transitory workers, California agribusiness was able to keep wages low, as new groups of workers regularly entered the market. Workers of Filipina/o and Mexican descent also found other groups, such as Native Americans, Chinese, Japanese, Italians, Portuguese, Armenians, Asian Indians, and Koreans.[17] Because of the seasonal demands of specialized crops, growers established higher profit margins by employing non-unionized workers who formed a moveable labor pool.[18]

Agriculture has remained a critical industry in California in the modern-day United States. Among the most famous strike participants were Filipino farmworkers in the 1965 Grape Strike. In 1959, the AFL-CIO organized the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) in Stockton, and in 1962, the National Farm Workers Association was established in Delano. On September 8, 1965, Delano farmworkers, who were primarily Filipino, decided to walk out for a 10-cent hourly raise, so they could earn the $1.40 an hour paid to Mexican bracero workers.[19] On September 16, 1965, eight days after the walkout began, the three-year-old National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) led by César Chávez, Dolores Huerta, and Gilbert Padilla decided to support the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee strike.[20] In August 1966, the AWOC joined with the NFWA to form the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO (UFWOC).[21] To balance the interests of different communities, César Chávez became director and Larry Itliong, a Filipino activist, became assistant director.[22]

Due to U.S. domination in the Pacific, militarism was also another key field for Asian American labor. At the end of the 19th century, the United States gained its first real possessions in the Pacific as a result of defeating the then-fading Spanish empire. In 1898, the United States emerged as an imperial power in its own right, with claims not only on Puerto Rico and Cuba but also in Hawai'i, Guam, and the Philippines. The rapid growth of cities like San Francisco during this period was predicated on the booming military trade, especially as San Francisco became a crucial site for U.S. soldiers deploying overseas. Military expansion further consolidated economic growth, redefining the significance of U.S. West Coast ports as transportation networks connected global shipping to domestic rail systems, enabling the movement of goods from Pacific ports to the rest of the country.[23] Hence, during this time, the Pacific became



A drydock in the Mare Island Naval Shipyard in Vallejo, California. The shipyard employed many Filipino workers. It was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1976. Photo by William Dewey; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

simultaneously "domestic" and "foreign" space for the United States, following Supreme Court decisions in the early part of the 20th century regarding the U.S. colonization of the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico. Guam, for example, became an "unincorporated territory" of the United States, in a liminal position between statehood and independence.[24] Through these political processes, formerly "foreign" spaces became "domestic," as evidenced by U.S. control over Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base in the Philippines.[25] All of these sites remained important in the following decades for the incorporation of workers into the United States' strategic plans for the Pacific.

The migration of Asian workers into the U.S. economy was one result of the United States' sustained interest in Asia. Indeed, in the case of groups like the Filipina/os, they already were part of the U.S. economy as the Philippines formerly constituted the farthest edge of the U.S. West during the colonial era. Militarism formed a fundamental part of the growth of cities like Seattle, Long Beach, and especially San Francisco, as the United States prepared for multiple wars in the 20th century Pacific. Importantly, military sites on the U.S. West Coast need to be framed within this developing political and military infrastructure. All of these sites are integral to Asian American labor history. Not only are they representative of the United States' burgeoning interests in Asia and reflective of the United States' consolidated interest in the Pacific and Asia, but they are themselves sites for Asian American workers, whether as construction personnel or military workers. For example, after colonization, the U.S. implemented a new formal political and military administration, recruiting Filipinos as troops and as other workers in support of U.S. military aims. Subic Naval base, for example, always relied on Filipina and Filipino personnel to build its infrastructure as well as to populate its staff. Gaining access to the U.S. Navy became a coveted prize for thousands of Filipino men who vied for those opportunities and resources. Due to racial segregation, however, Filipinos were confined for many years to serving as naval stewards, essentially performing the domestic work of cooking and cleaning on board naval vessels.[26]

RETELLING: RESISTANCE AND COUNTER NARRATIVES

In Asian American labor history, historic sites are important because of the impetus they give to the retelling of stories of struggle and resistance. Often, these sites mark community formation, as well as highlighting local campaigns of resistance and organizing.

These historic sites, as fixed points in workers' geographies, lend themselves to further designation as key places and potential repositories for community history. Even if workers were migratory, they typically had particular places they visited regularly to find employment or seek support. At the same time, these fixed sites usually had permanent residents as well, whether they ran community businesses for migratory community members or were lucky enough to attend local schools. In addition to rural areas, Asian American communities have regularly formed in large urban centers around the country, especially New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. In part a result of the role of port cities as entry spaces, communities have organized, often in spaces relegated to working-class people of color. Within the Chinatowns, Little Tokyos, and Manilatowns, often positioned in close proximity to one another because of racialized segregation, entrepreneurs and professionals alike set up businesses, including restaurants, grocery stores, newspapers, and doctors' offices. In addition, these sites served as hubs for family associations, churches, temples, and other organizations serving ethnic communities. For both the established, stable population and the migratory population, these centers served as home base. The Panama Hotel in Seattle, King County, Washington was an important stopping place for migrating laborers of color, where they could hope that a network of family and friends could provide a meal or a night's lodging.[27] The same was true for other major centers, like Stockton and San Francisco.

One of the most thriving centers for the Japanese American community was Little Tokyo in Los Angeles. At a time when Japanese immigrants were constrained by exclusionary legislation like the California Alien Land Law of 1913, Little Tokyo was a vital community base for Japanese Americans living and working in the surrounding regions.[28] The effort to recognize Stockton's Little Manila as a historic site, as chronicled by Dawn Mabalon, reminds us of the urgent need to mobilize community members, administrative agencies, and historic preservationists in the struggle to reclaim historic Asian American community sites.[29] Vivek Bald has documented early community formations of Bengali workers in sites like the Tremé neighborhood in New Orleans in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and the Bengali Muslim community in New York City in the 1920s and 1930s.[30] And in the present day, Asian American entrepreneurial businesses have continued to thrive in places like Little Saigon in Orange County, California. Little Saigon, which is home to over 200,000 Vietnamese Americans, is the largest Vietnamese community site outside of Vietnam, featuring a dense constellation of grocery stores, restaurants, travel agencies, and other businesses. [31]

In addition to developing organizations within community spaces, resistance on the work site was another way that workers could protest, from slowing down one's pace of work on the job, to disobeying the boss's orders, to extended absenteeism, to deciding to move to another job. Within these scenarios, striking was an



The Little Tokyo Historic District in Los Angeles is a National Historic Landmark. In 1942, the shop window of the Asahi Dye Works in Little Tokyo reminded patrons to pick up their clothing before the owners were forced to leave under Executive Order 9066. Photo by Clem Albers, April 1942; courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.



Buildings under construction at what will become the Poston War Relocation Center on the Colorado River Indian Reservation near Parker, Arizona, April 1942. The school complex in Unit 1 was designated a National Historic Landmark in 2012. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

extreme form of resistance because of the possibility of losing one's livelihood and job, the physical danger involved in direct confrontation, and the fact that companies usually relied on private security as well as law enforcement officials to maintain order in the workplace. Despite the great risks involved, Asian workers have undertaken strikes for better wages and conditions, even in the most desperate of conditions.

In 1867, thousands of Chinese railroad workers struck for more pay and an eight-hour work day.[32] Strikes in 1909 and 1920 in Hawai'i underscored the importance of mobilizing for better wages and conditions, in a sugar industry dominated by an entrenched oligarchy. Despite their geographical isolation and the pressing need to earn money for themselves and their families, workers united in several major strikes to effect better conditions. First coalescing around ethnic identities, as seen in the case of the Japanese workers in 1909, workers later unionized across race and ethnicity to develop a stronger base for resistance. In 1920, 8,300 Filipina/o and Japanese workers went on strike, despite the ruthless attempts of owners to intimidate them. Not only did the owners bring in over 2,000 strikebreakers, but they also evicted 12,000 people from their homes on plantations, resulting in the deaths of 95 Filipina/os and 55 Japanese from influenza. In their protests, these workers freely drew on political resources in the United States and claimed membership in U.S. space, despite their racialized status. On April 3, 1920, for example, some 3,000 Japanese and Filipina/o workers demonstrated, carrying American flags, pictures of Abraham Lincoln, and banners with slogans like, "77 Cents—This Is Our Pay for Ten Hours of Hard Labor," "We want to live like Americans," and "How can we live like Americans on 77 cents? All we want is $1.25." Other demands included an eight-hour day and resources for maternity leave and child care.[33]

The Great Depression in the 1930s led to increasing worker resistance, as conditions became increasingly desperate because of poor wages and few options. The year 1934 marked a time of tremendous unrest, as strikes throughout California underscored the need for workers to mobilize. The Filipino Labor Union, for example, organized in December 1933 and grew into seven locals and about 2,000 members. By August 1934, 3,000 Filipina/os began a strike in Salinas, California, lettuce fields, which resulted in serious repression, including the burning down of a labor camp; seven hundred Filipina/os were forcibly evicted from their homes.[34] Even under the most oppressive of conditions, however, when tens of thousands of Japanese immigrants and their American-born children were imprisoned in remote facilities in the inland United States, Asian American workers still struck. In 1942, in the Colorado River Relocation Camp popularly known as Poston, workers objected to their pay and work conditions and staged a general strike. Soon after martial law in World War II, Hawai'i was lifted in 1944, thousands joined in a general strike in 1946, despite large challenges to coalition-building. The ILWU (International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union) soon emerged as a significant political presence in the Territory, after obtaining significant contracts for workers in the sugar and pineapple industries, as well as on the docks.[35]

Sites like New York City, with large numbers of immigrant residents, continued to be critical areas for organizing. In 1982, 20,000 Chinese women garment workers struck in New York Chinatown, protesting factories with antiquated equipment, with child care as one of the most important demands. Bearing multiple roles

as full-time workers and parents with family responsibilities, women struck for fair pay and better conditions. So too did taxi workers, striking in 1998 through the New York Taxi Workers Alliance, which fought on behalf of its immigrant constituencies[36]

Grassroots and community-based labor organizations continue to be key places for articulating the needs and aspirations of Asian American workers. Even as activist groups like the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance and the Asian Immigrant Women's Advocates continue organizing, recognizing Asian American labor continues to be an uphill struggle. Yet, the efforts continue. In Los Angeles, the Korean Immigrant Workers Association organized Korean and Latina/o workers who were in the garment, construction, and janitorial industries. Based in Northern California, the Asian Immigrant Workers Association organized hotel workers in Oakland and electronic assemblers in the Silicon Valley, as well as garment workers. The Thai Community Development Center assisted Thai workers in their battle against exploitative conditions in El Monte, California.[37]

More organizations have emerged to articulate causes and to advocate for change. Some notable cases can be linked to unrest about the U.S. economy and fears about competition from other countries. For example, during an economic downturn in Detroit's auto industry, Chinese American Vincent Chin was beaten to death in a hate crime just weeks before his wedding because of prevalent fears and anger about the auto industry losing the competition to Japan.[38] Joseph Ileto, a postman who was delivering mail when he was approached by a white supremacist and shot, was another Asian American who was murdered as he tried to go about his work, as was Balbir Singh Sodhi, one of the first casualties after 9/11 who managed a gas station in Mesa, Arizona.[39] Sodhi's story is chronicled in "Divided We Fall," a film directed by Sharat Raju and narrated by Valarie Kaur, who has emerged as a national activist for storytelling, justice, and peace. We remember these stories to honor people's lives as well as to underscore the continuing need to support and protect Asian American workers.[40]

CONCLUSION: REFRAME, RECOGNIZE, AND RETELL

In this essay, I have emphasized the perspective of Asian American labor history as an important way to understand historic sites and processes of U.S. national culture. To do so, however, we must maintain a wider lens and dislodge a history that upholds established ways of seeing that result in the erasure of the history of different groups. If, instead of seeing Asian American labor history as specific and particular, we consider the larger frames that it illuminates, we can better recognize not only the pervasive relations of power that organize our understanding of these different sites, but we can also see how the histories of different groups, are actually quite central to our national story. Perhaps one of the most important reasons to analyze Asian American labor history in relation to historical sites is because this process not only bears testimony to people's experiences but also opens up a space for dialogue in a history that is too often uneven or marked with ambivalence. Hence, counter-narratives can arise that help us challenge established stories and open new ways of seeing.

First, in the spaces outlined in this essay, my focus has been on sites in the public realm. How would our viewpoint change if we added private spaces as well, for example, in terms of the double day faced by so many Asian American women workers? Nearly all women employed outside their homes worked a "double day," with responsibility in their workplace and more duties within the house. Additional labor burdens usually fell on women because of the challenge of balancing paid and unpaid labor, as well as the typical reliance on women for the reproductive labor of maintaining a family. Work was not simply about outside employment but also the uncompensated work in their private spheres. Household management and child care were sometimes undertaken by men, but more often than not, were handled by women and older children, especially the older daughters. [41]

Here is another continuing issue that shapes the relation of Asian American workers to national historic sites: why are so many Asian American workers still perceived as "foreign"? In the post-World War II era, the United States gave special preference to professionals and other intelligentsia through exchange programs and major legislation like the 1965-1968 immigration laws, which encouraged professionals to migrate.[42] One of these professionals was Wen Ho Lee, a scientist who was recruited during the Cold War and who worked for over two decades at Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory. Students of Asian American labor history know about

the historic site of the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, not only because it was a test site for the nuclear bomb but also because of the accusations levied against Wen Ho Lee who was unfairly accused of espionage. Lee spent 278 days in solitary confinement before a federal judge apologized to him and ordered his release.[43]

And then there is the Wards Cove case. This case began in 1974 when Frank Atonio, a Samoan American, and nine other salmon cannery workers began a class-action employment discrimination case on behalf of two thousand Samoan, Alaska natives, Filipino, Chinese, and Japanese workers. Wards Cove was a canning enterprise in Ketchikan, Alaska, in which almost all of the higher-paying jobs were filled by whites, while almost all of the lower-paying and unskilled work was performed by people of color. Housing and dining hall segregation was prevalent: separate and unequal. In 1981, union leaders Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo, who had been organizing for economic justice for cannery workers as well as against the Marcos regime in the Philippines, were slain, through a chain of orders that eventually was traced in court to the Marcos administration. Eight years later in 1989, the Supreme Court narrowly found for the company, and ruled that the burden of proof regarding alleged workplace discrimination landed on the employees and not the employers. The Civil Rights Act of 1991 sought to rectify this; however, it carried a provision that excluded the Wards Cove case, a result of powerful lobbying of Wards Cove and other business and political interests. In 1993, then President Clinton gave his support for removal of this exemption. However, although House Representative Jim McDermott (Democrat, Washington State) has repeatedly introduced legislation to change this exemption, most recently in 2013, the exemption still remains.[44]

Reframe, recognize, retell. In this essay, I have argued for the possibility of utilizing Asian American labor history to interrogate our relationship to historic sites in U.S. national culture. As an educator, I also want to argue that perhaps the truest accomplishment is when we can get young people not just to recognize their connections to a national past but also encourage them to question and challenge how social justice can be achieved. Paradoxically, younger generations today have wider access to information instantly and easily and, at the same time, might feel more connection to sites in cyberspace than in physical space. Assessing labor history in relation to national sites not only gives us a chance to reframe past erasures and highlight worker resistance, but it also gives us a chance to assess how much is left to be done to support Asian American workers and those from other communities as well.

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Essay 7

Asian American Businesses, 1848 to 2015 Accommodation and Eclectic Innovation

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At first glance, the challenge of generating a comprehensive overview of Asian American businesses, from the 1840s to the present, seems daunting.[1] First, because such businesses were typically small-scale before World War II, and the documentary record in terms of detailed accounts about such enterprises in the published literature ranges from non-existent to slim. In addition, since Asian immigrants and their descendants made their way into most regions of the United States early on, both in terms of ethnic enclaves but also as independent entrepreneurs, most of their names and endeavors have been long and deeply buried.[2] What is more, the sheer numbers are staggering. One authority noted that, even over a decade ago, there were on the order of 1.1 million registered businesses owned by Asian Americans, encompassing marginal to global concerns.[3] By definition, then, and from the beginning, no short survey

The interior of a Chinese laundry in Washington, D.C., located beneath a government charwoman's apartment. Photo by Gordon Parks, 1942; courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

along the present lines can claim completeness. What is more, introducing some criteria for delimiting the subject is imperative in order to make a survey manageable. My emphasis here is on the mainland United States, on "small" businesses, significant innovations they have introduced, and on the study of such enterprises vis-à-vis a "preservation" agenda.[4] Beyond this, the conceptual framework I rely upon here assumes a global perspective on the ties between Asia and the U.S. In this context, sojourning/immigration from Asia has to be framed in terms of the impact of "the West upon the rest," generally, and forced integration of Asian pre-industrial economic systems into the world system, specifically.

Concomitantly, as far as the term "innovation" is concerned, I do not mean "new configurations or applications of an idea, product, or strategy"—i.e., the kind of definition often found in a standard dictionary. Rather, Asian American small businesses have to be understood vis-à-vis the many overt barriers that historically limited new Asian immigrants in the USA, especially before the war. To wit, from the beginning, because of the Naturalization Act of 1790, immigrants from Asia were barred from access to naturalization. From that initial disempowering status, each group faced historical conditions related to racial projects in progress as they arrived: e.g., the Chinese in terms of westward expansion and the subsequent Age of Empire; the Japanese, Koreans, and South Asians in terms of racial exclusion combined with passage of state-based alien land laws throughout the West during the Progressive Era; the Filipinos at the cusp and then heart of the Great Depression; and so forth. In sum, institutional discrimination whether at the local, state, or national levels impeded Asians' ability to compete on a level playing field, educationally or occupationally, let alone in terms of fair access to resources and opportunities. Thus, since the specific barriers that Asians faced in running small businesses before, and even to some extent after, federal Civil Rights legislation of the mid-1960s, are too complex to trace in each instance, throughout the cases that are described below, readers must "read in" a larger context of sustained and injurious racial projects that marginalized, if not excluded, populations of color, including Asians in the United States. And this is a theme I will return to again toward the end of this essay.

THE CHINESE DIASPORA SETS THE STAGE

I propose that, while small numbers of Asians may have arrived in the United States earlier, including Filipinos who settled along America's Gulf Coast, the arrival of Chinese in the west sets the precedent for understanding Asian immigrants and a plethora of forms of small business.[5]

Small businesses definitely accompanied the arrival of Chinese immigrants in the late 1840s, responding first to gold rushes in the American west, starting around Sacramento as of 1848, and then, a bit later, to the construction of the railway that knit Sacramento to the east coast and subsequently to north-to-south hubs such as Seattle and San Diego. While many Chinese initially came as laborers, there is solid evidence that they quickly attempted to earn a living in mining and agriculture as proprietors in their own right.[6] And this same penchant for ownership wasn't limited to central California. Chinese in northeastern Oregon set up mining claims in the 1860s, both in Granite and Union Creek areas.[7] Besides gold and the railroads, Chinese engaged in and sold wage labor in canning, logging, and other extractive industries throughout the west and beyond. One report has it that, by the 1880s, there were already some 3,000 Chinese working in the canneries along the Columbia River in what was eventually to become the Territory of Alaska, which is not to say that Chinese were only relegated to selling their physical labor. Chinese "gardeners" reclaimed land as of the late 19th century and built vegetable and other gardens, some of which can still be seen



Japanese agricultural workers packing broccoli near Guadalupe, California. Photo by Dorothea Lange for the Farm Security Administration, March 1937. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

today (e.g., the Chinese gardens around Warren, Idaho). rIn San Francisco, in particular, Chinese also made entry into skilled trades, including the cigar, clothing, shoe and slipper, printing, and construction industries, although these kinds of occupations remained open to them for only a couple of decades.[8]

As thousands of Chinese laborers arrived (but no more than 120,000 by 1880) and dispersed throughout California and the west, early businesses sprang up which were directly related to their provisioning. Worthy of special consideration here is the role of the labor broker. Unlike the men who gave their youth, strength, and sometimes their lives in order to build the infrastructure of the west, the names of these labor brokers were often recorded in Asian language accounts. Often men who had a modicum of education, a broker's bilingual language skills enabled him to assess dominant society labor needs that required small-to-large numbers of men, even as they built networks on the docks and rooming houses in order to recruit new arrivals. By charging fees for their placement services, as well as by supplying goods-and-services that laborers might need once they were hired, brokers could make handsome profits by provisioning Asian workers with "basics" such as food stuffs and groceries, hardware and other goods, communication services (having to do with translation, correspondence, bureaucratic paperwork, etc.), and needs related to leisure and "entertainment," such as music and possibly news from back home. Incidentally, "leisure," for early Asian laborers, would be inclusive of activities that were and still are considered as "vice" by the dominant society: e.g., gambling, illegal narcotics, prostitution, and so forth. In sum, labor brokering became an early nexus for small business, on the one hand, because it entailed bringing immigrant Chinese laborers to a host of industries including mining, agriculture and farming, and wage labor pursuits related to domestic service, gardening, and similar occupations. On the other hand, by providing access to goods-and-services to such men, labor brokers could gain both wealth and power. Thus, along with merchants, labor brokers can be retrospectively indexed as markers of the early class stratification within the incipient Chinese American communities.

In any case, details aside, what remains certain is that agricultural pursuits were *key* to the livelihood of the pre-war sojourners and immigrants from Asia. Even in terms of large urban ethnic community formations, such as Los Angeles's Little Tokyo, the economic foundation of this seemingly autonomous urban enclave was deeply and decidedly based on ties that ran out to, and were in fact based on, rural agricultural endeavors. Although these rural-urban business linkages are not as strong today as they once were, agriculture, or at least small-scale farms and farming, have remained an occupational choice for new Asian immigrants even up to the 2000s. An outstanding example would be that of the Hmong refugee populations in semi-rural areas, surrounding cities such as Fresno and Merced in the central valley of California. Reportedly, approximately half of the Hmong who headed to Fresno, for example, expressed in one survey the likelihood that they would wind up working in some area related to farming and agriculture.[9]

While the tiny Korean immigrant population on the U.S. mainland before the war engaged in agriculture, and few new Korean immigrants pursue this occupation now, there are still some modern day farmers from this ethnic background, including rice growers at the Yu Farm in Earlimart, California, and the Lee Jai Soo family-operated farm in Maxwell, California. Cha also reports present-day organic farms run by Koreans in states such as New Jersey and Florida.[10]

Apart from the Chinatowns and other "main street" business formations, certain kinds of Chinese-run and Chinese-staffed businesses were established with an eye toward servicing the needs of the dominant society.[11] These would include, first and foremost, service-oriented businesses such as restaurants—featuring Chinese or American cuisine, or both—and laundries. Grocery stores, Chinese art and curios shops, stores tied to the retail market in clothing are all on the record, as are larger, more sophisticated businesses that dealt with the wholesale/retail linkages in terms of vegetables, fish, flowers, and similar commodities.

Even banks and investment companies emerged by the early 20th century, either based largely on local capital and/or on capital raised between the points of origin of the Chinese immigrants and their points of destination in the United States. Two features of the economic practices of early Asian immigrants in Hawai'i and the U.S. mainland are worthy of note. Before formal banking institutions evolved in a number of the com-

munities, informal mutual aid networks were utilized to enable primitive capital accumulation. Formed in terms of a range of different bases, including common origins, shared religiosity, on different terms, and known by a range of linguistically-specific terms—*ko, tanomoshi, hui, gye, paluwagan*, and so forth—these rotating credit associations, as they are known in the historical and social science literature, provided ready access to smaller amounts of capital that could be used for start-up purposes, investments of various kinds in small business pursuits, and even as a stake in order to petition a wife from the home country, as sometimes financial requirements were mandatory in making such a request.

Similar informal mechanisms are employed even today, sometimes by much wealthier participants, including (or so I have been told by my students over the years) Vietnamese Americans who run jewelry businesses and can leverage hundreds of thousands of dollars in this fashion.[12] These practices were apparently so prevalent in the Korean newcomer's communities that the *Los AngelesTimes* reported that the U.S. Internal Revenue Service initiated investigations in various congregations in order to determine whether capital raised via *gye* was in violation of IRS tax regulations.

A serious reason, then, for putting together formal financial institutions by/for compatriots had to do with structural barriers. Specifically, not having access to naturalization meant that Chinese and other Asian immigrants were very limited in terms of their ability to access capital via mainstream banks or savings and loan institutions. So quite simply put, they had to form their own specialized businesses in this regard.

If total exclusion toward the end of the 19th century was the fate of the Chinese and if wage labor and small business at best were often the livelihood of most of these immigrants, I propose that the elements for a typology of Asian American small business, based in ethnic-specific agricultural endeavors, can be proposed on the basis of the above outline.

Four Classic Types of Asian American Small Business Formation and Innovation

In the remainder of this essay, I would like to illustrate how the use of a heuristic typology can facilitate the understanding of special contributions of Asian American small businesses and, at the same time, foster awareness of their innovative dimensions. The typology consists of four consolidated ways to view data about small businesses. These include elements as part of: (1) ethnic enclaves/communities; (2) regional business complexes; (3) sets of specialized economic niches; and (4) preeminent individuals who were innovators/magnates.

Again, historically-speaking, there have been so many small businesses that, while arbitrary, this typology lends itself to aspects of Asian Americans and small business that are unique or at least distinctive. At the same time, I propose that this typology also lends itself well to issues of preservation, which demand a selective set of criteria in their own right.

Ethnic Communities/Enclaves

If laborers, rooming houses/migrants' hotels, and labor brokers, together, lay at the foundation of Asian American business enterprise in the United States, the rise of more permanent ethnic enclaves or settlements was another development intimately linked to Asian



New Chinatown, Los Angeles. This part of Los Angeles was originally Little Italy and Old Chinatown was about a mile away. By the late 1930s the old Chinatown had either been demolished or burned, and concerted efforts to develop a New Chinatown had resulted in new or remodeled commercial and residential buildings. Buildings such as those pictured here are common in New Chinatown. Photo by Carol Highsmith, 2012; courtesy of the Library of Congress.



In Chinatown, San Francisco, California, a group of men congregates outside of a local business on August 28, 1901. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

ethnic small businesses. We can continue, first, with the Chinese case.

By the end of the fifth decade of the 19th century, large, permanent Chinatowns appeared in the various ports of entry, such as Los Angeles and San Francisco, as well as in what became known subsequently as the "International District" of Seattle. In point of fact, however, smaller Chinatown formations were established before the 20th century in many regions east of California, all the way to New York—especially where there were more than 250 people of Chinese descent living in a relatively circumscribed area.[13] Chinese established themselves in New York as early as the late 1840s, for example, and although smaller than its key "sister" communities on the west coast, it had a population of some 7,000 members by 1890 and a full complement of the kinds of businesses found in an ethnic community formation along these lines.[14] In the most developed Chinatowns on the two coasts, it was even said that one could literally go from "womb to tomb" and have every need met by compatriots who were also of Chinese ancestry and who spoke the same Cantonese dialect. In addition, in the largest Chinatowns, remarkable structures of self-governance also evolved in these so-called bachelor societies, taking the form of a hierarchy of associations, fully willing and able to police the Chinese population, able to mediate disputes, and otherwise keep the dominant society's legal, judicial, and penal institutions and personnel, including the local police, at bay.

Special note should be made here in regard to the small businesses set up by Filipino immigrants in the United States, some of which may have very early origins. In her monograph, *Filipinos in Louisiana*, Marina E. Espina describes the "Manila Village" near Lafitte, where some 300 Filipinos established a shrimp fishing industry sometime in the 1880s.[15] Similarly, some 100 Filipinos were said to have set up a settlement dedicated to fishing, known as St. Malo, close to the mouth of Lake Borgne in St. Bernard Parish.

Compared to what we know about early Chinese and Japanese small enterprise, relatively little has been documented about the Filipinos who began to come to the U.S. mainland in larger number during the 1920s. Perhaps this lacuna was exacerbated by scholars' initial claims that Filipinos did not tend to engage in small business formation because of their peripatetic movement in pursuit of employment, an initial lack of capital, and because established Chinese and Japanese grocery store owners were able to meet new demands by adding Filipino goods to their extant stock.[16]

An exemplary piece of documentation that interested readers can consult is the case of the Philippine Islands Market, or P.I. Market (see the on-line account, available at https://sites.google.com/site/centralcoastroutesandroots/roots/pi-market). Established in the town of Pismo Beach, California, in 1936 and incorporated in 1941, the P.I. Market grew to the extent that branch stores were also established in Salinas, Montalvo and Los Angeles. Typical of many similar grocery stores set up by Asian immigrants then and now, the P.I. Market sold Filipino goods and sundries, but it also served as a community gathering place and center. Oral history accounts describe how the pioneer Manongs

who wound up working at the Pismo Beach store or its branches came to be like family members to later generations of Filipinos who patronized the Market. There is little doubt that similar histories remain to be recorded throughout the west, mid-west, and the east, since Filipinos settled in all of these areas.[17] Yet this remains a relatively understudied phenomenon that deserves redress.

Another business formation that involves proximate businesses, but is less than a neighborhood, which also deserves further attention, has to do with Filipino business clusters that sprang up during the 1920s within or adjacent to established Chinese and Japanese American communities. Seattle's International District is a pertinent example of such formations, as was the immediate city block of Kearney Street in the heart of San Francisco's Chinatown.[18]

As successive groups of Asian immigrants arrived in the United States, whether from Japan, Korea, India, or the Philippines, a plethora of businesses evolved in the context of the ethnic-specific "enclaves" they typically set up, especially where there were ports of entry. That process has been replicated by almost every group of Asian immigrants both historically and in the present. The range of businesses they set up might be fairly limited: e.g., small hotels and rooming houses, restaurants, a barber shop/bath house, grocery and dry goods stores, bars, and possibly gaming establishments.[19] Other, larger formations could provide an extensive set of "womb to tomb" services if critical mass happened to be large enough. These would include multiple iterations of the above but also more specialized, sophisticated services including banks, newspapers, religious institutions, newspapers, theaters, clubs, and a host of formal professional, mutual interest, as well as politically-related organizations.

In larger community formations one might even expect to find businesses related to tourism, revolving around various levels of exotified ambience, cultural festivals, events such as Miss Chinatown, Miss Orient, etc., as well as clubs of various types from the prototypical Forbidden City, USA in San Francisco to nightclubs, bars, and other late-night joints. From early on, gambling, narcotics, prostitution, and gang-related pursuits including protection and extortion were also sources of "small business" income.

Today, this list would include gangs and mafia-like transnational crime organizations, bleeding into illicit transactions that have become "big business" such as the heroin and other drug trade, human smuggling, and traffic involving the servitude and even slavery of undocumented and thus very vulnerable immigrants.[20]

Perhaps not surprisingly, because new immigration from East, South, and Southeast Asian countries has continued apace, incipient Asian community formation along these broad lines continues up to today. Smaller than its older sister in Los Angeles, New York's Koreatown is home to more than 30 percent of that city's metropolitan Korean population. Since the 1980s, Korean Americans have also established ethnic enclaves in suburban settings in New York and New Jersey as well. In the Korean business areas in Fort Lee and Palisades Park, alone, there are reportedly more than 250 KA stores that serve compatriots, whether they are living in more concentrated or more dispersed neighborhoods in the immediate area.[21]

Another example, this time involving Southeast Asians, has to do with the Cambodian American enclave reported in Lowell, Massachusetts.[22] In that locale, where critical mass has been well established, Das reports that the local Cambodian American Business League lists a solid number of restaurants, salons, jewelry, insurance, real estate, electronics stores, and travel agencies, with food-related services playing a special role as a kind of "start-up" business.[23] The Cambodian community formation sufficiently large and visible enough now that Das reports plans are currently in the works to cultivate the locale in terms of an ethnic "attraction" that will draw tourist dollars.

A related community formation has been reported for the incipient Lao American ethnic economy reported in a number of locales across the United States, specifically in terms of ethnic business settings that feature a "local Lao ethnic market".[24] The major feature of the latter has to do with the high level of informal labor that is deployed in order to generate viable profit margins. In part, a consequence of the language-specific preferences of proprietors and customers, as well as the culturally-specific nature of Lao cuisine, these "local ethnic markets" have not been able to attract non-Lao customers, so they remain somewhat marginalized. Other informal characteristics of Lao American businesses along these

lines have to do with flexibility and low profit margins, as they frequently engage Lao women as well as a range of immediate and extended family members, including the elderly, and may allow bartering or exchange as a medium of payment in place of cash.

In sum, even as there is a growing sector of well-educated Lao American professionals, the informal sector practices are an essential means of economic survival for these relatively recent immigrants. Laotian American "ethnic markets" it will be noted, resonate historically with the long tradition of restaurants and grocery stores set up by Chinese immigrants from the 1850s and onward. Thus a related point about small Asian American businesses, then and now, is that even in the 2000s the reasons for their formation, at least inside of the ethnic communities, are similar to those established in the distant past.

In many of the larger enclaves, one is likely to be able to identify print newspapers in Asian languages. These businesses did not necessarily last very long, but local histories report a surprising number of pre-war publications in the larger communities such as the *China Times* (est. 1921), *New Korea*, *Shin Sekai*, and various Filipino papers and magazines having to do with the Philippines, but also having to do with Filipino workers' rights and unionization in the United States.[25]

As previously mentioned, banks were established early on, if only because Asian immigrants before and immediately after the war did not have access to mainstream financial institutions. The Japanese American Financial Company was set up by the first generation Japanese *Issei* in 1899, and the Bank of Canton, which involved local as well as transnational capital, was one of the early banks set up on behalf of the Chinese American community.[26] Although few of the pre-war banking establishments survived the war and extended into the 1950s and 1960s, the new influx of immigrants from Asia after 1965 created a whole new market for larger financial institutions. As of 2007, two of the largest Chinese American banks were the East West Bank in Los Angeles and the United Commercial Bank in San Francisco, each having total assets of millions of dollars.[27] These post-war banks have roots in the 1960s and 1970s when Chinese Americans still suffered from discrimination such that getting their financial needs met by mainstream banks was not really possible.

Another notable example has to do with financial institutions set up by post-war Indian Americans. In 1986, the First Indo-American Bank was established in the San Francisco Bay Area and was chartered specifically in order to provide loans and capital to the Indian American community. When the bank was eventually sold in 2001, its assets were reportedly worth over $104 million dollars. And although there are no comprehensive lists of similar institutions today, one scholar estimates that as of 2009, there were at least 43 Asian American banks in the United States, serving many of the ethnic/national populations with Asian roots, headquartered principally in California.[28]

Regarding schools as a specialized kind of business, again responding to needs that could not be met by the dominant society's institutions, even in a population that was heavily skewed toward single males before the war, Chinese immigrants set up a community school in San Francisco as early as 1886. From 1912 to 1945, similar institutions were inaugurated in the Territory of Hawai'i, New York, Chicago, Washington D.C., and New Orleans. Interestingly enough, more than half a century later, educational aspirations remain a key concern for new Chinese immigrants, even though, throughout the 2000s, there have been published reports noting that (1) Asian American students need to score higher on standardized tests in order to be admitted into America's elite colleges; (2) speaking Chinese is not necessarily valued a "breadth" skill or ability; and (3) a baccalaureate degree is no longer a sure ticket to a well-paying, secure, professional career.[29] Nonetheless, in 2005, it was estimated that there were some 100,000 students in the United States who were studying in extra-curricular community-based language programs.[30]

Regional Economic Complexes

The idea of applying criteria involving what I call a "territorial regional complex" is that, whether serving the needs of the ethnic community or members of the dominant society, Asian American businesses can be usefully conceptualized as being linked in terms of a specific region. The prototype example of this comes from the seminal research of the historian Sandy Lydon in regard to the arrival, the tribulations, the contributions, and the eventual fate of Chinese immigrants to the Monterey Bay region of central California.

Shrouded in untamed frontiers, where solid records of pioneers are often difficult to come by, we still know that early Asians in the Americas brought knowledge, tools, skills, and their energy to their new homes. Lydon's remarkable study of the history of Chinese in California's Monterey Bay area is a landmark illustration of pioneering firsts. According to Lydon's account, some Chinese actually came into this relatively unsettled region in full family units, having sailed in their junks directly from Canton to California.

Otherwise, beginning like many of their compatriots as wage laborers, the Chinese who settled in Monterey were able to recognize, appreciate, and "mine" the largely untapped resources of the bay. Lydon's text and presentation of amazing historical photographs document how a wide range of species in the regional biosphere—including fish, mammals, and fauna—were harvested and sold. Chinese, for example, recognized sea urchin as a very marketable delicacy, which, like certain kinds of kelp and seaweed, could be dried and marketed. They also imported tools and techniques having to do with squid fishing from China and deployed an impressive concatenation of boats, grills, nets, and charcoal fire grids on top of long poles in order to lure the bay's squid to the surface at night where they could be easily scooped with large nets.

Some schemes Chinese devised to enrich themselves were brilliant. According to Lydon, Chinese brined and barreled some of their catch, the better supposedly to ship it back to China. While certainly the catch had some value, salt could be re-rendered from the brine itself and, because of Imperial monopolies and taxes, would actually be worth more than anything that had been caught and shipped! In this same innovative spirit, the Chinese identified and nurtured a new set of fisheries and harvests that had been largely untouched before their arrival.

As they had done in the bay, Chinese were able to recognize riches that were in the local environment, plainly out in the open, but that no one was utilizing. One gentleman, who earned the sobriquet of "Mustard Jim," made his fortune harvesting wild mustard seeds, for which he realized there was a lucrative overseas market. "Mustard Jim," who was not initially a land owner in the area, got access by promising to kill the local vermin plaguing the fields and, in return, simply asked for the landowner's leave to harvest the seeds of the wild mustard. Apparently the owners of the fields where he labored had no idea why "Mustard Jim" asked to be paid in this fashion and were happy to have him deal, too, with what they must have considered "a weed."

Concomitantly, in the area of agriculture, Chinese recognized that what appeared to be swampy, unused, and unusable acreage was actually quite fertile if it could first be drained. Drain they did, building ditches and levees, converting swamps into rich productive soil. Subsequently, when they became more established, Chinese worked specialty crops such as various fruits and berries, and eventually they started impressive businesses to dry and package harvests such as apples. Thus, agricultural labor, land reclamation, and innovations in farming tools, techniques, crops, and species all occurred in a setting where Chinese also contributed labor to mining and dangerous railroad work, as they did in so many parts of the west. In sum, Lydon's use of the metaphor of "Chinese gold" is a wonderful way to capture the interaction of these pioneer immigrants with the bountiful resources of Monterey's Bay area. While everyone is familiar with the Chinese role in the Gold Rush of 1848/49, Lydon's ability to expand the meaning of this clichéd phrase reminds us that precisely because of their cultural knowledge, the Chinese were able to see opportunity in local flora and fauna that were merely part of the region's vast "wilderness" to other early Californians.

A slightly different manifestation of the regional economic complex can be seen in terms of the Japanese American experience in Los Angeles and Southern California. The historian John Modell provided a useful analytic tool in terms of his depiction of the regional networks that linked downtown Los Angeles to the agricultural hinterlands north and south of the city proper.[31] Little Tokyo was the central node of these networks, as capital, power (to the extent that first-generation Japanese Americans held influence and power), and resources of all kinds were concentrated there. Farmers from the hinterlands surrounding the city could get basic credit advanced, as well as the seeds, tools, and other goods that they needed to grow their crops. Once grown and harvested, farmers could individually or collectively bring their product to LA's central produce market where it would be purchased by Nikkei wholesalers. The



Japanese Americans in San Juan Bautista, California, clean their cemetery before evacuation. Photo by Russell Lee; courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

wholesalers would then broker the fruits and vegetables to various Japanese American retailers, from mom-and-pop grocery stores, to restaurants and other businesses. Modell's key finding was that this vertical niche—literally, an interlinked chain of networks, all related to agriculture, spanned the farms, the LA produce market wholesalers, and the various retailers throughout the region—involved Nikkei partners, with Issei and Nisei working in every one. In this fashion, at least in terms of certain crops including table vegetables and berries, the Issei and the Nisei in and around Los Angeles were able to mitigate the effects of racialized discrimination and thus subordination vis-à-vis the larger economy.

A microcosmic case study of this same overall phenomenon is captured in Gary Kawaguchi's fascinating study of the evolution and dynamics of the California Flower Market complex.[32] What is very notable about the latter is that while the first- and second-generation Nikkei flower growers in the San Francisco Bay Area certainly constructed and drew from their own specialized vertical niche, the California Flower Market itself was decidedly a large multi-cultural business operation that entailed a remarkable interface among Japanese, Chinese, and Euro-American ethnic communities. It makes total sense that certain businesses would lend themselves to inter-ethnic relations of various kinds, and hopefully future scholars can attend to this possibility more assiduously, keeping in mind Kawaguchi's case study.

In terms of the situation for Southeast Asians, who generally formed ethnic communities with visible business sectors after the immigration reforms of the mid-1960s, Filipino Americans are a notable exception. One case study that has received increasing attention over the past decade is a residential/business area known as "Little Manila" in Los Angeles, being a visible and notable Filipino American neighborhood between the 1920s through the 1940s. Originally proximate to Little Tokyo, between San Pedro and Figueroa Streets on the east-west axis and Sixth Street and Sunset Boulevard on the southern and northern boundaries, respectively, this Little Manila was home to a dozen restaurants, half a dozen barbershops, pool halls, cafes, employment agencies, at least one photo studio, a newspaper, and various small businesses.[33] As one account has it "this community…became the hub where Filipinos congregated, lived, socialized, organized, and networked among their compatriots to find companionship, fellowship, and work." Although this formation shouldn't be conflated with what is now known as "Historical Filipinotown," in Los Angeles, similarities are also apparent between these two neighborhoods as well as sites such as "Manilatown," in San Francisco, and corollary "Little Manilas" found in a number of places in urban locales. In the hinterlands, the classic example is Stockton, California's, "Little Manila," which has roots going back to the early 20th century and was reputedly the largest Filipino American community in the United States.[34]

In the post-1965 period, one of the impressive, visible, ethnic community formations for Filipinos has to do with Daly City, located just south of San Francisco proper. In his comprehensive study of the "Filipino Nation" there, author Benito M.Vergara, Jr., identifies St. Francis Square as "the closest thing to a Pinoy commercial enclave." Centered by restaurants featuring extensive menus of traditional cuisine, Vergara highlights "Gerry's," as typical of the businesses in Daly City that revolve around transnational ties between the United States and the Philippines. Proximate to the Square are other well-known operations including the Philippine Grocery and the Serramonte Mall. At the time of this writing, the Serramonte Mall is slated for renovation that will eventually transform part of the site into a Daly City Filipino community center.[35]

Businesses and the "Magnate" Phenomenon

One of the popular aspects of the history of Asian small businesses, in the eyes of the larger public, has to do with Asian immigrant pioneers who went from "rags-to-riches." Their stories appear to resonate with a Horatio Alger-style mythology—a mythology that was and is held by many Asians who were and who are lured by images of America as the "Gold Mountain," rife with possibilities for fulfilling the American dream of prosperity. Unlike the nameless Asian wage laborers, the names and achievements of some of these pioneers are on the record, and many are still remembered as having been "kings" of one enterprise or another. Brief consideration of a few of these magnates will illustrate the point.

Some Chinese entrepreneurs started modest businesses but then were able to take their commerce to another level. Many of the Chinese residents in and around the small "China Alley" in Hanford, California, for example, served the local Euro-American residents, but early in the 20th century, Hanford boasted a number of men who were able to specialize in Chinese herbal medicine. The historian Him Mark Lai recounts the success of one, Dr. L.T. Sue, whose cures were so renown that he is reported to have had as many as one hundred patients seeking treatment a day.[36] At around the same time, a laborer, Wah Long Hum, came to the United States in 1878 from Guangdong, China, worked as a manual laborer, and eventually wound up in Butte, Montana. By 1910, he had established a store in Butte's "China Alley," and over time he became one of the richest and largest landowners in the area.[37] Wah Long, by the way, is also known as the father of Professor Rose Hum Lee. Dr. Lee, born in Butte, became a prominent academic, and was the first Chinese American woman to earn M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in Sociology.



A Chinese restaurant above a food mart on Race Street in Philadelphia. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Other entrepreneurs parlayed mundane enterprises into highly successful businesses. The Wo Kee general goods store, established in Manhattan on Mott Street, would be an early prototype. In 1921, Lee Gim opened the Chung Sun Grocery Store in Colusa, California, which—as a large and well-stocked business—became a model for later iterations of the large Chinese American supermarket.[38] Similarly, Joe Shoong, who was born in 1879 and raised in San Francisco, started a modest women's clothes shop in 1903. Slightly over twenty years later, Shoong consolidated over forty stores that he owned in California, Utah, Nevada, Washington, and Hawai'i into the National Dollar Stores, Limited, worth approximately $1 million by 1928.[39]

Today's parallels with the Wo Kee store can be identified in terms of businesses such as the "99 Ranch Markets," which are found all over California as well as in larger cities, such as Seattle, Phoenix, Las Vegas, and Honolulu. These are owned both by the parent corporation as well as by franchisers.

Well-known entrepreneurs from Japan who logged outstanding business achievements include Harry Sotaro Kawabe, who started in the laundry business in Alaska and made a fortune by initiating a range of enterprises. Similarly, Keisaburo Koga, rose from farm laborer to become the "rice king" of his region.[40] Kyutaro Abiko is yet another well-known community leader. Abiko purchased two newspapers in 1899 and fused them into the successful *Nichibei Shimbun*. Among other accomplishments, Abiko went on to establish a unique Japanese Christian agricultural community,

offering a religious and somewhat utopian vision of how the Issei immigrants might adapt in and contribute to the United States.

Korean immigrants were another group able to parlay success with farming into large- scale economic concerns. One outstanding example is the Kim Brothers Company based in Reedley, California. This family enterprise started in 1921:

> … as a small wholesale business dealing with fruit and nursery products, and expanded into orchards, fruit packing houses, and nurseries. In addition, the company began to develop new varietiesof fruit trees, working mainly with nectarines and peaches.[41]

When the business was finally sold in 1962, upon the retirement of the brothers Charles and Harry Kim, it was reportedly worth almost $1.5 million.[42] Similarly, in the early 1920s, Si-dae Hahn set up Hanka Enterprise Company in Delano, California. Over time, Hahn was able to purchase agricultural land in the area and eventually ran his farming operation on 400 acres, employing many Korean workers.[43]

Although there were far fewer immigrants from India, they too made their mark in agriculture. Jawala Singh arrived in the United States in 1905 and started a joint farming venture with a Sikh compatriot, first leasing and then purchasing land. Relatively quickly Singh made a fortune and earned the sobriquet of "Potato King." Singh was very active in politics as well, becoming an early supporter of the India independence movement, in the form of the Bay Area-based Ghadar Party.[44]

Whole ethnic agricultural enclaves sprang up during the early 1900s in California. One fascinating example has to do with Sikh farmers who settled in south-central Imperial County, east of San Diego and proximate to the Mexican border. According to extensive research by the anthropologist Karen Leonard, Sikh men scrimped and saved to purchase agricultural land in Imperial and then built thriving farms over the years. A number of these men wound up marrying women of Mexican descent, and these couples started an early bi-racial community.[45]

Another outstanding example of a South Asian specialized niche evolved in San Francisco in the 1950s. A remarkable group of compatriots, often with the same surname, Patel, began to purchase small hotels in the "downtown" district.[46] Over the next 30 years, not only did the Patels build a formidable business specialty in small hotels there, but South Asians generally made up an impressive percentage of small hotel/motel operations in California and in the United States as a whole. By the late 1990s, one estimate conjectured that Indian Americans might own as much as 65 percent of the budget hotels and perhaps as much as 40 percent of all hotels and motels, nationwide.[47]

Although the tradition in terms of Asian American small business concentration in specialized niches is no longer connected to the community's agricultural foundations, specialized niches continue into the present era. In the post-1965 setting, some specialized niches evolved which were very much part of new transnational linkages between new Asian immigrants and networks that tied them to businesses and capital in Asian countries of origin. An excellent example was well-documented by the sociologist Illsoo Kim, who showed how the preponderance of Korean new immigrant businessmen selling "human-hair" wigs in New York and on the eastern seaboard was a matter of their direct linkages to the developed and sophisticated wig industry back in South Korea.[48] Similarly, some second- and third-generation Patels have been able to draw from family businesses to launch bigger, more ambitious financial projects which entail development and/or banking and transnational investment concerns that operate on much larger scales than otherwise possible.

Finally, it is amazing to note how a few Asian Americans have been able to amass fortunes at relatively young ages via successful startups in the tech industry. If one Googles "Filipino American millionaires," for example, two names that appear toward the top of that list in 2016 are Garrett Gee, billed as a "Fil-Am millionaire," and Bobby Murphy, a 20-something mixed-race billionaire who made his fortune via "Snapchat."

For the most part, however, Asian American business niches are typically small scale, somewhat marginal, low-capital enterprises that rely on some amount of sweat-equity in order to keep afloat. Oft cited examples include Korean immigrant-owned grocery or liquor stores, Vietnamese or Koreans working in nail salons, Pakistani and Bengladeshi Americans working taxi franchises, and Cambodians owning and running donut

shops in Southern California. What is deceptive here in this day-and-age has to do with level of concentration within a particular niche. To give an idea of this phenomenon, research conducted by reporters at the *San Jose Mercury News* estimated that, as of 2005, Cambodian Americans owned approximately 90 percent of the 5,000 independently-owned donut stores in California, and, of these, some 1,800 were located in the greater Los Angeles area.[49] Thus, although the scale and earning of individual businesses might be small, having a commanding share in a large industry can sometimes serve as a vehicle to political empowerment, as the case of the Patel hotel owners in San Francisco has demonstrated.

Analytic Frame for Preservation

Conceptually and heuristically, it is now possible to point out how and why typological devices like the ethnic enclave, "regional economic complex," and specialized niches capture both the distinctive and the innovative contributions of Asian American small businesses. Note, to begin with, that if one were to target "small, innovative, business" as a focus, the definition lends itself to imagining specific and individual companies in their own right. This would encourage a particularistic, piecemeal approach. Nor does it seem worthwhile to try to identify "firsts" or even "first, path-breaking" examples, as the historical record is too murky to sustain distinctions along these lines with any level of empirical certainly. Finally, to highlight so-called outstanding entrepreneurs and their success stories, while heart-warming, would be quite deceptive.[50]

If we take Chinatown, or the Chinese economic strategies that evolved in a region like California's Monterey Bay, we need to begin analysis from a totally different framework that is fully appropriate to the cultural, social, and political constraints that framed the early Chinese experience in the California state context and the context of the United States in general. Such a framework has to be predicated on the fact that Chinese had no status and no rights, at least none that extended to persons who were by definition "ineligible to U.S. citizenship." (This status lasted until at least World War II for Chinese immigrants, and Japanese and Koreans, among others, had to wait until 1952.) Starting from there, Chinese were denied most ordinary avenues to pursue an education, skills, or jobs that would allow them to compete on an equal basis, and so on. Suffice it to say, then, that a range of businesses in terms of an ethnic enclave, across a regional area, or vis-à-vis specialized niches, provides a more accurate and thus more realistic, picture of how racialization and the economic constraints of the day set limits on Chinese and later on the other Asian immigrants who followed them, before further Asian immigration was barred in 1924. To be sure, oppression is only one side of the context: Chinese actively responded to barriers and constraints, with energy, creativity, and resistance. Their collective efforts help make up the foundation of Chinese and Asian Americans' contributions to the economy of this country's cities, hinterlands, regions, states, and the nation as a whole. And I propose that the same could be said for every one of the Asian immigrant groups that followed, well into the 1960s.

On April 21, 2014, I participated in a National Park Service "webinar" having to do with NPS programs: specifically how preservation projects were being carried out in the new millennium. Not having had a great deal of exposure to the National Historic Sites Act, or the current attempts to be more inclusive of racial/ethnic minorities, their histories, and their physical sites of great importance, it was exciting to hear about how the National Register of Historic Places is being expanded and how the number of National Historic Landmarks continues to grow apace.

At the same time, my survey has compelled me to wonder if criteria such as those identified and deployed by, say, the National Historic Landmarks program suffices for preservation objectives vis-à-vis small Asian American businesses.[51] One key issue has to do with a marked "traditional" orientation in terms of identifying specific individuals, buildings, sites, etc. for the purposes of preservation. Specifically, while an object-oriented bias is understandable if only because it lends itself to the immediate tasks of historic presentation, it tends to disguise a pertinent characteristic of Asian American small businesses, then and now; namely, that such businesses are often most properly framed: (1) vis-à-vis familial, community, and regionally-based networks and (2) vis-à-vis structural dimensions of racialization, overt and covert, that have and that may continue to constrain equal economic access and opportunity. Thus, "preservation" in terms of this particular topic appears

to demand units of analysis that are considerably larger than the stories of pioneering individuals, magnates of one kind or another, or "success stories" having to do with individual enterprises.

What, then, to highlight? First, I propose that the National Park Service look for a range of settings where territorial regional complexes have been evident. Without having the room to go into this in more detail here, it strikes me that these are well suited to understanding the evolution of Asian American businesses in areas such as the San Joaquin Delta, south of the California state capital. Looking at the relationship between Chinese and Japanese enclaves that emerged in towns in the San Joaquin Delta region, such as Locke, Isleton, and Walnut Grove, and how they were tied to Sacramento's and San Francisco's Chinatown and Japantown might offer a different approach to both historic preservation and to how Asian American business complexes might best be handled in order to serve preservation and educational goals. And although their preservation campaign was initiated after substantive demolition of historic buildings had already taken place, Stockton's "Little Manila Foundation" is actively trying to ear-mark and preserve what is left of that once-vibrant Filipino American community site (See http://www.littlemanila.org/). Without citing additional examples (and there are others), my proposition here is simply that these practices evolved in a wider range of times and settings than is often realized. This makes sense, even in terms of perspectives such as "rational action theory," and moreover, sites along these lines illustrate an Asian American response to racialized economic constraints if not oppression.

Second, the National Park Service can seek intersections between Asian American small businesses, political organizing, and the quest for citizenship and rights. This would also keep us away from a simplistic "model minority" view of America and Americans.

To sketch one example: a significant characteristic of the South Asian entrepreneurs in the small hotel/motel industry is that they have been willing and able to organize themselves in order to exercise political clout. This appeared, distinctively, in the defense of the industry in San Francisco, when attacks were launched by the *San Francisco Chronicle* against Indian American hotel owners who were the mainstay of an innovative program to shelter the city's homeless. Concomitantly, in an effort to fight against unfair insurance policies that existed nationwide, the Asian American Hotels Owners Association was founded in 1989 in Atlanta. With a reported membership in 2006 of 8,000 entrepreneurs, the AAHOA has continued to advocate for hotel owners' rights. Similar cases can be identified having to do with Vietnamese fishermen in California and Texas and taxi cab drivers in New York, such that each group has organized in order to more effectively fight for their rights.

Finally, it is perhaps useful to end with a caveat about not simply looking at Asian entrepreneurs in the United States as a success story, thereby reinforcing the model minority stereotypes that laud Asians as a group that pulls itself up by its own bootstraps. While some entrepreneurs might relish such a characterization, easy purchase of membership in the "Horatio Alger of the Month Club" can elide serious questions related to the sacrifices made and costs exacted.

To wit: a small business might well succeed, financially speaking, but what have husbands, wives, and children, and the networks that sustain them, had to give up in order to earn a small profit margin? What of the domestic conflicts that may be engendered by parents and/or community networks that praise corporate solidarity over the individuation and needs of wives or children in a small business context? This would not be easy to determine, but perhaps such questions enable us to remember that Asians in America were often forced—one way or another—into small businesses in order to survive racialization in a country that has not often been accepting or fair to immigrants or U.S. citizens of color. And although the courage and the spirit of perseverance stand out in minority business history, surely entrepreneurial ventures on the part of Asians in America deserve to be considered in larger terms that encompass "costs" as well as "benefits" because they were, after all, a means of making a dignified living, building family and community, and contributing to the larger society—in sum, a set of prerogatives that had to be fought for and thus are a part of the quest for equality and justice sought by people of color in these United States.

Endnotes

1 I would like to thank Professor Franklin Odo and his colleagues at the National Park Service for inviting me to write this essay. An earlier draft also benefitted from the suggestion of two anonymous reviewers.

2 Occasionally, research surfaces on esoteric (and eccentric?) Asian pioneers in the Unites States who ventured off the beaten track and logged intriguing professional accomplishments. Japanese immigrant Frank Sakae Matsura, who from 1903 to 1913 opened his own studio and served as a photographer in and around Conconully, WA, Okanogan County. Although he passed away at only thirty-nine, many of Matsura's photographs of Euro-Americans, American Indian locals, and elite families, were preserved (Roe 1981). Reputed to be from an upper-class background in Japan, Matsura apparently eschewed the company of Issei compatriots.

Another intriguing case has to do with pre-war bands and orchestras of Filipinos, which were in effect early small businesses in terms of music and entertainment. For example, "The Manila Serenaders," made up of Filipino musicians, fielded an eighteen-person orchestra that toured the west, mid-west, and the south during the 1930s (Brown 2010).

3 Min Zhou, "Self-Employment," *Asian Americans: An Encyclopedia of Social, Cultural, Economic, and Political History*, Vol. 3, edited by Xiaojian Zhao and Edward J.W. Park (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2014), 985-988.

4 A definition advanced by the Small Business Association is useful in terms of framing what constitutes such an enterprise. According to the SBA, a "small business concern" is one that is: "...independently owned and operated, not dominant in the field of operation in which it is bidding" (size standards, 13 CFR Pat. 131; FAR M. 122). Concomitantly, a "minority business operation" is one that is at least fifty-one percent owned, operated, or controlled on a daily basis by one or more U.S. citizens of African, Asian, Latino, or Native/Alaskan ancestry. Although, clearly, the utilization of definitions along these lines, whether projected back in history or not, would entail excluding interesting cases which arguably *are* "Asian American small businesses," delimitation of some kind is necessary as everything simply cannot be covered here.

A commentary on methodology is also appropriate from the start. The approach I've developed here is tripartite. First, I have made free use of a number of encyclopedias about the Asian American experience, mainly because they are recently published, they encompass a wide range of the available literature, and details of ethnic-specific business practices are duly noted therein. Second, I have chosen to deploy a set of ideal types to organize this overview because so many of the entrepreneurial pursuits of persons and families of Asian descent are similar in focus, then and now. Third, I have examined the published literature with an eye to best preserving the history of Asian Americans and innovation in small business, both in terms of the selection of establishments, but also in terms of how the latter might be best contextualized, imaginatively and productively.

5 Alex Saxton's book, *The Indispensable Enemy*, is the best of many that identify the early Chinese experience as a "fore-runner" for subsequent Asian American economic pursuits (Saxton 1971). Saxton and others also highlight how significant mainstream organized labor was in keeping Asians out of skilled manufacturing jobs, and also getting Asians barred from free immigration to the United States.

6 Along with Saxton, highly original, and now classic, studies of Chinese contributions to the economy of the hinterlands of California are available in two extensively-researched books by the historians Sandy Lydon (1985), and Sucheng Chan (1989).

7 Priscilla Wegars, *Hidden Heritage: Historical Archaeology of the Overseas Chinese* (Amityville, NY: Baywood, 1993).

8 Ronald T. Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19th Century America* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1979).

9 Mai Na M. Lee, "Hmong of Minnesota and California," *Asian Americans: An Encyclopedia of Social, Cultural, Economic, and Political History*, Vol. 2, edited by Xiaojian Zhao and Edward J.W. Park (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2014), 509.

10 Marn J. Cha, "Korean American Farmers in the United States," *Asian Americans: An Encyclopedia of Social, Cultural, Economic, and Political History*, Vol. 2, edited by Xiaojian Zhao and Edward J.W. Park (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2014)

11 Him Mark Lai, "China Alley, Hanford," *East West: Chinese American Journal* (September 12, 1973). 7.

12 Ivan Light, et al., "Korean Rotating Credit Associations in Los Angeles," *Amerasia Journal*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (1990), 35-54.

13 Sandra K. Lee and Douglas A. Lee, *The Lee Family of New York Chinatown Since 1888*, a companion journal to the MOCA Exhibition, Fall, 2013 (2013).

14 Peter Kwong and Dusanka Miscevic, *Chinese America: The Untold Story of One of America's Oldest New Communities* (New York, NY: Free Press, 2005).

15 Marina E. Espina, *Filipinos in Louisiana* (New Orleans, LA: A. F. Laborde, 1988).

16 Elena S. H. Yu, "Filipino Migration and Community Organizations in the United States," *California Sociologist*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Summer 1980), 76-102.

17 Fred Cordova, *Filipinos: Forgotten Asian Americans* (Seattle, WA: Demonstration Project for Asian Americans, 1983).

18 Doug Chin, *Seattle's International District: The Making of a Pan-Asian American Community* (Seattle, WA: International Examiner Press, 2001); Dorothy B. 2003, *American Workers, Colonial Power: Philippine Seattle and the Transpacific West, 1919-1947* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003); Estella Habal, *San Francisco's International Hotel* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2008).

19 *Sento at Fifth and Main* provides an excellent example the buried pasts of Asian small businesses in the hinterlands, and the specific challenges of finding and preserving buildings related to that history (Dubrow and Graves 2004).

20 Kwong and Miscevic, *Chinese America: The Untold Story of One of America's Oldest New Communities*.

21 Sookhee Oh, "Koreatown," *Asian Americans: An*

Encyclopedia of Social, Cultural, Economic, and Political History, Vol. 2, edited by Xiaojian Zhao and Edward J.W. Park (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2014), 719-724.

22 Mitra Das, *Between Two Cultures: The Case of Cambodian Women in America* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2007).

23 Mitra Das, "Cambodian Community in Lowell, Massachusetts," *Asian Americans: An Encyclopedia of Social, Cultural, Economic, and Political History*, Vol. 2, edited by Xiaojian Zhao and Edward J.W. Park (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2014), 171.

24 Malaphone Phommasa and Celestine Detvongsa, "Lao American Ethnic Economy," *Asian Americans: An Encyclopedia of Social, Cultural, Economic, and Political History*, Vol. 2, edited by Xiaojian Zhao and Edward J.W. Park (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2014), 745.

25 *Dictionary of Asian American History,* edited by Hyung-Chan Kim (New York, NY: Greenwood Press, 1986), 429.

26 Wei Li, "Asian Ethnic Banks," *Asian Americans: An Encyclopedia of Social, Cultural, Economic, and Political History*, Vol. 1, edited by Xiaojian Zhao and Edward J.W. Park (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2014), 103-108.

27 Wei Li, "Banks, Chinese American," *Asian American History and Culture: An Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1, edited by Huping Ling and Allan Austin (Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference, 2010), 130-131.

28 Li, "Banks, Chinese American," *Asian American History and Culture: An Encyclopedia*; Wei Li et al., "How Minority-Owned Banks Matter: Banking and Community/Economic Development," *Landscapes of the Ethnic Economy,* edited by D. Kaplan and Wei Li (Lanhan, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), 113-133.

29 Frank Shyong, "Struggling With a New Diversity: Asian Americans Say the Bar Is Higher in College Admissions," *Los Angeles Times*, California section (Sunday 22 February, 2015) B1; B5.

30 National Council of Associations of Chinese Language Schools <http://www.ncacls.org>

31 John Modell, *The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles, 1900-1942*, (Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois Press, 1977).

32 Gary Kawaguchi, *Living With Flowers: History of the California Flower Market* (San Francisco, CA: Market, Inc., 1993).

33 Linda Espana-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles Little Manila: Working Class Filipinos and Popular Culture, 1920s-1950s* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2006); Carina Monica Montoya, *Los Angeles's Historic Filipinotown* (San Francisco, CA: Arcadia Publications, 2016).

34 *Filipinos in Stockton,* edited by Dawn B. Mabalon, et al. (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Press, 2008).

35 Benito M. Vergara Jr., *Pinoy Capital: The Filipino Nation in Daly City* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2009).

36 Lai, "China Alley, Hanford," *East West: Chinese American Journal*, 7.

37 Henry Yu, *Thinking Orientals* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000).

38 Gabriella Oldham and Wei Li, "Grocery Stores and Supermarkets, Chinese American," *Asian American History and Culture: An Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1, edited by Huping Ling and Allan Austin (Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference, 2010).

39 *Dictionary of Asian American History,* 488.

40 *Asian American History and Culture: An Encyclopedia*, Vols. 1, 2, and 3, edited by Huping Ling and Allan Austin (Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference, 2010), 387.

41 *Dictionary of Asian American History,* 349.

42 This account reminds me to point out that although their names are lost to history, there were early pioneers who planted, grew, and nurtured varieties that laid the foundations for the growers of various crops today-although the former's efforts may not have resulted in monetary rewards. Prominent examples would have to include the Chinese botanist Lue Gim Gong. Lue was originally an agricultural field hand who grew adept at developing hybrid species, most notably an orange that was more frost resistant than anything before it (Lai 1973b). This was such an important contribution that it is sometimes said to have been the basis for Florida's subsequent domination of the citrus industry. Despite such claims, Lue Gim Gong, himself, died in reduced circumstances that did not merit the innovative contributions that he made. Similarly, what we know today as the variety, "Bing cherry," was named after its developer, Ah Bing (Lai 1973a).

43 *Dictionary of Asian American History,* 273.

44 *Asian American History and Culture: An Encyclopedia*, Vols. 1, 2, and 3, 361.

45 Karen I. Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1992); There are some agricultural formations along these lines that should be mentioned, although they do not quite fit the paradigm. Among the pioneer Issei settlers, some set up farming communities based on religiosity: for example, the Yamato Colony, associated with the town on Livingston, California, today, but which historically also had branches in the neighboring communities of Cressy and Cortez. (This settlement is not to be confused with a similarly named "Yamato Colony" in Florida, near Boca Raton. Other iterations, formed under differing circumstances, have been identified across the country.)

Shungo and Mitsu Hirabayashi, the parents of Presidential Medal of Honor awardee Gordon K. Hirabayashi, along with related Hirabayashi families from the village of Hotaka, Nagano-ken, set up the White River Garden in Thomas, Washington, south of Seattle, near today's SEA-TAC airport. This was a farming collective formed in the 'teens of the last century by a religious fellowship of adherents to Japanese "non-church"

Christianity (*mukyokai*).

46 Govinda B. Bhakta, *Patels: A Gujarati Community in the United States* (Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 2002).

47 Padma Rangaswamy, "Business and Entrepreneurship, Indian Americans," *Asian American History and Culture: An Encyclopedia*, Vol. 2, edited by Huping Ling and Allan Austin (Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference, 2010), 320-321.

48 Illsoo Kim *New Urban Immigrants: The Korean Community of New York* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981).

49 Cited in Martin Kitch, "Business and Entrepreneurship, Cambodian Americans," *Asian American History and Culture: An Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1, edited by Huping Ling and Allan Austin (Armonk, NY: Sharpe Reference, 2010), 102-103.

50 When we consider the case of a business magnate such as George Aratani, his official biography makes it clear that, while he may have been a brilliant and visionary leader, his business acumen had much to do with his selection of dedicated, talented, colleagues, with whom he worked as a team.

51 It is hard to be sure that one catches all the points covered in an on-line webinar, but my notes indicate that key NHL criteria include items such as events, persons, the idea/ideal of the American people, buildings and significant architectural structures, archaeological sites, and scientific ideas. Similarly, the criteria for the National Register entail items such as broad patterns of significant events, significant individuals, masterworks of various kind, and significant archaeological sites. What strikes me about these items is their singular, individualistic orientation.

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Essay 8

The Architectural Legacy of Japanese America

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Efforts to capture the contributions made by people of Japanese ancestry to the built environment and cultural landscape of America are complicated by the limits of existing scholarship on the subject.[1] A few topics have received considerable attention, particularly the influence of Western architects in Meiji-era Japan;[2] the European and American craze for all things Japanese in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a phenomenon known as Japonisme or Japanism; and its impact on the work of American architects such as Greene & Greene and Frank Lloyd Wright.[3] However, far less is known about Japanese American historical agency in shaping the physical fabric of America, including sites of Nikkei (Japanese American, overseas Japanese) settlement and community development (in North America); the entry of Japanese immigrants and their American-born children into the environmental design professions; and the impact of

The Japanese pagoda at the National Park Seminary, a women's finishing school in Maryland, was originally built as the sorority house for Chi Psi Epsilon, along with a myriad of eclectically styled buildings, creating an unusual campus that borrowed from English, Italian, Swiss, and Dutch design sensibilities.
Photo by Jack Boucher for HABS; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

broader social and political forces, particularly anti-immigrant sentiment and racial discrimination, on their development as architects and landscape architects. This essay extends existing scholarship with new research on the built environment and cultural landscape of Japanese America. It also documents the careers of environmental designers of Japanese ancestry whose education or practice occurred, all or in part, within a U.S. context.

A few exceptional individuals, notably architect Minoru Yamasaki and landscape architect Bob Hideo Sasaki, broke through to the top reaches of their professions in the 20th century. However, most environmental designers of Japanese ancestry, particularly in the first half of the 20th century, found that a racially segregated society set boundaries on opportunity, more or less constraining where they could comfortably work and live, who they could enlist as mentors and clients, and the types of projects they were commissioned to undertake. Some capitalized on the fashion for Japanese design by using their presumed expertise in Japanese aesthetics to create a place for themselves in professional practice, even Nisei (American-born children of Japanese immigrants) who had spent little time in Japan and whose design education was grounded in the same Beaux-Arts and Modernist traditions as their Caucasian peers.

Patronage from within Nikkei communities launched or sustained the careers of many architects and landscape designers of Japanese ancestry, particularly in the first half of the 20th century. All were affected by the waves of anti-Japanese sentiment that crested repeatedly during the 20th century, as well as by institutional racism that stranded Issei who settled in America as aliens ineligible to citizenship, state laws that undermined Issei property ownership and leasing, anti-Japanese campaigns, and ultimately the removal and mass incarceration of 120,000 innocent people during World War II.

While the fashion for Japanese design that swept through Europe and America during the last quarter of the 19th and first quarter of the 20th century deeply influenced architecture and gardens as well as other art forms, America unlike Europe was a locus of Japanese immigration and a site of persistent anti-immigrant sentiment. Rising interest in buildings and landscapes in the Japanese style created a demand for design, construction, and landscaping skills that the Japanese possessed; at the same time, racial hierarchies circumscribed their place within American society, whose boundaries would continually be tested over the course of the 20th century. Racial privilege meant that Japanese style, in the hands of white artists, architects, collectors, and public audiences, was one of many aesthetic options in a vast sea of choices that included Spanish Colonial Revival, Italianate, and more. This was not the case for people of Japanese ancestry, who were stereotyped as useful experts in their "native" culture. This was even true for Nisei, who enjoyed birthright citizenship but were continually pressed to assimilate into the American mainstream by minimizing signs of cultural difference.

Throughout the 20th century, the aesthetic embrace of all things Japanese was poised in continual tension with anti-Japanese popular sentiment, particularly in the western region of the United States. Immigrants and their American-born children were the direct objects of racist hostility, an animus periodically projected onto their real property that broadcast permanent signs of Japanese settlement in the U.S., leading to vandalism, looting, and arson. Euro-Americans sometimes viewed inscriptions of cultural difference in the built environment and landscape with fascination, essentially as an exotic spectacle for their own amusement, but that sentiment also had a darker side when deep strains of nativism flared up, rendering signs of a permanent foreign presence on American soil objects of intolerance. In this respect, the experiences of Japanese Americans in the first half of the 20th century have much in common with those of other minorities.

As is generally the case with the development of the built environment, design professionals created only a small fraction of the physical infrastructure of Japanese American communities, while most places were produced through vernacular processes. For that reason, an exclusive focus on the work of credentialed professionals risks overlooking the myriad ways many people of Japanese ancestry, without specialized academic training, shaped the environments in which they have lived and worked since earliest immigration, both in urban and rural settings. In addition to architects and landscape architects, a long stream of carpenters, contractors, gardeners, growers, nursery owners, and others have left their imprints on the land. Complicating the picture, architects sometimes worked closely with community members on the construction of key

buildings, particularly Buddhist temples, to minimize costs and maximize engagement, further blurring the lines between academic and vernacular methods of producing architecture. For these reasons, this overview attends both to professionally designed and to vernacular elements of the built environment and cultural landscape; exceptional examples of buildings and landscapes created by design professionals, as well as the common places that constitute the architectural legacy of Japanese America.

JAPAN IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Those who left Japan and came to America during the last quarter of the 19th and first quarter of the 20th centuries carried more than luggage with them across the Pacific. They also brought culturally specific ideas about how buildings and landscapes ought to look and, in some cases, possessed the skills needed to (re)create them on U.S. soil and adapt them to new circumstances. Traditional Japanese cultural practices informed immigrants' conceptions of what seemed necessary, right, and beautiful about buildings and landscapes and how they should be made. But those conventions were profoundly disrupted by the Meiji Restoration of 1868, which not only opened up relations between Japan and the world powers of the day but also propelled the Imperial Government to seek equal standing among them by embracing the scientific, technological, and military achievements of the West.

It was in this context that the Meiji Emperor promoted Western practices for the design of some of the most significant new buildings, including the Tsukiji Hotel (1868), which served foreigners, and the First Mitsui Bank Headquarters (1872). Designed, at first, by foreign architects and then by an emerging class of Japanese professionals, the earliest of these Western-style buildings were located in the port city of Yokohama, in Tokyo, and other places where there was a foreign presence. As the fashion for European and American building practices took hold, the Meiji Government further diffused Western style architecture in the primary school buildings it sponsored.

The new possibilities for entering architecture through a professional education opened the design of buildings to young men from a wider range of backgrounds than the apprenticeship model permitted, but it also sharpened the class distinction between designers and builders.[3] These combined developments—professionalization, modernization, and Western emulation—meant that academically prepared young men interested in a career in *kenchiku gaku* or architecture considered college study in the U.S. to be a career currency of value in a transnational context. They and their American-born children would benefit from the rise of formal programs of study in architecture and landscape architecture at public universities on the west coast of the U.S., particularly the University of California and University of Washington, which were located in cities and surrounding regions that over the course of several decades of sustained immigration had become home to substantial Nikkei communities.

While Japan's interest in Western architecture was growing, Europeans and Americans were developing a fascination with all things Japanese. Master carpenters and gardeners who possessed a knowledge of traditional design and construction practices played an instrumental role in bringing Japanese designs to the American public: first at international expositions that featured Japanese pavilions, tea houses, and gardens; then for elite clients who sought to reproduce what they had seen at fairs on their private estates.

THE 1876 CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION AND THE POPULARIZATION OF JAPANESE CULTURE IN AMERICA

Japanese carpenters skilled in traditional woodworking and construction practices were brought to America to erect Japan's exhibit for the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, which would be the American public's first direct exposure to Japanese architecture. The exhibit featured a Bazaar and Tea House among other architectural and landscape elements. Originally built and dismantled in Japan, the structures were shipped by boat and train to Philadelphia and reassembled on the fairgrounds by a team that included more than a dozen skilled laborers including carpenters, a plasterer, and an expert in roof tiling.

The Philadelphia Centennial was just the first of many expositions that would feature exhibits housed in grand architectural pavilions sponsored by the Japanese government. Less than two decades later at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, the Japanese government's exhibit of Ho-o-Den (also known



A view of the 1893 Chicago World's fair; the roofs of the Japanese exhibition buildings can be seen on the far left. Photogravure produced by D. Appleton and Co.; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

as Phoenix Hall), along with a Bazaar and Tea House sponsored by the Tea Merchants Guild of Japan, used the same process of building assembly, but symbolically elevated the role of a professional architect, **Masamichi Kuru** (1848-1915), over the skills of master carpenters.[5]

Japan's exhibits at international expositions emphasized the nation's modernity, particularly its capacity to produce raw materials, manufactures, arts, and other goods for global markets, but its exposition architecture was decidedly historical, modeled on some of the nation's greatest treasures. The tensions between modernity and tradition embodied the paradox Japan faced in trying to establish an equal status with Western empires on the world stage. It needed to demonstrate its modernity, something that was addressed by emulating Western systems and rapidly building industrial capacity; at the same time, it needed to address Western perceptions of Asia's inferiority to Western cultures by demonstrating it possessed the hallmarks of a civilized nation. The Imperial government's strategy for demonstrating its cultural equality was to mount extravagant displays of its rich architectural and landscape heritage at an extended series of international expositions. Though some Americans traveled to Japan in this period, the majority formed their impressions through newspaper and magazine accounts, visits to expositions, and increasingly through exposure to Japanese goods entering the marketplace. Those who lived in western cities with substantial Nikkei communities had more direct exposure to Japanese immigrants, though the realities of segregation significantly limited interracial contact in many social spheres in the prewar period.

Beginning in the mid-1880s and fully taking hold at the turn of the century, a series of promoters established simulated Japanese villages, populated by Japanese people, that toured America, set up shop at highly trafficked tourist destinations such as Atlantic City, and complemented the official Japanese exhibit at world's fairs. The earliest were organized by the Deakin brothers, San Francisco importers of Asian art goods who established a road show that consisted of a simulated Japanese village with artisans producing their wares. In a sense, their theatrical production was a spectacular advertisement and loss leader for their import business. Toward that end, they imported 50 tons of Japanese goods to furnish the simulated village, whose arts and crafts were offered for sale to those who paid the price of admission.

Beginning in the last decade of the 19th century, **Peter Yumeto Kushibiki** (1865-1924) took over where the Deakins left off in finding ways to package Japanese people in a mock village setting as a form of commercial entertainment. After securing his position as the Imperial Government's liaison to international expositions and his place as a prime concessionaire, Kushibiki criss-crossed Europe on promotional tours before taking up residence in cities such as Saint Louis and San Francisco for the duration of their fairs. By 1914, he had accrued 25 years of experience managing Japanese concessions and exhibits at U.S. world's fairs and had worked the European exposition circuit with equal intensity.

JAPANESE GARDENS AND LANDSCAPE DESIGN

One of the best-known Japanese gardens in America, in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park, was developed through a combination of design, maintenance, and continual improvement by **Makoto Hagiwara** (1854-1925) and his family. Makoto Hagiwara left Japan as a young man in the first wave of overseas migration to the U.S. mainland, which made him an Issei. Starting with the tea garden developed for the 1894 California Midwinter Exposition in San Francisco, Hagiwara struck an agreement with the park superintendent to create and maintain a permanent Japanese garden at Golden Gate Park, which grew to encompass a five-acre site that continues to be one of the city's most valued public destinations. For the Hagiwara family, the garden was their life's work and home for nearly 50 years, a status that abruptly ended when they were forcibly removed to internment camps during World War II. Another spectacular Hagiwara creation, located 20 miles south of San Francisco, is the Japanese garden on the Eugene De Sabla estate, named Higurashi-En, which has survived to the present day and is listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

Driven to create a spectacular backdrop for their collection of Asian art and artifacts, Los Angeles-based brothers Adolph and Eugene Bernheimer, German immigrants who made their fortune in cotton, began building a Japanese-style mansion on Whitley Hill in 1911 on a site looking down on Hollywood Boulevard. Modeled on a Kyoto palace, it was designed by New York architect Franklin M. Small with Walter Webber as the local supervising architect. Japanese carpenters completed the grand residence called *Yamashiro* in 1914. The Bernheimers imported a Japanese pagoda over 600 years old to lend authenticity to a creation that otherwise was an Orientalist fantasy. Their acquisition of the pagoda, however, points to the inseparability of purchasing and transporting authentic examples of Japanese architecture from the larger collecting activities of the wealthy.[6]

Japanism grew its deepest American roots in the field of garden design. Nearly 3,000 miles away from Pocantico, beginning in the first decade of the 20th century, the Japanese garden that railroad tycoon Henry H. Huntington installed on his San Marino, California, estate had much in common with Kykuit. In 1911, Huntington purchased a Japanese commercial garden George Turner Marsh had established in Pasadena and moved it, in its entirety, to his nearby San Marino Ranch.

Beyond the design and maintenance of formal gardens and related structures, Japanese immigrants played



Japanese Tea Garden, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco. The garden was designed by Japanese landscape architect Makoto Hagiwara. Photo by Carol Highsmith, 2012; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

a wider role in agriculture, driving the transformation of raw stump and brush covered land into acreage suitable for agricultural production. The vernacular built environment and cultural landscape associated with orchards and truck farms, flower fields and nurseries, growers' associations, and public markets is part and parcel of the architectural heritage of Japanese America. Many Issei men arrived with the construction skills needed to build their first small homes – often simple shacks – erect barns, put up fencing, and cultivate the landscape, collaborating with friends and neighbors to get projects done. Male bachelors were the earliest settlers, but once they decided to enter farming and send for picture brides, many hurried to build their own small cabins, even on leased land,[7] moving them when necessary to nearby land where they farmed.

While all Issei shared certain cultural ideas about the landscape, even as specific practices varied by their prefecture of origin, some also possessed landscape-related occupational knowledge from a family background in agriculture. Others found their way into farming, gardening, floriculture, and related fields after arriving in the U.S. as they navigated the complex terrain of occupational discrimination to establish themselves in niches where employment or entrepreneurship were viable options for Japanese immigrants. While the full range of vernacular architecture associated with Japanese America is beyond the scope of this project, two examples illustrate the impact of nursery owners and gardeners in shaping the American landscape.

From the beginning, degree programs in landscape architecture were deeply affected by the Japan craze, creating a cadre of white landscape architects who offered their services designing Japanese gardens as one among many stylistic options. They typically operated with only a superficial knowledge of the subject, but possessed credentials that allowed them to compete with designers whose expertise was based on their experience and ethnic identity. Still, the experiences of the Domoto family in Oakland and Fujitaro Kubota in Seattle illustrate the porous boundaries between commercial gardening companies as engines of economic support for Japanese American families and landscape design as an outlet for creative expression in the first half of the 20th century.

Issei immigrants to San Francisco, the Domoto brothers essentially stumbled on the nursery enterprise as the most successful of several import/export schemes from which they had tried to make a living. They opened up a new economic niche for Japanese immigrants to California in the nursery industry and market for cut flowers. Immigrating in the 1880s while still teenagers, **Kantero and Motonoshin Domoto** (whose American nicknames were Tom and Henry) got their start importing Mandarin oranges from Wakayama Prefecture, which they sold on the streets of San Francisco.

By the 1890s, the Domoto brothers were importing and distributing a wide variety of Japanese plants and shrubs while leading the development of San Francisco's cut-flower market. An 1895 catalogue for their nursery business describes many of the plants the Domoto Brothers added to the California landscape from ferns, chrysanthemums, camellias, and rare lily bulbs to fruits such as mandarin oranges, persimmons, plums, and quince. Their routine trips back to Japan brought new plants as well as floricultural talent to America, since the Domoto brothers recruited top graduates of Japanese agricultural colleges to return with them to America, bringing new expertise to bear on plant cultivation in the Bay Area. The business became such a center of expertise, and played such an important role in the education of growers, that it acquired the nickname "Domoto College." A 1912 article in the *San Francisco Call* suggests Domoto Nursery was the largest nursery in the state, with its greenhouse and shed occupying 500,000 square feet.[8]

As the eldest in a large family with only two sons, **Toichi Domoto's** (1902-2001) plans for a professional career in mechanical engineering, which he had first recognized while tinkering with machines and work processes as a youth at the nursery, inevitably bent back toward responsibility for the family business, despite a clearly articulated disinterest in plants. Starting out in his desired field at Stanford University in 1921, he quickly observed that college graduates of Japanese ancestry faced discrimination on the U.S. job market and that Japanese companies were reluctant to hire Nisei.

The Issei generation of Domoto brothers by then were in their 60s and ready for retirement, closing their nursery around the time of Toichi's 1926 return from college. He developed a nursery business of his own on more than 20 acres in Hayward, focusing on cyclamen

and primrose. Domoto's expertise, contributions to the creation of new hybrids, generosity in sharing his knowledge, and leadership in the industry were well recognized during his lifetime, including with a 1962 award from the California Horticultural Society and a term of leadership as CHS's President.

Toichi's younger brother **Kaneji Domoto** (1913-2002) would successfully translate an interest in architecture and landscape architecture into a half-century's career in the field. But for him, apprenticeship provided a steadier path into environmental design than a college degree, though he didn't lack for the opportunity to pursue higher education.

Kaneji briefly studied science at Stanford and landscape architecture at Berkeley before being recruited as a laborer to construct Japanese gardens for the 1939 Treasure Island Exposition and the New York World's Fair, work for which a childhood in the family nursery business had prepared him. Though this would be the start of a career as an expert in Japanese landscape design, Kaneji actually had never set eyes on Japan in the prewar period, so his knowledge was based entirely on his experience in the U.S. and any books he had read on the subject.

JAPANESE CARPENTRY AND JOINERY: THE INFLUENCE OF THE VERNACULAR

The abundant literature on Japan's exhibits at American expositions might leave the mistaken impression that Japanese craft skill was appropriated exclusively by Euro-Americans for public amusement and private benefit by elite property owners. However, those same skills were yoked to the social and physical development of Nikkei communities, a fact that has been overlooked due to scholarly emphasis on exposition architecture as the launching pad for the Japan craze in American popular culture.

Underlying the construction of shrines used by followers of the Shinto religion, for example, was the shrine carpenter's knowledge of religious practices, including rituals performed at successive stages of building. This was certainly true for the Nikkei carpenters who built Wakamiya Inari Shrine in 1914 in an industrial area of Honolulu.[9] Founded by Shinto priest Yoshio Akizaki, the shrine is attributed to a Japanese architect by the name of Haschun, possibly an inaccurate transcription of Hokushin, one of two carpenters working in Honolulu in the period. Although little is known about the earliest phases of its design and construction, it could not have been built without the carpentry skills



The Wakamiya Inari Shrine in Waipahu, Hawai'i, was painted bright red in reverence to Inari, the Japanese god of foxes, agriculture, industry, and prosperity. Photo by Joel Bradshaw; courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.



The Jinsha Mission shrine is the only major Shinto shrine in Maui and one of the best preserved examples of the traditional shrine-building techniques employed by Japanese carpenters. Photo by Joel Bradshaw; courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, licensed under Creative Commons.

of *miyadaiku*, specialists in shrines and temples, whose capacity to produce fine joinery was combined with a knowledge of Shinto ritual. It is the last extant example of Inari Shrine architecture on O'ahu.

Maui's Jinsha Mission is the only remaining example of six Shinto shrines that once served the island's Japanese immigrant population. It was built from 1915 to 1917 on land leased from the Hawai'i Commercial & Sugar Plantation beside a Japanese elementary school.[10]

> Under head carpenter (Seiichi) Tomokiyo, a master from Japan, and (Ichisaburo) Takata, the small shrine section was built first, followed by the larger ceremonial hall, completed under the direction of master carpenter Ichitaro Takata, also from Japan. The major portions of both, in the traditional manner, were built without the use of nails or paint.[11]

Tomokiyo was an Issei from Wailuku who also built other temples, such as Paia Mantokuji in 1921.

While many skilled designers, builders, and gardeners were sojourners who worked on specific projects before returning to Japan, some craftsmen settled on a permanent basis and developed a substantial portfolio building the physical infrastructure of Japanese American communities, including on the mainland. The most talented and prolific among them were **Shinzaburo** (1878-1958) and **Gentaro** (1883-1953) **Nishiura**, brothers born in Japan's Nara and Mie prefectures respectively, who learned carpentry from their father Tsurukichi Fukuyama Nishiura.

Immigrating through Hawai'i, where their carpentry skills proved useful in the shipbuilding industry, the Nishiura brothers arrived on the mainland in 1906, settling in Northern California's Santa Clara County. Like many Issei carpenters between the wars, Shinzaburo's occupation was sometimes enumerated in the Federal Census as a farmer, since building projects were sporadic and farming was a constant in rural areas.

One of their earliest projects was to build San Jose's first Buddhist Temple, where they worshipped, with architect K. Taketa (ca. 1908-13). They also built Okida Hall (aka Aikido Hall), the Watanabe Building, Palm Garden Bar, Shanghai Restaurant, and numerous residences in Santa Clara County.[12] Deep knowledge of Buddhist religious and architectural traditions are reflected in the project widely regarded as the Nishiura brothers' masterpiece, a second generation temple for San Jose's Buddhist community, the Hongwanji Buddhist Church Betsuin, designed by Issei architect **George Gentoku Shimamoto** (1904-1994) and completed by the Nishiura Brothers in 1937. It is considered to be the best example of Japanese Buddhist architecture in America.

The Japanese government typically sent an architect to supervise the construction of their pavilion at international expositions, such as Goichi Takeda at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Such was the Nishiura brothers' reputation that they were asked to assemble the buildings, both in San Francisco in 1915 and later at Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island in 1939. Interestingly, many of the structures they and other Japanese carpenters built as sites of public spectacle and amusement had second lives of direct benefit to Japanese Americans. And when they were moved to their new homes, Japanese carpenters skilled in traditional construction methods were needed to reconstruct them.

Some buildings created for Japan's exhibits at expositions were recycled from fair to fair. Houses displayed in St. Louis reportedly first appeared at the National Industrial Exposition in Osaka one year earlier.[13] Other exposition architecture remained on site long after the fair had closed, offered as permanent gifts from Japan to the host city and the American public. Japan's proposal for building a temple, Ho-o-den, and garden on the Wooded Island for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition was planned from the start as a permanent gift to remain on the site. It stood in Jackson Park for more than 50 years, until it was lost in a fire.

On rare occasions, the Japanese Imperial family made spectacular gifts of exposition buildings to individuals after the fair. The best example of this involved three exquisitely crafted buildings on display at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition, which the Imperial family gifted to Issei chemist **Dr. Jokichi Takamine** (1854-1922). Shipped by rail to New York State, Takamine used the buildings as his summer home, Sho-fu-Den.

Dr. Takamine was not the only Issei to have the opportunity to acquire and repurpose exposition architecture for residential use, but most of the others only secured bits and pieces rather than entire buildings. The Hirasaki family acquired the model Silk Room from Japan's exhibit at the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition and moved it to their 400-acre garlic farm in Gilroy, California, which had been established by then for 20 years.[14]

In addition to creating a new residence that incorporated elements of exposition architecture, the Hirasakis commissioned **Kaneji Domoto**, who had grown up at his father's Domoto Brothers Nursery in Oakland, to create a surrounding landscape and garden design, which he completed before the war. In all of these ways, the architectural and landscape work the Hirasaki family commissioned just before World War II sat squarely at the crossroads of exposition architecture, immigrant skills in the building trades, Japanese participation in agriculture and the nursery business, the rise of Japanese American communities, and an emerging generation of Nisei environmental design professionals.

Components of the Japanese exhibit at the 1939 San Francisco exposition also found new homes in more public settings within Japanese American communities. The fair's Japanese wooden bridge, for example, was dismantled and relocated to Gilroy Hot Springs after new owner **Harry Kyusaburo Sakata** (1885-1971), who had made his mark growing lettuce, beans, and berries



The Japanese exhibition hall at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, as seen from the Ferris wheel. Stereograph produced by Underwood & Underwood; courtesy of the Library of Congress.



The Japanese teahouse at Kykuit was commissioned in 1960 by Nelson Rockefeller and designed by Junzô Yoshimura, who had previously designed a house for the Museum of Modern Art. David Engel, a landscape artist who had studied in Kyoto, was hired to redesign the garden. Photo by HABS, courtesy of the Library of Congress.

in Lompoc and then Watsonville for two decades before acquiring an existing eight-acre resort in 1938, renaming it Gilroy Yamato, and creating a welcoming destination for Japanese Americans. The Nishiura brothers helped him build cabins there. Through adaptive reuse, Sakata converted a typical American resort into a place that evoked traditional cultural practices in Japan. Sakata was acquainted with hot springs in the Wakayama prefecture from which he had emigrated. He envisioned Gilroy Yamato as a place of rest and relaxation for aging Issei that would evoke the familiarity and comfort of rural hot springs back in the old country.

While the earliest buildings on Sakata's property dated to the resort's Victorian era origins and many cabins were added in the 1910s and 20s, post-1938 additions principally were the work of architects, garden designers, and carpenters of Japanese descent.

ARCHITECTURE IN NIKKEI COMMUNITIES

Elite white patrons put Japanese immigrant carpenters to work building Japanese-style homes, teahouses, and garden structures on their estates, but the carpenters' main client base was found in Nikkei communities. To a far greater extent than in urban areas, rural towns, and surrounding agricultural communities, such as Hamakua, Hawai'i; and San Jose, Fresno, and Watsonville, California, were home to Issei men who had acquired carpentry skills before leaving Japan, whether they primarily identified as carpenters or farmers.

The absence of Japanese immigrants from the existing narrative about the evolution of American design gives short shrift to their complex relationship not just to Japanese tradition but Japonesque fashions. Arriving at a time when the Japanism already was in vogue, their services were marshaled to feed the growing American appetite for Japanese things, while their own buildings inevitably were influenced by the same craze that filtered Japanese tradition through the sieve of American taste.

The abundance of Buddhist temples in America, erected by Japanese immigrants in virtually every site of Nikkei settlement, combined with the availability of sources to document their planning, financing, design,

construction, and use, makes them a helpful starting point for analyzing the complex social, political, economic, and cultural dynamics that shaped Nikkei building projects.

While the concentration of immigrants with particular religious affiliations varied by community, Buddhists were the clear majority and among them Jodo Shinshu or "Pure Land" Buddhism predominated. As a result, the vast majority of temples built from around 1908 to the present were erected by local groups that gathered under the broad umbrella of the Buddhist Mission, which during WW II was renamed Buddhist Churches of America (BCA). The national headquarters, based in San Francisco, provided a conduit to the mother temple in Japan, a relationship that was critical to maintain for many reasons, not the least of which was the need to recruit Japanese clergy to America, which could be a difficult sell and even when successful, required continual replenishment as ministers took up residence for a while, moved on to larger congregations, or had reasons to return to the native land.

Any community that achieved significant size built several generations of temples over the course of the 20th century, remodeled their structures, added annexes to accommodate new needs, relocated when forced to by redevelopment and freeway construction, and in later years often added income producing properties to their portfolios. All told, the building programs loosely the present were erected by local groups that gathered under the broad umbrella of the Buddhist Mission, which during WW II was renamed Buddhist Churches of America (BCA). The national headquarters, based in San Francisco, provided a conduit to the mother temple in Japan, a relationship that was critical to maintain for many reasons, not the least of which was the need to recruit Japanese clergy to America, which could be a difficult sell and even when successful, required continual replenishment as ministers took up residence for a while, moved on to larger congregations, or had reasons to return to the native land.

Any community that achieved significant size built several generations of temples over the course of the 20th century, remodeled their structures, added annexes to accommodate new needs, relocated when forced to by redevelopment and freeway construction, and in later years often added income producing properties to their portfolios. All told, the building programs loosely gathered under the wide umbrella of BCA comprised a vital segment of the overall architecture of Japanese America. These buildings didn't merely constitute a functional or stylistic type. Rather, they reflected the underlying coherence of shared spiritual beliefs and ritual practices that constituted American Jodo Shinshu tradition. Still, American Jodo Shinshu congregations slowly integrated Christian practices into the design of their religious buildings and worship services, as indicated in the growing use of the term church rather than temples.

Major architectural firms of the day led by Caucasian architects sometimes won commissions to design key Japanese American community buildings, including Buddhist temples. The firm of Saunders & Lawton made a rather crude attempt at Japanese style in their design for the Seattle Buddhist Church, which stood from 1908 until 1939. Approximately 35 miles south, architect Frederick Heath of the firm Heath, Gove and Bell, who had worked on many local schools, was hired in 1922 to design Tacoma's Nihongo Gakko, or Japanese Language School, and George Wesley Bullard was commissioned in 1930 to design the Tacoma Buddhist Temple.

Fundraising for the 1908 Seattle project knitted together urban and rural settlements in the interest of establishing a regional hub for Buddhists in the Pacific Northwest. Thus, funds were solicited not just in the major cities of Seattle and Tacoma but also in the sawmills of Mukilteo and Bellingham canneries. Navigating restrictions on property ownership by aliens ineligible to citizenship led to alliances with trusted Caucasians who held the majority of corporate stock for Issei. Building the physical infrastructure of Nihonmachi played a central role in consolidating social relationships and political alliances within and beyond the Japanese American community. Given the property restrictions imposed on Issei, it is notable that temples and language schools figured prominently among the handful of buildings that were Nikkei owned and controlled, even when the arrangements on paper indicated white deed holders.

As women immigrated, families formed, and Nisei were born with citizenship and property rights in the U.S., community institutions expanded to support social life, leading to new investments in purpose-built temples and churches, community halls, and language schools. The living rooms and rental spaces where Issei had

held their first meetings simply needed to be functional from the standpoint of size and location. But making an investment in purchasing lots, adapting existing structures to meet organizational needs, and fundraising to erect new buildings required capital, mobilization, and making deliberate choices about how to represent their cultural identity in built form.

Considering the full range of Issei-sponsored building projects, religious architecture was the type most likely to incorporate traditional Japanese architectural elements, particularly shrines and temples located in small cities and towns that served as hubs for surrounding agricultural areas. Community buildings produced in Hawaii's plantation era are among the most traditional of Issei creations. The Hamakua Jodo Mission is the only surviving Buddhist Temple in which the carpenters used *Shakkan-ho,* the traditional Japanese system of measurement, to create the plan. The reason it drove this building's design can be traced to its carpenter, **Umekichi Tanaka** (1859-?), who was the son of a shrine carpenter who arrived in Hawai'i with substantial experience building temples in Japan using the *Shakkan-ho* system.

The early immigration and settlement of Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands, including the work they did building plantations and constructing key Nikkei community institutions, provided some advantage in gaining a toehold in the Territory's construction industry. As early as 1900, Japanese immigrants were a significant force in the multi-ethnic building trades of Hawai'i including carpenters, cabinetmakers, stonemasons, and contractors. Many Issei arrived on the U.S. mainland intending to work as carpenters only to encounter the hostility of white working men in building trades unions who limited their membership to Caucasians and routinely passed anti-immigrant planks at national conventions. The centrality of organized labor in the formation of the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, which first convened in San Francisco in 1905 (renamed three years later the Asiatic Exclusion League), explains why Japanese carpenters in California formed their own ethnic unions and how they were pushed to the lowest rungs of mainstream carpentry work and pressed to rely on the Japanese American community for patronage.

The spread of Alien Land Acts in the western region, beginning in California in 1913 and extending north to Oregon and Washington in the early 1920s, undermined the real property interests of the Issei and prompted evasive action and made it risky to broadcast property ownership or possession of long-term leases. In this context, the limited use of Japanese construction methods and styles may neither be a sign of rapid cultural assimilation, as one scholar suggested, nor reflective of an aesthetic preference for Western architecture, as the Meiji era building program would suggest. Rather, it may have reflected a choice of strategic invisibility to protect the Nikkei's collective interests.

Yuji Ichioka's pioneering study *Issei* (1988) documented the role that the Japanese Association played in trying to win rights for Japanese immigrants to reside permanently in the U.S and resist the exclusionists on multiple fronts, including by promoting the appearance of assimilation among immigrants.[15] Self-policing initially was aimed at eradicating stigmatized activities such as prostitution and gambling that tainted the larger Nikkei community. But in its most virulent form, hostility toward immigrants extended to everyone who spoke, wrote, or read in Japanese or continued to follow Japanese rather than Western etiquette in anything from the use of eating utensils to the way that husbands and wives moved together through public space. Signs of respect for the Emperor or attachment to the only country where Issei had citizenship invariably fed nativist suspicions. It was in this context that the Japanese Association launched a broader Americanization campaign to reduce the outward signs of difference that exclusionists used to justify their beliefs about the supposedly inassimilable nature of Japanese immigrants. As Ichioka astutely observed, the Americanization campaign never was intended to change the hearts and minds of Japanese immigrants, only to sooth the easily ruffled feathers of Americans through the appearance of collective conformity to their expectations. To use the popular Japanese proverb Ichioka favored to explain the concept: "*go ni ite wa go ni shitagae*," which translated to "If you go to a place, obey its customs" or "When in Rome, do as the Romans do."

But the proverb only advised doing as the Romans do, not becoming one of them. *Gaimenteki doka* by definition meant conforming only in outward appearance to deflect racial hostility and prevent individual actions from negatively affecting the whole community. But a minority of Nikkei disagreed with that strategy, finding it an inadequate response to the problems they encoun-

tered. Instead they believed *Naimenteki doka* to be the right approach, which required a sincere adoption of American behavior and values.

Buddhists especially were targeted during waves of anti-immigrant organizing and corresponding Americanization campaigns led by local Japanese Associations. Non-Buddhists who subscribed to *Naimenteki doka* were concerned that divergent cultural and religious practices waved a red cape in the face of a riled up bull, reinforcing stereotypes that made things harder for everyone. But taken to its logical extreme, genuine assimilation required not just speaking English, wearing American clothes, eating American food with the right utensils, and mirroring other American practices, but actually embracing Christianity.

Japanese Christian churches exemplified *Naimenteki doka* in their conformity to standard plans for religious architecture. Evidence that *Gaimenteki doka* shaped the architecture of Nihonmachi in the first two decades of the 20th century can be found in the sharp differences between building façades and interiors of other property types. The Japanese proverb "*Deru kugi wa utareru*" sheds light on the underlying logic of building practices in Nikkei communities. Translated into English it means: "The nail that sticks up gets hit." While many community structures were created with unremarkable façades, interiors often were designed, decorated, and used to maintain traditional cultural practices, even as successive generations put their own spin on standard American practices.

Designed and built in 1909 by the white architectural firm of Thompson & Thompson, Nippon Kan Hall fit well into the existing urban fabric of mixed-use buildings in Seattle's growing Japantown. Nevertheless, the stage inside the hall was designed to receive a *hanamichi* or runway extension needed for *shibai*, Japanese theatrical performances.[16] Panama Hotel was designed with a *furoya* or public bathhouse in the basement. And regardless of architectural style, *gakuen,* or language schools, were explicitly designed to educate Nisei in Japanese language, history, culture, and etiquette.

Demographic shifts over time often stimulate new programs of building and adaptive reuse to better suit the emerging needs of a community. This was precisely what had occasioned the shift from housing for bachelors to family-oriented construction in the 1910s and which gave rise to the addition of gymnasia for Nisei at Buddhist temples in the decades that followed. But subjugated minorities also were subject to shifting political winds that made original design decisions problematic years later. The example of Seattle's Maneki restaurant illustrates the impact of periodic waves of anti-immigrant sentiment on the built environment.

Established in 1904, Maneki restaurant drew on traditional Japanese architectural features to create an environment in which the most conventional forms of Japanese hospitality could be enacted. A *torii* gate marked the entry into the Japanese garden in which the *tatami*-matted restaurant was set—complete with *kimono*-clad waitresses who evoked old world *geisha* entertaining gentlemen. These traditional gestures made it *the* place in Seattle for Issei men to entertain visiting Japanese dignitaries and business clients. The oasis of traditional space in an otherwise modern Nihonmachi supported the performance of elaborate Japanese rituals of hospitality that prescribed gender norms; assigned seating according to status; and guided dining etiquette, including eating and drinking rituals.

But a little more than a decade after Maneki opened, when returning WWI veterans targeted Japanese immigrants as the purported cause for their unemployment, the leaders of Seattle's Japanese Association rallied to tone down signs of difference that fueled the exclusionists' claims. Under the ethos of *Gaimenteki doka*, one of their first actions was to press Nihonmachi businesses to take down signboards in Japanese. Electric signs weren't necessarily removed, but they were darkened. One of the first targets was the neon sign at Maneki, with its iconic beckoning cat (*maneki-neko*). Removing Japanese signs didn't diminish the restaurant's role in the Nikkei community or the function of other critical places such as the A-B Employment Agency, since Nihonmachi was navigable from memory or by word of mouth.

JAPANESE AMERICAN ARCHITECTS

West coast public universities, such as the University of Washington and University of California, Berkeley, where there were substantial Japanese American communities, proved to be critical points of entry for people of Japanese ancestry seeking to study architecture and establish careers in the profession. There was, as well, a slow trickle of Japanese citizens into architectural degree

programs in the Midwest and east coast, for example at the University of Michigan and Harvard University's Graduate School of Design. But the vast majority of architects of Japanese ancestry were educated and established practices near Japanese immigrant centers of settlement. Ironically, the deep disruption of removal and internment during World War II, and patterns of dispersal from postwar resettlement, would lead Nisei to attend schools previously not considered, such as Washington University and Syracuse. As a result, many Japanese American architects developed successful practices in the postwar period in places previously unimaginable during the interwar years, including the unlikely settings of Waterloo, Iowa, and Raleigh, North Carolina.

One of the first known Japanese nationals to attend a U.S. college in preparation for a career in building design was **Saburo (**aka Sabro) **Ozasa** (1878-1915), a native of Nagasaki who immigrated in the closing years of the 19th century and attended the University of Oregon from 1903 to 1907. Ozasa obtained upwards of 15 commissions in his short 18-month career. Most were commercial buildings for Asian American clients, but this portfolio also included six residential structures. His known body of work in Seattle includes the Panama Hotel, Cascade Investment house, Specie Bank of Seattle, John Eckel residence, and R. Malan house.

Ozasa's most significant American project, the Panama Hotel (1910), is sited at the heart of Seattle's Japantown. Built approximately 20 years into the development of the city's Nihonmachi, amidst a flurry of Japantown projects that anticipated an increased Japanese presence in Seattle for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition of 1909 (not all of which were completed on time), the Panama Hotel was designed as a single room occupancy hotel for workingmen, with retail space at street level, and a commercial *sento* (Japanese public bathhouse) and laundry, Hashidate-Yu, in its basement. Still extant with a high degree of integrity, the Panama Hotel was declared a National Historic Landmark in 2006.

Nisei architect **Kichio Allen Arai** (1901-1966) built his career on the patronage of Pacific Northwest Buddhist assemblies in an era with limited professional opportunities beyond the Japanese American community. Established in 1914, the Department of Architecture at the University of Washington, where Arai pursued undergraduate education, adhered to the prevailing Beaux-Arts pedagogy in its first two decades of operation. Emulating the educational practices of the French Ecole des Beaux-Arts, the curriculum of American architecture schools, such as the University of Washington and UC Berkeley, equated a working knowledge of the world's architectural heritage with a combination of Classical antiquity as a model for composition massing and form and the succession of architectural styles that had gained fashion in Europe, including Baroque and Rococo, for decorative detail.

But for students of Japanese descent such as Arai, who gained admission to UW, UC, or other architecture degree programs in the 1920s and entered the profession during the interwar years, a Beaux-Arts education did not fully prepare them for the ways that racism would shape the course of their careers. Arai and others repeatedly would be tapped for their presumed knowledge of Japanese design and cultural practices that had no place in a Beaux-Arts curriculum devoted to the Western canon.

While still a student at the University of Washington, Arai gained a toehold in architecture assisting with the expansion of Seattle's Nihon Go Gakko or Japanese Language School. Organized in 1902 but constructed in 1913, the school's original wooden structure was designed by Japanese architect S. Shimizu in a Western style typical of contemporary school buildings. Arai drew on community ties to enter the profession by representing the property owners in the language school's expansion, helping them to navigate the process of securing a building permit. Listed in the National Register in 1982, Nihon Go Gakko survives as the oldest extant example of a Japanese language school in America.

Arai's prewar work on the Seattle Buddhist Temple, overlapping as it did with the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, occurred at a moment when large segments of the American public conflated the Japanese government's actions with the loyalties of Japanese Americans, leading to internment. One ancient aspect of Buddhist iconography that adorned many temples, the *manji*, presented a serious public relations problem for American Buddhists when the Nazi Party adopted the swastika as its emblem. Arai's design marked a transition from the use of the *manji* as a decorative architectural element to other Buddhist symbols less prone to misinterpretation,

for example the eight-spoked Wheel of the Dharma or *dharma chakra*, lotus buds and blossoms.

As international tensions mounted, some Buddhist temples, for example in Oakland, California, removed *manji* from the facades of their buildings.

> The original Oakland temple building had the Buddhist swastika design incorporated on its roof end tiles and entryway. However with ever-rising tensions, some of the young members of the temple felt these Buddhist "manji" symbols, even though they were the reverse of Hiltler's swastika design were inappropriate for the temple. Therefore, these young men actually climbed onto the roof and removed the symbols and tiles from the building.[17]

Others, including Seattle, concealed or altered *manji* on multiple forms of material culture, including religious artifacts and temple furnishings such as folding chairs, turning the equilateral cross with bent legs into a four-square box by filling in the lines, or by crossing it out entirely. The symbol was a standard element on the facades of prewar Buddhist temples, including at Wapato and Yakima, Washington. But as pressure mounted for Japanese American demonstrations of loyalty to the United States, the symbol, which hung under the front gables of the Yakima Buddhist temple, was carefully snipped out of a prewar photograph, lest viewers wrongly link Buddhist Churches of America with the enemy.

The Seattle Buddhist Church would be Arai's last prewar commission before America's entry into WWII brought forced confinement to people of Japanese descent.

In contrast to the local opportunities some pioneering professionals would find in Hawai'i and those that fueled Arai's career in the Pacific Northwest, those who began college on the mainland sometimes chose to go east to gain entry into the architectural profession and find employment in fields related to their training. The volume and scope of construction in New York City attracted architects of Japanese ancestry even at a time when there was only a small Nikkei community.

In his overview of Issei in New York from 1876 to 1941, Eiichiro Azuma pointed to the differences between settlement patterns in the West, where the majority of immigrants made their lives, and the East, where a relatively small number settled in New York City beginning in 1876.

> Initially, the majority of Issei (first generation Japanese in America) came to New York, not to make quick money and return to Japan, but to engage in U.S.-Japan trade and learn Western ways. Many of these New York Issei came from Tokyo and other large cities, rather than from farming prefectures.[18]

Unlike Issei in the west, New York City had no geographic center of immigrant settlement, although key community institutions developed over time. More frequently than their west coast counterparts, the businessmen and professionals at the core of New York's Issei community married white American women, the most prosperous among them settling in wealthy suburbs such as Scarsdale.

The son of a contractor in Yamagata, Japan, Iwahiko Tsumanuma (1881-1936) ultimately left his native land after cost overruns on an early project he had supervised hurt the family business. A network of Methodist missionaries eased his passage from Japan to India, where he was baptized under the name Thomas Rockrise and pursued English language studies, and then from Italy to New York. Received by a host family in Akron, Ohio, Tsumanuma/Rockrise, completed his high school education and one year at Buchtel Academy and College (which became the University of Akron in 1913) before attending Syracuse University in 1908 as a student of architecture. Four years later, he graduated with honors and moved to New York City, where he worked for several different architectural firms and organized his countrymen into the Japanese T-Square Club.

As an active member of the Issei business community in New York City, Tsumanuma/Rockrise belonged to the Nippon Club, Japanese Association, and Japan America Society. Patronage within this community provided his first independent commissions, including the design of importer Yamanaka & Company's new galleries. Tsumanuma/Rockrise extended this project into a new phase with a Yamanaka-sponsored competition that invited Japanese architects in the U.S. and abroad to design an American suburban home in the Japanese style.



The Bank of Manhattan Trust Building, now the Trump Building at 40 Wall Street, is a 71-story skyscraper originally designed by H. Craig Severance and Yasuo Matsui. It was the tallest building in the world for a short time before the completion of the Chrysler Building in Midtown Manhattan. Photo by Irving Underhill; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

In partnership with landscape designer **Takeo Shiota** (1881-1943), whose most publicly acclaimed project was the Japanese Hill-and-Pond Garden at the Brooklyn Botanical Gardens in 1914, Tsumanuma/Rockrise undertook an elaborate interior design for one of the era's most notable Japanophiles, Burton Holmes. A globe-trotting lecturer known for having "invented" the travelogue, Holmes was seeking a temple-like setting within his two-story Central Park apartment to house his extensive collection of mementos. Well documented, the project illustrates the contradictions inherent in the American Japan craze, requiring the deployment of Asian aesthetic tropes in service of distinctively American cultural objectives.

Earning his NY architectural license by 1916, Tsumanuma/Rockrise nevertheless found it difficult to secure clients beyond his primary base of Issei businessmen and Japanophiles in the New York City area. For that reason, he formed partnerships with Shiota and then architect John Thompson, which produced Beaux Arts inspired projects, including an office building in Shanghai and hospital in Kobe, Japan. Upon return to the U.S. he was forced into early retirement due to tuberculosis. His son George Thomas Rockrise (1916-2000) and grandson Peter would also go on to become architects.

Between the end of Iwahiko Tsumanuma/Thomas Rockrise's career and his son George's entry into the profession, **Yasuo Matsui** (1877-1962) established his reputation designing skyscrapers. Arriving in the U.S. in 1902, Matsui attended UC as an undergraduate in architecture, appearing in the 1907 Register and the 1908 Oakland City Directory. As President of F.H. Dewey & Company in the early 1930s, Matsui designed large buildings, but his passion—hands down—was for the skyscraper, which by 1930 had become the object of an intense height rivalry among architects and developers. H. Craig Severance, as lead architect, with Matsui as associate, attempted to make their contribution to the record with a $20 million, 71-story tower, the Bank of Manhattan Building sited at 40 Wall Street (1930).[19] They were trying to top the Woolworth Building, if only by 17 feet, but faced a neck-and-neck race with the Chrysler Building, which was under construction by Severance's former partner (which made the competition intensely personal). But their team was trumped when the Chrysler Building's architect unfurled a taller spire kept hidden until the completion of construction.

The near impossibility of succeeding at speculative building projects during the 1930s led Matsui down a path he had intentionally avoided throughout his career: accepting a commission to design a traditional Japanese



A view of the World Trade Center towers, designed by Minoru Yamasaki, from Ellis Island. Photo by Carol Highsmith; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

building. The start of the world war long before the U.S. entered the fray created a great deal of uncertainty about which nations would participate in the 1939 New York World's Fair. When Japan finally committed to the exposition, Matsui was the clear choice to design its Pavilion, having been recommended by the Japanese Consul in New York. Thus his last major project before World War II was a replica of Japan's historic architecture.

That brief association with the Japanese government cost him dearly two years later when, on December 8, 1941, America declared war on Japan. Matsui was immediately arrested by the FBI as a "potentially dangerous alien" as part of their massive sweep of Japanese nationals living in the area around New York City. Gatherings were banned; those found at social institutions and restaurants were escorted home under armed guard and, after packing a bag, were removed to detention facilities on Ellis Island. Matsui was incarcerated for two months there.[20] Released for the duration of the war, his movements were severely restricted and subject to regular reporting. If the stigma of incarceration wasn't enough, government restrictions on travel and possession of photographic equipment were particularly damaging to his career as an architect.

The west coast and New York metropolitan area were key geographic bases for a growing cadre of environmental designers of Japanese ancestry in the interwar period. Those who came to the Midwest found an early haven in the greater Detroit area on account of the combination of University of Michigan's architecture program, the Cranbrook Academy of Art, **Eliel** and then **Eero Saarinen**'s architectural firms, and the booming industrial economy of Detroit, which was the fourth largest American city in the mid-20th century.

Perhaps the most noted 20th century architect of Japanese descent, **Minoru Yamasaki** (1912-2008), built his professional portfolio during the decades of the 1930s and 1940s by first moving to New York City, then to the Detroit area, where the pace of development provided greater opportunity to gain experience. Yamasaki graduated with a degree in Architecture from the University of Washington in 1934. He cut his teeth working for the New York City firm of Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, whose reputation had been made as the designers of the Empire State Building, which was the tallest building in the world when it was completed in 1931. In 1945, he moved to Detroit, working for the architectural firm of Smith, Hinchman & Grylls until his 1949 exit to start his own firm in Troy, Michigan.

The experience of racial discrimination and stereotyping, including the essentialist conflation of minority architects' ancestry with their design expertise, burdened Yamasaki in ways his peers didn't fully grasp. When he finally got the opportunity to do a project outside of the U.S. in the mid-1950s, designing the American Consulate in Kobe, Japan, he found it a relief. For the first time in his professional life, he was regarded as the outsider he actually was to Japanese culture.

Yamasaki's first major period of world travel in 1955 followed the Kobe commission, exposing him to a vast array of historical building types, styles, materials, and construction methods in Japan, East Asia, and Europe. He talked about it as an electrifying experience that provided a wealth of inspiration for the projects that followed, drawing on exposure to global architecture for ideas that could be applied to architectural design generally. Unabashedly modernist in aesthetic sensibility but with an ornamental touch, his work was both praised and criticized by architectural critics and environmental design professionals.

Yamasaki designed San Francisco's Japanese Cultural and Trade Center, which opened in 1968. Set on a five-acre site bordered by Geary Boulevard and Filmore, Post, and Laguna Streets, at the heart of San Francisco's Nihonmachi, the mall consists of three elements: Kinokuniya Mall, Kintetsu Mall, and Miyako Mall divided into East and West sides, anchored at each end by Miyako Hotel and Kabuki Theater. It originated with a 1953 proposal for a shopping center that would be a tourist destination by the Japanese Chamber of Commerce of Northern California. In 1960, it was presented to the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency, ultimately becoming one of the city's first redevelopment projects of the postwar period.

While the intention to revitalize Japantown with the mall was positive, the project became emblematic of the displacement that accompanied most urban development projects, in this case dislocating 1,500 Japantown residents and 50 businesses.[21] So too, it essentially competed with what remained of San Francisco's historic Japantown, "the informal Nihonmachi," according to the Redevelopment Agency, "not to be confused with

the Japanese Cultural and Trade Center." Nihonmachi itself would have to wait until the Center's completion before rising to the top of the city's investment priorities for the neighborhood.

Yamasaki's design for San Francisco's Japan Center has been dismissed by architectural critics as "Brutalist slabwork," while the mall has received mixed reviews that deemed it a vital place despite its "bad architecture."[22] Intended to draw consumers to Japantown in the face of massive competition from suburban malls, the Center couldn't completely reverse a long-term trend toward urban disinvestment.

His most famous project by far was the 110-story World Trade Center. It would become transformed from a controversial icon of New York City's skyline into a terrorist target on September 11, 2001. The tallest building in the world when it opened in 1973, its extreme scale was controversial.

WORLD WAR II, INTERNMENT, AND JAPANESE AMERICAN ARCHITECTS

While anti-immigrant bias, racial discrimination, and the Japan craze colored the careers of 20th century architects of Japanese ancestry differently than their white counterparts, the removal of people of Japanese ancestry from the west coast and their forced incarceration during World War II had the most profound impact of all. What happened to the physical fabric of Japanese America as a result of the removal of people from their homes and communities; its consequences for the career aspirations of emerging environmental design professionals; and recovery in the postwar period demands a level of attention missing from most histories of American architecture and rise of the architectural profession.

While these issues could be illuminated by studying virtually any Issei or Nisei architecture student or professional who lived through World War II, an examination of one particular cluster of Japanese American and Caucasian peers educated at UC Berkeley in the decade before the war highlights the difference race made in their lives and career trajectories.

Internment cast a long shadow on the professional development of environmental designers. The differential impact of wartime freedom for white architects at the early stages of building a career, and internment for those of Japanese descent, is amply illustrated by the divergent trajectories of **Vernon Armand De Mars** and three Japanese American peers who studied architecture at UC Berkeley in the 1930s: **Alfred Kadzuo Sawahata**, who was in De Mars' 1931 graduating class; **Hachiro Yuasa,** who received his undergraduate degree in 1933 and Master's of Architecture in 1935; and **Siberius "Si" Saito**, who graduated in 1938.

De Mars' time at Berkeley brought him into contact with a number of architecture students of Japanese descent. After graduation, he worked for the National Park Service and then found steady employment from 1936 to 1942 as Western District Architect for the Farm Security Administration's regional office in San Francisco.

De Mars was central to an emerging circle of progressive planners and designers that formed at the end of the 1930s – Telesis – that had utopian ambitions. Japanese Americans at the edges of this influential circle of environmental design professionals, such as Albert Sawahata, would be swept out due to internment.

Some of the Japanese Americans in this Berkeley-centered circle also found employment in the depths of the Depression with the Farm Security Administration. As De Mars would later recall, Yuasa served as "the project architect for the houses which we were doing," and developed a specialty in housing types. Despite a common start to their careers, however, De Mars would continue to accrue significant experience during WWII, while the lives of his Japanese American peers would be deeply disrupted.

Si Saito redirected his own creative skills, formerly used in a professional capacity, into documenting Tanforan's abject conditions. His series of 24 sketches presented a far more honest portrait of living conditions within the architecture of forced confinement than the WRA's publicity shots did. As the California Historical Society explained the contrast:

> The publicized photographic record of the day… give no hint of the barbed wire and armed manned towers that imprisoned camp residents or the humiliating living conditions in which they lived. As Saito described in a letter to a friend, 'Poor ventilation, dirty and grimy, smell of manure from underfloor area, dampness; these are some of the conditions that occur out in our 'skid row.'

Saito included the title "Architect" in the letter's return address. He might not be working in a firm, but he retained his professional identity throughout the years when he and other people of Japanese ancestry were denied civil liberties.[23]

De Mars, while upset by the loss of "our young, talented architects, and longtime close friends," as he put it, nevertheless "made the best of what we felt was a very unfair and unnecessary proposition" by agreeing to work with Garrett Eckbo planning the internment camps. Eckbo remembered it simply as the next available project once the war brought FSA work on migrant housing to an end.

> in 1942, when the war was coming on—and the Farm Security program with camps tapered off in about '41 because we could see this coming—we had a year where we were sort of doing things, some war housing and stuff, and work down at Manzanar in the relocation center there. Stuff like that.[24]

Architectural historian Lynne Horiuchi has written at length about De Mars' and Eckbo's questionable professional ethics in accepting the assignment as well as the ethical implications of the larger planning, design, and construction program that undergirded the architecture of confinement.[25]

While De Mar's postwar career included positions on the architecture faculty, first at MIT then UC Berkeley, his peers of Japanese descent faced a rougher road back to the profession. Yuasa would have to relocate to Saugatuck, Michigan, in April of 1943 to win release from Topaz. It was far away from his prewar base of patronage in the Bay Area, where family friends, such as the Ichizo Sakano family who had purchased his architectural plans to build their 1939 cabin at Gilroy Yamato Hot Springs, one of Yuasa's earliest independent commissions after architecture school. Sawahata had to wait until 1945 before relocating to Chicago, then New York, to work as an architect. As Garrett Eckbo recalled,

> He was an architect, a good friend of ours, a very smart, talented man. He used to come see our daughters. He loved them. They were just kids when we were living in the city. But he was caught up in that whole relocation thing and I think it kind of destroyed him. He ended up living in the East. His career fell apart. I never quite knew what happened to him.[26]

Si Saito worked in Madison, Wisconsin, before establishing a postwar architectural practice in Waterloo, Iowa. When he returned to Berkeley, Yuasa established a practice designing buildings and residences throughout Northern California, forming his own firm, Yuasa & Minner Architects and Planners, in 1969, and was eventually elected a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects.

Highly capable high school students who dared to dream of attending an Ivy League institution after release from the camps faced an additional complication, as some universities interpreted EO 9066 as prohibiting the admission of students of Japanese descent until the war formally ended, and even then considered it their patriotic duty to hold space for returning veterans (who they wrongly presumed to only include Caucasians). This posed a problem for some who applied to college from camp with the intention of attending school during the 1945-46 academic year.

Born in 1927 in Fresno, California, **Kinjo Imada** (1927-2005) completed high school at Gila River, when he and his family were interned during WWII. Scoring well on the college entrance exams, his aspirations to pursue an undergraduate education in architecture included the Ivies, with Yale as his clear preference. The documentary record of Imada's efforts to secure college admission captures the discrimination faced by college-aged students of Japanese descent in the transition to the postwar era, as his 1945 application to become a member of Yale's 1949 graduating class met with blanket rejection.

A sympathetic dean and an acquaintance each tried to open up access to Yale, or find a way for Imada to transfer in after studying elsewhere for a couple of years, but it was clear nothing would change until the war ended. Fortunately, the frustrating conversation came to a close when Harvard offered Imada admission. He became the fifth person of Japanese descent to gain admission to Harvard's architecture program.

After completing his first year at Harvard, Imada would stop out for two years of military service as a clerk in General MacArthur's office in occupied Japan. With

GI benefits in hand, he returned to Harvard to complete architectural studies, ultimately earning an M. Arch. in 1955. The San Francisco-based architectural practice Imada ultimately developed as a partner in the firm of Oakland & Imada, beginning in 1977, focused on residential design and hospital work for Kaiser Permanente.

Early release from camps for work in areas outside the Military Exclusion Zone or to attend school at one of several universities that accepted architecture students of Japanese ancestry provided a select few with opportunities to continue to make career progress during the war. The examples of George Matsumoto and some of his peers who studied architecture at Washington University during World War II, as well as the extraordinary career of George Nakashima, demonstrate how important it was to find a way out of internment camps and into an environment more supportive of professional development as soon as possible.

George Matsumoto's father carved out a career as a produce broker, connecting Japanese immigrant farmers with Eastern markets. The timing of Matsumoto's college entry to UC Berkeley during the year of U.S. entry into the Second World War left him having to run the gauntlet between internment and the draft. One solution was to try to continue his education outside the Military Defense Zone. Submitting applications to every conceivable architecture program, George and other similarly situated Nisei found Washington University, in Saint Louis, to be the most welcoming institution. Indeed, Matsumoto attended Washington University with a robust cohort of future Nisei architects. Bay Area artist Chiura Obata moved his family to Saint Louis upon leaving the internment camps at Topaz, where his son, Gyo Obata, was studying architecture at Washington University.

Graduating from Washington University in 1943, Matsumoto still worried about the draft, so he went on to graduate study at Cranbrook Academy in Michigan, receiving an M.A. in 1945. The dearth of building projects in the immediate postwar years, even at the firms where he first secured employment, such as Saarinen & Swanson (1945-46) and Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (1948), made entering architectural competitions a promising alternative strategy for establishing a professional reputation. Lightning struck when he took first prize in a competition to develop Chicago's city plan, which built on recent work he had done for Detroit. Before long that brought an invitation to lecture, then teach, at the University of Oklahoma. When the dean who hired him moved to North Carolina State University to start a School of Architecture, he invited Matsumoto to join him on the faculty. This made him one of the earliest Nisei to secure a position teaching architecture.

From 1948 through the 1950s, while he taught at NCSU, Matsumoto completed dozens of award-winning residential projects in places like Raleigh, Chapel Hill, and beyond. His ability to create custom-designed houses on a tight budget was one of the factors in his success. But he also believed Japanophilic tendencies in American design culture may have worked in his favor.

By the time he returned to the East Bay to teach at UC in 1961 and restarted a practice as the 1960s unfolded, he was recognized as having left a lasting imprint on North Carolina's residential landscape. For his professional accomplishments, he was elected to the College of Fellows of the American Institute of Architects.

Born in San Francisco, **Gyo Obata** (1923-) escaped internment by gaining admission to Washington University in Saint Louis beginning in 1941. After graduating, he received an advanced degree in architecture from Cranbrook, studying with Eero Saarinen; worked for Skidmore, Owings and Merrill; and then Minoru Yamasaki before establishing the Saint Louis firm of Hellmuth, Obata and Kassabaum in 1955. He is a principal in what grew to be one of the largest architectural firms in America, and is the recipient of numerous awards and honors, including admission to the College of Fellows of the American Institute of Architects.

Careful planning allowed Matsumoto to spend little more than a month interned at Poston before restarting college at Washington University, but it took **Robert Hanamura** (1929-) more than a year before he was forcibly removed from UC Berkeley to Tanforan and Topaz, before attending college at Wayne State University and finally Miami University in Ohio.

But the draft presented another interruption in his undergraduate education; he was sent to Tokyo in the immediate postwar period to serve as an intelligence agent, an experience that deepened his appreciation of Japanese architectural and landscape traditions. Upon his return to the U.S., he completed a B.A. in Architecture at Miami.

The combined effects of the Great Depression fol-

lowed by internment completely derailed some promising architectural careers. Seattle-born Nisei **Norio Wakamatsu** (1913-2008) was a case in point. After graduating from Seattle's Queen Anne High School in 1931, he earned a University of Washington degree in architecture. Graduating in the midst of the Great Depression, Wakamatsu was one among many architectural graduates who found it difficult to find steady employment in their chosen field, thus he bagged groceries in his father's store and sometimes sporadically worked as a draftsman until forcibly removed to Minidoka. His primary occupation upon internment was listed as Shipping and Receiving Clerk, but his hopes were reflected in identifying his potential occupation as a Draftsman. But this would not come to pass.

Interviewed by a local paper at the time of federal redress to the 80,000 survivors of internment, Wakamatsu expressed still-raw feelings about his wartime experience as hopes for inclusion in American society were dashed, compounding childhood experiences of racial discrimination. In concrete terms, forced incarceration meant that Wakamatsu's father was pressed to sell the grocery store at a steep loss; his wife had to part with her best furniture for a pittance; his family faced extraordinary difficulty caring for a severely disabled child under forced incarceration; and his own career ambitions were crushed.

> 'I was so bitter that I burned my high school annuals and my architectural drawings,' said Wakamatsu, who has lived in Spokane since 1943. 'We thought if they could get enough ships, they'd ship us to Japan.'[27]

He would never have the opportunity to translate his professional education into a career in architecture.

Still others would create new channels for their creative talents in the postwar period. Principally recognized as a master woodworker and innovative furniture maker, who helped to usher in the Crafts Revival in the United States, **George Katsutoshi Nakashima's** (1905-1990) educational background was in architecture, earning degrees at the University of Washington (1929) and MIT (1931). Employment in New York with the Long Island Park Commission was terminated due to Depression-era exigencies, so Nakashima embarked on an ambitious itinerary of world travel, including time in Paris and a stint working for architect Antonin Raymond in Japan, who originally had worked with Frank Lloyd Wright on the Imperial Hotel but stayed on to establish his own Tokyo-based practice. This experience cemented Nakashima's embrace of Modernism and deepened his knowledge of Japanese design traditions.

Forcibly relocated to Minidoka, Nakashima presented his previous, current, or potential occupa-



The Japanese garden at Kykuit featured bamboo gates, Japanese-styled walls, and an artificial brook, and was designed and planted by a gardener named Takahashi, who had allegedly worked in the Japanese Emperor's gardens in Tokyo. Photo by HABS, courtesy of the Library of Congress.

tions rather expansively as architect, artist, sculptor, teacher of art, or skilled carpenter. He used those skills to improve the physical condition of the camp. In December 1942, WRA photographer Francis Steward captured a series of images of Nakashima at his assigned job constructing and decorating a model apartment to illustrate the kinds of improvements that could be made with scrap materials.[28]

> Nakashima refined his woodworking skills with the help of Issei carpenter **Gentaro Kenneth "Kenny" Hikogawa** (1902-1963), also incarcerated at Minidoka, who taught Nakashima how to use and take care of Japanese hand tools that were to become essential in Nakashima's postwar production. In later years, Nakashima's knowledge of Japanese wood joinery, which he owed to Hikogawa, surprised Japanese artisans who assumed that no Americans would know about it.[29]

Antonin and Noemi Raymond sponsored Nakashima's early release from Minidoka, inviting him to occupy their farm and architectural studio in New Hope, Pennsylvania, at a time when their practice was shifting to New York City. Nakashima's full talents were realized there. His skills as an architect are reflected in the extensive home and woodworking complex he established on the property's 21 acres. Beyond that complex and the world-famous furniture he created, Nakashima also designed churches in the U.S. and abroad.

Depending upon the timing of graduation with respect to the Great Depression, access to work in an architect's office during the apprenticeship phases, and an individual's status in relation to wartime internment, careers in architecture and landscape design that began in the late 1930s either thrived or withered on the vine. The key to postgraduate success was gaining experience as a draftsman then moving up to being a designer on the way to securing a license to practice architecture.

JAPANESE AMERICAN LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

During the postwar period, students of Japanese ancestry enrolled in degree programs in the environmental design professions in increasing numbers, gaining a toehold for the first time in landscape architecture as design professionals. The first Nikkei recipient of the Bachelor of Science in Landscape Architecture at University of California, Nisei **Saichiro Kawakita** (1917-2008), graduated just before the war in 1941.

Kawakita was followed in 1942 by **Donald Shunji Akamatsu** (1920-1949), a student of landscape design whose father worked as a gardener; **Michinori Richard Inouye** (1919-1978), who studied plant pathology at Berkeley but ended up in the health professions; and **Motoyuki Takahashi** (1919-20[13]). They all missed graduation ceremonies with the Class of 1942 due to internment. Takahashi would later participate in a 2009 event sponsored by the California Nisei College Diploma Project that belatedly honored UC students with a formal graduation ceremony. As internment disrupted accrued momentum, the class that included Akamatsu, Inouye and Takahashi would be the last Japanese Americans to complete degrees in University of California's landscape architecture program until the 1947 graduation of **Masaharu Kimura** (1921-1992). It would be 1949 before Japanese Americans graduated in any numbers, producing a substantial gap in the number of landscape architects of Japanese ancestry compared to architecture.

The Nisei generation's delayed entry into landscape architecture until the postwar period had several consequences: coeducation brought women into the field alongside men; relocation widened the geographic distribution of Japanese Americans into the Midwest and East; and integration opened a wider range of educational options.

Born in San Jose, California, in 1922, the oldest of six children, **Mai Haru Kitazawa Arbegast** (1922-2012) was exposed early on to horticulture due to her father and uncle's seed production and nursery business, Kitazawa Seed Company. Her uncle was the first of two brothers to immigrate to the U.S. in 1904, starting out as a hired hand to a gardener in Santa Clara. Her father, **Gijiu Kitazawa** (1889-1963), learned the seed business as an apprentice in Japan, immigrating to the U.S. in 1912.

The company sold seed packets, including vegetables for typical Japanese diets, to individuals and filled bulk orders. As a child, Mai was immersed in the family business, spending much of her time, in her words, "in boots stomping on particular tomatoes and collecting the seeds for further crosses."[30]



The Western Addition neighborhood of San Francisco is the center of Japantown. Before World War II it housed one of the largest enclaves of Japanese outside Japan. Although it took on a Ginza-like appearance, it was resettled by other ethnic groups after the evacuation and has become gentrified since the 1990s. Photo by Carol Highsmith; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Mai initially attended San Jose State College, but the family's internment at Heart Mountain interrupted her education. Release from camp in February of 1943 provided an opportunity to complete undergraduate studies at Oberlin College, graduating in 1945, while the rest of her immediate family spent the remaining war years working in Detroit. Oberlin's open doors represented a sharp contrast with many state and public institutions that barred Japanese American students from entry during the war. University President Ernest G. Wilkins actively recruited students, but its reputation as a welcoming place was made on the news that circulated widely among incarcerated Nisei that Oberlin had a Nisei student council president, Kenji Okuda.

After the war, the Kitazawas returned to California to rebuild their seed and nursery businesses, with Gijiu reaching a national market through mail-order operations. Buemon and his wife Kiyo were captured by WRA photographer Hikaru Iwasaki upon their return to San Jose in 1945 beginning the difficult work of restoring a nursery they had been forced to leave four years earlier. Mai pursued an advanced degree in ornamental horticulture at Cornell University in the immediate postwar years. When she returned to the Bay area, Mai undertook a second Master's degree directly in landscape architecture at UC Berkeley. After graduation she taught there for [13] years in the areas of plant materials, horticulture, and planting design while maintaining a part-time practice. She wrote a guide to landscape architecture of the Bay area in the 1960s, as well as an index to Berkeley's campus trees.

In 1967, she ended teaching and ramped up to a full-time professional practice that would engage her in a wide array of landscape projects over next 35 years.

Her career accomplishments were recognized with a Lifetime Achievement Award from UC Berkeley's Department of Landscape Architecture, and she was honored with the Horticulturalist of the Year Award from AAGHA. In all of these ways, her entry into professional practice in landscape architecture speaks to the influence of Issei occupations on the Nisei's choice of professions, the impact of relocation on educational opportunities, and Nisei entry into landscape architecture in the postwar period.

The historical demography of Issei settlement and family formation meant that many Nisei were college age by the time of internment. As a result, some began college on the west coast but ended up completing it in or near the cities where they relocated. **Bob Hideo Sasaki** (1919-2000), one of the most distinguished and influential landscape architects of the 20th century, experienced this disruption. The third of four sons, Hideo had

not yet completed his undergraduate education at UC Berkeley at the point of internment. He left camp early on work release to do agricultural labor and completed his undergraduate education at the University of Illinois in 1946.

Following graduation, Sasaki pursued advanced studies in architecture at Harvard, receiving a Master of Landscape Architecture in 1948. His career combined an academic position at Harvard Graduate School of Design, which influenced an entire generation of landscape architects, with a robust professional practice as principal in Sasaki Associates, founded in 1953. Growing to be the largest landscape architectural firm in the world, it adopted an interdisciplinary approach to planning, architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design, working on many corporate and university campuses, public spaces, parks, and more. Sasaki was the recipient of numerous awards, including the American Society of Landscape Architects Medal in 1971.

JAPANTOWNS IN POST-WAR AMERICA

The war took its toll on as many as 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry in the United States and tore the fabric of the world they had made. The role of the Alien Property Custodian in seizing title to the real property people of Japanese ancestry accrued in America cannot be overstated. The scope of their confiscations covered virtually every category that comprised the physical fabric of prewar Japanese America: homes, businesses, organizational headquarters, churches, and more. Their scope extended to intellectual property such as patents, licenses, and trademarks. Business records were included in their takings, as well as photographs, sound recordings, motion pictures, stocks, bonds, and other financial instruments.

The architectural legacy of prewar Japanese America was deeply damaged by the massive dislocation of its stewards, dispossession in myriad forms, deferred maintenance and deterioration, vandalism, and outright arson from the time that EO 9066 was issued until it became permissible to return to the Military Exclusion Zone. Some of the most critical community buildings were temporarily converted to hostels to manage the intense housing shortage that greeted returning Japanese Americans. Some who returned chose to fight in the courts to reclaim property that had been seized or taken over during the war.

Many didn't return to their prewar homes and communities, instead making new lives in the places where they had temporarily resettled to avoid internment, or to which they were released for work or study before the end of the war. All of these factors contributed to a decline in the vitality and population of Nihonmachi that had been vibrant before the war. This decline also was fueled by the acceleration of suburban growth in the 1950s and 1960s, raising new questions about what role



The Peace Pagoda stands 100-feet-high at the entrance to San Francisco's Japantown. Designed by Japanese architect Yoshiro Taniguchi, it was presented to the city by its sister city Osaka on March 28, 1968. Photo by Carol Highsmith; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Japantowns would play in the lives of Japanese Americans going forward.

Compounding all of the forces threatening the future of Japantowns were postwar redevelopment schemes that had a disproportionate impact on ethnic communities of color in neighborhoods near city centers. San Francisco's Japantown began to be a target of "slum clearance" as early as 1942; but the pace of redevelopment substantially accelerated in the 1950s as the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency acquired properties through eminent domain, demolished large swaths of the residential and commercial fabric, and displaced a mix of returning Japanese Americans and an influx of African American migrants who had come to the west coast seeking industrial employment during WWII.

After the National Defense and Highways Act was signed in 1956, interstate highway construction also had a disproportionate impact on blue collar and minority residents of cities, as freeways too often were routed through the heart of African American and Asian American communities.

It was in this context that community-based groups formed with the goal of having a voice in planning for the future of Japantowns. Their members essentially functioned as activists and citizen-planners who ensured Japanese American stewardship of community interests in cities such as San Francisco and Los Angeles. The complex political landscape of campaigns to convert city plans into beneficial outcomes for Los Angeles' Japanese American community involved the Little Tokyo People's Rights Organization, the Little Tokyo Redevelopment Corporation, Little Tokyo Community Development Advisory Committee, the Affirmative Action Task Force, the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center, and Little Tokyo Service Center, among others.

Concerned about the condition of Japantowns and troubled by how redevelopment plans were unfolding, some architects and planners of Japanese descent were active participants in these community-based efforts, directing their talents and energy into revitalization efforts. Wayne Osaki's efforts in San Francisco are illustrative. The family was incarcerated at Tule Lake during World War II. Wayne had finished three years of high school at the time of internment.

Osaki attended City College after returning to San Francisco in 1946, served in the U.S. Marine Corps Reserves, and in 1948 enrolled at UC Berkeley in architecture. Based in San Francisco, his career in architecture, beginning in 1951, focused on stores, apartments, and schools, as well as churches, his true passion.

In an era when Urban Renewal too often meant urban "removal," he took up the cause of revitalizing San Francisco's Japantown. After the war, San Francisco's Japantown became the target of large-scale urban renewal and redevelopment efforts, with clearance accomplished through the exercise of eminent domain.

> By 1960, about half of the core of Japantown had been razed, displacing at least 1,500 residents and more than 60 small Japanese American businesses. At least 38 property parcels passed from Japanese ownership to the Redevelopment Agency in this period.[31]

Wayne Osaki's contributions in the postwar period included activism as program chairman of the Western Addition Community Organization, which fought the Redevelopment Agency's negative impact on Japantown homes and businesses in the 1970s. His career reflects a dedication to restoring the vitality of San Francisco's Japanese American community—both through professional and voluntary activities—in the postwar decades.

Osaki was not the only professional who would have the opportunity to direct his skills toward reinvigorating Japantowns in the postwar period. For some, training in architecture was the stepping-stone to a career that combined urban design and planning. **Rai Yukio Okamoto** (1927-1993), was the Philadelphia-born child of Frank Okamoto, a 1913 immigrant from Japan who was an architect/engineer, and Claudine Marshall, a teacher who came from New York. Rai earned initial college degrees from the University of Pennsylvania and MIT in architecture before going on to earn a Masters in city planning from Yale in 1954. Returning to San Francisco to establish his own firm, by 1963 the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency hired him to develop a master plan for Japantown. A prominent example of his design work is Buchanan Mall, completed in 1976.

Osaki and Okamoto's efforts in San Francisco were paralleled in Southern California by architect **Hayahiko Takase** (1930-). Takase's career, after earning a Bachelor's of Architecture from Tokyo University in 1953

then the Master's of Architecture from Harvard in 1956, recapitulated some of the forces that led architects of Japanese descent to engage in projects connected with their ethnicity and designed in ways that fused Japanese design traditions with a Modernist sensibility.

Active in efforts to revitalize Little Tokyo, Takase served on the Mayor's Community Development Advisory Committee at the end of the 1960s and became the designer of some of the neighborhood's most important contemporary buildings, including the Sho Tokyo Theater (1966), Kajima Building (1967), the Higashi Honganji Buddhist Temple (1976), Little Tokyo Plaza, the New Otani Hotel and Garden (1978), and Miyako Hotel (1986).

The postwar Sister Cities movement brought together, in joint endeavors, places such as Glendale, California, and Higashi-Osaka, Japan, funding Takase's commission to design Shoseian, the Whispering Pine Tea House, on the grounds of the Brand Library (1974) in Glendale, which is recognized on the city's Register of Historic Resources. Takase currently is the designer of the long awaited Budokan of Los Angeles, a multigenerational sports and recreation center in Little Tokyo. His fusion of Japanese sensibility with a Modernist aesthetic can be seen in designs for numerous residences in the Los Angeles area. His work was the subject of a 2010 retrospective at the Doizaki Gallery of the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center in Los Angeles, which included walking tours led by the architect and Little Tokyo Historical Society.[32]

Elements of the built environment and cultural landscape provide rich resources for documenting the experiences and perspectives of Japanese Americans. Those who left their imprint on the American land—including but not limited to design professionals—struggled with many competing forces: the desire to maintain Japanese design and building traditions, while pursuing architectural fashions from the Beaux Arts to Modernism; the attempt to capitalize professionally on the vogue for all things Japanese, while simultaneously demonstrating a capacity to assimilate into American culture; among other tensions. Unlike European capitals, where a fascination with Japanese culture could be accepted at face value, Japanese immigrants in the U.S. and their American-born children encountered virulent racism, particularly in the Western region. The architecture of Japanese America, which was shaped by these tensions, has much to teach us about our continuing struggle as a nation to realize the promise of freedom and equality.

Endnotes

1 Donna Graves is thanked for editing and assistance with this essay.

2 Dallas Finn, *Meiji Revisited: The Sites of Victorian Japan* (Trumble, Connecticut: Weatherhill, 1995).

3 Kevin Nute, *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1993), examines the evidence surrounding the architect's repeated claims that exposure to Japanese architecture only confirmed his original design ideas, but did not influence them.

4 See Cherie Wendelken, "The Tectonics of Japanese Style: Architect and Carpenter in the late Meiji Period," in *Art Journal* 55:3 (Autumn 1996): 28-37.

5 Japanese exhibits at international exhibitions are well covered in the scholarly literature. See, for example: Ellen P. Conant, "Japan 'Abroad' at the Chicago Exposition, 1893," in *Challenging Past and Present: The Metamorphosis of Nineteenth Century Japanese Art*, edited by Ellen P. Conant (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 254-280; Kendall H. Brown, "Fair Japan: Japanese Gardens at American World's Fairs, 1876-1940" in *Sitelines* 4:1 (Fall, 2008):13-17; and Hsuan Tsen, "Spectacles of Authenticity: The Emergence of Transnational Entertainments in Japan and America, 1880-1906" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 2011).

6 The National Register Nomination for the Yamashiro Historic District notes: "In 1924 Adolph Bernheimer leased property in Pacific Palisades, and constructed a second estate with a Japanese garden to house his art collection. See Brian Curran and Christine Lazzareto for Historic Resources Group, "National Register Inventory-Nomination Form: Yamashiro Historic District" (April 20, 2012).

7 Kazuo Ito, *Issei: A History of Japanese Immigrants in North America*, translated by Shinichiro Nakamura and Jean S. Gerard (Seattle: Japanese Community Service, 1973).

8 "Domoto Nursery Largest in the State," *San Francisco Call* 111:73 (February 11, 1912): 22.

9 Though the concentration of Shinto shrines in Hawai'i is remarkable and some examples survive to the present day, it is worth noting that even the well-developed urban metropolis of Los Angeles had more than a dozen Shinto groups as late as 1940, part of the rich tapestry of religious life in the Japanese American community that included 7th Day Adventists, Catholics, Free Methodists, Church of Christ, Presbyterian, Baptist and Buddhist congregations. Rafu Shimpo [*Japanese Daily News*] Year Book and Directory (1940-41).

10 "Aloha, Reverend Torako Arine," Hawaii Kotohira Jinsha Hawaii Dazaifu Tenmangu 4:7 (July 2014). <http://www.e-shrine.org/images/ShrineJULY2014.pdf>

11 George Arine, "National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form: Maui Jinsha Mission" (1978).

12 "Harry Nishiura, 90, Businessman," *San Jose Mercury News* (June 3, 1997).

13 *The Welcome Society, The Fifth National Industrial Exhibition of 1903 and a Short Guide-Book of Japan* (Tokyo: The Welcome Society, 1902).

14 Frank Maggi with Leslie Masunaga, "Report on Historical Status: Hirasaki – Sakai Ranch," (Revised August 14, 2008).

15 Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: The Free Press, 1988), especially 185-187.

16 Edward M. Burke, "National Register Inventory-Nomination Form: Nippon Kan Hall" (1977).

17 Brian Nagata, "The History of the Buddhist Church of Oakland," The Buddhist Church of Oakland. <http://www.buddhistchurchofoakland.org/BCOhistory.htm>

18 Eiichiro Azuma, "Issei in New York, 1876-1941," *Japanese American National Museum Quarterly* (Summer 1998). Reprinted by Discover Nissei <http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/journal/2014/7/7/issei-in-new-york>

19 "Wall St. Building to Top All in World," *New York Times* (April 10, 1929), 21.

20 "Entire City Put on War Footing," *New York Times* (December 8, 1941). 1, 3.

21 This figure is cited in San Francisco Planning Department, "Draft Japantown Better Neighborhood Plan" (May 2009): 130. <http://www.sf-planning.org/Modules/ShowDocument.aspx?documentid=1610>

22 Gregory Dicum, "Despite Malls, a Vital Culture," *New York Times* (November 4, 2007).

23 Siberius Saito, Architect, to Mr. William H. Irwin (June 22, 1942). Augusta Bixler Farms Records, MS 202B, California Historical Society.

24 Garrett Eckbo, "Landscape Architecture: The Profession in California, 1935-1940," (Berkeley: The Bancroft Library, 1991), 56 and Telesis: oral history transcript/1993".

25 Carol Lynne Horiuchi, "Dislocations and Relocations: The Built Environments of Japanese American Internment" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California Santa Barbara, 2005).

26 Garrett Eckbo: "Landscape Architecture: The Profession in California, 1935-1940," 46.

27 Diana Sawson, "Payments Evoke Pride, Pain among Japanese Americans," *Spokesman-Review* (October 28, 1990): A1 and A12

28 "Constructing and decorating model apartment to show possibilities using scrap materials. George Nakashima, architect." Frances Steward, photographer (12/9/42) War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement, 1942-1945. Banc Pic 1967.014-PIC. (Berkeley: Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley).

29 Sanae Nakatani, "George Nakashima," Densho Encyclopedia <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/George%20Nakashima>

30 Joe Eaton and Ron Sullivan, "Kitazawa Seed Connects Cultures, Traditional Foods," SFGate (July 5, 2013).

31 Japantown's history is presented online at "Discover San Francisco Japantown." <http://sfjapantown.org>

32 "The Architecture and Art of Hayahiko Takase, Little Tokyo Landmark Designer, Sept. 30 – Oct. 10," *Cultural News* (September 2010). <http://www.culturalnews.com/?p=2176>

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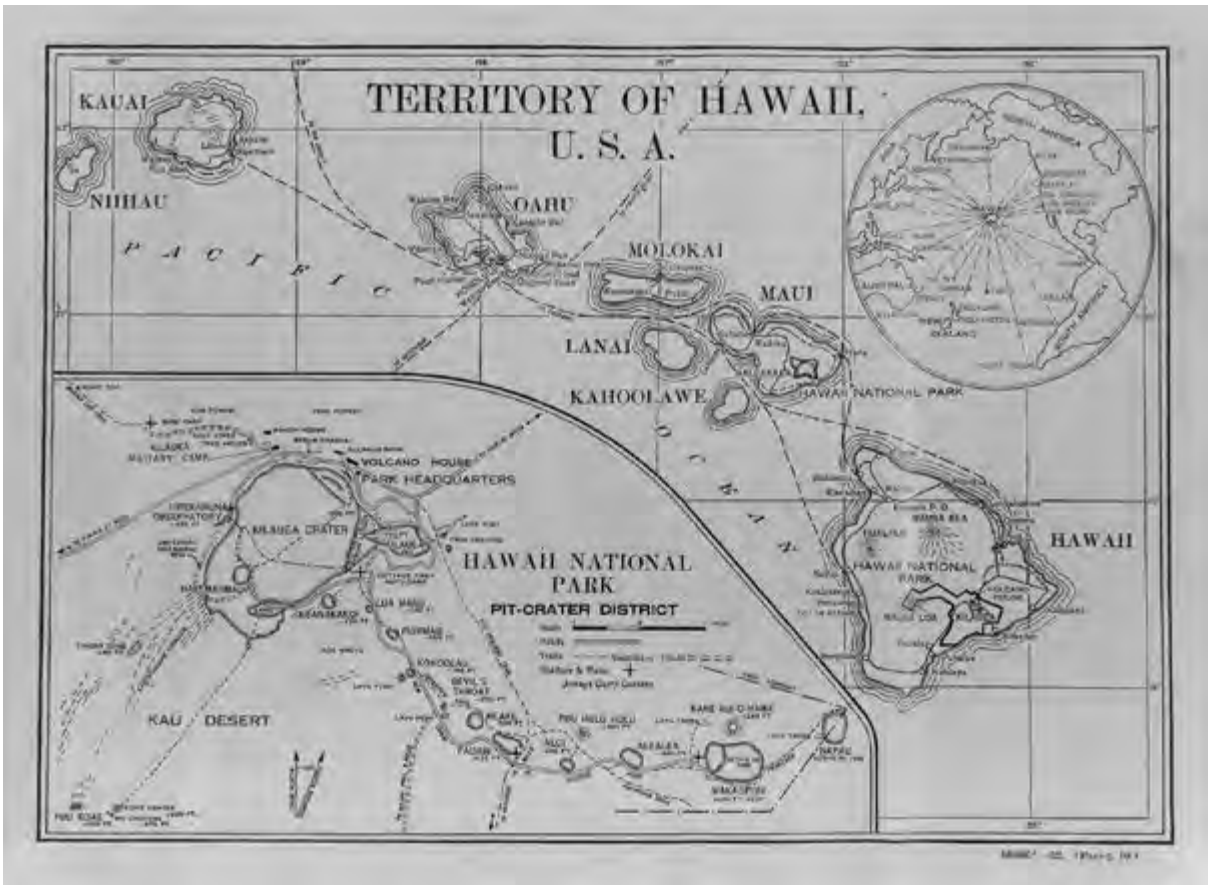
Essay 9

Sites of Resistance to Imperialism

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In reflecting upon the theme of national historic sites and landmarks of "resistance to imperialism" in relation to Pacific Islanders and Asian Americans, it is important to acknowledge the layers of complexity and contradiction that exist because of the role that the American settler state plays as the imperial power and the object of this resistance. This is further complicated by the role that the American settler state plays as the entity that anoints a site as having a significant role in the national history of the U.S. The American settler state disrupted the independent development of Pacific Island nations and suppressed the self-governance of indigenous Pacific Island peoples in those island territories now claimed to be part of the United States. The American settler state also racializes Pacific Islanders and Asian immigrants and their American-born descendants, perpetuating institutional forms of environmental, economic, social, and cultural

Moaʻulaiki, Kahoʻolawe is a site where ancestral Hawaiian navigators trained for way-finding across the Pacific. In the foreground is a lele or platform for the Makahiki ceremonies that were revived on the island in 1981. During naval training exercises, the landscape shown here had two large targets made of tires painted white for ship-to-shore shelling. Photo by Noa Emmett Aluli; used with permission.



A map of Hawai'i as a U.S. territory, with emphasis on Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park. Kaho'olawe is shown to the center right. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

racism. The erasure of the role of the original indigenous Pacific Island peoples in caring for, honoring, and governing lands now claimed by the U.S. was integral to the colonization of these peoples and nations. Expropriation of Asian immigrant labor, racist laws and policies, and suppression of social movements protesting inhumane living and working conditions reinforced the dominance of the American settler state.

Therefore, as we consider the importance of acknowledging national historic sites and landmarks of "resistance to imperialism," it would be disingenuous not to question what role such a project, in and of itself, plays in the perpetuation of American imperialism. Is such a designation yet another form of appropriating the history and culture of Pacific Islanders and Asian Americans and incorporating it into a national narrative of Manifest Destiny and the dynamics of social Darwinism? Would such a designation somehow make the history of abuse, racism, and injustices toward Pacific Islanders and Asian Americans more palatable or pardonable? Whose history will be represented and perpetuated through the course of processing such a designation?

Another strand of inquiry examines the purpose of engaging in the process of designating a site of "resistance to imperialism" as a national historic site or landmark. Is the purpose to attract visitors and tourists, or to enhance the cultural life of the community? Is the purpose to educate and connect current generations with a historic legacy, or is it to perpetuate a narrative of domination, conquest, and incorporation? Will the designation result in a process of healing or in the perpetuation of injustices and the rise of new conflicts? Will the designation protect a site from desecration, alteration, or destruction or simply not make a difference?

Perhaps the deeper issues that underlay these questions are the reasons most of the national historic sites and landmarks that represent "resistance to imperialism" in the Pacific Islands are sites of World War II

battles against Japanese imperialism, since this shifts the focus away from American expansion and the ensuing resistance from the islanders. It should be mentioned, also, that the narrative histories for these World War II sites have erased native histories and histories related to those native lands.

What are elements that can be part of the process to designate "sites of resistance to imperialism" that will truly honor the heritage of Pacific Islanders and Asian Americans; acknowledge the aspirations for self-governance, cultural perpetuation, equality, social justice, and well-being; and not simply subsume these groups into serving as tiny colorful pieces in the mosaic of America's national history? How can the designation contribute to the protection of important cultural sites and enrich the lives of these communities?

Arguably, the process of recognizing "sites of resistance," while well-intentioned, can be fraught with conflict and controversy, as conceptions of "history" and "culture" are highly contested. This is particularly true as they play out on native landscapes against centuries of U.S. colonialism, empire, and militarism. The process of designating specific places within the U.S. and its territories as historic landmarks should involve the acknowledgment of the experiences, histories, and cultures of all the peoples who were connected to the place to be honored and should begin with the history and culture of the indigenous peoples of the land who first experienced the land and its resources in their natural form.

HONORING THE LANDSCAPE OF "SITES OF RESISTANCE TO IMPERIALISM"

The land is immovable. Its features can be transformed over time by the waves of people who live upon it, cultivate it, and develop it for various purposes until its original features are difficult to distinguish, except through imagination. Nevertheless, the land remains as the foundation of the cultural and social activities of all peoples. All land in the fifty states of the United States of America and the nations over which the U.S. maintains relationships of governance are layered with the history of the first peoples who established stewardship and governance. That history is followed by succeeding waves of settlers and immigrants from Europe, Africa, Asia, the Americas, and the Pacific. The process of identifying such places as historic landmarks needs to acknowledge the layers of this history back to the original, indigenous peoples of the land. Circumventing this process would not only violate the heritage of the peoples involved and their imagined political futures but also perpetuate the imperialist project for which such places became "sites of resistance."

GENEALOGY OF PLACE

The nomination process for a site of resistance to imperialism should trace the genealogy of the land from the present, back to the elemental forces that defined its landscape. One key example, the island of Kanaloa Kahoʻolawe in Hawaiʻi, is a site of Native Hawaiian resistance against imperialism. Dr. Pualani Kanakaʻole Kanahele composed an oli koʻihonua, or genealogy chant, that was presented at a healing ceremony for the island in August 1992. Each stanza of the chant conveys a period of the island's history, from its birth as a sacred child of the earth mother, Papa, through its destruction by ranching and military use, and its role as a "site of resistance" and then as a center for the revival of Native Hawaiian cultural and religious practices. Such a chant embodies, in abbreviated form, the process of distinguishing the layers of history for a particular historic site or landmark.[2]

Place Names, Chants, Songs, Sayings, Stories

Documentation of the place names, chants, songs, sayings, and stories of the place is important. This documentation should include contemporary, historical, and indigenous names as well as songs and stories because they will reveal the cultural significance and uses of the place over time. Acknowledging the original name given to a landscape or particular site is thus important to the process of resisting the impact of imperialism.

Artifacts and Structures

Ethnographic research and archaeological investigation can extend over a range of history and not be limited to one cultural group or period of history. In addition to the artifacts and structures related to settler colonial activities, such as trade, planting of new food and cash crops, introduction of animals, agriculture, military, or other economic activities, the original cultural, economic, and social life ways of the indigenous peoples of the land should be documented. For example, World

War II battlefields should not only feature the impact or remnants of war but also delve deeper into the artifacts and structures, which represent the lives of the native peoples prior to World War II.

Nature of Resistance

In developing the theme for this essay, a list of sites of nationalist and resistance movements that might be considered for nomination was drafted by the organizers of the theme study. This list provides a range of historic actions rooted in the evolution and expansion of U.S. imperialism that incited movements and acts of resistance by Pacific Islanders and Asian Americans.

For Hawai'i, there are sites related to the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and Constitutional Monarchy by American settlers and the claimed annexation of Hawai'i by the U.S. There are also sites of Japanese American incarceration during World War II.

For Guam and the Commonwealth of the Marianas, there are sites associated with the Spanish-American War and the annexation of Guam. There are numerous sites of World War II battles, such as the Plaza De Espana. There is also the air force base on the island of Tinian where the atomic bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki were stored before being loaded onto the aircraft.

Other movements for which "sites of resistance" can be acknowledged include the Gadar Movement to free India from British colonialism; the movement to support Sun Yat-Sen and the nationalist movement in China; the Anti-Vietnam War movement; the Peace Movement; student movements to establish Ethnic Studies and Asian American Studies; the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement; the Anti-Marcos Dictatorship of the Philippines movement; and nationalist movements of Pacific Islanders, including efforts to close or prevent the expansion of military bases and training sites.

Nationalist movements are often protracted historic struggles that play out across generations, time, and space. There is a broad range of historic and cultural landscapes and geographies to explore as significant and iconic sites associated with movements of "resistance to imperialism." These include, but are not limited to, historic gathering places, offices and meeting rooms, locations of major rallies, sites of occupation and physical clashes, residences of major leaders, structures and memorials built as symbols of resistance, burial sites, public and other forms of art, gardens, and cultural displays.

It will be left to the initiative of the organizations and communities connected to these movements of "resistance to imperialism" to decide if they want to pursue national historic site or landmark status for locations that depict their movement and attain a designated space in the national pantheon of historic preservation.

CASE STUDIES

Rather than attempt a comprehensive history or broad survey of Pacific Islander and Asian American movements of "resistance to imperialism" and their related sites, I elected to highlight two case studies which symbolize the history of nationalist movements in Hawai'i and Guam. The first is the movement to stop the bombing and heal the island of Kanaloa Kaho'olawe[3] in Hawai'i, and the second is the movement to prevent the building of five new military live firing ranges that would have destroyed the cultural sites of Pågat in Guam. The Kaho'olawe movement began in 1976 and celebrated its 40th anniversary in 2016. In November 2010, the "We Are Guåhan (Guam)" movement took the first step to stop the building of a complex of live fire target ranges at Pågat village by filing a lawsuit against the Department of Defense (DOD). In 2013, the DOD announced plans to relocate the firing range complex.[4]

KANALOA KAHO'OLAWE[5]

One of the most prominent sites of "resistance to imperialism" is the island of Kanaloa Kaho'olawe in the Hawaiian Islands. In acknowledgement of its historic and cultural significance, the entire island was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1981, although at the time, and for another nine years, the island continued to be used for live fire military training exercises, including bombing by planes, amphibious landings, and ship-to-shore shelling by naval gunboats. Moreover, although the island is prominent as the catalyst for the modern Native Hawaiian nationalist movement, it was recognized as a historic site because of the concentration of 600 archaeological sites and 2,000 archaeological features on a 45-square mile island.

The history of the settlement and coloniza-

tion of Hawai'i is revealed in the history of Kanaloa Kaho'olawe. More importantly, the island also sparked Native Hawaiian resistance to American imperialism through direct protests and a renaissance of Hawaiian cultural practices that affirmed that Hawaiian culture had survived decades of colonial assimilation. In reviewing this history, we understand how such sites of "resistance to imperialism" are layered with and imprinted by the historical experiences and cultural practices of various peoples and cultures upon the same landscape, beginning most profoundly with the indigenous peoples of the land.

MO'OLELO O KAHO'OLAWE - THE HISTORY OF KAHO'OLAWE

The island of Kanaloa Kaho'olawe is one of the principal historic and cultural places held sacred by Native Hawaiians.[6] Native Hawaiians who first encountered its rugged shores farmed the land and harvested marine resources from its surrounding seas. They established shrines and heiau (temples). Given its geographic location as the latitudinal piko, or center of the major islands in the archipelago, as they stretched across the Pacific from north to south, Kanaloa Kaho'olawe became a center for the training of navigators in the science and art of astronomy and ocean wayfinding. Great kahuna or priests gathered to establish sites for the observation of seasonal movements of the sun and to develop and maintain a sun calendar.

The island's changing landscape reflects the history of imperialist expansion into Hawai'i, beginning in the late 18th century. There followed, in succession, the colonization of Hawai'i through American missionaries, whalers, and merchant settlers; the militarization of the islands as an outpost of U.S. expansion into Asia leading up to World War II; and the attack on Pearl Harbor, World War II, and the development of Hawai'i into the U.S. military's Pacific command during the Cold War era and post-9/11 global anti-terror mobilization. On the other hand, the island and its landscape are also imprinted with the renaissance of Hawaiian culture, arts and science, and the revival of Native Hawaiian religious practices.

In 1793, British Captain George Vancouver, representing the expansive British empire in the Pacific and Pacific northwest, gifted goats to High Chief Kahekili of Mâui. High Chief Kahekili, who ruled the islands of Mâui Nui - Mâui, Lâna'i, Moloka'i, and Kaho'olawe, had the goats taken to Kaho'olawe, where they grazed and reproduced at will. The goats were the first factor that contributed to the denuding of the island's landscape. By 1884, there were more than 9,000 goats on the island contributing greatly to the erosion of its topsoil.

Another layer of history was added to the island's landscape when New England Calvinist missionaries, as part of the process of American settler colonialism, arrived in Hawai'i in 1820 and gained influence with the Hawaiian monarchy. A mission school was established on the island from 1825 through 1838. The monarchy enthusiastically adopted the Ten Commandments as law; one of the punishments for adultery, theft, or murder, from 1829 to 1853, was banishment to Kaho'olawe. Converts to Catholicism were also exiled to the island. Under the 1848 Ka Mâhele,[7] the process to establish private ownership of Hawaiian lands, King Kamehameha III claimed Kaho'olawe and gifted the island to the Hawaiian Kingdom and Constitutional Monarchy.

From 1858 to 1910, when the Hawaiian economy shifted from whaling to sugar plantations and ranching, Kaho'olawe was leased to non-Hawaiian sheep ranchers. In 1884, there were 12,000 sheep on the island, and the island's topsoil continued to erode into the ocean. As a result, native plant and bird populations continued to decline. The island was exposed to aggressive invasive species that adapted more successfully to the barren landscape.

ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES

In Honolulu, U.S. marines landed on January 16, 1893, to support American planter, business, and missionary-descendant interests who declared their so-called "Committee of Safety" to be a provisional government in control of the Hawaiian government on January 17, 1893. This government usurped the power of the Hawaiian monarchy and claimed all of the lands of the Hawaiian Crown and government.

The provisional government declared the establishment of the Republic of Hawai'i on July 4, 1894, and Kaho'olawe was among all the lands of the Hawaiian Kingdom and Constitutional Monarchy claimed by this new government. Unable to secure approval for a Treaty of Annexation by the U.S. Senate (which would require



'Iolani Palace was established as the seat of power in Hawai'i under the Kalâkaua Dynasty, and, despite being an icon of the Hawaiian Kingdom continued to be used as the capitol building under the provisional government, Republic, Territory, and State of Hawai'i until 1969. Photo by Carol Highsmith, 1980; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

a two-thirds majority), the U.S. Congress subsequently voted by simple majority to annex Hawai'i under the Newlands Joint Resolution in 1898.

Under an Organic Act passed by the U.S. Congress for Hawai'i as a territory, all these lands were ceded to the U.S. government. The U.S. government then turned the lands over to the Republic of Hawai'i as the ceded public lands trust for the benefit of the inhabitants of Hawai'i. However, management of these lands, including Kaho'olawe, became the jurisdiction of the government of the Territory of Hawai'i.

From 1910 to 1918, the Territory of Hawai'i suspended ranching leases and held the island as a forest reserve. The Territory then leased the island for cattle ranching through 1941 under the condition that the rancher would eradicate the goats, limit the number of cattle on the island to 200, and undertake revegetation of the island using the invasive kiawe or mesquite (Prosopis pallida).

In May of 1941, the U.S. Navy signed a sublease with the rancher and began to use Kaho'olawe for live fire target practice in ship-to-shore shelling. Pearl Harbor was bombed on December 7, 1941, and martial law was declared. The following day, control over Kaho'olawe was turned over to the U.S. Navy, which expanded live fire exercises and continued these exercises through October 22, 1990.

By September 1945, 150 Navy pilots; the crews of 532 major ships; and 350 Navy, Marine, and Army shore fire control officers had trained at Kaho'olawe. Another 730 service members had trained in joint signal operations on the island. In the end, Kaho'olawe had been used to stage every major battle on Japanese-occupied Pacific islands, notably, the catastrophic battles of Iwo Jima and Okinawa.

During the Korean War, Navy carrier planes used Kaho'olawe to practice airfield attacks and strafing runs on vehicle convoys and other mock North Korean targets. In 1965, during the Cold War era, a one-kiloton nuclear explosion was simulated on the island when the U.S. Navy detonated 500 tons of TNT. During the Vietnam era, Navy and Marine Corps planes practiced attacks on simulated surface-to-air missile sites, airfields, and radar stations. By the time of the Gulf War, live fire training on the island was reduced, as the Navy shifted its primary training to other state-of-the-art electronic target ranges.

RESISTANCE AND RESTORATION

In January 1976, the island was selected to draw attention to historic injustices endured by Native Hawaiian people as a result of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy by American settler colonialists with crucial support from U.S. naval forces. When many protestors arrived on Maui and boarded fishing boats to cross the channel to the island, the U.S. Coast Guard set up a blockade and threatened to confiscate any boat that landed on the island. One boat, however, with nine persons aboard, managed to elude the blockade. Seven of the nine who made this first landing were arrested. The two others remained on the island for two nights before being arrested. Even as they witnessed the devastation created by the full arsenal of conventional weapons that had been used on the island for over 35 years, they also testified to a sense that they were in the presence of pervasive spirits of the land and ancestors who had passed.

ALOHA ʻÂINA

In seeking an explanation of their spiritual experience on Kahoʻolawe with their kûpuna, or elders, on the islands of Moloka`i, Maui, and Hawaiʻi, native activists learned of the history of Kahoʻolawe as a place sacred to the god of the ocean, Kanaloa. The island had been a center for the training of navigators in the art and science of wayfinding across the realm of Kanaloa—the vast Pacific Ocean. Advised to organize in a Hawaiian way, the organizers formed the Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana. In the Hawaiian language, ʻOhana means extended family, and the group organized themselves and conducted activities in that fashion, rejecting formal status as an association with officers and directors. The central slogan for the movement became "Aloha ʻÂina," or love and respect for the land that feeds, heals, and shelters; the land that is a sacred manifestation of the natural life forces that our ancestors honored as deities, the land that is the nation of Hawaiʻi.

The struggle emerged as a movement of resistance to abuse by the U.S. military of Hawaiʻi's lands; to the assimilation and suppression of Hawaiian language and culture through a historic process of colonization; and to the takeover by the U.S. government. Two young Hawaiian men, George Helm and Kimo Mitchell, were lost at sea while protesting the U.S. naval bombardment of the island. Their martyrdom instilled a determination in the movement to make their sacrifice meaningful. The movement persisted year after year until, finally, on October 22, 1990, President George H.W. Bush ordered all live fire military training to be halted. While this grassroots movement won a major victory in a struggle against the largest military force ever assembled in world history, the process of healing Kanaloa Kahoʻolawe and protecting it from other destructive uses would bring new challenges. George Helm's vision of the "greening" of Kanaloa Kahoʻolawe and re-establishing its role as a pu`uhonua, or refuge, for Native Hawaiian culture continued to provide inspiration and direction to the movement.

Gradually, the movement evolved from being anti-military into focusing on the stewardship of the island through the traditional and customary practice of Aloha ʻÂina. This experience led to the revival of Native Hawaiian religious and cultural customs, including the language and practices, in order to re-connect with the life forces that Native Hawaiian ancestors honored as deities.

REBIRTH OF A SACRED ISLAND

The first ceremony to be revived, in 1980-81, was the Makahiki ceremony calling upon Lono, the Hawaiian god of the rain season and of agricultural productivity, to heal, re-green, and replenish the island and its



The detonation of a 500-ton TNT explosive for Shot Bravo, the first of three test explosions in Operation "Sailor Hat" on Kaho'olawe, was meant to simulate the effects of nuclear bombs on naval vessels anchored off shore. It is believed to have cracked the island's water table.
Photo courtesy of the Naval History and Heritage Command Photograph Collections.

resources. This ceremony traditionally opens in November and closes in January-February each year. Protocols and prayers for the ceremonies were provided by kûpuna and kumu hula (hula master) Aunty Edith Kanakaole and her ʻohana of Hawaiʻi Island. This became an enduring tradition. In November 2015, the Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana opened the 35th annual Makahiki season for Kanaloa Kahoʻolawe. Participants continue to journey from all of the islands to be a part of the ceremonies. Some of them have since established Makahiki ceremonies on their home islands. Ceremonies to honor Kanaloa, Kâne (Hawaiian god of fresh water sources), Laka, (goddess of hula), Kû`ula (god of fishing), and Papa (earth mother) have all been re-introduced and are now practiced on Kanaloa Kaho`olawe.

Significantly, the island itself has been reborn as a sacred place, recognized as a body form of the Hawaiian god of the ocean, Kanaloa. The realm of Kanaloa, the ocean, is both vast and deep, the island being the only part of the realm that rises above the ocean's surface and thus available for native peoples to live upon. The island itself has served as a portal into spiritual realms, connecting Native Hawaiians of the 21st century with ancestral knowledge and the life forces they honored as deities.

KANALOA KAHOʻOLAWE AND HAWAIIAN SOVEREIGNTY

In 1993, in anticipation of the return of the island of Kanaloa Kahoʻolawe to the State of Hawaiʻi, the legislature passed a law, Hawaiʻi Revised Statutes Chapter 6K, which provided for the eventual transfer of the island to a sovereign Hawaiian entity. The law mandates: "the resources and waters of Kaho`olawe shall be held in trust as part of the public land trust; provided that the State shall transfer management and control of the island and its waters to the sovereign native Hawaiian entity upon its recognition by the United States and the State of Hawaiʻi."[8] This measure set a precedent for Native Hawaiian sovereignty in that the State of Hawaiʻi acknowledged that there will be a sovereign Native Hawaiian entity and that repatriated federal lands can be part of the land base of this sovereign entity.

Title to Kanaloa Kahoʻolawe was transferred to the State of Hawaiʻi in May 1994. From November 10, 1993, through November 11, 2003, the U.S. Navy conducted an omnibus cleanup of ordnance on the island. After fifty years of use as a military weapons range, the island's 28,800 acres were contaminated with shrapnel, target vehicles, and unexploded ordnance. The U.S. Navy signed an agreement with the State of Hawaiʻi to clear 30 percent of the Island's subsurface of ordnance. In 1993, the Congress appropriated $460 million for the Navy to fulfill this obligation. The Navy contracted Parsons-UXB Joint Venture to conduct what is acknowledged to be the largest unexploded ordnance remediation project in the history of the United States. Over 10 million pounds of metal, 370 vehicles, and 14,000 tires were removed from the island and recycled. However, rather than clearing 30 percent of the island to a depth of four feet, the contractors cleared no more than 2,650 acres or 9 percent of the island's subsurface. Another 19,464 acres or 68 percent of the island's surface was cleared of ordnance, but 6,686 acres, or 23 percent, of the island has not been touched. One disturbing fact is that the U.S. Navy can only guarantee that it is 90 percent confident that 85 percent of the ordnance in the 2,650 acres was cleared of ordnance to a depth of four feet.

In 2015, the island was managed by the Kahoʻolawe Island Reserve Commission, an entity administered by the Hawaiʻi Department of Land and Natural Resources, awaiting the establishment of a sovereign Native Hawaiian governing entity that would be recognized by the State of Hawaiʻi and the U.S. government.

The vision for the island acknowledges its importance as a sacred place for the Native Hawaiian people, where both land and culture are nurtured: "The kino (body) of Kanaloa is restored. Forests and shrublands of native plants and other biota clothe its slopes and valleys. Nâ Poʻe Hawaiʻi care for the land in a manner which recognizes the island and the ocean of Kanaloa as a living spiritual entity. Kanaloa is a puʻuhonua (refuge) and a wahi pana (legendary place) where Native Hawaiian cultural practices flourish. The piko (navel) of Kanaloa is the crossroads of past and future generations from which the Native Hawaiian lifestyle spreads throughout the islands."[9]

PÅGAT, GUAM[10]

A second prominent example of a "site of resistance" to U.S. imperialism and colonialism is Pågat, Guam.

Pågat (which in Chamorro[11] means to counsel or advise) is a historic village of the Chamorros, the indigenous people of Guam. It is one of four recorded sites on the northeast coast of Guam where latte can be found in its original location. Pågat is the largest and most intact of these sites. Latte, unique to the Mariana Islands (Micronesia), are stone pillars with cup-shaped capstones that served as ancient Chamorro house supports. Built between 1200 to 300 BP (before present), latte are made of limestone, basalt, or sandstone; vary in height from 60 centimeters to more than three meters; and have been found in arrangements of six, eight, ten, twelve, or fourteen. Early Chamorros buried their dead under and near their houses, and ancestral burials are located where latte are found. For this reason, latte sites are also honored as sacred sites. Other cultural artifacts, such as pottery, jewelry, and stone and shell tools, are also found at latte sites.

There are twenty sets of latte in Pågat, as well as lusong (stone mortars), medicinal plants, pottery shards and tools, and ancestral burial grounds. While some of the mortars were carved from local limestone, most are made of basalt and could only have been obtained through an exchange network with villages where basalt was located. Today, in an era of profound cultural renaissance, Chamorro educators, traditional healers, fishermen, and activists alike regard Pågat as a sacred place connecting them to their ancestral heritage. For them, Pågat is a place to learn about and engage in their cultural practices.



Typical latte stones found at various historical sites on Guam, including Pågat and Latte Stone Park at Hagåtña. Photo by Hajime Nakano; courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, licensed under Creative Commons.

The village was acknowledged as an important historic and cultural site and registered on the Guam Register of Historic Places and the National Register of Historic Places in 1974. However, these important designations did not protect this sacred and irreplaceable site from being targeted by the military for use as a live fire training range.

In 2006, as part of an agreement between the U.S. and Japan, and after years of sustained protest by Okinawans against the massive and intrusive presence of American troops, the U.S. military announced it would transfer some 8,000 marines and their 9,000 dependents from Okinawa to Guam. The proposed buildup would have had numerous devastating effects. One of the most profound was the plan to construct five live fire training ranges at the sacred village of Pågat. In response to the military's plans, the National Trust for Historic Preservation included Pågat on its 2010 list of "America's 11 Most Endangered Historic Places." This organization, together with the Guam Preservation Trust and the grassroots organization, We Are Guåhan, filed a lawsuit against the Department of Defense. The result was a victory for Pågat. However, the military then needed to identify an alternative location, and this would pose new challenges.

SYMBOL OF CHAMORRO HISTORY

As with the history of Kanaloa Kaho`olawe, U.S. military plans to construct the firing range in Pågat became emblematic of a much longer history of land alienation and dispossession among the Chamorro caused directly by military expansionism. And, as had been the case with Kanaloa Kaho`olawe, the perpetuation of Chamorro indigenous identity and culture has become the focal point for resistance to U.S. military plans for the firing range.

Chamorro history extends back nearly 4,000 years in the Marianas Islands, and traditional sources place the establishment of the village of Pågat some 3,000 years ago. When Spain colonized Guam in the 16th century,

Pågat was a major residential village. There is evidence that a wooden Catholic church was built for the village in 1672. The church was apparently destroyed during warfare between the Chamorros and the Spanish and never rebuilt.

The U.S. acquired control over Guam from Spain in the treaty that ended the 1898 Spanish-American War. In the aftermath of the war, Guam was ruled as an unincorporated territory, controlled by the U.S. Navy through the beginning of World War II. Hours after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Guam was invaded by Japanese imperial forces and occupied for nearly three years. In July 1944, American troops landed on Guam, re-established control, and conducted much of the remainder of the war from that island in the Northern Marianas. The atomic bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki were transported to Tinian in the Northern Marianas to await their final journeys.

Following World War II, the U.S. reoccupied Guam. In 1950, with the signing of the Organic Act of Guam, the island became an unincorporated territory. The administration of Guam was transferred from the Navy to the Department of the Interior, and local, limited self-rule was established in the government of Guam. Chamorros were granted U.S. citizenship. This political status, as many Chamorros would later realize, came at the expense of Chamorro political self-determination and cost them serious loss of native lands.

In the post-WWII era, Guam was developed as a key U.S. military base for stationing, training, and deploying military forces in the Korean and Vietnam Wars and then for maintaining a strong, deterrent presence in the Asia-Pacific region throughout the Cold War. In the process, the U.S. military ultimately gained control of one-third of the total land mass in Guam through the gradual and persistent displacement of Chamorro people from their ancestral lands. The U.S. military ultimately gained control of 33 percent of the land in Guam, making Guam a virtual military fortress, one in which the local civilian population had limited powers of self-governance.

In 2006, when the Department of Defense announced its plans to transfer U.S. marines to Guam, as part of its Asia-Pacific realignment, Chamorro activists protested the military's plans to take more lands and, worse, to utilize the ancient Chamorro village of Pågat for live fire training. The transfer of thousands of troops and their dependents from Okinawa to Guam is yet another stage in the build-up of Guam. The development of a firing range at Pågat was just one of a number of potential disasters. Others, certain to impact the Chamorros, include population increase, even more military facilities, added pressure on available housing, and additional infrastructure, including utilities, roadways, and social service requirements. Equally ominous is the prospect of the dredging of coral reefs to create a deep draft harbor at Apra for nuclear submarines and aircraft carriers.

RECLAIMING PAGAT

As the movement to protect Pågat evolved, the village became a powerful symbol of how the Chamorros had been disconnected from thousands of acres of their ancestral lands. Through the "Save Pågat" movement, Chamorros and non-Chamorros alike expressed their opposition to further military development and to the island's continued colonial status. These groups invoked the traditional Chamorro value of inafa'maolek, or make things good for each other, through collective action that would sustain a healthy balance between the people and the lands of their ancestors. They also accepted the responsibility to prutehi yan defendi, or protect and defend, their Chamorro heritage and their cultural and ancestral lands. So-called "heritage hikes" became a compelling means of educating and engaging the broader community in the collective effort to protect and defend Pågat and to challenge the firing range proposal.

The filing of a lawsuit by a coalition of organizations succeeded in effectively securing a victory for Pågat through an admission from the DOD that it had not considered all reasonable alternatives, as required by federal environmental regulations, for the siting of the firing range. However, the lawsuit did not stop the military build-up itself. The end result was another proposed location for the live fire training range, Litekyan, the site of another ancient Chamorro village. In response, a new grassroots movement, "Our Islands are Sacred," emerged to protest the construction of firing ranges at Litekyan.

COMMON THEMES

In both case studies, cultural sites listed in the National Register of Historic Places were nonetheless

still vulnerable to military appropriation for live fire ranges considered sacrilegious by indigenous populations. This raises questions about the efficacy of listing places in the National Register or designating places as National Historic Landmarks. Both cases indicate that listed and designated sites cannot be effectively protected from military use unless contemporary movements of "resistance to imperialism" insist that historic protection laws are enforced by the courts. Contemporary movements formed to protect iconic sites of historic cultural significance are part of a continuum of a nationalist movement with deep historic roots. We need, therefore, to use broad parameters in evaluating the appropriate time frame for designation of sites of "resistance to imperialism."

In both Guam and Hawai'i, protests initially formed in opposition to military activities on lands considered sacred and designated as NRHP sites eventually evolved into movements grounded in the culture and traditions of their ancestors. In the process, both efforts evoked traditional customs and practices, protecting sacred ancestral sites, and linking into broader historical movements for national sovereignty.

WAHI PANA - AN INDIGENOUS PERSPECTIVE ON SITES AND LANDMARKS

In closing, I would like to suggest that we resist having Pacific Islanders and Asian Americans limited to the National Historic Landmarks and National Register criteria in our conception of prominent sites and landmarks of "resistance to imperialism." As an alternative, I offer the Native Hawaiian perspective regarding places, sites, and landmarks of prominence. This is the practice of Native Hawaiian ancestors to name and honor places of distinction or wahi pana, a practice which continues today in our dedication of cultural sites.

The late professor and kupuna, Edward Kanahele, provided an eloquent explanation of wahi pana in the introduction to *Ancient Sites of Oahu: A Guide to Archaeological Places of Interest* by Van James:

> In ancient times, the sacred places of Hawai'i, or wahi pana of Hawai'i, were treated with great reverence and respect. These are places believed to have mana or spiritual power. For Native Hawaiians, a place tells us who we are and who is our extended family. A place gives us our history, the history of our clan, and the history of our ancestors. We are able to look at a place and tie in human events that affect us and our loved ones. A place gives us a feeling of stability and of belonging to our family – those living and those who have passed on. A place gives us a sense of well-being, and of acceptance of all who have experienced that place.
>
> A wahi pana is, therefore, a place of spiritual power which links Hawaiians to our past and our future. Our ancestors knew that the great gods created the land and generated life. The gods give the earth spiritual force or mana. Our ancestors knew that the earth's spiritual essence was focused at wahi pana.
>
> At one time, the entire Native Hawaiian society respected and honored numerous wahi pana. Over time, that understanding was lost, especially among the Hawaiians who were separated from their ancestral lands. Only when a Native Hawaiian gains spiritual wisdom is the ancestral and spiritual sense of place reactivated.
>
> The inventory of sacred places in Hawai'i includes the dwelling places of the gods, the dwelling places of their legendary kahuna, temples, and shrines, as well as selected observation points, cliffs, mounds, mountains, weather phenomena, forests, and volcanoes.[12]

As we move forward, together, to honor the cultures, life ways, and histories of Pacific Islanders and Asian Americans, including the experiences of "resisting imperialism," let us also honor the associated natural landscapes as central to these events and not just as backdrop to the drama of human events. Let us also consider approaching this process from the perspectives of the indigenous Pacific Islanders and the Asian Americans, themselves, and consider new approaches and criteria for such sites and landscapes.

Endnotes

1 The author worked closely with Professor Christine Taitano DeLisle (University of Minnesota) in developing and composing this essay, especially for the case study on Pågat. Julian Aguon, J.D., also reviewed the essay for accuracy regarding Pågat.

2 The entire chant concludes this essay, after the Reference section.

3 The island of Kahoʻolawe was originally named Kanaloa and considered to be a body-form of the Hawaiian God of the ocean, Kanaloa. As part of reclaiming and honoring the island as a sacred place, the organization leading the movement, Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana, and the organization providing spiritual and cultural guidance to the movement, the Edith Kanakaʻole Foundation, now call the island Kanaloa Kahoʻolawe.

4 Given that the Kahoʻolawe movement had been organized for forty years at the time that the article was written and the movment to save Pågat was extended over three years, the section on Kahoʻolawe is much longer. It also reflects the experience of the author as a member of the Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana.

5 This section is based on Davianna Pômaika ʻi McGregor, *Nâ Kuaʻâina: Living Hawaiian Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2007) and Davianna Pômaika ʻi McGregor, "Kahoʻolawe: Rebirth of the Sacred" in *Amerasia Journal, The Politics of Remembering,* edited by Henry Yu and Mae M. Ngai, 28:3 (2002): 68 – 83.

6 Native Hawaiian, according to the 1993 Apology Law, Pub. L. No. 103-150, 107 Stat. 1510 is "any individual who is a descendent of the aboriginal people who, prior to 1778, occupied and exercised sovereignty in the area that now constitutes the State of Hawaiʻi."

7 Ka Mâhele refers to the establishment of private property in Hawaiʻi wherein the King and the Chiefs agreed to remove their respective interests from lands in which they previously held joint interests so that either the King or the Chiefs would retain their interest in the land parcels.

8 Hawaiʻi Revised Statutes § 6K-9 (2012)

9 Kanaloa 2026 Working Group, *I OLA KANALOA! A Plan for Kanaloa Kahoʻolawe Through 2026*, 2014, iolakanaloa.org, accessed 11-20-15.

10 The sources for this section on Pågat are Tiara R. Na'puti and Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "Militarization and Resistance from Guåhan: Protecting and Defending Pågat," *American Quarterly*, 67:3, September 2015, pp. 837 – 858 and http://www.guampedia.com/pagat/ accessed November 20, 2015. This section was reviewed and augmented by Christine DeLisle and Julian Aguon.

11 Chamorro is the name for indigenous people of Guam and their languge.

12 Van James, *Ancient Sites of Oʻahu*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1991), ix – x.

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He Koʻihonua no Kanaloa Kahoʻolawe, He Moku

1st paukû

ʻO Wâkeakahikoluamea	*It was* Wâkeakahikoluamea
ʻO Papahânaumoku ka wahine	*The wife was Papahânaumoku*
Hânau kapu ke kua koko	*The sacred birth pain was born*
Kaʻahea Papa iâ Kanaloa, he moku	*Papa was weak with Kanaloa, an island*
I hânau ʻia he pûnua he naiʻa	*It was born a fledging, a porpoise*
He keiki iʻa na Papa i hânau	*A fish child for Papa was born*
Holo ʻo Haumea i ke keiki moku	*Haumea travels to the island child*
He moku kapu na Haumea na Kanaloa	*It was a sacred child for Haumea, for Kanaloa*
Hoʻonoʻonoʻo kona ʻano wahine	*Reflecting her femaleness*
Kapa ʻia ʻo Kohemâlamalama o Kanaloa.	*It was known as Kohemâlamalama of Kanaloa.*

All:

E ulu i kalani a Kâne.	*To increase in the sphere of Kâne.*
E ulu i ke kai a Kanaloa.	*To increase in the sea of Kanaloa.*

2nd paukû

Holo mai Pele i ka huakaʻI	*Pele travels abroad*
Ka huakaʻi ʻimi noho no ka ʻohana	*An exploration in search of a family residence*
ʻAko ʻia ka ʻiewe, ʻo Puʻuinaina	*The placenta of Puʻuinaina was plucked*
Na Pele i hoʻolawe i ke keiki	*Pele took the child*
Ua hoʻolawe ʻia i ke kai o ʻAlalâkeiki	*It was taken to the sea of ʻAlalâkeiki*
He hei kapu na Kamohoaliʻi	*A sacred place for Kamohoaliʻi*
Kapa ʻia ʻo Kanaloa	*Known as Kanaloa.*

All:

E lana i ka lani a Kâne.	*To float in the upper realm of Kâne.*
E lana i ke kai a Kanaloa.	*To float in the sea of Kanaloa.*

3rd paukû

Kaulana ʻo Kanaloa i nâ mea lawaiʻa	*Kanaloa is famous for fishing techniques*
He ʻupena kahe no nâ maka iʻa	*A flow net for flishing*
ʻO Kûʻula ka maka iʻa no kêia *pae moku*	Kûʻula *attracts fish for this archipelago*
Ua hahai ke keiki o Kûʻula	*The child of Kûʻula reflects his father*
Kûkulu aʻe kekahi koʻa iʻa	*Building fishing shrines throughout*
A laila nô, koho ʻo ʻAiʻai iâ Hakiʻoawa	*ʻAiʻai chooses Hakiʻoawa for this shrine*
Hoʻomaopopo iâ Kûʻulakai, he makua.	*It is in remembrance of the parent, Kûʻula of the sea*

All:

He mau maka i ka lani a Kâne.	*Eyes in the sky of Kâne.*
He mau maka i ke kai a Kanaloa.	*Eyes in the sea of Kanaloa.*

4th paukû

ʻO ke au mehameha ʻo Kahoʻolawe	*The time of loneliness for Kahoʻolawe*
ʻO ke au nâ aliʻi ʻo Kamehameha	*It is the time of the offsprings of Kamehameha*
Ua hoʻea mai nâ poʻe haole i kêia ʻâina	*Strangers arrived upon this island*
A laila, ua lele nâ kapu akua	*Then the godly laws vanished*
ʻO kêia ke au ʻai noa, ʻai hele	*This was the time of free eating, eating about*
Hôʻea mai i Kahoʻolawe paʻa ka ʻâina	*People arrived on Kahoʻolawe to stay*
Kapa ʻia kêia ʻâina, Hale Paʻahao.	*This land was known as the prison.*

All:

Ua paʻa i ka lani a Kâne.	*Kept permanently in the area of Kâne.*
Ua paʻa i ke kai a Kanaloa.	*Kept permanently in the sea of Kanaloa.*

5th paukû

He ʻâina mâlama ko Makee ʻailana	*A land cared for by Makee*
Mâlama i nâ poʻe kao, pipi, lio, hipa	*Caring for goats, cattle, horses, sheep*
Hoʻololi i ke aliʻi, kupa i ke aliʻi haole	*Old chiefs lost their status, new chiefs ruled*
Ua lawe ʻia mai nâ moku kaua	*The war ships were brought*
Moku lawe hae, moku lawe koa,	*The carriers, boats that brought soldiers*
Moku lawe kî hâ	*Gunboats were brought*
Hoʻolawe ka moku ʻau i ke kai.	*The island eroded, washing out to sea.*

All:

Hana ʻino i ka lani a Kâne.	*Abused in the domain of Kâne.*
Hana ʻino i ke kai a Kanaloa.	*Abused in the sea of Kanaloa.*

6th paukû

Ua ala Hawaiʻi mai ka moehewa mai	*The Hawaiian woke from the nightmare*
Hoʻomaopopo i ke keiki iʻa a Papa	*Remembered was the fish child of Papa,*
O Kanaloa	*Kanaloa*
Ke moku hei a Haumea	*The sacred land of Haumea*
ʻO *Kohemâlamalama*	*Kohemâlamalama*
Ke Kino o Kamohoaliʻi	*The body form of Kamohoaliʻi*
E hoʻôla hou kâkou iâ Kahoʻolawe	*Give life again to Kahoʻolawe.*

All:

Ola i ka lani a Kâne.	*To live in the realm of Kâne.*
Ola i ke kai a Kanaloa.	*To live in the sea of Kanaloa.*

7th paukû

Ua kahea ʻia ʻo Lono i ka makahiki hou	*Lono summoned for the new year*
Ma ka Hale Mua o Lono i kâhea ʻia ai	*At Hale Mua of Lono, he was called*
Ua kanaloa ʻo Kanaloa i Kohemâlamalama	*Kanaloa was reconfirmed to Kohemâlamalama*
Puka hou aʻe ka mana o Kanaloa	*The energy of Kanaloa was revitalized*

Ua kani ka leo pahu i ka malama ʻo	*The drum sounded at the attention of Hôkû*
Kûpuʻeu i ka ao o Lono	*The realm of Lono was activated*
Kûwâwâ i ka houpo a Laka.	*Laka reverberated on Kaʻieʻie at Kanaloa.*

All:

Ala i ka lani a Kâne.	***Awaken in the ambience of Kâne.***
Ala i ke kai a Kanaloa.	***Awaken in the sea of Kanaloa.***

8th paukû

Ua hôʻea ka lâ hoʻihoʻi ʻea	*The day for sovereignty is at hand*
Ka lâ hoʻihoʻi moku	*The day to return the island*
Ka lâ mana kupuna	*The day to return the ancestral influence*
Ala ka Mua Haʻi Kûpuna e hânau nei	*It is at Mua Haʻi Kûpuna where it was born*
E kanaloa ʻia ana i ka piko o ka pae ʻâina	*To be established in the navel of the islands*
He ʻâina kûpaʻa no nâ Hawaiʻi	*A steadfast land for the Hawaiian*
E ola i ka Mua Haʻi Kûpuna	*Give life to the Mua Haʻi Kûpuna.*

All:

A mau loa i ka lani a Kâne.	***Forever in the ether of Kâne.***
A mau loa i ke kai a Kanaloa.	***Forever in the sea of Kanaloa.***

9th paukû
(this stanza was added to honor the birth of the child of ʻOhana members on the island)

Nânâ aʻe ke kumu a kilohoku	*We look to the source and to the heavans to guide us*
Kuwo ka makani, newe ka peʻa	*Our prayers are the wind that fills the sails*
Peʻapeʻa pôhaku	*The home of the heʻe*
Hakû ʻia ka pae ʻâina	***Rises a pebble at a time***
Hânau ka moku	***Until a new land is born***
E Pô, e pô e mâlamalama	*The darkness begins to lighten*
Lamalama ka ili o ke kai	*The ocean's surface glows with life*
Kai! Ka alaula Hoʻôla	*The sun is rising in pathway to the east*


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Essay 10

Asian Americans and World War II

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When assessing the history of Asian American communities, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that World War II was a major turning point. The last "good war" had as one of its enemies a hated Asian nation, Japan, and one result was the mass removal and incarceration of immigrants from Japan and their American-born and U.S. citizen descendants. Other Asian nations were suddenly allies, and this led to a new image and new opportunities for immigrants from China, Korea, the Philippines, and India. But while there was initially a dramatic divide between the experiences of Japanese Americans and the other Asian American groups, that divide began to close over the course of the war, and a number of overarching themes of the Asian American experience in World War II apply to Japanese Americans as well. Events stemming from the war led to a dramatically changed Asian American community, the

Photo shows a group of excluded Japanese Americans assembled at a Los Angeles railroad station waiting to board a train for the Santa Anita Assembly Center. Photo by U.S. Army Signal Corps; courtesy of the Library of Congress.



"American Refugees" pamphlet opposing the forced removal and confinement of Japanese citizens on the basis of race, 1942. Photo courtesy of the University of Washington, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, PNW 02370.

effects of which are still being felt to this day.

But who were the Asian Americans on the eve of war?[1] According to the 1940 Census, they numbered 565,327, just four-tenths of 1 percent of the total population. However, they were concentrated in particular regions, particularly the territory of Hawai'i, where 55 percent of Asian Americans lived and where Asian Americans made up 73 percent of the population. In the continental U.S., most lived on the west coast, with just under two-thirds living in California alone.[2]

Japanese Americans were the largest of the Asian American subgroups. There were nearly 300,000 in total, with slightly more in Hawai'i than on the continent. Of those on the continent, about 90 percent lived in the west coast states. Due to an influx of women immigrants in the 15 years before immigration from Japan was cut off in 1924, there was a substantial American-born generation of Japanese Americans—called "Nisei" vis-à-vis the immigrant generation who were called "Issei"—who made up about two-thirds of the total population. A subgroup of the Japanese Americans was those with ancestry from Okinawa, a group of islands far to the south of Japan proper. Okinawans had a distinct language and culture and were in many ways a conquered people, who were looked down on by other Japanese. About 15 percent of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i had Okinawan ancestry.[3]

Chinese Americans made up the next largest group, numbering a little over 100,000, three-quarters of whom lived in the continental U.S. A bare majority was American-born and thus citizens, and three-quarters were men. Filipino Americans numbered perhaps a little less than 100,000, with slightly more residing in Hawai'i. They were largely a male and immigrant population, and on the continent, at least, an older one; in her study of Filipino Americans in Los Angeles, Linda España-Maram writes that almost half were in their 30s. Korean Americans numbered less than 10,000, two-thirds of whom lived in Hawai'i. Those tracing their ancestry to India numbered about 2,400.[4]

FORCIBLY REMOVED AND INCARCERATED

There can be no doubt that the Japanese American group, descending as it did from what was now America's most hated enemy, faced the toughest challenges brought about by the war. They had been the subject of surveillance and suspicion for a decade prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor. Army and navy intelligence agencies and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had compiled a list of Japanese Americans who would be detained in the event of war. Almost before the smoke had cleared at Pearl Harbor, federal and local authorities had sprung into action and began arresting what were now "enemy aliens" on the list. Initially consisting

almost entirely of male immigrant community leaders, most were arrested based on organizations they belonged to or positions they held—Buddhist priests, for instance, or leaders of immigrant business and political organizations—as opposed to any specific individual accusations of misbehavior. Nearly 1,300 Issei men had been apprehended from Hawai'i and the continental U.S. within 48 hours of the attack, along with a smaller number of residents of German or Italian descent. These men were held in internment camps run by the army or Immigration and Naturalization Service. Arrests continued throughout the war; a year later, the INS held 5,534 Japanese, 4,769 Germans, and 2,262 Italians.[5]

The detention of community leaders—along with the closing of Japanese banks and the freezing of Issei bank accounts—destabilized and frightened Japanese American communities. But the worst was yet to come.

Despite the selective detention of those deemed problematic on the basis of prewar surveillance, calls for harsher measures against Japanese Americans were made in the weeks after Pearl Harbor. Influenced by agricultural interests and others who had been agitating against Japanese Americans for decades—as California Joint Immigration Committee member Charles M. Goethe bluntly told a February 6, 1942, meeting, "This is our time to get things done that we have been trying to get done for a quarter of a century"—politicians of all stripes from the west coast states in which most Japanese Americans resided pressed the federal government for a mass removal of all resident Japanese.[6] Among the most vigorous proponents of mass removal was California Attorney General Earl Warren, who was elected governor that fall due in part to his forceful stand on this issue.[7] Within the cabinet of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, there was disagreement, with the army and War Department coming to support mass removal and the Justice Department opposing it. In the end, perhaps succumbing to his own anti-Japanese biases, the President took the side of mass removal, issuing the infamous Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942.[8]



As California's attorney general (1941-42) and governor (1943-1953), Earl Warren advocated for the detention of Japanese Americans during World War II. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

In a dramatic contrast, Japanese Americans in Hawai'i did not face mass removal and incarceration despite Hawai'i obviously being closer to the war front and despite more Japanese Americans there than in the entire continental U.S. There were many reasons for the different fate, though they fall into three broad categories. One was the imposition of martial law, which took effect in Hawaii shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Under martial law, the military government could impose curfews and other limits on the enemy alien population and could summarily arrest and detain any who raised suspicions, which it did throughout the course of the war.[9] The second was both military and civilian leadership in Hawai'i that opposed any large scale incarceration and in fact forestalled calls by both the President and Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox for such measures. Locally based leaders in Honolulu also had direct ties with the Japanese American population, in contrast to leaders in Washington, D.C., who decided the fate of mainland Japanese Americans. A striking example of this is local FBI head, Robert Shivers, who had a Nisei live-in maid whom he and his wife came to consider a surrogate daughter. Local leaders also set up what would today be called race relations committees to anticipate any problems that might come up.[10] Finally, there were logistical and demographic factors. The 160,000 plus Japanese Americans in Hawaii made up 37 percent of the local population and provided vital labor in key industries. The political will to divert troops, transportation, and supplies to move and house that many people simply was not there, as it was in the case of Japanese Americans on the west coast. As on the continent, there was a roundup of mostly Issei community leaders. Interned initially in various camps on the islands, most were shipped to mainland internment camps. About 1,000 family members of these internees joined their husbands and fathers in mainland camps.

In total, around 2,500 Japanese Americans from Hawai'i were directly affected, less than 2 percent of the total Japanese American population on the islands.[11]

Executive Order 9066 did not actually mention Japanese Americans by name, instead authorizing the secretary of war or his designee "to prescribe military areas…from which any or all persons may be excluded." That designee turned out to be General John L. DeWitt, who headed the Western Defense Command, which was responsible for the defense of the western part of the country. One of those who had pushed for mass removal, DeWitt wasted no time in designating Military Areas 1 and 2 and indicating that all Japanese Americans would be removed from the former, an area that included roughly the western halves of Washington, Oregon, and California and a southern strip of California and Arizona, while encouraging "voluntary evacuation." (Military Area 2 comprised the rest of those states.) While some 5,000 Japanese Americans did manage to leave the area on their own in early March of 1942, it quickly became clear that most would not be able to do so, due largely to the hostility residents and leaders of neighboring states exhibited. As a result, the army organized a neighborhood-by-neighborhood "evacuation" of west coast Japanese Americans that took place through the spring and summer of 1942. To house those forcibly removed, the army quickly prepared 17 "assembly centers" or "reception centers," most in existing facilities such as fairgrounds and horse racing tracks near the area being "evacuated."

And so the sad eviction of a despised people began. Men, women, and children guilty of nothing more than having the wrong ancestors were forced out of their homes and businesses up and down the coast. The roundup went so far as to include orphans of Japanese descent pulled out of orphanages and mixed race persons with any amount of Japanese "blood."[12] The evictees had just a week to pack up their belongings and to make arrangements for their farms, businesses, homes, and other possessions they could not take with them. While some were able to find non-Japanese friends or neighbors to look after their possessions, most were not so fortunate. At the last minute, bargain hunters would appear, offering rock bottom prices for valuable goods knowing that the owners had few options. In her classic memoir of her family's wartime incarceration, Jeannie Wakatsuki Houston describes her mother's reaction when a man offers her pennies on the dollar for her heirloom china:

> She reached into the red velvet case, took out a dinner plate and hurled it at the floor right in front of his face.
>
> The man leaped back shouting, "Hey! Hey, don't do that! Those are valuable dishes."
>
> Mama took out another dinner plate and hurled it at the floor, then another and another, never moving, never opening her mouth, just quivering and glaring at the retreating dealer, with tears streaming down her cheeks."[13]

Similar scenes and stories took place up and down the coast as nearly 110,000 Japanese Americans were exiled.

The reaction of other Asian American groups to these developments varied, but it seems safe to say that most cheered them. Identifying with ancestral countries that had been conquered by Japan, Chinese, Korean, and Filipino Americans often transferred their hatred of Japan to Japanese Americans and were among those who were able to take advantage of their forced departure. For instance, many Chinese Americans had resented Japanese American merchants running curio shops in San Francisco's Chinatown from before the war and celebrated their departure while taking over their shops.[14] Filipino Americans were among those who took over Japanese American farms, allowing many to get a foothold in the truck farming niche that Japanese had dominated.[15] At the same time, many individuals had close Japanese American friends, lamenting the forced removal and doing what they could to help. For instance, Korean American Mary Paik Lee lived next door to a departed Japanese American family in Whittier, California, and her family looked after their property in their absence.[16] On Bainbridge Island, Washington, the Kitamoto family turned their farm over to employees Felix Narte and Elaulia Aquino, who looked after their property through the war years, allowing them to reclaim it after the war.[17] Others recognized that the vagaries of international relations could turn against them someday.

The "assembly centers"—really temporary detention centers—set the tone for what for some would be three-and-a-half years of incarceration. Housing was a mixture of newly and quickly built military type barracks combined with the repurposing of existing structures. The three largest such centers—Santa Anita in Southern California, Tanforan in Northern California, and Puyallup outside of Seattle, Washington—all had horse racing tracks, and the existing structures used to house inmates included former horse stalls, an apt symbol of the literally dehumanizing experience. One family shared a single room or stall. Meals were communal and served in mess halls. Bathroom and laundry facilities were also communal. Lack of privacy is one of the core themes of inmate recollections, whether due to barracks partitions that did not go to the ceiling, allowing everyone in the barrack to hear everyone else, to unpartitioned latrines. In his memoir, Minoru Kiyota wrote,

> For the first time in my life, I was forced to relieve myself on the toilet in the presence of total strangers. Or rather, to make the attempt. I don't believe anyone, no matter how thick-skinned, would find it easy to use a toilet that is just one long plank of plywood with holes in it—with no semblance of privacy and with maggots swimming in the tank below.[18]

Bewildered inmates pondered their fates while sleeping on straw mattresses and staring at the single bare light bulb hanging from the ceiling. But their journey was just beginning.[19]

After anywhere from a few weeks to a few months in the "assembly centers," inmates were transferred to newly constructed concentration camps euphemistically called "relocation centers," located, as historian Roger Daniels observed, "in Godforsaken spots in alien climes where no one had lived before and no one has lived since."[20] The federal government also created a new agency, the War Relocation Authority (WRA), to administer these 10 camps, which ranged in size from around 7,000 people to nearly 20,000.

Living conditions in the WRA administered camps was similar in concept to those in the temporary detention centers. Given the speed with which these new camps had been built, they were in many ways unfinished when the first inmates arrived, with the inmates themselves often drafted to finish the construction, adding such things as partitions or wall panels. The sites of these camps were mostly in desert or swamp (in the case of two Arkansas camps) areas and presented many physical problems, most notably extreme heat and cold and incessant dust storms. "Everyone seemed to be wearing white shoes or boots. Later I found out that my shoes looked just like theirs," recalled Kumiko Ishida of her time at the Topaz, Utah, camp. "It was the powdery dust of the desert's sandy, clay-like soil that turned into blinding, painful sand, and dust storms that left a coating of dust on everything in the barracks room and classrooms. The dust and sandstorms made breathing so hard."[21]

The WRA was run largely by New Deal liberals who believed the incarceration to be wrong, and who encouraged inmates to make the best of things. They sought to make the concentration camps like small towns, complete with newspapers, schools, churches, recreational activities, and even an elected representative government. While undoubtedly well-intentioned, such institutions were at best fettered: newspaper content was controlled (largely through self-censorship), for instance, and the "self-government" was largely a farce, immediately delegitimized for most inmates by excluding Issei from holding office and limited in power regardless, given the veto power held by WRA administrators. The WRA's privileging of Nisei over Issei, given the former's U.S. citizenship and fluency in English, helped to exacerbate rifts and distrust between the generations, and the serving of meals in communal dining halls helped to weaken the nuclear family, as children and parents generally began eating meals with their peers rather than with each other.

In November and December of 1942, large-scale uprisings took place at the Poston, Arizona, and Manzanar, California, camps. Both incidents stemmed from the beatings of inmates suspected of being informers to the administration. The "riot" at Manzanar climaxed with military police firing into a crowd of protestors, killing two.[22] Due in part to these episodes and to the army ending its ban on accepting Japanese American enlistees with the formation of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, a segregated unit to be made up of Nisei, in February 1943, the WRA redoubled efforts to divide



Bird's-eye view of the grounds of Manzanar from the guard tower in 1943. The view west shows buildings, roads, and the Sierra Nevada Mountains in the background. Photo by Ansel Adams; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

the inmates into "loyal" and "disloyal" categories. The former would be encouraged to leave the camps for "resettlement" in parts of the country away from the still off-limits west coast or to join the army; the latter would be segregated at a separate camp for the duration of the war so as not to be a bad influence on the "loyal." The mechanism for this determination was a clumsily worded and administered questionnaire that all inmates over the age of 17 were required to fill out. On the basis of answers to two questions—one concerning willingness to serve the U.S. on combat duty or in other ways for women, the other asking individuals if they could swear allegiance to the U.S. and forswear allegiance to the Japanese emperor—"loyalty" would be determined, with anything other than unqualified "yes" answers to both constituting "disloyal" status. As might be expected, asking such questions to a diverse population imprisoned in concentration camps led to many unintended consequences. Nonetheless, most Japanese Americans eventually answered "yes" to both questions. However, about a quarter answered the first question negatively or refused to answer and about 17 percent did the same for the second question.[23]

Many of those who supported the protests at Poston and Manzanar noted above or who answered "no" to the key questions on the loyalty questionnaire did so as a means of protest over the treatment they had faced as Japanese Americans. They were not alone. Though most Japanese Americans did comply with orders to leave their homes and businesses and report for incarceration, a number challenged some aspect of their treatment, with several taking their challenge to the courts. Four of those court challenges went all the way to the United States Supreme Court: challenges of the curfew set for Japanese Americans in the cases of *Hirabayshi v. United States;* and *Yasui v. United States*; of exclusion in

Korematsu v. United States, and of incarceration in *Ex parte Endo*. All but the last were decided in favor of the government's position, effectively upholding the racially based curfew and exclusion.[24] Later, when the draft was instated for Japanese Americans—including those in the concentration camps—in 1944, a significant number of draftees in the camps registered their protests by refusing to report for induction or physicals until their civil rights were restored.[25]

Meanwhile, the WRA pushed ahead with the release of "loyal" inmates. There were two precursors of these releases. Starting the fall of 1942, thousands of Japanese Americans were given short-term leave to help to alleviate labor shortages in agricultural areas. Over 8,000 Japanese Americans left the camps to pick sugar beets and other crops, mostly in states in the near west, such as Idaho, Colorado, and Utah, along with the eastern portions of Washington and Oregon.[26] A similar effort took place in the fall of 1943. Some Japanese Americans who left on agricultural leave were able to settle in these areas and reestablish themselves as farmers. Also starting in the summer of 1942 was a private program that helped Nisei resume or start their college educations. The National Japanese American Student Relocation Council eventually placed more than 4,000 Japanese American students in colleges, mostly in the east or Midwest.[27] "Resettlement," as the WRA called the permanent release of approved Japanese Americans for new homes outside the restricted area, greatly increased after the loyalty questionnaire. Less than 1,000 had left by the end of 1942, but the number grew to over 17,000 by the end of 1943 and nearly 36,000 by the end of 1944.[28] Chicago proved to be the most popular destination, though sizable communities formed in other Midwestern cities, as well as Denver, Salt Lake City, New York City, and many other cities outside the restricted area.



A Chinese American WAC is taking the oath for service.
Photo HWRD 0735, Hawaii War Records Depository; courtesy of the University Archives & Manuscripts Department, University of Hawai'i at Manoa Library.

Those who gave the wrong answers on the loyalty questionnaire—dubbed "no-no boys"—were segregated at the Tule Lake camp, which officially became a "segregation center" on July 15, 1943. The 12,000 moved there from other camps joined approximately 6,000 "loyal" Tule Lake residents, who didn't want to move to one of the other camps, creating a sharply divided community. A truck accident in October 1943 led to a mass strike that led to the camp being taken over by the army and ruled by martial law, as well as the construction of a stockade, a prison within a prison. Turmoil there led to growing disaffection and rising anti-American feeling that culminated in a rash of renunciations of U.S. citizenship by Nisei and Kibei (those born in the U.S. but educated in Japan and returned to the U.S.), totaling 5,589. Many of these actions were later repudiated. Through the heroic efforts of lawyer Wayne Collins, all but a few were eventually able to get their citizenships restored, though it took over 20 years in some cases. Tule Lake did not close until March 20, 1946.

In December 1944, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on the Endo case noted above, ruling that the government had no right to continue to detain "citizens who are concededly loyal." As a result, the exclusion was lifted, and Japanese Americans were allowed to return to the west coast, starting at the beginning of 1945. By the end of the war a little over half of the incarcerated Japanese Americans had left the concentration camps. Those who had left were disproportionately younger and Nisei; those left in the camps included many elderly Issei, families with many young children, and others who would have difficulty supporting themselves upon release. Determined to avoid long-term guardianship, the WRA pushed to close the camps by the end of 1945. Many of the remaining inmates did not want to leave, fearful of

the hostile world they presumed awaited them on the outside. In the end, they were forced out of the camps as they had been forced out of their homes, three-and-a-half years earlier, returned to where they had come from, and issued $25. Back on a west coast that had seen its population dramatically rise in their absence, many were forced to live in hostels or in surplus army barracks and trailer parks supplied by the WRA that bore a strong resemblance to the camps they had just left.

COMMON IMPACTS

While the travails of Japanese Americans were unique among Asian American groups, there were many elements common to all the groups—even including Japanese Americans, especially when one includes those from Hawai'i or from the free zones of the continent—brought about by the war. These common elements—which are also all inter-related—include increased nationalism and support for the "home" country, American military service, a turning back of anti-Asian laws, and new opportunities in employment and housing.

Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Okinawan Americans shared the commonality of having "home" countries that had been conquered by Japan.[29] The entrance of the United States into the war against Japan allowed these communities to express their American patriotism by supporting their home countries and vice versa. In some ways, they would become more American in pursuing nationalist activities, learning how to work the American political system and to garner support among mainstream Americans. Chinese Americans mobilized to support China following the initial Japanese incursion into China in 1931. They formed the Chinese War Relief Association in 1937, after another Japanese offensive, to raise money for China. Mass demonstrations, mass fund raisers, and boycotts of Japanese goods followed, all of which enjoyed widespread support by mainstream Americans who largely supported the Chinese cause.[30] The war also boosted Korean nationalist organizations in Hawai'i (where the majority of Korean Americans resided) and the continental U.S., with the United States' entry into the war providing real hope of an independent Korea.[31] Many Filipino Americans and Okinawan Americans fought to help free their homelands from Japanese rule and, particularly in the case of the Okinawan community in Hawai'i, played a major role in rebuilding their war-torn homelands after the war.[32] And Japanese nationalism found expression in many of the concentration camps and internment camps that held Japanese Americans as well, particularly in post-segregation Tule Lake. In Hawai'i, Japan victory societies (*kachigumi*) formed, some of which continued to believe Japan had won the war for years after the war had ended. In both cases, the apparent military strength of Japan served as a salve for disappointments and indignities for some Japanese Americans.[33]

Military service became a tangible means to express support for both the U.S. and the home country. This held particular resonance for Chinese, Filipino, and Okinawan Americans, who in some cases, fought in battles that directly impacted their home countries. Twelve thousand to 15,000 Chinese Americans, about 20 percent of all Chinese American men, served in the armed forces in both segregated and non-segregated contexts. The largest segregated unit was the 14th Air Service Group, which included about 10 percent of all Chinese Americans who served. Made up largely of immigrants, the 14th ASG was sent to China, where it serviced airplanes and did other support work over the course of the war. Many Chinese Americans from Hawai'i served in Europe in some of the heaviest fighting of the war.[34] Although Filipino Americans were initially banned from military service due to their status as "nationals", as opposed to aliens or citizens, they fought to have that



A company officer of the 442nd Combat Team corrects the saluting technique of a rookie from Hawai'i in June 1943. The unit began training with remarkable speed after its arrival at Camp Shelby in Mississippi. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

status changed—which it was less than a month after the attack on Pearl Harbor—and subsequently signed up in large numbers. Most fought as part of the First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiments, which were formed in California in 1942 and had a peak strength of about 7,000. Both were sent to the Pacific, where, among other things, they did mop up work in the Philippines starting in February 1945. Other Filipino Americans served in non-segregated units.[35]

Although a tiny population, Korean Americans in California organized the Tiger Brigade of the California National Guard in late 1941, made up of Korean immigrants. Many individual Korean Americans served as well, the best known likely being Young Oak Kim, a much-decorated second-generation Korean American from Los Angeles who served with Japanese Americans in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team.[36] Okinawan Americans served with other Japanese Americans in segregated units and in the Military Intelligence Service (MIS) in the Pacific. Brothers Takejiro and Warren Higa were among the MIS soldiers who took part in the Battle of Okinawa. Because Takejiro had been raised in part in Okinawa and spoke both Japanese and Okinawan fluently, he took part in the planning of the invasion. Later, he used his language skills to talk many Okinawan civilians out of hiding and to interrogate captured soldiers. On one occasion, he even interrogated former grammar school classmates from Okinawa, a bittersweet occasion for all.[37]

Because the land of their ancestors was the enemy, Japanese Americans had somewhat different motivations for joining the U.S. armed forces, with many viewing military service as a chance to "prove" their loyalty and Americanism. Some 5,000 Japanese Americans were in the army prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor; after the attack, their fates varied, with some kicked out, others sent to non-segregated units, and a group in Hawai'i formed into what would become the segregated 100th Infantry Battalion. For the next year, Japanese Americans were in limbo, as the armed forces refused to accept them. Things changed when the segregated 442nd Regimental Combat Team formed in February 1943. Thousands of Nisei from Hawai`i flocked to volunteer; predictably, many fewer volunteered out of the concentration camps on the continent. The 442nd and the 100th, which became a part of it—served in some of the bloodiest battles in Europe and became among the most famous and decorated units in the war.[38] Some 6,000 Nisei also served as linguists in the Pacific war as part of the MIS. Some also served in the postwar occupation of Japan.[39] In all, some 33,000 Japanese Americans served in World War II.

Though they served in smaller numbers, Chinese and Japanese American women also volunteered to join the armed forces and took an active role in supporting the male soldiers. Some served in the Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES) and Women's Army Corps (WAC); once Japanese American women became eligible to join the WAC, 142 volunteered by October 1945. Two Chinese American women even became pilots for the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP), ferrying aircraft across the United States. Members of the Chinese Young Women's Society established community centers for Chinese American servicemen who might be excluded from existing U.S. clubs in the San Francisco Bay area. Similarly, Japanese Americans from the Jerome and Rohwer concentration camps in Arkansas volunteered to host social events for Japanese American soldiers of the 442nd training in Camp Shelby, Mississippi. Legendary activist Yuri Kochiyama began a girl's club called the Crusaders while she was incarcerated at the Santa Anita Assembly Center. The group wrote letters to Nisei soldiers and members dispersed to several camps; the Jerome branch alone wrote to some 3,000 soldiers.[40]

The war years also brought the first easing of decades old anti-Asian laws that had severely limited Asian Americans' life chances in the U.S. This easing was due in part to the new positive image of Chinese Americans and the other "good" Asians, as well as to the widespread military service of the Asian American groups. But a larger factor may have been the impact such codified anti-Asian sentiment had on both the current war effort and on the Cold War looming on the horizon. In its appeals to Chinese and other Asian peoples, Imperial Japanese propaganda cited American anti-Asianism as a reason to join Japan's war. The fact that the Allies were fighting Nazi Germany that glorified a "master race" and that sent minorities to death camps made it all the more important to modify the harshest elements of anti-Asian racism. For perhaps the first time, anti-racism was equated with patriotism.

As we've seen, both Filipino and Japanese Americans were initially prohibited from enlisting in the U.S. Army, bans that were lifted quickly for the former and more slowly for the latter. In Hawai'i, Korean Americans fought with mixed success, their designation as "enemy aliens" subject to the same restrictions as Japanese immigrants. They were eventually exempted from curfew restrictions at the end of 1943 and designated as "friendly aliens" in May 1944.[41] But the most significant anti-racist push for Asian Americans was the repeal of Chinese exclusion, a fact of life for Chinese Americans since 1882. Though Chinese Americans supported the repeal movement, it was led by the largely white Citizens Committee to Repeal Chinese Exclusion (CCRCE), led by Richard J. Walsh, the editor of *Asia* magazine and husband of Pearl Buck, a writer whose sympathetic writing about the Chinese played a large role in reshaping the image of China among Americans. With widespread support from across the political spectrum, The CCRCE was able to shepherd a repeal bill through Congress in seven months. It was signed by President Roosevelt on December 17, 1943. Though the legislation had minimal impact initially—while ending exclusion and allowing naturalization, it allotted China a tiny immigration quota of just 105 per year, did not allow Chinese wives of U.S. citizens to enter outside the quota, and required an English proficiency test as part of the naturalization process, thus putting naturalization beyond the reach of many Chinese immigrants—the repeal did serve as the "wedge" that its opponents feared. Though it did not happen until 1946, legislation for Filipinos and East Indians granted those groups naturalization rights and extended immigration quotas. Eventually, Chinese wives of American citizens were allowed to come as non-quota immigrants.[42]

Beyond immigration and naturalization, alien land laws that prohibited the purchase of land by Asian immigrants were among the most significant and powerful elements of anti-Asian racism. Filipino Americans in Washington State had successfully challenged its alien land law in 1939 in the Pio DeCano case, which was upheld by the Washington State Supreme Court in 1941. In April of 1943, California Attorney General Robert Kenny stated, "Filipinos have earned the right to own and lease land here with their undimmed loyalty to this country"; the *Alfafara v. Fross* case made the Filipino exemption from the land laws official.[43]

Even for Japanese Americans, things changed quickly over the course of the war and shortly after. Barely a year after the end of the war, California voters weighed in on Proposition 15 in the November 1946 election, an initiative that would make the state's alien land law part of the state constitution. California voters rejected the initiative by a 60–40 margin. In the next few years, many other explicitly Anti-Asian laws fell by the wayside.[44]

The war years also brought greater opportunity in employment. The booming war economy created large numbers of defense industry jobs in major west coast cities. With many men in the military, there was also a labor shortage that created opportunities for women and minorities who had previously been locked out of such jobs. Chinese Americans were best positioned to benefit from these opportunities; by 1943, 5,000 Chinese Americans worked in San Francisco Bay area defense industry jobs, making up about 15 percent of shipyard workers.[45] As we've seen, some opportunities were created by the eviction of Japanese Americans, as in the case of Filipino American truck farmers. Asian American businesspeople, whether in Honolulu or in west coast Chinatowns, often enjoyed a booming business catering to war workers and servicemen. To cite one extreme case, all 33 tattoo artists on Hotel Street were Filipino American; during the peak of the war years, they did 300 to 500 tattoos a day.[46] The war also created some odd occupational niches. The boom of Hollywood war films, along with the removal of Japanese American actors, created opportunities for other Asian American actors to play both virtuous "good" Asians and "bad" Japanese.[47] And some Korean immigrants used their fluency in Japanese to serve as translators and interpreters during the war, including a group who interpreted at internment camps holding Japanese Americans.[48] Even Japanese Americans leaving the concentration camps to resettle in cities such as Chicago found they were sometimes able to get jobs they could not have gotten on the west coast before the war.

But despite all the gains, racism directed at the visually distinct Asian Americans wasn't going away anytime soon. Young Filipino American men were among those attacked in the notorious Zoot Suit riots of 1943 in Los Angeles, when servicemen indiscriminately attacked



Zoot suiters lined up outside the Los Angeles jail, en route to court after a feud with sailors, June 9, 1943. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

the largely ethnic minority men who wore them.[49] Early Japanese American returnees to the west coast often faced a hostile reception, with dozens of terrorist incidents reported, including shots fired into houses and the torching of Japanese American properties.[50] Senator Daniel Inouye, a war hero who lost an arm in combat in Europe, often told a story of walking into a barbershop in Oakland, in full uniform with three rows of ribbons, only to be told by the barber, "We don't cut Jap hair."[51] Even Chinese Americans, who had benefited from the positive image enjoyed by China in the 30s and 40s, would suddenly become suspect themselves when the 1949 Chinese Revolution saw the Chinese Communist Party come into power.

AFTER THE WAR

The events of World War II and their aftermath led to a dramatically changed Asian American community. The biggest change came as a result of immigration-related legislation that came after the repeal of Chinese exclusion. In addition to the legislation already noted, there was also the War Brides Act of 1945, the Chinese Alien Wives of American Citizens Act (also passed in 1945), and the Fiancee's Act of 1946 that combined to dramatically shift the demographics of the Chinese, Filipino, and Korean American community, in each case, bringing in more women to help equalize the skewed gender balance. Although the Asian war brides who came as a result of the War Brides Act of 1945 were married to men of all races, many were married to Chinese and Filipino American soldiers who married women from their "home" countries during and after their service there. In the three years the War Brides Act was in effect, 5,132 Chinese women entered the country, with another 2,317 coming under the Chinese Alien Wives of American Citizens Act. In the Filipino American community, just 6.5 percent of the population were women in 1930; that figure rose to 27 percent by 1950 and 37.1 percent by 1960.

Fourteen thousand Koreans arrived in the 1950s and early 1960s, most of whom were non-quota war brides, adoptees, and students, more than doubling the Korean American population. Between 1947 and 1964, 45,853 Japanese women arrived, many of them war brides. This influx of women led to an Asian American baby boom and with the many war brides married to non-Asians, to the first large generation of mixed-race Asian Americans. The seeds of a very different Asian American community had been planted.

Asian American contributions to the war effort through military service and in other ways produced a generation who felt a new sense of ownership in postwar America and that would no longer settle for a return to the old normal. This was most manifest in Hawai'i, where Asian Americans led a dramatic change in labor relations and local politics through the rise of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and of the Democratic Party, the latter still dominant in the islands to this day. In both the continental U.S. and Hawai'i, returning war veterans took advantage of the G.I. Bill to go to college and pursue careers that would have been off limits to them before the war. Twenty years later, some were hailing them a "model minority."

At the same time, the war left its scars. Japanese American former inmates suppressed the trauma of their wartime incarceration, only to have it surface in unexpected ways years later. Those who "succeeded" left behind many others too old, too sick, and too damaged by the war. Overt racism had gone underground, replaced by juvenile delinquency, admission quotas, and glass ceilings.

Decades later, World War II continues to cast its shadow over Asian America. After the unlikely success of a movement to seek reparations for the forced mass expulsion and incarceration, Japanese Americans continue to wrestle with the multiple legacies of the war while also devoting much time and money toward the preservation of memories of those events. Asian American war veterans remain in the news as revered figures. While Japanese American units received the Congressional Gold Medal in 2012, Filipino veterans fought to gain U.S. citizenship and the right to have family members join them in the U.S. Korean Americans were among those who fought for recognition for the so-called "comfort women," Korean women forced into prostitution by the Japanese military. In each case, other Asian Americans were among those who lent their support to these movements. As we approach the 75th anniversary of World War II, Asian Americans continue to live its effects.[52]

Endnotes

1 Though used here for convenience, it should be noted that the term "Asian American" was not used at that time, having been coined by historian Yuji Ichioka in the late 1960s.

2 1940 Census figures from Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals By Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States*, Working Paper No. 56 (Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 2002), Tables C-7 and 26.

3 Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics*. Estimate of the Okinawan population comes from Mitsugu Sakihara, "A Brief History of Thought Activities of Okinawans in Hawai'i," 234 and Yukiko Kimura, "Social-Historical Background of the Okinawans in Hawai'i," 51, both in Ethnic Studies Oral History Project/United Okinawan Association of Hawai'i, *Uchinanchu: History of Okinawans in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Ethnic Studies Program, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 1981).

4 Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, *Historical Census Statistics*; Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 69; Linda España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila: Working-Class Filipinos and Popular Culture, 1920s–1950s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 140.

5 Figures from Tetsuden Kashima's *Judgment Without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 50–51. There were a handful of women among those interned, most of whom were Buddhist priestesses. For an account of two such women, see Amy Nishimura's "From Priestesses and Disciplines to Witches and Traitors: Internment of Japanese Women at Honouliuli and Narratives of 'Madwomen.'" *Social Process in Hawai'i* (2014), 199–216.

6 Quote from Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), 20.

7 After twice winning reelection as governor, Warren became chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1953, presiding over a court renowned for its decisions expanding civil rights, most notably *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954. Warren remained mostly silent on his role in Japanese American incarceration in his lifetime, but expressed regret over his role in his posthumously published memoirs. Earl Warren, *The Memoirs of Earl Warren* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 149. For an assessment of the impact of his WWII actions on his subsequent life and career, see G. Edward White, "The Unacknowledged

Lesson: Earl Warren and the Japanese Relocation Controversy," *Virginia Quarterly Review* (Autumn 1979), 613–29.

8 The details of how this decision came to be are complicated. The best accounts of this process are likely found in Roger Daniels' *Concentration Camps, U.S.A.: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971) and Peter Irons' *Justice at War: The Story of the Japanese American Internment Cases* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). For FDR's role in the decision, see Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

9 For martial law in Hawai'i, see Harry N. Scheiber and Jane L. Scheiber, *Bayonets in Paradise: Martial Law in Hawai`i during World War II* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016) and J. Garner Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955).

10 For more on local leadership see Tom Coffman's *The Island Edge of America: A Political History of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003). For an interview of Sue Isonaga, the woman who worked and lived with the Shiverses, with video and photographs, see the University of Hawai'i's *Hawaii Nisei Story* website at http://nisei.hawaii.edu/page/sue.

11 On internees of Hawai'i, see Gary Y. Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawai'i, 1865-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991); Tetsuden Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002); Yasutaro [Keiho] Soga, *Life behind Barbed Wire: The World War II Internment Memoirs of a Hawai'i Issei*, translated by Kihei Hirai (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008); and Suzanne Falgout, and Linda Nishigaya, guest editors, *Breaking the Silence: Lessons of Democracy and Social Justice from the World War II Honouliuli Internment and POW Camp in Hawai'i*, *Social Process in Hawai'i* (2014), 45.

12 The Manzanar Children's Village, an orphanage within one of the longer-term concentration camps, housed these orphans. See Catherine Irwin, *Twice Orphaned: Voices from the Children's Village of Manzanar* (Fullerton: California State University Fullerton, Center for Oral & Public History, 2008). The army eventually eased requirements on mixed race persons, allowing some to avoid confinement; see Paul R. Spickard, "Injustice Compounded: Amerasians and Non-Japanese Americans in World War II Concentration Camps," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 5 (Spring 1986), 5–22; and Jennifer Ann Ho, *Racial Ambiguity in Asian American Culture* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2015).

13 Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston, *Farewell to Manzanar* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), 13.

14 K. Scott Wong, *Americans First: Chinese Americans and the Second World War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 83–84; Charlotte Brooks, "The War on Grant Avenue: Business Competition and Ethnic Rivalry in San Francisco's Chinatown, 1937–1942." *Journal of Urban History* 373 (2011): 311–30.

15 Linda España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity in Los Angeles's Little Manila: Working-Class Filipinos and Popular Culture, 1920s–1950s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 152; Manuel Buaken, *I Have Lived with the American People* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers), 324.

16 Cited in España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity*, 145.

17 Interview with Frank Kitamoto by John DeChadenedes, Segments 8 and 13, April 14, 2007, Densho Digital Archive. Accessed on March 21, 2015, at http://archive.densho.org/Core/ArchiveItem.aspx?i=denshovh-kfrank-02-0008 and http://archive.densho.org/Core/ArchiveItem.aspx?i=denshovh-kfrank-02-0013.

18 Minoru Kiyota, *Beyond Loyalty: The Story of a Kibei*, translated from Japanese by Linda Klepinger Keenan (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 68.

19 There is no study that specifically focuses on the "assembly centers" as a group, though any number of books include descriptions of life in these centers, including *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1982; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997) and Yoshiko Uchida's *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese American Family* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982) among many others. *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp*, edited by John Modell (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973; Illini Books edition, 1993) is a diary of one very perceptive inmate from his months at Tanforan. There are two worthwhile studies of individual assembly centers, Louis Fiset's *Camp Harmony: Seattle's Japanese Americans and the Puyallup Assembly Center* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009) and Francis Feeley's *A Strategy of Dominance: The History of an American Concentration Camp, Pomona, California* (New York: Brandywine Press, 1995).

20 Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 225.

21 Kumiko Ishida, in Darrell Y. Hamamoto, ed. *Blossoms in the Desert: Topaz High School Class of 1945* (San Francisco: Topaz High School Class of 1945, 2003), 59–60. For an overview of the various camps that held Japanese Americans, see Barbara Wyatt, ed., *Japanese Americans in World War II: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington, D.C.: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, August 2012).

22 Among the many accounts of the Poston and Manzanar incidents, see Arthur A. Hansen, "Cultural Politics in the Gila River Relocation Center, 1942-1943," *Arizona and the West* 27 (Winter 1985), 327-62; Gary Y. Okihiro, "Japanese Resistance in America's Concentration Camps: A Re-evaluation," *Amerasia Journal* 2.1 (1973), 20-34; Richard Nishimoto, *Inside An American Concentration Camp: Japanese American Resistance at Poston, Arizona*, ed. Lane Ryo Hirabayashi (Tucson: University

of Arizona Press, 1995); Arthur A. Hansen and David A. Hacker, "The Manzanar Riot: An Ethnic Perspective," *Amerasia Journal* 2.2 (1974), 112-57; Harlan D. Unrau, *The Evacuation and Relocation of Persons of Japanese Ancestry During World War II: A Historical Study of the Manzanar War Relocation Center*, Historic Resource Study/Special History Study, 2 Volumes (Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1996); Lon Kurashige, "Resistance, Collaboration, and Manzanar Protest," *Pacific Historical Review* 70.3 (August 2001), 387–417; and Eileen H. Tamura, *In Defense of Justice: Joseph Kurihara and the Japanese American Struggle for Equality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013).

23 Figures from Brian Masaru Hayashi, *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 144.

24 For more on what have become known as the "Japanese American cases," see Peter Irons, *Justice at War* and *Justice Delayed: The Record of the Japanese American Internment Cases* (Middletown, CT.: Wesleyan University Press, 1989) and Roger Daniels' *The Japanese American Cases: The Rule of Law in Time of War* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2013).

25 On draft resistance, see Eric L. Muller, *Free to Die for Their Country: The Story of the Japanese American Draft Resisters in World War II* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001). John Okada's classic novel *No-No Boy* (originally published in 1957 and republished several times, most recently by the University of Washington Press, in 2014) has served as the introduction for generations of students to Japanese American dilemmas of "loyalty" and resistance, though it conflates the story those who answered "no" to the loyalty questionnaire and those who later resisted the draft, two distinct populations.

26 Frank Clay Cross, "Japanese-Americans Form Pool of Farm Labor in 1943," *Western Farm Life*, January 1943, summarized in *Pacific Citizen*, January 14, 1943, 5.

27 For more on the college program, see Robert W. O'Brien, *The College Nisei* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Pacific Books, 1949); Thomas James, "Life Begins with Freedom: The College Nisei, 1942-1945," *History of Education Quarterly* 25 (Spring/Summer 1985), 155-74; Gary Y. Okihiro, *Storied Lives: Japanese American Students and World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999); Leslie A. Ito, "Japanese American Women and the Student Relocation Movement, 1942–1945," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 21.3 (2000), 1–24; and Allan W. Austin, *From Concentration Camps to Campus: Japanese American Students and World War II* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

28 Figures from *The Evacuated People: A Quantitative Description* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1946), Table 10, p. 30.

29 I use "home" country for the sake of convenience here to refer to China, Korea, the Philippines, and Okinawa recognizing that (a) the last three weren't actually "countries" at this time and (b) that some immigrants from these lands, along with their American-born descendants, might consider the U.S. to be their "home" country. It seems clear, however, that member of these ethnic communities in the U.S. mostly did consider their ancestral lands to be their "home" countries or at least co-home countries with the U.S., caught up as they were in the emotions brought on by the war, and that they wanted nothing more than for their home lands to become independent countries as an outcome of the war.

30 Wong, *Americans First*, 33–40.

31 On the Korean Americans and the Korean Independence Movement, see Anne Choi, "Border Crossings: The Politics of Korean Nationalism in the United States, 1919–1945" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 2003) and "'Unity for What? Unity for Whom?: The United Korean Committee of North America, 1941–1945," in *From the Land of Hibiscus: Koreans in Hawai'i, 1903–1950*, edited by Yong-Ho Ch'oe (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 220–55; and Richard Kim, *The Quest for Statehood: Korean Immigrant Nationalism and U.S. Sovereignty, 1905–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

32 On Okinawan Americans, see Ethnic Studies Oral History Project/Hawai'i United Okinawa Association, *Uchinanchu: History of Okinawans in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Ethnic Studies Program, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 1981).

33 On nationalism in the camps, see the various works on the Poston and Manzanar uprising and on Tule Lake cited above. On *kachigumi*, see Yukiko Kimura, "Rumor Among the Japanese," *Social Process in Hawai'i* 11 (May 1947), 84-92 and John Stephan, *Hawai'i under the Rising Sun: Japan's Plans for Conquest after Pearl Harbor*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1984).

34 Wong, *Americans First*, 58–60, 150–57, 162–92.

35 On the 1st and 2nd Filipino Infantry, see Linda Revilla, ed., *History, Heroes, and Untold Triumphs: Filipino Americans and World War Two: A Viewer's Guide to Accompany An Untold Triumph: The Story of the 1st and 2nd Filipino Infantry Regiments, U.S. Army* (2003) and Revilla's "'Pineapples,' 'Hawayanos,' and 'Loyal Americans': Local Boys in the First Filipino Infantry Regiments, US Army." *Social Process in Hawai'i* 37 (1996), 57–73.

36 Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *A New History of Asian America* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 226. Knowing of the animosity between Koreans and Japanese, Kim was given the option of joining the 442nd. But having grown up with Nisei friends in Los Angeles, he had no issues with serving with Nisei. See Masayo Duus, *Unlikely Liberators: The Men of the 100th and the 442nd* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987).

37 Takejiro Higa, *The Hawai'i Nisei Story: Americans of Japanese Ancestry During World War II* website, University of Hawai'i. Accessed on March 21, 2015 at http://nisei.hawaii.edu/page/takejiro.html.

38 There is an extensive literature on the 100th and 442nd. Among the best works are Duus, *Unlikely Liberators*; Chester Tanaka, *Go for Broke: A Pictorial History of the Japanese American 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat*

Team (Richmond, Calif.: Go for Broke, Inc., 1981, Novato, Calif.: Presidio Press, 1997); Robert Asahina, *Just Americans: How Japanese Americans Won a War at Home and Abroad* (New York: Gotham, 2006); and Linda Tamura, *Nisei Soldiers Break Their Silence: Coming Home to Hood River* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012).

39 On the MIS, see James C. McNaughton, *Nisei Linguists: Japanese Americans in the Military Intelligence Service during World War II* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Army, 2007).

40 Wong, *Americans First*, 46–48, 55–56; Brenda L. Moore, *Serving Our Country: Japanese American Women in the Military during World War II* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003); John Howard, *Concentration Camps on the Home Front: Japanese Americans in the House of Jim Crow* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 121, 124–49; and Diane C. Fujino, *Heartbeat of Struggle: The Revolutionary Life of Yuri Kochiyama* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 48.

41 Lili M. Kim, "How Koreans Repealed Their 'Enemy Alien' Status: Korean Americans' Identity, Culture, and National Pride in Wartime Hawai'i," in *From the Land of Hibiscus: Koreans in Hawai'i, 1903–1950*, edited by Yong-Ho Ch'oe (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 195–219.

42 Wong, *Americans First*, 109–23; Daniels, *Asian America*, 193–98; and Ellen Dionne Wu, *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 46–49.

43 Veta R. Schlimgen, "Neither Citizens Nor Aliens: Filipino 'American Nationals' in the U.S. Empire, 1900–1946" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, 2010), 420–33; quote from 423.

44 On Proposition 15, see Kevin Allen Leonard, "'Is That What We Fought For'? Japanese Americans and Racism in California, the Impact of World War II." *Western Historical Quarterly* 21.4 (Nov. 1990): 463-82; on turning back other postwar laws, see Wu, *The Color of Success*; Greg Robinson, *After Camp: Portraits in Midcentury Japanese American Life and Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); and Frank F. Chuman, *The Bamboo People: The Law and Japanese-Americans* (Del Mar, Calif.: Publisher's Inc., 1976).

45 Lee, *A New History of Asian America*, 228.

46 Beth Bailey and David Farber, *The First Strange Place: The Alchemy of Race and Sex in World War II Hawai'i* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 105.

47 Wong, *Americans First*, 85–87; España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity*, 15–60.

48 Hyung-Ju Ahn, *Between Two Adversaries: Korean Interpreters at Japanese Alien Enemy Detention Centers during World War II* (Fullerton: Oral History Program, California State University, Fullerton, 2002).

49 España-Maram, *Creating Masculinity*, 135–36.

50 Audrie Girdner and Anne Loftis, *The Great Betrayal: The Evacuation of Japanese-Americans during World War II* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), 399–402.

51 "Daniel Inouye: Returning to Prejudice," *The War*, PBS.org, accessed on March 21, 2015 at http://www.pbs.org/thewar/detail_5281.htm.

52 On what historian Karen M. Inouye calls the "the long afterlife" of wartime incarceration, see Alice Yang Murray's *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2008); Alexandra L. Wood's "After Apology: Public Education as Redress for Japanese American and Japanese Canadian Confinement" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 2013); and Inouye's own *The Long Afterlife of Nikkei Wartime Incarceration* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2016).

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Essay 11

Asian Americans: The Cold War

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The allied victory in World War II set into motion a series of political and cultural realignments that produced new challenges and opportunities for Asian Americans. The wartime service of both Asian Americans and Asian nationals who were part of the allied military coalition impelled U.S. policymakers to modify some of the more notorious exclusionary laws that targeted Asians. Government policies that discriminated against population groups based on race came under new scrutiny during the war, insofar as America's enemies (e.g. Germany, Japan) so explicitly embraced insidious race doctrines to justify their belligerent actions. Importantly, the long-standing policy of barring Asians from naturalized citizenship on racial grounds was dismantled in a piecemeal fashion in response to international criticism of the chauvinistic treatment of Asian immigrants in the United States. Public narratives extolling the patriotic

Wedding reception for Olinda Saito and Sgt. Raymond Funakoshi at the American Club in Tokyo, Japan. From left: Olinda Saito's mother, Olinda Saito (bride), Shiuko Sakai, Capt. Waddington and Capt. Humphries. Shiuko Sakai, the donor, organized this wedding party for Olinda Saito, with whom she worked at the U.S. Army language school.
Photo courtesy of the Densho Digital Repository.

contributions of Asian Americans during the war provided an opening to challenge many of the entrenched stereotypes (e.g. disloyal, unassimilable, clannish) that relegated them to the margins of U.S. society. Asian American community leaders touted their wartime service as evidence of their "Americanness" and demanded, with some success, greater civil rights and recognition as a reward for their sacrifices. This outpouring of goodwill, however, proved tenuous and quickly gave way to a new set of racial tropes that shaped the experience of Asian Americans during the early Cold War era.

GEO-POLITICS AND THE POSTWAR GLOBAL ORDER

Shifting geopolitical configurations that took hold after the war led the United States to focus much of its foreign policy attention on developments in Asia. A high-stakes rivalry between the U.S. and the Soviet Union to shape the character of the postwar international order was a defining feature of this period. The proliferation of communist-led political movements in China, Korea, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Indonesia worried U.S. officials who viewed the Pacific World as a key battleground for influence in the postwar political order. The triumph of Chinese Communists over the U.S.-backed Kuomintang in 1949 signaled the urgency of the issue and spurred American policymakers to step up efforts to contain the spread of radicalism in the Asia-Pacific region. The Communists' victory spawned an exodus of Chinese refugees out of the country, a significant number of whom would eventually migrate to the United States. Their pedigree as foes of Mao Zedong's regime provided a useful propaganda tool to contrast the freedoms offered in the United States with the "tyranny" represented by the communist way of life.[1]

The "loss" of China prodded U.S. lawmakers to aggressively pursue President Truman's "containment doctrine" to stem the spread of communism in the region. U.S. involvement in the Korean War in 1950 was an early test of this approach. While the Korean War ultimately ended in a stalemate in 1953, the conflict had a major impact on Americans' perceptions of Asia and the war's reverberations would impact the formation of Asian American communities during this period. Not surprisingly, racialized depictions were commonplace in American media coverage of the war, rekindling the well-worn "gook" discourse to dehumanize the North Koreans. Moreover, China's entry into the war on the North Korean side reinforced long-standing stereotypes characterizing Asians as an "enemy race" that threatened to destabilize the global political order.[2] The pervasiveness of this sentiment was best captured in the popular novel and later Hollywood film, *The Manchurian Candidate*, which portrayed sinister Asian communist officials orchestrating a plot using a brainwashed Korean War veteran to bring down the U.S. government.

Among the war's unintended consequences was the arrival of thousands of Korean "war brides," as well as the influx of Korean adoptees into the United States. Special wartime legislation allowed U.S. servicemen to bring Korean wives and/or fiancées into the country, exempt from normal quota restrictions. This followed on the heels of previous provisions enacted in the aftermath of World War II that allowed American GIs to sponsor their fiancées whom they met while stationed in Japan, China, and the Philippines. Tens of thousands of Asian women entered the United States during the 1940s and 1950s via these wartime policies setting into motion a dramatic shift in the gender composition of the postwar Asian immigrant cohorts. Along similar lines, the plight of Korean orphans displaced by the war captured the nation's attention in the 1950s, generating a new discourse in which Asian children became needy targets of American benevolence. The fact that many of the orphans were of mixed race parentage abandoned by their American GI fathers gave their predicament an added urgency. The arrival of tens of thousands of Korean adoptees in the U.S. in the decades following the war created a new set of challenges as the majority of the newcomers were transplanted into white American families who had little knowledge of their children's heritage or of the difficulties adoptees would face navigating the politics of race in the United States. Asian adoptees would become an important constituency in the Asian American community, raising new questions about the boundaries of belonging in the U.S. Both of these populations would serve as harbingers of demographic and cultural changes that helped to redefine the place of Asian Americans in the Cold War era.[3]

The containment doctrine was also deployed to suppress a popular insurgency in the Philippines during the early 1950s. The United States took a particular interest in preventing its former colony from "going red" so



Carlos Bulosan, was a Filipino American author, poet, and activist. Bulosan gained much recognition in mainstream American society following his 1944 publication, *Laughter of My Father*. Known as an avid chronicler of the Filipino American Experience from the 1930s to the early 1950s, he could be very outspoken in his writing. Eventually, his outspokenness got him blacklisted and hounded by the FBI. Photo courtesy of the University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, UW513.

soon after it was granted national independence in 1946. The Hukbalahap (Huk) movement began as an anti-Japanese guerilla force during World War II and eventually merged with the Communist Party of the Philippines in 1950. Political disaffection spread across the archipelago in the years immediately following the war, due to efforts to rebuild the nation's devastated infrastructure, and the economy stalled. The American and Philippine military establishments worked closely together to curb the growth of the Huks, whose program for land reform and wealth distribution resonated with the nation's large landless peasant population. Huk calls for the removal of American military bases in the islands were viewed as a direct threat to U.S. geopolitical interests in Asia.[4]

THE WAR AT HOME

U.S. officials were particularly troubled by the emergence of transnational networks linking Filipino American activists and radicals in the Philippines. The celebrated writer, Carlos Bulosan, was a high profile backer of the Huks and worked to mobilize support for their campaign among American leftists. His ties to radicals in the Philippines put him on the radar of U.S. and Philippine intelligence agencies, and the FBI conducted surveillance on Bulosan and other Filipino American activists. Intercepted correspondence between Bulosan and Philippine leftists Luis Taruc and Amado Hernandez alarmed U.S. authorities, who aggressively targeted Filipino American labor leaders, especially those associated with the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). The Seattle branch of the ILWU had a large Filipino membership that worked in the Alaska salmon canneries. The union's leadership was known for their militancy on a range of issues including critiques of imperialist U.S. foreign policy, institutionalized white supremacy, and the unchecked power of big business in setting the nation's economic agenda. The union's Filipino leadership (including Bulosan) was targeted by federal authorities for their alleged communist sympathies, and hundreds of members were arrested and faced potential deportation for their subversive political beliefs. On the domestic front, federal authorities used aggressive persecution of Filipino American labor leaders to stifle their political activities. On the international front, the United States sent special military advisors to the Philippines and used the archipelago as a testing ground for novel counterinsurgency tactics that would later be used to suppress guerilla movements in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. By the mid-1950s the Huk rebellion was defeated and their Filipino American allies who helmed the Seattle branch of the ILWU were isolated and bankrupted by constant legal harassment from the federal government.[5]

Similarly, Cold War paranoia about the infiltration of Chinese leftists in the United States prompted the federal government to initiate the so-called Chinese Confession Program. The initiative was designed to draw undocumented Chinese immigrants out of the shadows by offering a path to permanent residency if they registered with the federal government. U.S. officials believed that the Act would allow the domestic intelligence agencies to track political activities among Chinese immigrants and root out potential pro-communist sympathizers who might then be deported. Not surprisingly the Confession Program sowed mistrust in the Chinese community, and the threat of deportation drove many Chinese activists even further underground.

CULTURAL CONFIGURATIONS

The Cold War atmosphere of superpower rivalry and paranoia certainly fueled anticommunism domestically, but also promoted cultural conformity and suspicion of foreign influence. At the same time, Americans showed growing interest in Asia and Asian peoples. This period witnessed a boom in travel writings about Asia, along-

side a deluge of films, books, and magazine articles about the "Orient" and its place in the global order. Popular film and stage offerings like *Sayonara*, *Satan Never Sleeps*, *Flower Drum Song*, *The King and I*, *American Guerilla in the Philippines*, and *South Pacific* depicted the complex mix of curiosity, paranoia, and cosmopolitanism that characterized Cold War liberalism. While the representations of Asians in the United States showed signs of progress, troubling racial attitudes still bubbled beneath the surface. Two of the most iconic Asian cultural figures of this era, Fu Manchu and Charlie Chan, illustrate how these parallel narratives played out. Fu Manchu was a popular television and movie character based on the pulp novels of Sax Rohmer. The 1956 television series *The Adventures of Dr. Fu Manchu* was followed by a run of films in the 1960s that developed a loyal box office following. The Fu Manchu character was an archetype of the cunning "Oriental" villain who sought to infiltrate and ultimately destroy Western civilization. The character embodied a Cold War version of "yellow peril" discourse, depicting Asians as perpetual foreigners whose capacity to assimilate into Western institutions was suspect.[6]

By contrast, Charlie Chan represented the other pole of Asian cultural representation during the Cold War. The Chan character was a Chinese American detective who worked for the Honolulu Police Department, solving crimes through a combination of hard work and "Oriental" guile. The Charlie Chan franchise originally began as a pulp novel and was later featured in dozens of Hollywood films, a television series, radio program, and numerous comic books. Chan personified a distinctive type of "otherness," the good Asian who was hard working, compliant, and averse to political protest, despite the racial barriers that he faced in the United States. Chan's unflappability in the face of racial insults and his self-effacing persona made him an appealing figure to Western audiences who enjoyed his unique mix of foreignness and accommodation to Anglo-Saxon cultural authority. These attributes came to be associated with the "model minority" stereotype that would become an important political trope during this period.[7]



Dr. C. K. Liang, a senior technical expert chemist, working in the Chemistry Division Laboratory of the National Institute of Health in Bethesda, Maryland. Dr. Liang was sent to the U. S. by the Chinese government under the auspices of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to work on various research projects and study post-war problems. Photo by J. Sherrel Lakey, November 1944; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

RACIAL TRIANGULATION AND THE INVENTION OF THE MODEL MINORITY

The term "model minority" was coined by sociologist William Peterson in 1966, who contrasted the socio-cultural attributes of Asian Americans with the traits ascribed to other population groups, in particular African Americans and Latinos. While alarmist depictions of Asians as an insular and ultimately unassimilable population remained entrenched, a newer discourse upholding Asian Americans as an ideal or "model" minority group gradually gained traction in the 1960s and 1970s. Asian Americans were portrayed as relatively disinclined to protest and confrontation in an era characterized by racial strife and political agitation. Instead, they embraced conventional American values of hard work, conformity, and socio-economic achievement notwithstanding their encounters with discrimination. The model minority narrative highlighting the postwar mobility of Asian Americans had a two-pronged effect. First, it suggested that racial boundaries were permeable as long as minority groups worked hard, acculturated, and did not hold a grudge about their historical mistreatment in the United States. Second, it served as a powerful indictment of other minority groups, especially Blacks and Latinos, who were compared unfavorably with Asian Americans. The continued marginalization of these groups was attributed to their deficient values and/or lack of work ethic. Consequently, the civil rights claims advanced by these groups have been dismissed as without merit.[8]

Public narratives extolling Asian American success was viewed by many as a positive development that signaled an improvement over the negative racial assessments of Asians that characterized earlier eras. The deployment of the model minority discourse in the ensuing decades, however, produced a complex mélange of stereotypes that further cemented the insider/outsider status of Asian Americans. The prevailing account of the model minority success story focused on the cultural attributes of Asian immigrant groups as the primary source of their socio-economic attainment in the United States. Vaguely defined "Confucian" values are typically cited as a central explanation for Asian immigrant adaptation, especially the focus on familial obligation and educational achievement. This emphasis on "exotic" cultural characteristics as the driving force behind Asian immigrant mobility has, over time, reproduced the perception of Asians in the U.S. as perpetual foreigners whose adaptation strategies are counterposed (and viewed in competition) with Western traditions. Moreover, the suggestion that Asians are distinguished from Blacks and Latinos in the value they place on family, education, or hard work is a suspect claim not supported by social scientific evidence.

The evolution of the model minority designation in the ensuing decades intersected with the shifting contours of the postwar racial order, in particular the claim that the United States was becoming a "post-racial" society. On one side, opponents of Great Society policies argued that the socio-economic mobility of Asian Americans controverted the need for robust civil rights enforcement. Critics of the model minority discourse, on the other hand, suggested that media depictions of Asians as exemplary citizens actually reinscribed racial boundaries and obscured structural obstacles that delimited access to the American mainstream. Media narratives extolling the achievements of Asian Americans propounded a very narrow definition of success, focusing on educational and economic attainment while glossing over their continued marginalization in the political and cultural spheres. Furthermore, the model minority discourse ignored large segments of the Asian American community whose experiences diverged markedly from the success story attributed to Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans. Filipinos, Cambodians, Laotians, Bangladeshi, Hmong, and Vietnamese have lagged behind other Asian groups in terms of educational outcomes and socio-economic attainment and faced a variety of institutional barriers (e.g. underfunded public schools, residential segregation, labor market segmentation) that inhibited their integration into the American mainstream.[9]

THE 1965 IMMIGRATION ACT AND ITS UNEXPECTED CONSEQUENCES

Major shifts in U.S. immigration policy during the Cold War played a central role in Asian Americans' transition from "yellow peril" to the "model minority" group during this period. Restrictive immigration and nationality controls targeting Asians had been a recurring feature of U.S. border enforcement dating back to the late 19th century. The explicit use of racial selection in public policy, however, was widely discredited after World War II due to its association with the Nazi regime. Additionally, public recognition that the mass internment of Japanese Americans during the war was driven by overzealous racial paranoia put pressure on political leaders to improve relations with Asian American communities. U.S. officials moved to address charges of systemic discrimination as part of a larger program aimed at improving ties with Asian countries and resolving the glaring incongruity between the "herrenvolk" democracy practiced at home and the egalitarian democracy that the United States promoted overseas. The passage of the McCarran-Walter Act in 1952 offered one noteworthy effort to address the legacy of anti-Asian chauvinism in U.S. law. The Act formally eliminated Asian exclusion as a staple of American immigration and naturalization policy as part of a larger effort to deflect international criticism of discriminatory treatment against non-white minorities. The overall impact of the McCarran-Walter legislation on immigration, however, was negligible since it allotted only token quotas to Asian countries that continued to hold a disadvantaged status under the "national origins" formula established in the 1920s.

Pressure to liberalize U.S. immigration policy continued to build, and key American policymakers argued that the long standing system predicated on ethnic selection was a diplomatic liability, insofar as it codified a hierarchy of desirable (Western European) and undesirable (Asian, Southern and Eastern European) population groups. A coalition of ethnic organizations, church

groups, and labor unions lobbied Congress to overhaul U.S. immigration policy, criticizing the chauvinistic underpinnings of the current system with a particular emphasis on the ways in which restrictive quotas impeded the ability of certain ethnic groups from reuniting with their overseas kin. Liberals achieved a major legislative victory with the passage of the 1965 Hart-Celler Immigration Act, which was signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson at Ellis Island on October 3, 1965, at *Liberty Island*, *New York* with the Statue of Liberty serving as the ceremonial backdrop. The 1965 Act signaled a strategic shift in U.S. immigration policy dismantling the infamous "national origins" quota system that favored Western European immigrants at the expense of those from other parts of the world. A new selection regime was implemented that gave admissions preference to the relatives of U.S. citizens and legal permanent residents to facilitate "family reunification." The Act also privileged highly skilled, educated individuals crucial to maintaining the economic supremacy of the United States in the Cold War political order.[10]

A surge in immigration from Asia was an unexpected consequence of the 1965 Act since family preference categories were allotted the largest number of yearly quota slots. Asians made up less than 1 percent of the U.S. population in 1965, so lawmakers did not anticipate that they would benefit significantly from this policy feature. The Hart-Celler Act, however, in tandem with smaller piecemeal policy measures, including adjustments to the U.S. refugee policy, ushered forth a new stream of arrivals that would reshape the demographic composition of the Asian American community in important ways. The majority of new entrants came from five countries: China (including Taiwan), India, South Korea, the Philippines, and Vietnam. Population pressures and economic instability functioned as a push factor driving emigration from these states to more prosperous parts of the globe. Statistical models cited by reformists suggested that there would not be an appreciable increase in the volume of Asian immigration to the United States resulting from the new legislation; that turned out to be a miscalculation. Asians took advantage of the 1965 Act's family reunification provisions, engaging in what is popularly known as "chain migration" whereby recent immigrants sponsored close relatives, who after attaining permanent residency in the U.S. promptly sponsored their own family members.

The post-1965 immigrant population was disproportionately drawn from the more affluent sectors of the primary sending countries in Asia. Many of those who settled in the United States during the early decades of the Cold War were professionals, e.g. Filipino nurses recruited to fill labor shortages at American hospitals, Chinese and Taiwanese students and scientists fleeing communism, Korean entrepreneurs, and Indian engineers. The new arrivals, on the whole, had more formal education than earlier generations and entered the U.S. with strong co-ethnic networks that enhanced their labor market prospects. Asian immigrants admitted to the United States after 1965 have been "highly selected" with much greater levels of education than their co-ethnics left behind. That such a large percentage of Asians entering the U.S. during this period had a college degree and were tied into professional networks upon arrival is the single greatest contributor to the socio-economic ascendance of Asian Americans. Importantly, the "hyper-selectivity" regime spawned by the 1965 Immigration Act has generated significant material advantages even for less educated, working-class co-nationals who have benefitted from the ethnic institutions, like rigorous after-school programs, college preparatory academies, and community associations, that enabled newcomers to navigate key societal institutions, e.g. schools, banks, real estate. The passage of the 1965 Immigration Act marked a pivotal turning point that reconfigured the character and composition of Asian American communities. Key changes to U.S. immigration law combined with Cold War geo-political rivalries and global wage differentials between the United States and sending countries reveal that it was this confluence of structural forces, rather than Asian cultural traits, that best explains the socio-economic gains of Asian Americans from the 1970s to the 1990s.[11]

ASIAN AMERICAN POLITICAL MOBILIZATION

Economic and educational gains experienced by many Asian Americans have not been accompanied by a concomitant increase in political power. Asian Americans have a long history of political mobilization in the United States, dating back to debates of Chinese exclusion in the 19th century and continued into the early decades of the 20th century, expressed in union



Standing to the far right, Representative Robert Matsui at a press conference on civil rights. Matsui was a third generation Japanese American, whose family was sent to the Tule Lake Relocation Center when he was six-months-old. Matsui eventually graduated from the University of California, Berkeley, and became a lawyer. As a representative in Congress, Matsui was a fierce advocate for the approximately 120,000 Japanese Americans sent to relocation centers. Photo by Susana Raab, December 12, 1997; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

activism among agricultural workers and legal challenges to various exclusionary measures targeting Asian Americans. Political activism among Asian Americans took a variety of forms during the Cold War and was indelibly shaped by conservative culture of the period. The late 1960s witnessed the rise of what is popularly know as the Asian American Movement, which was part of the larger civil rights mobilizations of the 1960s and 1970s. Asian American college students catalyzed by the progressive tenor of the era confronted issues of institutional racism, chauvinistic U.S. foreign policy toward Asia, and socio-cultural disenfranchisement. Many of these young political actors grew up navigating ingrained stereotypes that pegged them as ineradicably foreign, politically passive, and conformist. This generation of activists rallied around opposition to U.S. military intervention in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, as well their embrace of the radical wing of the Civil Rights Movement. Key organizations included the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA) founded in 1968 in Berkeley, California; Asian Law Caucus (ALC); Kearny Street Workshop; and the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP). Asian American activists played a key role in the Third World Liberation Front, a multiracial coalition of students who orchestrated a campaign at San Francisco State University in the late 1960s to integrate the contributions of minorities to American society and culture into the university curriculum. This campaign eventually led to the institutionalization of Ethnic Studies programs at colleges across the country.[12]

By the 1970s Asian Americans began making inroads into electoral politics, seeking to capitalize on the advances of the civil rights movement and to give greater voice to immigrant communities that were largely ignored by the political establishment. Despite some important electoral successes for Asian Americans in Hawai`i after the granting of statehood in 1959 (Daniel Inouye, Hiram Fong, Patsy Mink), expanding political clout on the U.S. mainland proved far more difficult. Relatively small population numbers and low voter turnout hampered early efforts to gain electoral traction. California, which had the largest population concentrations of Asian Americans on the U.S. mainland, was the site of some important political victories in the 1970s with the elections of Norman Mineta and Robert Matsui to the House of Representatives and S.I. Hayakawa to the U.S. Senate. Both House leaders carried a large percentage of the Asian American vote and importantly had the backing of influential community organizations, like the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL). Political gains at the national level stalled during the 1980s due in part to the revival of racial animus directed toward Asian Americans during a period of growing anxiety about economic competition from Japan and China. The success of Japanese automakers in the U.S. market in the early 1980s, alongside the influx of cheap textiles and electronics from China in the late 1980s and early 1990s, generated a significant backlash, and the political loyalties of Asian Americans were frequently viewed with suspicion. While the intensity of anti-Asian sentiment waned by the mid-1990s, the perception of Asians as perpetual foreigners in the United States was an enduring feature of American life.[13]

CONCLUSION

By the end of the Cold War period, Asian Americans had made some significant strides in educational and economic attainment that have improved their standing in American society. By the early 1990s, Asian Americans were hailed for spurring a revitalization of urban

areas, as Asian ethnic enclaves became popular sites of commercial and cultural expansion. At the same time, they still faced obstacles in achieving political power, and enduring stereotypes about Asians relegated them to the margins of the culture industry. Asian American activists and elected officials challenged long-standing stereotypes about political passivity and conformity, and they mobilized local level political blocs that revealed a dynamic and diverse community demanding a greater stake in American society. The full integration of Asian Americans into U.S. society remains a work in progress, and stereotypes from the Cold War era have proven difficult to dislodge. The "forever foreigner" remains salient; even today, people of Asian descent regularly get asked "where they are from?" and are often expected to serve as cultural translators to their non-Asian peers. Moreover, Asian Americans remain severely underrepresented in U.S. popular culture, yet are often left out of discussions about the need to diversify the cultural industry (films, popular music, sports). The in-between status of Asian Americans, neither fully included nor totally excluded, in American society serves as an important reminder about the stubborn persistence of Cold War racial constructions and the importance of reckoning with this complicated history to develop a more nuanced understanding of diverse challenges Asian American communities face in the 21st century.

Endnotes

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Essay 12

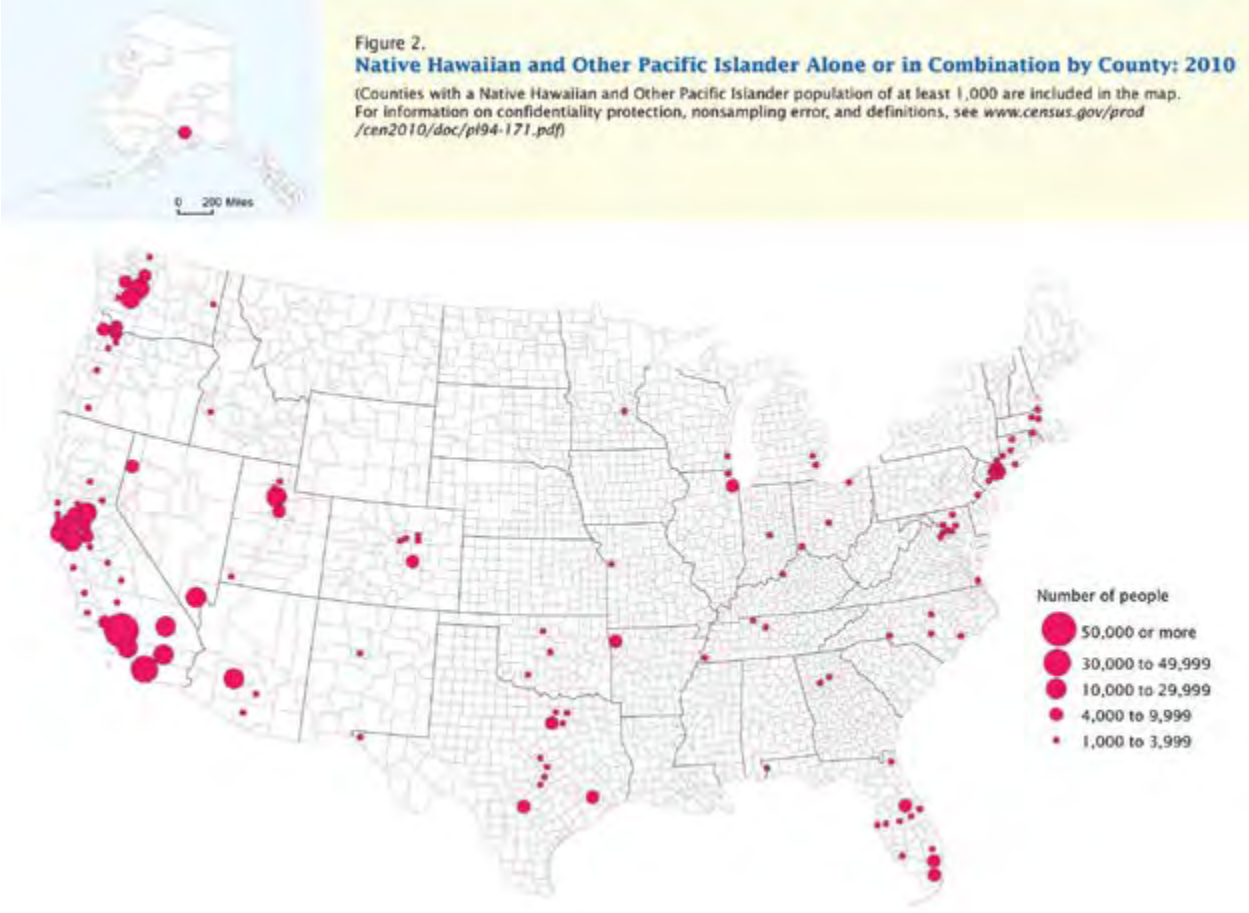
Pacific Islanders in the U.S. and their Heritage: Making Visible the Visibly Absent[1]

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The Pacific Ocean region includes 27 island nations and territories, each of which has at least one or two indigenous cultural groups. Hundreds of distinct indigenous peoples live in larger islands/island continents, such as New Guinea and Australia. Several of these Pacific Island areas are part of the United States (U.S.) in one fashion or another—the unincorporated territories of American Samoa and Guam, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (NMI),[2] and the state of Hawai'i. Indigenous Taotao Håya (Chamorro),[3] Refaluwasch (Carolinian), and Kânaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) Pacific Islander Americans and Tagata Samoa (Samoan) Pacific Islander American nationals are present both in their homeland islands as well as throughout the rest of the U.S.[4] The U.S. has also claimed eight other Pacific Islands and island groups that are essentially uninhabited except for certain military or other government-related worker

A commemorative statue of the late Senator Angel Santos is pictured here with latte pillars located to the right. The Latte Stone Park was recently renamed the Senator Angel L.G. Santos Latte Memorial Park. The Senator, an impassioned advocate for Chamorro rights and culture, often spent time with the latte at the park as a means to connect to and be inspired by Chamorro ancestral spirits. Photo by Kelly G. Marsh; used with permission.



2010 census data showing US counties with populations of more than 1,000 Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islanders. Note that US Pacific Island commonwealths and territories are not included. Map Courtesy of the U.S. Census Bureau, 2012.

or scientific data-gathering populations.[5]

Additionally, three independent Pacific Island nations—the Republic of Palau (ROP), The Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), and the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI)—are Freely Associated States (FAS) in treaty relationships with the U.S. Pacific Islanders of Palau, Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, Kosrae,[6] and the Marshalls, in relatively large numbers, serve in the U.S. military, live within parts of the U.S., and are, at times, Pacific Islander Americans in addition to being citizens of their island nations.[7]

In the larger picture, Pacific Islanders from at least 19 nations and territories live temporarily or more permanently in U.S. states and territories. Conversely, migration flows both ways, and each of these nations and territories are likely to have Americans living there.

Pacific Islander Americans and nationals—despite settling and thriving in their islands for hundreds or thousands of years before the U.S. itself was established, some with urban areas older than any city in the U.S.,[8] and having homelands that have now been part of the U.S. through various means for well over 100 years—in many ways and to varying degrees are conspicuously absent from U.S. representation. Their numbers have been overwhelmed so that they now constitute a minority population in their own homelands.[9]

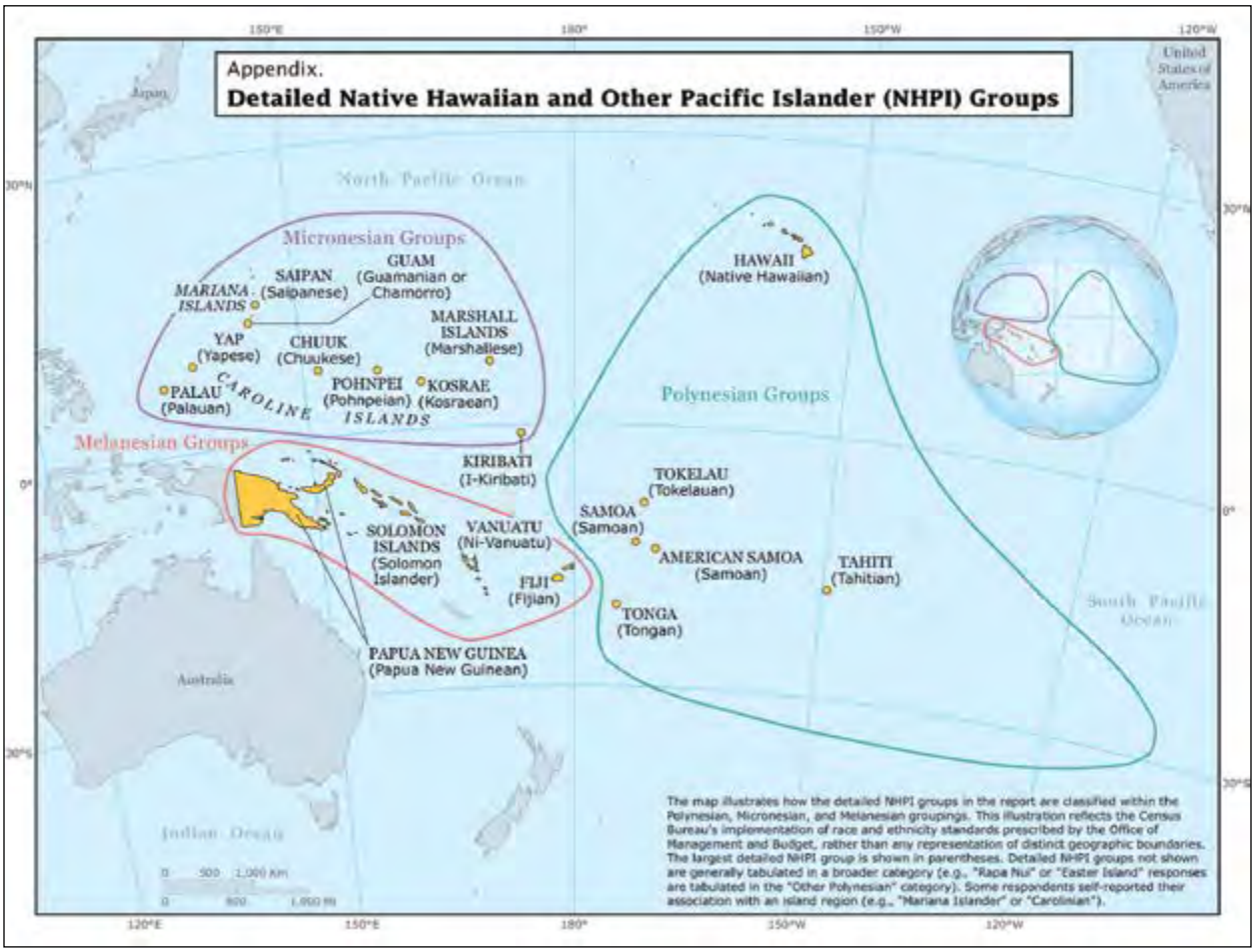
Those living in territories have no presence on a typical U.S. map,[10] no star on the U.S. flag, no representation in the U.S. Senate, and no real voice in the U.S. House of Representatives (their Delegates to Congress have not been allowed to be full members). They have no vote in the Electoral College, which means no vote for the U.S. President who is their Commander in Chief and can order them into battle. As a whole, they are also visibly absent or underrepresented in national and international historic registers and even in their local

registers. An example of this "invisibility:" the U.S. 2010 Census brief on the presence of Pacific Islanders in the U.S., including its demographic maps, is restricted to discussing and depicting the 50 states.[11] Except for the state of Hawai'i, the brief includes neither the U.S. Pacific Island areas themselves nor the more than 100,000 Pacific Islander Americans and Pacific Islander American nationals who live upon them.

Indeed, many Americans are not aware that any Pacific Islands outside of the Hawaiian island chain are part of or affiliated with the U.S. and are surprised to hear that Guam is, as the U.S.'s westernmost point, "Where America's Day Begins" or that American Samoa is "Where America's Sun Sets."[12] This invisibility erases the fact that Islanders have significant aspects of their culture and history to showcase and commemorate both in their islands as well as in fellow U.S. territories, districts, and states.

HOMELANDS

Islands in the Pacific, or Oceania, are homelands for Pacific Islanders.[13] Relationships with their homelands—where they were created or to which they migrated, where they have existed for hundreds or thousands of years: raising children, gardening, gathering, fishing, hunting, and otherwise living—are deep and powerful. Some refer to the land as their soul and as the foundation of their cultures and identities. The land has provided for them, it has fed them, clothed them, and met their needs. The land and all its surrounds—the reefs, the sea, the air—are sacred and imbued with spirits of the past and present. It is where ancestors are buried, where their footsteps fell, where they harvested from their gardens and jungles, where their nets were cast, where traditions



This 2010 US Census Bureau map shows the homeland islands of Pacific Islander Americans and Nationals and other Pacific Islanders in the United States. Saipan is the largest island in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. Both Chamorros and Refaluwasch are indigenous to the NMI, although only Saipanese are listed in parentheses as an associated NHPI group. Map courtesy of the U.S. Census Bureau, 2012.

and practices began, and where battles were fought, alliances were forged, and peace was restored. It is where supernatural beings, demi-gods, gods, people, animals, and other living organisms co-exist and have shaped the earth or have been shaped by it.[14]

Pacific Islander relationships with their homelands are enduring; for most, it does not matter the years that pass, the development of the island, the change in island demographics, the time spent abroad, the colonial or other administrations, or the various national affiliations. As noted by the late Governor of Guam, Ricardo J. Bordallo, about Guåhan (Guam),

> Guam is not just a piece of real estate to be exploited for its money-making potential. Above all else, Guam is the homeland of the Chamorro people.[15] That is a fundamental, undeniable truth. We are profoundly "taotao tano"—people of the land. This land…belongs to us just as surely, just as inseparably, as we belong to it. No tragedy of history or declaration of conquest, no legalistic double-talk can change that fact.[16]

Contemporarily, the concept of homeland is realized in different forms for Pacific Islanders. For some, as is the case for Native Hawaiians, the government has developed a specific and more restrictive legal definition as to what constitutes Native Hawaiian "home land."[17]

Pockets of Pacific Islanders have lived for generations in various U.S. towns or villages, counties, and states beyond their homeland islands. To varying degrees, they bring and apply qualities relating to attachment to the land, now having layered identities and sets of traditions and relationships with homelands, as well as with communities in which they and their fellow Islanders have been participants for years or generations. For example, some transplants establish social structures adapted from home. Many Islanders from Pohnpei, now living in Kansas City, have been operating under Kiti, a traditional paramount chiefdom in their home island. Others keep their home islands as touchstones of cultural identity, even as they do not envision any return. Some have been embraced by their new community as has happened in Milan, Minnesota, where the mayor states that the Islanders from Chuuk "now belong to Milan, and Milan belongs to them."[18] However, in spite of the mayor's declaration, the Chuukese of Milan (perhaps representative of other Pacific Islanders who are not U.S. citizens) have expressed that there is still a limit to feeling fully connected to the U.S.

VOYAGING/MOVEMENT

Migration and voyaging in Oceania is not a new phenomenon. Pacific Islanders have migrated for centuries, with their mobility marked by deep water sailing canoes, celestial navigation, and interisland voyages.[19] Voyaging and movement characterize Pacific identity and way of life. Pacific Islanders are peoples who crossed land bridges and shallow waters to New Guinea and Australia tens of thousands of years ago or were part of the Austronesian movement out of Southeast Asia; they are



Melchy Billy's Dance Group entering the stage at the 46th annual Chief Aghurubw Day on Managaha Island, Northern Mariana Islands. Chief Aghurubw saved his people after a devastating typhoon, by leading them to the Northern Mariana Islands to resettle. The special day of commemoration is considered an integral part of the NMI Refaluwasch culture. Photo by Cinta M. Kaipat; used with permission.

peoples who voyaged and settled islands from Madagascar, just off Africa, to Rapa Nui (Easter Island), just off the coast of South America, and the islands in-between. They are renowned seafarers. With their great voyaging skills and ingenuity of canoe design and ability, Pacific Islanders sought and settled into new homes in numerous and succeeding waves from Southeast Asian islands, such as Taiwan, the Philippines, and Sulawesi, or islands within the Pacific, like New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, or the Marquesas. Chamorros, Palauans, and Samoans were some of the first to settle their islands in the Pacific some 3,500 and 3,000 years ago, respectively. Venturing out from perhaps the Marquesas and Society Islands, Native Hawaiians made their home in their more remotely located archipelago sometime later, around AD 1000 or 1100.

While Chamorros, Native Hawaiians, Refaluwasch, Samoans, and other Pacific Islanders developed their unique societies, cultures, and languages in their homeland islands, they continued to receive new island community members from elsewhere and to voyage beyond their home islands to explore, emigrate, network, and create relationships with those beyond their islands. Examples of continued movement and interaction with others are numerous: peoples of the Marshall Islands and other eastern and central islands in Micronesia settled there from elsewhere in the Pacific, at times moving and resettling more than once. Native Hawaiians and peoples of Rapa Nui ventured to the Americas perhaps as early as AD 500 or 700.[20] Chamorros and other Pacific Islanders traveled aboard trading, whaling, and other ships to the Americas, Bonin, the Hawaiian Islands, and other international locales in limited numbers in the 1500s and 1600s, with numbers increasing through the 1700s and 1800s. The Refaluwasch relocated from Elato and Satawal islands to the Northern Mariana Islands in the 1800s.

Because of these traditions of continued movement, Pacific Islanders live in numerous countries around the globe, from those located in the region like Australia, Canada, Japan, Mexico, and Taiwan to countries farther abroad such as the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Some of the reasons for these contemporary movements include access to education, employment, particular health care, and different lifeways and surrounds; being adventurous; being close to family and others elsewhere (family first cultures, chain migration); following their dreams to start their own business; making it big in the corporate world or serving in high profile positions in the federal government; playing in college, semi-pro, and professional sports;[21] and performing in the national music industry scene or becoming stars in show business. For some, it is to leave frustrating colonial situations where they are treated as minorities or second-class citizens in their own homelands.

As Pacific Islanders settled into different areas, they contributed to their new towns, villages, and cities. In the U.S., Islanders helped explore the western frontier and worked in early industries like whaling and trading or, in the Pacific Northwest, fur trade, where parts of the landscape and some of the buildings continue to bear Hawaiian names (e.g., Owyhee River and Kanaka Rapids).[22] They panned for gold in California and fought in national wartime efforts, beginning at least as early as the War of 1812 and the Civil War[23] and have served in every ensuing U.S. conflict. They now serve at military bases throughout the U.S. and elsewhere (e.g., Afghanistan, Germany, Iraq, Japan, and South Africa). They fill voids in the U.S. workforce, like the Marshallese who are providing services in the fields of health care or chicken packing in locales such as Springdale, Arkansas.[24] Pacific Islanders, such as the Chuukese in Milan, Minnesota, have reinvigorated towns previously dwindling in size and age composition.[25] They establish food trucks, "mom and pop" stores, and restaurants in places like Portland, San Diego, and Miami, offering the rest of America new food choices and cultural cuisines. They play on various sports teams in states such as Hawai'i, Washington, Utah, and Michigan.[26] They work in corporate America and the federal government, heading up a division of Pixar or serving as Assistant Secretary of the Department of the Interior. In fact, every U.S. dollar currently minted has a uniquely Pacific Islander name signed on it, Gumataotao,[27] because the U.S. Treasurer is married to a Chamorro from Guam. At the same time, for those in Freely Associated States, there are other consequences to their affiliations with the U.S. For example, some in the U.S. have preyed upon them by offering jobs that did not live up to their advertisement (i.e. blackbirding)[28] or brokering adoptions of their children fraught with cultural misperceptions (occurring



Richard K. Billy's Aghurubw Warriors perform the stick dance for the 46th annual Chief Aghurubw Day on Managaha Island, Northern Mariana Islands. Managaha Island is considered sacred in the NMI Refaluwasch culture, because Chief Aghurubw is buried there. Photo by Cinta M. Kaipat; used with permission.

both in their home islands and in the U.S.).[29]

In the larger context, for some of these Pacific Island communities, there are more of their fellow Islanders living in places other than in their homeland islands. These movements have influenced the way identity is expressed and culture is maintained in different lands and destinations and throughout the diaspora. Outmigration, in combination with the immigration to their islands, from the U.S. and elsewhere, seriously impacts U.S. Pacific Islands and Pacific Islands affiliated with the U.S. For example, Native Hawaiians now constitute a minority (20 percent in 2000) in their islands; so are the Refaluwasch in the NMI. Chamorros in Guam, in recent decades, have become no more than a plurality on their own island. Some of this demographic change has resulted in indigenous Pacific Islanders unable to afford the cost of housing on ancestral land, denied access to ancestral sites, and challenged by an influx of ideas denigrating the significance of their very heritages. However, in the face of these challenges, Pacific Islanders continue to follow the core cultural traditions of living together as families, contributing to the success of their families, taking care of one another, fulfilling reciprocal obligations, making traditional foods as possible, and gathering together, especially in celebration of home island cultural and historical events.

U.S. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

In the Pacific region, a wide variety of political relationships exists among island nations and territories and the U.S. nation-state. The political status classifications of these islands have shifted over time and range from: State, incorporated Territory, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI), Commonwealth, Free Association, and unincorporated territory.

Hawai‘i became the 50th state of the U.S. in 1959. Prior to statehood, the islands were an independent nation until the U.S.-backed coup d’etat overthrowing Queen Lili‘uokalani in 1893. Five years later, President William McKinley signed a joint resolution to annex the islands, and they remained a territory until incorporated as a state. The Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) did not passively accept the loss of their nation or erosion of their culture. There have been many forms of resistance to annexation and struggles for national sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands. These movements continue today. Palmyra Atoll was annexed to the Kingdom of Hawai‘i in 1862. When the Kingdom of Hawai‘i was absorbed, Palmyra was included and now remains as the only incorporated, albeit uninhabited, territory, within the U.S.

Following the conclusion of WWII, the United Nations placed all Micronesian islands of the former Japanese-administered League of Nations Mandate

under a U.S.-administered strategic trusteeship, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI). The U.S. was to guide the TTPI entities—the Northern Mariana Islands, Yap, Palau, Chuuk, Kosrae, Pohnpei, and the Marshall Islands—toward some level of real self-government, including possible independence. The U.S. ended its oversight and administration over the islands, island group by island group, as they became either a commonwealth of, or in free association with, the U.S.

Three of the former-TTPI island states are now classified as in "free association" with the U.S.—the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of Marshall Islands, and the Republic of Palau. The status of free association is recognized as a distinct form of separate sovereignty. It is a transitional status for peoples who do not seek full integration but opt to maintain close relations and ties with another nation during the period after separate sovereignty is achieved. For the former-TTPI islands, it is a form of independence based on an agreement with the U.S. that continues U.S. assistance and allows mutual defense. In accordance with international law, free association agreements would need to provide for unilateral termination by either party.[30]

Today, the U.S. no longer has trust territory or inhabited incorporated territories, but maintains five unincorporated territories: Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands in the Caribbean, and American Samoa, Guam, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in the Pacific.[31] The U.S. adopted the doctrine of unincorporation through a series of constitutional decisions known as the *Insular Cases* (1901-1922), which developed a new type of political status for acquired territories with indigenous populations. This new status meant that these territories were not on the path to incorporation and statehood and the rights and privileges of the U.S. Constitution could only be applied as determined by Congress (in which the territory has no real voice as noted above). Some insist that these conditions constitute second-class citizenship for the peoples of these territories.

Unincorporated territories have histories of lengthy military governments and appointed civilian governors, with indigenous peoples and locals as wards of the nation, before finally being afforded varying levels of limited self-government. Their histories have resulted in decades of deliberation concerning sovereignty and political powers. For example, while granted U.S. citizenship, territorial residents vote in local elections and plebiscites but not in presidential elections.

This inconsistency in representation continues: unincorporated territories compete as distinct entities in the Olympics but do not have seats in the United Nations, nor can they be full members in certain regional programs that support cultural heritage efforts, as islands in Free Association can. Such ambiguities and inconsistencies have caused peoples in unincorporated territories to consider whether they would gain more rights and protections as federally recognized tribes with some level of recognized sovereignty. Similarly, due to the issues of being indigenous within a state, Native Hawaiians also weigh this possibility.[32] Those in territories have further considered whether they would be better served seeking self-determination as an incorporated state, a commonwealth, a state in free association, or as an independent state. Indeed, the UN has formally recognized certain of their non-self-governing statuses, and supports efforts toward self-determination. Political and constitutional modernization of the non-independent Pacific through genuine processes of self-determination, however, continues to represent formidable challenges as the 21st century continues.[33]

PRESENCE AND HISTORY IN THE U.S.

Presence

The Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) population is larger than it has ever been in U.S. history.[34] AAPI communities are among the fastest growing and most diverse groups in the country—ethnically, socially, and economically. They have the highest multiracial rates of all major racial/ethnic groups.[35]

Further, in the period between the last two censuses, the Pacific Islander population was noted to be one of the U.S.'s most rapidly growing race/ethnic groups. Over 1.2 million Pacific Islanders call the U.S. home. Some have traveled to the U.S., but for many, the U.S. arrived on their shores as part of the U.S. expansion efforts in the 1800s as the nation was striving to become a world power.

Significant demographic shifts are occurring throughout the country, as their communities move beyond California, which has the nation's largest AAPI population, into towns and cities across all regions of the

continental U.S. Pacific Islanders are present in every state and inhabited territory of the U.S.—from Guam, the westernmost unincorporated territory, to New York, Florida, and the commonwealth of Puerto Rico in the east. Interestingly, the Southern region experienced the fastest growth of Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander populations, with 66 percent growth between the 2000 and 2010 censuses.[36] In Houston, Texas, for example, more than 200,000 Asian Americans and 6,000 Pacific Islanders have moved to Harris County.[37]

Beginning in 1997, the Office of Management and Budget required federal agencies to use Pacific Islander ("Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander"—again showing the bias towards the status of a state versus a territory) as one of the census race categories. Within the 2010 census brief on Pacific Islanders (in a U.S. state), Pacific Islanders are differentiated according to Western categories that are geographical, not cultural, markers: Polynesians: Hawaiian (527,077), Samoan (184,440), Tokelauan (925), Other Polynesian (9,153); Micronesian: Guamanian/Chamorro[38] (147,798), Mariana Islander (391),[39] I-Kiribati (401), Other (29,112); Melanesian: Fijian (32,304), Ni-Vanuatu (91), Other (240,179). The census also shows that Native Hawaiians make up about 45 percent of all Pacific Islanders in U.S. states.

Nearly three-fourths of the state-based Pacific Islander population live in the West, while 16 percent live in the South, 7 percent in the Northeast, and 6 percent in the Midwest. More specifically, Pacific Islanders live in large concentrations in particular states such as in Hawai'i (355,816), California (286,145), Washington (70,322), and Texas (47,646), with more than half of Pacific Islanders residing in the first two of those states. Each population sustains itself away from their respective island homes in various ways.

History

Creation, Migration, and Ancestral Eras

Pacific peoples all have seminal accounts regarding the creation of or migration to their islands. Chamorros tell of the sister and brother Fo'na and Pontan who together created the universe and everything within it. Native Hawaiians chant the Kumulipo to recount the creation of the world. Refaluwasch recall the Chiefs Nguschul of Elato and Aghurubw of Satawal island who led their resettlement in the Mariana Islands after their islands were destroyed by typhoon. And Samoans speak of the god Tagaloa who first created Manu'atele to have



Five hundred Guam delegates stand together at the 12th Festival of Pacific Arts opening ceremony on the evening of 22 May 2016. Hosting this festival, perhaps more than any other singular event in modern times, reaffirmed Guam's Chamorro cultural identity. Its revitalization in recent years has increased the visitation to and protection of ancestral sites on the island. Photo by Kelly G. Marsh; used with permission.



The Chuukese community of Milan, Minnesota, at the dedication of the replacement of the town's Liberty Bell replica in 2016. Participating in the celebration, they sang some of their traditional songs, as shown here. Photo by Michael Elias; used with permission.

someplace to stand on earth before he went on to create surrounding islands and life upon them.

Other accounts tell how island environments and life upon them came to be and were refined over thousands of years. The appearance of humans brought development of social structures, traditions, skills, and knowledge, the accounts of which are often inscribed in the landscape and seascape. Reminders exist across the Pacific landscapes, such as, construction of the first Palauan *bai* ('men's traditional meeting house') where the first kava ceremony in American Samoa occurred. Narratives handed down through the generations chronicle the movement and activities of gods, demi-gods, and ancestors. Some from the past are petrified in stone or inscribed into the landscape as geographical features—Fo'na and Pontan, Manu'atele, and Pele, the goddess of fire, lightning, wind, and volcanoes who created the Hawaiian islands—to name but just a few. Oral narratives, pictographs, petroglyphs, the landscape, and crafted heritage tell us of the movement of peoples and families and of shifting alliances between clans, villages, islands, chiefdoms, kingdoms, and empires. They also inform us of ancestral villages and places where ancestors carried out daily activities and special events, gathered resources, fished and hunted, interacted with life around them, crafted items, conducted battles and rituals, as well as where their souls are honored or left the earthly realm to voyage into the afterlife. *Fiirourow* are such places. Located in the reefs, *fiirourow* are where Refaluwasch carry out powerful rites and sacred ceremonies like burning the belongings of a loved one who has passed away. Peoples within the Pacific managed surrounding lands and waters and built retaining walls, wells, pavements, pathways, and fish weirs and traps. Each such place is meaningful, valued, and sacred, imbued with powers and essences still deeply felt and respected. These early and formative times create multi-layered understandings of Pacific peoples, sites, and landscapes.

Some of these complex layers have been documented and registered as Pacific Islanders and others strive to maintain, protect, and better understand them; at other times, Pacific communities have preferred to achieve



Fouha (Fuha, Fu'a) Bay in Guam is recognized as a site important to the Chamorro creation narrative of the sister and brother, Fo'na and Pontan (Fu'una and Puntan). It was included in the Guam Register of Historic Places and the National Register of Historic Places in 1974. The ancestral tradition of procession to sacred sites, such as this, to honor ancestors and place offerings has been revived in recent years. Photo by Michael 'Miget' Lujan Bevacqua; used with permission.



The highlight of the celebration for the replacement of the town's Liberty Bell replica in Milan, Minnesota, was a two-float parade consisting of a Viking ship denoting Milan's Norwegian heritage and an outrigger canoe, the latter seen here, representing an important aspect of Chuukese traditional culture. Photo by Michael Elias; used with permission.

these goals through bolstering traditional practices such as reinstituting or maintaining ceremonies, processions, and transmission of knowledge. Unfortunately, these ancestral layers are sometimes silenced by highlighting modern historic events, destroying or removing tangible ancestral heritage, or limiting access to them. For Pacific Islanders, in contrast to many western views, these actions do not necessarily impact the integrity of the power or essence of an ancestral site. For example, the military bulldozed particular sets of *latte*, two-piece Chamorro stone house pillars, sometime around the 1950s; they were relocated to various sites on Guam. The *latte*, however, are still visited by Chamorros to connect with ancestral spirits. Further, the dislocated *latte*, rather than losing integrity, now also inform the community of the colonial relationships and attitudes of the time.

Encountering Others: Voyaging Traditions, Colonization, and Militarization

Voyaging and encountering others has been a way of life for centuries. It was into these cosmopolitan situations that Ferdinand Magellan and his crew voyaged in 1521, with *i manaotao-mo'na* (Chamorro ancestors) having the dubious distinction of being the first Pacific peoples to encounter them and having their islands claimed and missionized. Groups of Chamorros battled the intrusions for nearly three decades but were removed from their homes on 13 of 15 islands and restricted to only two. Others in the Pacific continued with virtually no contact with Europeans for decades or centuries. Throughout the Pacific, missionization and colonization were imposed upon Pacific Islanders. Diseases introduced by foreign mariners, priests and other church representatives, beachcombers, traders, and others caused devastating losses within Pacific Island populations. Some groups lost 90 percent or more of their communities—treasured children, valued elders, and other holders of cultural knowledge. The sites of these events—initial encounters, missions, centers of trade, battles of indigenous resistance and foreign retribution, the loss of entire families and villages—are often known but not always memorialized despite their transformative nature.

Except for the people of Tonga, all Pacific Islanders were colonized; all to establish coaling stations, control sea lanes, access foreign markets, save souls, and build global empires. Those statuses of colonization and non-self-governance continue, directly impacting Pacific Islanders, who comprise a significant number of the non-self governing peoples in the world.[40]

In the age of imperialism, indigenous Islanders, such as the Chamorros in the Mariana Islands and Samoans, were politically divided among European or American colonizing nations; foreign racial categories were imposed as were segregation and Jim Crow-like regulations or policies. On many islands, speaking indigenous languages and practicing their culture in public spaces were banned. Leper and tuberculosis colonies were created while local militias and military units, such as Fitafita, a guard made up of native Samoans,[41] were established for the benefit of colonial powers. Such policies left physical manifestations in the U.S. and in the islands. These include pockets of Islander populations in states and territories as noted above. In addition, there are the remains of unexploded ordinance (UXO), abandoned military equipment and supplies, and the radioactive poisoning of environments in the islands,

some of which are heritage sites (e.g. see Bikini Atoll Nuclear Test Site World Heritage List dossier). Migrants from the Philippines, Japan, and mainland America were introduced to island communities, developing their own layers of connection to the islands while aspects of their languages, cultures, and foods were adopted and adapted. Reflecting this influx and exchange are current Islander names such as Diaz, Tanaka, and Underwood.

Islanders and their history and cultural lifeways are often considered "backward," of secondary importance, or otherwise expendable because of vocal and powerful non-Islanders who perpetuate stereotypes of Islanders as "noble" or "ignoble savages." The presence of foreign investors is likewise unhelpful. Thus, Islanders are continuously challenged by those with foreign visions for their homelands—including large military training complexes with live fire and bombing ranges, mega-developments, holding areas for political and criminal exiles or political refugees, laboratories to observe socio-cultural, political, and environmental projects, and monuments or markers for foreign interests. In 2012, the ancestral Chamorro village and registered site of Pågat in Guam was targeted as a live-fire site for 6,000 U.S. Marines who were being relocated from the U.S.-operated Futenma military base in Okinawa, Japan. This military use of Pågat was sacrilegious and provoked a firestorm of protest from indigenous Chamorro people. The local opposition filed a lawsuit against the U.S. Department of Defense for not considering alternate sites for the range and arguing that the land selected is sacred and historical, the location of an ancient Chamorro village and an active archeological site. The military settled the issue in court and pursued other sites. The U.S. military has now selected the Ritidian National Wildlife Refuge for the location of its live-fire training range. However, this new location has many parallels to Pågat; it is another historically significant site with remains of ancient Chamorro villages. Similarly, Kahoʻolawe is an island in Hawaiʻi that was used by the U.S. Navy for live-fire exercises from 1941 into the 1990s. For Native Hawaiians, such military use of the island was sacrilegious; a sustained movement led by Native Hawaiians succeeded in 1994 when the U.S. Navy signed title for Kahoʻolawe over to the Hawaiʻi state government.

These are but two cases of native resistance to ongoing American imperial designs on indigenous properties and cultures. Numerous other examples exist. For instance, some Pacific Islanders are pointing out that the U.S. federal government is currently carrying out two incongruous types of activities in the Pacific–the induction or expansion of marine monuments to preserve those areas' special qualities and rich biodiversity and, in some of those same waters, the increase of military training and testing activities which have known detrimental effects on marine life and the environment.[42]

Resistance, Revitalization, and Self-Determination

A common thread among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders is the shared stories of the many forms of resistance to political, economic, linguistic, and cultural oppression. Modern situations highlight the trajectory of how these communities both within their homelands and throughout the diaspora have engaged in cultural resilience and resistance—organizing movements for revitalization and self-determination.

Revitalization efforts have taken many forms, such as the preservation of cultural artifacts as well as cosmologies, oral histories, and cultural practices. Language revitalization efforts are centering on charter schools for youth, language immersion programs, standardizing curriculum for language learners and educators, and establishing indigenous language programs at postsecondary institutions.

In the U.S., there are many examples of efforts to revitalize and recognize AAPI populations at the grassroots and national levels. Some key examples include Asian American and Pacific Islander Heritage Month, celebrated in May, which pays tribute to generations of AAPIs who have made significant contributions to the history and future of the U.S.; the National Coalition for Asian Pacific American Community Development, an advocacy organization that works to support AAPI communities in need of housing, services, and economic development; and the Asian and Pacific Islander American Scholarship Fund, focused on mobilizing resources and increasing access to post-secondary education for AAPI students. Additionally, in 2009 President Obama signed an executive order that restored the White House Initiative and the President's Advisory Commission on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. Notable elements of this initiative are focused on increasing resources for AAPI organizations, strengthening region-

al networks, and assessing government data on the AAPI community. Finally, Twitter hashtag #MyAAPIStory is an effort to document and share stories of the AAPI community around themes such as immigration, cultural preservation, identity, and overcoming the myth of the model minority.

U.S. HISTORIC PRESERVATION PROGRAMS IN PACIFIC ISLANDS

For centuries, Pacific Islanders have developed, practiced, and refined forms of managing their environments, cultures, histories, and heritages. These forms were integrated into everyday living. From generation to generation, knowledge, skills, oral narratives, as well as approaches, practices, and traditions relating to care of the environs and cultural heritage were passed down and adapted. Over time, these forms have blended with modern cultural heritage management concepts and institutions.

Both in their homeland islands and in U.S. states, Pacific Islander Americans have access to, interact with, and are to be served by U.S. historic preservation programs and international programs, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Additionally, Pacific Islanders, depending upon their political statuses, are participating members in regional programs that focus on cultural heritage conservation or are able to network with programs in a number of countries. These international programs afford Pacific Islanders a level of additional opportunity, although these opportunities are less available to those in U.S. Pacific Islands.

In the state of Hawai‘i and insular areas of American Samoa and Guam, modern historic preservation



Laumei ma Malie (Turtle and Shark) was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2014 as a natural feature significant to the people of American Samoa and for the maintenance of their cultural and historical identity. It is where a scene of a powerful Samoan oral narrative took place that is reenacted today by villagers of Vaitogi, who perform a song calling turtle and shark to surface from the ocean. Photo by Pacheco, Tomonari-Tuggle, and Reith; courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

programs were set up in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1974, the National Historic Preservation Act was amended to include Pacific Islands that were then part of the TTPI. The amendment resulted in the creation of an office to carry out historic preservation activities throughout the Trust Territory. Over time the Northern Mariana Islands, Yap, Palau, Chuuk, Pohnpei, Kosrae, and the Marshall Islands operated their own historic preservation offices (HPOs). Some of these programs, such as in the NMI, Palau, and the FSM HPOs, operate at two levels—a national or head office and state or municipality sections. Some units, such as Guam and Hawai'i, also have government or non-government entities that support historic preservation work.

Each of the U.S. and U.S.-affiliated Pacific Island HPOs has heritage sites listed in the U.S. National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), with most also having National Historic Landmark designation. There is a broad range of numbers and types of heritage sites they nominate to historic registers. Some have focused on modern, non-indigenous history that often revolves around colonial history and WWII. Other registers have stronger indigenous representation of ancestral history with some presence of more recent Islander history. Different peoples of the Pacific will need to consider the concept of commemorating more contemporary elements of their indigenous history by recognizing Pacific Island cultural systems as they move forward through time and circumstance.

WAYS OF VIEWING, REMEMBRANCE, AND COMMEMORATION

Heritage professionals are becoming more responsive to multi-cultural and multi-ethnic communities and indigenous populations. Pacific Islanders construct their societies, environments, and universes in distinctive ways. For example, long-time NPS anthropologist Patricia Parker observed that Micronesian Pacific Islanders consider it more important to preserve the "integrity of their traditional cultural systems" than to value the built environment. She also noted that the value and consideration given to historic properties and other tangible heritage was partly determined by the degree to which they supported traditional cultural systems.[43] Ensuing studies carried out over the decades in Micronesia have upheld such observations.

Indigenous Pacific Islander cultures have various types of heritage, tangible and intangible, that they can maintain or recapture, promote, and be transmitted to present and succeeding generations. These range from oral traditions, indigenous languages including chiefly or other specialized languages, genealogies, migration stories, customs and lifeways, art, music, dance, performances, forms of deliberation, and poetry. These numerous types of heritages and the actions to safeguard and transmit them are especially salient given the rapid changes in their islands. Consequences of globalization, immigration and emigration, market economies, modern government systems, and climate change all severely challenge traditional Island cultures and lifeways.

Thus, bolstering traditional indigenous cultures and markers of cultural identity are important ways of staving off detrimental challenges to indigenous communities. Additionally, maintaining knowledge of powerful symbolic areas is important. Islanders worry that bad things will result from inappropriate activities in powerful areas. Mapping and classification of these sites of power could serve multiple goals, including the well-being of the community as well as preserving the body of knowledge itself.

A critical force in maintaining and safeguarding intangible and tangible heritage has been the advent of the Festival of Pacific Arts, which has been held every four years since 1972. Pacific Islanders have been participating in this Festival for decades with observable impact in both conserving and fostering the growth of cultural systems. This has been noted for American Samoa and Guam, which hosted the Festival in 2008 and 2016, respectively. Hawai'i will host in 2020. Such festivals in the islands and in the U.S. mainland have encouraged the recapturing and sharing of traditional forms of chant, dance, seafaring, and other types of heritage, and encouraged Islanders to visit, respect, and protect indigenous heritage sites.

THE WAY FORWARD

As with cultural heritage efforts anywhere, there remains much to be done: expanding awareness of the creation myths and stories of indigenous Pacific Islander worlds and what are considered significant feats, features, and beings within them; making known indigenous Islander place names; bringing to light nuances of hundreds or

thousands of years of interaction between Islanders and their environments, as well as customary lifeways and the smaller and larger events within them; creating awareness of shared Island and Islander history and connections among regional deities, peoples, societies, and cultures that transcend local divisions or national boundaries; highlighting indigenous and colonial histories from the indigenous Islander perspectives; and showcasing Islanders as they moved through time and space in their homelands but also as they continued their journeys to areas within other parts of the U.S. This last item may have additional value because the presence of memorials, monuments, and heritage sites within U.S. territories, districts, and states can help Islanders and others understand their experiences and contributions to the U.S. but also bolster their sense of place both in and beyond their homelands.

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Endnotes

1 Although effort has been made to discuss U.S. Pacific Islander peoples collectively and individually, the authors specialize in studying Guam history and issues, as reflected in this essay.

2 Often referred to as CNMI.

3 Taotao Tåno' (People of the land) is another indigenous term used to refer to Chamorros.

4 This includes having presence in each other's islands as well.

5 Sometimes referred to as U.S. Minor Islands, these are: Baker Island, Howland Island, Jarvis Island, Johnston Atoll, Kingman Reef, Midway Atoll, Navassa Island, Palmyra Atoll, and Wake Island. Palmyra Atoll is the only incorporated territory in the U.S.. At least one of these areas, Wake Island, or Eneen Kio in Marshallese, is also claimed by the Republic of the Marshall Islands as Marshallese voyaged to and used the island traditionally. The Marshall Islands is said to have put its claim to the island on record at the United Nations. See Johnson 2016.

6 The island areas of Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae, each comprised of numerous islands, are states within the Federated States of Micronesia. One or more culture groups is recognized per island state. For example, for what are referred to as Yap's Outer Islands, the many culture groups there are often generally referred to as Carolinian or Remathau (People of the Sea), while the culture group in the main island of Yap is referred to as Girdi nu Wa'ab (People of Yap).

7 For a brief overview on the Pacific Islands as a geo-cultural region and their environments and histories, see Smith and Jones 2007, 17-30.

8 By royal decree, the Spanish declared Guam's village of Hagåtña (formerly Agana or Agaña) a city March 30, 1686 (Leon-Guerrero, Hagåtña).

9 Not including American Samoa.

10 Though this has become less often the case for publications and maps produced by the National Park Service and maps produced by certain U.S. federal agencies that serve all states and territories.

11 Though it does provide a map showing the islands of origin for Pacific Islanders residing in the U.S. in its appendix (See Figure 7, US 2010 Census Brief).

12 This is one of several of slogans used for Guam, others include: Tano' I Chamorro, or Tano' I ManChamorro (Land of the Chamorros), Home to a 4,000 Year Old Culture, Gateway to Asia, Gateway to Micronesia, and Tip of the [US Military] Spear (see Na'puti & Bevacqua 2015). This is likely just one of several other slogans used for American Samoa as well.

13 The descriptors Pacific Islands, Oceania, and Pacific Islanders are flexible depending upon the context of use. The Pacific Islands are a geographic region of the Pacific Ocean. Generally, the descriptors are used to refer to the peoples and islands who are indigenous to islands between Asia and the Americas excluding Brunei, Indonesia, East Timor, Taiwan, the Philippines, Japan, the Aleutians, and Kuril Islands. The U.S. Census defines Pacific Islander as "those having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands." It is important to note that culturally, geographically, and otherwise, Pacific Islanders and Asians are distinct sets of peoples each of which are comprised of many ethnicities differing in language, culture, history, and relationship with each other and the U.S.

14 See e.g., Goldberg-Hiller & Silva 2015.

15 Guam is the largest and southernmost island in the Mariana Island archipelago. The Mariana Islands are considered a homeland to the Taotao Tåno' (Chamorros). Additionally, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (the 14 islands north of Guam) also officially recognize a second group of peoples who migrated to the northern Mariana Islands in 1815 as indigenous, the Refaluwasch or Carolinian peoples.

16 See Phillips, Land Ownership on Guam.

17 As defined in a 2010 Census Brief on Pacific Islanders, "Hawaiian home lands are public lands held in trust by the state of Hawaii for the benefit of Native Hawaiians…A Hawaiian home land is not a governmental unit; rather, it is a specific tract of land that has a legally defined boundary and is owned by the state of Hawaii. The state, as authorized by the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act passed by the U.S. Congress in 1920, may lease these tracts of land to one or more native Hawaiians for any activity authorized by state law." (Hixson, Hepler, and Kim 2012, p. 19).

18 See Hubbard 2016 and Koumpilova 2016.

19 See, e.g., Marshall 2004, p. 6.

20 Indicated by particular linguistic and cultural similarities and the presence of sweet potatoes in the islands and coconuts along the coasts of South America. See e.g., Okihiro 2015 and Nelson 2013.

21 See e.g., Uperesa & Mountjoy 2014.

22 Owyhee is an older spelling of Hawai'i; see online materials such as: Idaho State Historical Society 1987; Native American Netroots, Fur Trade; Hawaiians who helped shape Vancouver; and Dmae Roberts, Hawaiians and Native Americans (Crossing East).

23 See Shively (ed.) 2015.

24 For examples, see Schwartz 2015 and videos such as "A New Island: The Marshallese in Arkansas."

25 See video "Postcards: Micronesian Culture In Milan."

26 For examples, see videos such as: "American Samoan: Football Island" and "In Football We Trust."

27 In Chamorro, Gumataotao means "house of the people."

28 See for example Banivanua-Mar (2001) and Dé Ishtar (1994) for a brief discussion on the "blackbirding" era (1863-1904) involving kidnapping, indentured labor, and produced incalculable distress among island communities.

29 See e.g, Walsh Kroeker (2004) and Joyce (2015). For a discussion of Marshall Islands-US adoption and policy implications see Roby, Wyatt, & Pettys (2005) and the 2002 Adoption Act, Nitijela of the Marshall Islands, Public Law 2002-64.

30 See Stayman 2009, 8-9.

31 Technically speaking, the U.S. government classifies the Commonwealth as a territory.

32 On 23 September 2016 the U.S. Department of the Interior announced in a press release that they had finalized a path to reestablish formal government-to-government relations between Native Hawaiians and the U.S. federal government.

33 See Corbin 2015 and Na'puti 2014.

34 See Asian American Justice Center and Asian Pacific Legal Center 2006.

35 Perhaps reflecting a mixture of traditional ways of identification and colonial-western-US government ways of categorizing, the Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander population, categorized as a race group in the U.S. Census, was the "most likely to report multiple races in 2010" (Asian Pacific American Legal Center 2004).

36 See Hixson, Hepler, and Kim 2012, 5.

37 See Asian American Justice Center and Asian Pacific Legal Center 2006.

38 Chamorros are the indigenous people of Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands which, together, comprise the Mariana Island archipelago. The indigenous people of Guam were referred to as Guamanian for a time after WWII when the Chamorros of the Mariana Islands to the north (called Northern Mariana Islands today) were placed in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands administered by the U.S. Meanwhile, for a time also after WWII, Chamorros from the northern islands were referred to as Saipanese, Rotanese, and so forth depending upon which island they were from. Over the years, however, indigenous Islanders in both Guam and NMI have reverted back to referring to themselves as Chamorro or Taotao Tåno' and the term Guamanian, for some, has come to refer to all residents of Guam though some who left Guam decades ago and reside off-island still use the term Guamanian to refer to themselves as the indigenous Islanders of Guam.

39 This category may include those who identify as either Chamorro or Refaluwasch of the Northern Mariana Islands, or those who identify as both Chamorro and Refaluwasch of the Northern Mariana Islands as there have been a lot of relationships between the two ethnic groups over the centuries.

40 In particular, the U.S. Pacific territories—American Samoa, and Guam—make up a third of the non-self governing territories remaining in the Pacific. Along with the territory, the U.S. Virgin Islands, U.S. territories comprise nearly 20% of all recognized non-self governing territories in the world. See UN listing of non-self-governing territories, available at www.un.org/en/decolonization/nonselfgovterritories.shtml.

41 See Sevaaetasi 1991, 181-184.

42 See e.g., Perez 2014. For more on Kaho`olawe, see Davianna McGregor's essay in this theme study.

43 Parker 1987, 17.

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Essay 13

Asian Americans and Cultural Retention/Assimilation

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In her groundbreaking documentary *My America or Honk if You Love Buddha* (1997), Renee Tajima-Pena highlights the nuanced diversity of Asian Americans in the U.S. with humor, candor, and political insight. As Tajima-Pena travels across the U.S., we visualize Asian Americans' roles in the socio-cultural impact on space and place. The documentary frames the reality of Asian American communities having to battle to retain their culture while at the same time trying to assimilate in a country that does not accept or embrace them as Americans. This documentary spans the continent in search of "My America" and captures the nuanced experiences of Asian Americans, from New York to the internment camps of Manzanar. The dance of assimilation and cultural retention has spanned over two centuries. In many ways the socio-political-economic landscape has shaped the way in which Asian Americans (AA) have been introduced to America and also has played a

The May Day Queen and King are crowned at the Minidoka Relocation Center in Idaho. Photo by Joe Tanaka, c. 1944; courtesy of the Densho Digital Repository, Bain Family Collection.

critical role in the way Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPI) have responded to the demands to conform. The first Asians to set foot on U.S. soil came to visit and learn from the U.S. educational system, yet the pioneers were sojourning laborers whose presence grew as the economic need for their labor increased. Economic necessity pulled the migrant workers, but their existence in everyday life threatened the European migrants' claim to land and power. There are key social-political factors that impacted cultural spaces for AAPIs. This essay contextualizes assimilation and resistance through a historical-social lens. Utilizing the primary research from *Asian American Society* (Danico, 2015), I examine the ways in which the labor market sparked the influx of Asian Americans; when access to rights became unattainable, AAPIs had to negotiate assimilating in a place that did not want them as permanent settlers even as they fought to secure a place in the society and to help shape the U.S. landscape. While the economic influence has always been significant, what has become more noticeable in the contemporary world are the cultural landscapes and the roles that AAPIs have played in shaping America through the arts, media, and social activism.



Woman en route to the shower at the Minidoka Relocation Center in Idaho. Photo courtesy of the Densho Digital Repository, Bain Family Collection.

ECONOMY AND LABOR AS A SITE OF RACIAL OPPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

It is argued that racial categories in the U.S. were constructed largely to prevent a class revolution among working poor whites and workers of color. This began with the construction of "Whiteness" to prevent class-consciousness and revolt against Euro-American elites. As a result of the solidification of racial hierarchies, the clash among the working poor became about race and not about the exploitation of workers by the elites. To ensure that Asian Americans did not receive access to land or mobility, major legislation between the 1840s and the 1930s provided the legal structure to ensure racial inferiority and alien, non-citizen status. The most blatant exclusionary laws to affect Asian Americans were passed in the first phase of migration from the 1870s to the 1930s. Some relaxation of legal restrictions against Chinese, Filipinos, and Asian Indians marked the second phase of Asian migration from 1941 to 1965. Several laws instituted in the first era of immigration were repealed in this phase. However, one of the most damning actions, Executive Order 9066, signed by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, led to the incarceration of 120,000 Japanese Americans who were deliberately miscast as threats to American security. Then, later, with the 1965 Immigration Act and its amendments, there was a significant increase in Asian American populations in the United States.

Asian Americans have been part of the U.S. workforce since the mid-19th century. Chinese workers were drawn to California during the Gold Rush and later helped build the First Transcontinental Railroad linking the western and eastern United States. They worked on the plantations of Hawai`i before it became a territory and later the 50th state. Chinese and other Asian workers were instrumental in the development of California's agricultural industry, helped to establish the fishing and cannery industries along the Pacific Coast, and served as a crucial source of labor in numerous urban industries for generations. They successfully navigated the new frontier and, in the process, became a threat to white hegemony. In order to prevent economic and social parity, Asian workers were suppressed through the creation of conflict between Asian immigrants and other workers of color. Still, Asian Americans did not isolate themselves but instead established coalitions to protest

injustice. In spite of racially discriminatory laws and policies, Asian American workers have a history of resistance and organizing. Chinese railroad workers in the 1860s were involved in strikes to protest low wages and unfair treatment. Asian plantation workers in Hawai'i were engaged in numerous organizing efforts against the plantation owners in the 19th and 20th centuries.

As early as 1903, a multiracial alliance of Japanese and Mexican Americans organized a union of farm workers in Oxnard, California. In the 1930s, Filipino farm workers continued this tradition and organized throughout California's Central Valley. In Hawai'i, the 1946 Great Sugar Strike was a pivotal multiracial protest which led to a 79-day strike of nearly 25,000 workers, impacting over 100,000 people (20 percent of the population). It was to become the showdown between the newly organized International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the neo-colonial power structure of the "Big Five" corporations.[1] The 1946 sugar strike was the first successful strike against the sugar planters because it was the first to explicitly include all ethnic groups of workers to defeat the "divide and rule" strategy of the plantation owners. The ILWU motto, "An Injury to One is an Injury to All," was articulated for Hawai'i by longshore organizer Harry Kamoku as, "We're all brothers under the skin." The cross-racial coalition highlights the class struggle of the workers, which trumped the interracial tensions that existed on the plantations.[2]

In 1965, Larry Itliong and the Filipino Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee approached Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta to launch the historic Delano Grape Strike, which lasted five years. The emergence of the United Farm Workers of America was the result of a merger between Filipino and Mexican American farm labor organizations that met in Delano, a site now called Agbayani Village. Yet, the role of Filipinos in galvanizing a collective was not well documented until recently. Agbayani Village became a retirement home for retired Filipino farm workers that actively promoted the UFW.[3]

In 1982, Chinese garment workers launched a strike that mobilized tens of thousands of immigrant women in the streets of New York's Chinatown, one of the largest Asian American demonstrations in U.S. history. Other organizing campaigns in recent decades involving low wage Asian American immigrant workers have taken place in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Honolulu. The lifting of racially restrictive immigration policies led to the exponential growth of the Asian American population and workforce since the 1960s.

Asian American activism in a broader sense dates back to the 19th century when Asian immigrants in large numbers began arriving in the United States. Chinese workers were striking for higher wages and better working conditions as early as the 1860s; over the next several decades, similar incidents involving Japanese Americans and other Asian groups developed. Additionally, Asian radicals occasionally protested discriminatory practices and promoted distinctive cultural identities. However, it was the influence of the civil rights movement and the anti-war protests of the 1960s and 1970s that led to Asian American activism marked by efforts of pan-ethnic groups with a common political identity and shared histories of immigration and discrimination. With an influx of immigrants from South Asia and Southeast Asia in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, the definition of the term *Asian American* and the range of Asian American activism continued to expand.

Asian American activism began in response to discrimination. One of the earliest examples was the strike waged by 2,000 Chinese railroad workers in 1867. Wong Chin Foo (1847–98), sometimes called the first Chinese American, was the best known of the early activists. Through public lectures and newspaper articles, Wong defended Chinese immigrants from pervasive racial stereotypes and advised his compatriots to acculturate by learning English, adopting Western dress, and shaving off their queues. Seven decades before Martin Luther King, Jr., Wong articulated the same principle: character rather than skin color should be the measure Americans apply when judging others. He founded the first Chinese newspaper east of the Rockies in 1883, naming it the *Chinese American*, the first recorded use of the term, and founded the first association of Chinese voters in 1884. Wong founded the Chinese Equal Rights League in 1892 to demand the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.

Although the most famous, Wong was not the only early Asian American activist. In 1893, Fong Yue Ting, a New York City laundryman, and two others protested a registration law that required Chinese to carry internal

passports, identification much like those that South African blacks were required to have during apartheid. Fong and his friends were arrested and eventually deported for their efforts, although not until after his case was heard by the Supreme Court. The 1930s was a particularly active period as Chinese laundrymen formed the Chinese Hand Laundry Association. The group took on both the government of New York City and the merchants of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association to protest a discriminatory laundry tax that required a $1,000 bond from hand laundries, which typically made about half that amount in annual profits. In Washington State, Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino activists joined efforts to campaign successfully against bills that would have made interracial marriage illegal.

While the roles of Chinese immigrants are better understood, at least in a state like California, the experiences of Filipino laborers, who were the first migrant workers in the US, are rarely accessible. These workers, also known as Manila men, traveled from Mexico to Louisiana, where they established fishing villages, at least as early as the mid-19th century, in the bayous outside of New Orleans.[4] In March 1883, journalist and travel writer Lafcadio Hearn published "St. Malo: A Lacustrine Village" in *Harper's Weekly*. This essay chronicles Hearn's and J. O. Donaldson's sailing excursion from New Orleans to Bayou St. Malo, located at the southern edge of Lake Borgne. (Donaldson was the artist who drew the sketches that accompanied Hearn's essay.) St. Malo was the site of a Malay and Tagala fishing settlement (*Malay* and *Tagala* are the terms used by Hearn). Hearn's travelogue and Donaldson's sketches are critical texts that partially reveal the everyday life of Manila men in 1880s Louisiana. The Filipino settlers caught and dried shrimp for export to Asia, Canada, and South America via New Orleans. They pioneered the dried shrimp industry and were credited with developing the first major harvesting and processing business, predecessors of the modern shrimping industry. Today, the Filipino fishing industry itself has all but vanished. Like many 19th century white American writers, Hearn used American orientalist imageries and tropes to emphasize the supposed exoticism, primitivism, and uncivilized nature of the Tagala or Malay fishermen while simultaneously upholding white supremacist notions of American civility, gentility, and cultural and racial superiority. St. Malo was destroyed by a hurricane in 1915. Manila Village, a settlement of Filipino sailors, fishermen, and laborers on an island of Barataria Bay in Jefferson Parish, was destroyed by Hurricane Betsy in 1965. As of 2016, only a small remnant of Manila Village, about one acre in size, remained. In 2012, a historical marker, in honor of the early settlers, was erected in front of the Village Hall of Jean Lafitte. It is the first officially sanctioned Filipino memorial in the nation. The Philippine-Louisiana Historical Society has served as the legal entity and was instrumental in establishing the marker.[5]

Despite the long and complicated history of subordination along racial and economic lines, Asian immigrants fought discriminatory attitudes and policies. Immigrants protested poor wages and working conditions in addition to challenging existing public policies aimed at keeping them beyond the continental United States or marked as inferior others within the American context. Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino workers often resorted to strikes to protest their exploitation as underpaid laborers for railroads, factories, or plantations.

In more recent history, sites of resistance developed in response to racially charged hate crimes against Asian Americans. On June 19, 1982, Chinese American Vincent Chin attended his bachelor party at a suburban strip club *Fancy Pants* where he had a confrontation with a white autoworker, Ronald Ebens. Ebens had been laid off from his job and blamed the Japanese auto industry and the Japanese themselves for his plight. He taunted Chin and a fight ensued. Chin and his friends left the bar. Some time later, Ebens and his stepson, Michael Nitz, found Chin in front of a fast food restaurant. Nitz held Chin while Ebens used a baseball bat to crush Chin's skull. Four days later, Vincent Chin died as a result of his injuries. Despite eyewitness accounts and the physical evidence, Ebens and Nitz received no jail time. What followed in Detroit was a mass galvanizing of Asian Americans who collectively protested the racial injustice of the judicial system and the social commentary of foreignizing Asian Americans. The journalist and community organizer, Helen Zia, referred to the killing of Vincent Chin as a watershed moment for all Asian Americans.

Ten years after the murder of Vincent Chin, the first multiracial riots ensued in Los Angeles following a not guilty verdict that freed Los Angeles police officers

accused of beating Rodney King. The riots were in response to police brutality and the racial profiling of black Americans, but much of the anger and hatred was directed towards Korean Americans working in South Central Los Angeles. The eruptions were inflamed by the fueling of tension and conflicts between African Americans and Korean merchants. A series of highly publicized events from the 1990 boycott of a Family Red Apple store in Brooklyn, New York, and the R.& N. Fruit and Vegetable Market in Brownsville, New York, where Korean merchants were accused of being racist toward African American customers. In one notorious incident in 1991, Latasha Harlins, a 15 year old African American, was shot in the back of her head by a Korean merchant. The merchant did not receive any prison time. Before there was a Black Lives Matter movement, these events brought to life the realities of African Americans living in the U.S. Unfortunately, the incidents shared by the media began to form a narrative of systemic Korean/black conflict, which communities began to believe. Hence when the Rodney King verdict was handed down, the outrage was immediately directed toward the Korean merchants of South Central Los Angeles. The 1992 Riots were deemed the first multiracial riots in the United States because it involved all of the communities living there. Unlike the Watts Riots of the 1960s, these uprisings articulated the collective frustrations of communities living in the midst of racial tension and suspicions. For Korean Americans, the meaning of the violent upheaval was different. Second generation Korean Americans and those who had immigrated as young children responded as they watched Angela Oh, attorney for the merchants, articulate the challenges and frustrations of their communities. Unlike their immigrant parents, Oh spoke articulately in unaccented English. She spoke with conviction and determination to find justice for the merchants who were victimized by the riots. From the riots emerged a string of Korean American leaders who began to articulate their roles in the U.S. landscape. They did so primarily by contesting the notion of Koreans as perpetual foreigners and protesting the fact that they were not fully accepted as Americans. This time period also pushed Asian Americans to rethink the ideas of pan-ethnicity and the potential power to be generated in a collective identity.

WAR AS A SITE OF RESISTANCE AND ASSIMILATION

The discriminatory policies and institutionalized barriers for Asian Americans did not deter many from serving their new adopted home. As early as the Civil War, Asian Americans served in the military. War is a site of "nationalism," and resistance has been a reccurring pattern for Asian Americans. The paradox of war is most evident when looking at the role of Asian Americans during the Civil War. Charles Chon, a Chinese national, was a private in Company K, 24th Texas Dismounted Cavalry Regiment and C.S.A. He died on November 30, 1864, at the Battle of Franklin and is buried on the battlefield at the McGavock Confederate Cemetery. There were other Asian Confederates who remain on the margins of American history. Chinese American researcher Shaie Mei Deng Temple of New Orleans, Louisiana, found at least eighteen Asian Confederates in various Louisiana units; they had names like Chou, Coo, Ding, Fai, Foo, Gong, Hai, Ho, Joung, Lin, Lee, Lou, Pang, Poo, Ting, and Wong. These men remain lost to history. So, too, are the names of Chinese men who fought for the Union.

Asian Americans fought in the 1898 Spanish American War as well as in WWI. But their participation in WWII was particularly noteworthy. For Japanese Americans, the experiences were brutal and traumatic. After the Japanese navy bombed Pearl Harbor in Hawai'i, the president of the United States declared war on Japan and subsequently issued Executive Order 9066. President Roosevelt's Executive Order, signed on February 19, 1942, led to the forced removal of 120,000 Japanese Americans, most of whom were American-born citizens, from the Pacific Coast into what the government called "relocation centers." The internment experiences in American concentration camps followed a long history of virulent anti-Asianism. World War II divided the Japanese American community with those who demonstrated their loyalty by serving in the military and others who asserted their patriotism by rejecting service in the armed forces while their families were unconstitutionally incarcerated. The Japanese American 442nd Regimental Combat Team became the most highly decorated unit for its size and length of service for its outstanding record of bravery and sacrifice on European battlefields. However, at the same time, Japanese American draft resisters insisted they would go to prison until the nation freed their families from barbed wire

camps. They questioned how they could possibly serve a country that criminalized them solely on the basis of their ethnicity. In a clumsy questionnaire intended to separate loyal from potentially disloyal, some Japanese Americans resisted the incarceration by refusing to follow the government's lead. The U.S. removed them from their original camps to prisons or to Tule Lake, in northern California, a militarized internment camp. In "exchange," the War Relocation Authority transferred those deemed loyal to other camps. Discontent at Tule Lake erupted in organized protests in October 1943. A month later, with worsening relations between the internees and the camp administration, many prisoners rioted. Unable to maintain order, camp administrators stepped aside, and martial law was declared. Dissidents were sent to prisons in Oregon and northern California or were imprisoned in the camp's newly built stockade, a prison within a prison. Some of these men remained in federal custody after the end of the war. Their act of resistance was frowned upon at the time by fellow Japanese Americans; later, some found them both principled and heroic.

There were other "accidental heroes," like Fred Korematsu, who became a fugitive when he refused, voluntarily, to surrender to the authorities for removal from Oakland, California, into the camps. His case, *Korematsu v. the United States*, became one of the key legal challenges to the constitutionality of the mass removal and incarceration of Japanese Americans, although the legality of the internment order was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in 1944. His conviction was vacated decades later after the disclosure of evidence indicating that the executive branch deliberately withheld evidence that challenged the necessity of the internment. In California and Virginia, every January 30th marks Fred Korematsu Day, highlighting his work during and after the Japanese incarceration. Much like Rosa Park's, Korematsu's role as an activist inspired many to take action against injustice. Today, there are elementary schools in Davis, California, and Oakland, California, and a middle school in El Cerrito, California, named after Fred Korematsu.

Asian Americans have been in every American war since the Civil War, but the Vietnam War is often credited with raising the awareness of a shared Asian identity and the need for an Asian American movement. The conflict in Vietnam fostered a heightened perception of all Asians as "the enemy" – for example, in the increased use of the pejorative term "gooks" – and pushed Asian Americans of all ethnicities to recognize their shared history of racial discrimination. The activism of African Americans in the Civil Rights Movement was another guiding force in the Asian American movement. Moved by the moral courage of African Americans in fighting for equal rights, many Asian Americans, like Americans from many ethnicities, supported the struggle for social justice. Their involvement in the movement developed their awareness that Asian Americans as a group had also been victims of institutional racism.

Resistance to inequality occurred early on in Asian American history but it was the Black Power movement, particular the writings of Malcolm X, that proved most influential in inspiring Asian Americans to adopt a new form of activism. The cultural nationalism of the movement with its emphases on racial pride and African American culture held a strong appeal for Asian Americans. Yuri Kochiyama was one of the first Asian American women who built coalitions with the African American community and became an engaged member of the Black liberation movement, working alongside Malcom X. Her relationship to Malcom X became evident when he was shot during a rally at Audubon Ballroom in Harlem, New York. Richard Aoki became a key leader of the Black Panthers in the bay area and was often the face of the Third World Liberation Movement and the Black Panthers. His role with the Black Panthers was highlighted in Diane Fujino's book "Samurai Among Panthers;" yet in 2014, FBI documentation questioned Aoki's loyalty to the Panthers and noted that Aoki was an informant. The debate whether Aoki was or was not an informant does not, for many, minimize his role in propelling the issues of violence against black communities, the disenfranchisement of groups of color, and Aoki's need to fight for a just cause.

The civil rights movement led to a growing sense of Asian American identity and a feeling of kinship for other people of color who shared histories of discrimination and oppression. College campuses proved particularly fertile ground for sowing seeds of pan-Asian identity and cross-cultural cooperation. Asian American students, along with African Americans and Chicanos, were involved in the five-month strike at San Francisco

State College in 1968, the longest campus strike in U.S. history. They were also involved in other Third World Liberation strikes that ultimately led to the development of ethnic studies programs at colleges and universities across the country. Also in 1968, Asian American students founded the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA) at the University of California, Berkeley. With close ties to the Black Panther Party and to the Red Guard, an Asian American organization patterned after the Panthers, the AAPA did not limit their activities to classroom concerns. The group was equally concerned about equal representation within the student body and among faculty and with larger issues, such as ending the war in Vietnam, police brutality, and the exploitation of farm workers. Chapters of the AAPA were organized at Yale, Columbia, the University of Illinois, Oberlin, and the University of Michigan. The racism that became glaringly evident during the Civil Rights Movement also highlighted the lack of Asian American presence in pop culture and media. In film, television, and music, Asian Americans have struggled with getting airtime, often watching Asian roles assumed by white actors. Despite ongoing "yellow face," Asian Americans have utilized the media as sites of assimilation as well as resistance.

POP CULTURE AND MEDIA AND AAPI REPRESENTATION

Media and the arts have played an integral role in shaping the American cultural landscape. For Asian Americans, the primary challenge has been lack of representation. The presence of AAPI actors, singers, or performers has always been sparse. The notion that Asian American actors are underrepresented in Hollywood is not news, but it remains a space for resistance and accommodation. According to a 2008 report by the Screen Actor's Guild, Asian American actors participated in 3.8 percent of all film and TV roles—1.8 percent below their U.S. population of 5.6 per cent. Historically, Asians were subjects for Hollywood films, as early as 1896, through yellow face. White actors played the first Asian characters by putting on wigs, makeup, and eye prosthetics and speaking in broken English. However, there were key pioneer actors. Sessue Hayakawa, a pioneer Asian American actor in the silent film era, was typecast as a sadistic Asian villain (most famous in *The Cheat*, 1915). Nonetheless, he was also a popular matinee idol and received an Academy Award nomination for Best Supporting Actor as the honorable villain, Colonel Saito, in *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957). Anna May Wong, who starred in more than 50 movies between 1919 and 1960, may be one of the most influential Asian American actors in U.S. history. Her most famous roles were in *The Thief of Baghdad* (1924), *Old San Francisco* (1927), and *Shanghai Express* (1932). While she played the stereotypes of Asian American women, she screen tested for the lead role of Olan in *The Good Earth* (1937) but lost to German actor Luise Rainer (who won an Academy Award for her performance in yellowface). Years later, Wong returned to Hollywood as the first Asian American actor to star in a television show in *The Gallery of Madame Liu Tsong* (1951). Her early success in 1920s and 1930s Hollywood paved the way and also influenced subsequent casting and descriptions of roles for Asians in the censorship era of Hollywood film in the 1930s and 1940s. Although the term *dragon lady* was not used before the 1930s, it is now commonly used in contemporary popular culture with variations such as the "tiger mom" to describe powerful Asian and Asian American women (in the past and present). On the other hand, representations of docile or submissive characters in American culture are often tied to depictions of Asian women in American war films as picture brides,



Anna May Wong, one of the few Asian Americans considered among the most influential actors in U.S. history, appeared in more than fifty movies. Photo from the *Hawai'i Times* Photo Archives Foundation, courtesy of Densho.

war brides, geishas, prostitutes, and hookers with hearts of gold. Perhaps not surprisingly, between 1944 and 1952, there were more than 100,000 marriages in Asia between Americans and Asian women. Kazue Nagai was the first Japanese war bride who married Air Force cryptographer Frederick H. Katz in 1946 in Tokyo and settled in San Francisco. The Yokohama native preceded some 72,700 Asian war brides, 46,000 from Japan, that emigrated to the United States between 1947 and 1964. The first Korean war bride was Lee Yong Soon, who was nicknamed Blue by the military men in Korea. She became Mrs. Johnie Morgan and moved to Seattle, Washington, in 1951 to a hero's welcome in *LIFE*'s November 1951 article titled "A War Bride Named 'Blue' Comes Home."

The story of love and war was translated often in film and theater. One of the most famous examples of the docile character is the heroine Cio-Cio San from Giacomo Puccini's opera *Madama Butterfly* (1904). *Madama Butterfly* is one of the most popular operas performed around the world, and the narrative of the docile Asian woman who sacrifices herself for love endures more than 100 years after the opera premiered. A similar story line with the backdrop of 1970s Saigon and the Vietnam War drives the music and narrative of the hit musical *Miss Saigon*, which premiered in 1989. In the early 1990s, the controversy over the musical *Miss Saigon* surfaced when Asian American actors protested the casting of British actor Jonathan Pryce in the role of the half-Vietnamese engineer in the Broadway production of the musical. The protest was led by many prominent Asian American theater artists, including actor B. D. Wong, Tisa Chang, and playwright David Henry Hwang. Asian American actors initially lost their fight when the musical opened on Broadway with Pryce. The musical would later employ a number of Asian American actors while also recasting the role of the engineer with an Asian American.

Despite the obstacles, Asian Americans have long contested the rigid monolithic view of Asian American communities and identities as depicted, for example, in the musical *Flower Drum Song* (1961). This film featured Asian Americans acting, singing, and dancing as Chinese Americans living in San Francisco's Chinatown. It was one of the first films not only to frame the transnational lives of Asian Americans but it also provided a more nuanced Asian American and immigrant narrative in San Francisco prior to the Civil Rights Movement. This film also showcased Miyoshi Umeki, the first Asian American actor to win an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actress in the film *Sayonara* (1957). Nancy Kwan, who made her acting debut as the title character in *The World of Suzy Wong* (1960), played lounge singer Linda Low. Yet, the challenge for Asian American actors to gain roles in the entertainment media was still next to impossible. The customary "yellowface" in Hollywood often surendered Asian American or Asian roles to white actors who flourished by exploiting racist stereotypes.

Bruce Lee (1940-1973) became an icon by leaving the country both to contest and to create stereotypes. Early in his career, Lee displayed a virile masculinity that was simultaneously empowering and savage. Son of a Cantonese Opera star, Lee began performing at a young age. He played Kato, a Japanese houseboy and chauffeur on the television series *The Green Hornet* (1966–67), as well as a number of other minor roles. *Kung Fu* (1972–75) was Lee's chance to star in his own series, but he lost the role to white actor David Carradine. This rejection propelled him to leave for Hong Kong to star in films like *Fist of Fury* (1972) and *Return of the Dragon* (1972), which Lee also wrote and produced. His final film, *Enter the Dragon* (1973), was the first English language martial arts film produced by a major U.S. studio in Hong Kong. Though Lee's life ended when he was only 32 years old, his martial arts legacy lives on. Bruce Lee has become a pop culture icon for Asian Americans and for martial arts fans across the globe. He is buried in Lake View Cemetery in Seattle, Washington. To this day, thousands of fans, admirers and visitors visit his gravesite to pay homage to one of the first Asian American icons in contemporary society.

With shifting racial policies post-civil rights, we began to see hints of Asian American actors on television. In the 1970s, the precinct of Barney Miller was as diverse as Star Trek's Enterprise and included Jack Soo's Japanese American detective Nick Yemana, known for his gambling, sense of humor, and poor organizational skills—a significant change from the Asian robot often portrayed in entertainment as hyper-competent with little personality. Soo (Suzuki), who had been among the Japanese Americans forced into internment camps during World War II, refused to play roles he found

derogatory to Asians, including those of houseboys and domestic servants, the default role for Asians on television before *Star Trek*. George Takei broke barriers as Sulu on the cult classic Star Trek as the sole Asian American actor in the ensemble. The legacy of Star Trek continues, but Takei's activism began much later. Openly sharing his interment experience at Rohwer in Arkansas and, later, at the Tule Lake Segregation Center in Northern California, his semi-autobiographical story turned into a musical entitled *Allegiance* and is about life in the WWII internment camps.

Acting and resistance also took place in the theater. The Asian American Theater Company (AATC, San Francisco) was established in 1973 by playwright Frank Chin. Chin argued that Asian American actors needed to work with Asian American playwrights in order to avoid being cast in stereotypical roles and to be independent of the mainstream industry. The AATC inspired more creative work by Asian American Pacific Islanders (AAPI) by starting a workshop to explore the paradoxes and confusion within the AAPI identity. The Asian American Theater Company was housed in the Asian American Theater Center in San Francisco's Richmond district. The theater center was damaged by the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake but was reopened a year later; it has since moved its administrative office to the Japantown area and produces plays throughout the city.[6]

The Northwest Asian American Theater (Seattle) began as the Theatrical Ensemble of Asians at the University of Washington in 1974, bringing additional energies to the world of Asian American theater. It developed a component of social justice and became a cultural center in Seattle.

The Pan Asian Repertory Theater, founded by Tisa Chang, emerged as part of Off-Off Broadway theater in 1978. This new group in New York City brought Asian American theater to East Coast audiences. In the 1980s and 1990s, more Asian American theater companies emerged with original plays, the Ma-Yi Theater Company in New York City, for example. The National Asian American Theatre Company (NAATCO) in New York City staged Western plays with casts comprised of Asian Americans. The Mu Performing Arts Company in Minneapolis incorporated Asian themes into plays that could be consumed by the local audience. These theater companies along with key figures (Nobuko Miyamoto, Roberta Uno, Joanna Wan-Ying Chan, Jessica Hagedorn) and counter-cultural performances (solo performance, multi- media, and alternative theater) constitute what might be termed the "diversification of Asian American theater." This new generation of playwrights became a significant moment when the torch was handed from the founders to a new generation. Perhaps this became, also, a form of "mainstreaming" of Asian American theater.

Early Broadway musicals such as *The King and I* and *Flower Drum Song* cast "Oriental" actors and also employed white actors in yellow face. The use of Asian American actors waned in the 1960s, and many of them could not find work within mainstream productions. The use of yellow face contributed to the lack of Asian actors being employed, and so Asian American actors joined in solidarity to challenge Asian American stereotypes in mainstream



'Star Trek' Star Honored by Hollywood

by J.K. Yamamoto

LOS ANGELES — Twenty years after he first appeared as Mr. Sulu on the TV series "Star Trek," actor George Takei was honored with a star on Hollywood's Walk of Fame on Oct. 30.

Before a crowd of enthusiastic fans, Takei, a Los Angeles native, recalled his boyhood memories of Hollywood Boulevard. "I used to come here for movies as a kid . . . I used to walk down, looking at these empty squares [on the sidewalk] and wondering if my name someday might not be one one of them. And it's happening today."

Noting that he was surrounded by "friends from every nook and cranny of my life," Takei said he wanted the first person to step on the star to be "the person who gave me my first start, and that's my mother." His mother Fumiko was on hand to fulfill his wish.

Congratulations were offered by City Councilman Mike Woo, who represents the Hollywood area; Rose Ochi, executive assistant to Mayor Tom Bradley; Bill

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Photo by Stuart Yamamoto

At the unveiling ceremony (from left): Walk of Fame Committee chair Johnny Grant, George Takei, Councilman Mike Woo, Hollywood Chamber of Commerce president Bill Welsh. Behind them are Takei's mother Fumiko and "Star Trek" co-star Nichelle Nichols.

"Star Trek Star Honored by Hollywood." George Takei, second from left, became the only Asian American in the classic Star Trek series as the character Sulu. Photo courtesy of Densho Digital Repository.



Three Japanese actors performing in a show. Photo from the *Hawai'i Times* Photo Archives Foundation, courtesy of Densho.

culture. In the 1970s, Asian American actors were well organized in their fight for jobs and positive images for Asians. In New York, an activist group called Oriental Actors of America regularly protested openings of shows with white actors playing Asians. In 1965, frustrated with the limited opportunities available, actors Mako, James Hong, Beulah Quo, Pat Li, and June Kim, together with Guy Lee and Yet Lock, formed East West Players (EWP) in Los Angeles. This provided Asian American actors the opportunity to perform as lead, pivotal characters. It became the most visible venue for Asian American actors to find employment and to participate in resistance practices. The company's proximity to Hollywood attracted many ambitious and talented Asian American actors.

Today, Media Action Network for Asian Americans led by Guy Aoki has become the watchdog group leading protests and resistance against anti-Asian American portrayals in film, arts, and theater. Based in Los Angeles, Aoki has worked with grassroots organizations to respond to problematic portrayals. Through press releases and social media outlets, racist and stereotypical depictions rarely go unchallenged, but the struggle remains ongoing.

Music has been a venue where Asian Americans have experienced relative success, albeit more noticeably in the areas of classical and jazz. Musicians have also used their art to speak out about social issues and political issues. The pathbreaking trio "A Grain of Sand" featured singer/activists Chris Kando Iijima, Nobuko Joanne Miyamoto, and William "Charlie" Chin. Produced by Paredon in 1973, the album inspired an entire generation of college students. The trio became a modern-day group of troubadours, bringing news of community and campus projects, activities, and anti-war movements across the nation. *Yokohama, California* is the vinyl LP record released in 1977 by Asian American musicians in the San Francisco Bay Area and San Jose. Strongly influenced by "A Grain of Sand," the music was created in the midst of the Asian American movement. The front jacket photograph, taken in J-Town, San Jose, depicts the atmosphere of those days, including not only the band members but also P. J. Hirabayashi, San Jose Taiko, and LP recording staffer, in the photo. The band members were Peter Horikoshi, Sam Takimoto, and Michael Okagaki who were later joined by Robert Kikuchi-Yngojo and Keith Inouye to record the album. Robert Kikuchi-Yngojo (Filipino and Japanese) also performed as a cultural artist for many Filipino and Asian American conferences. His early spoken-word, rap-like song, "Vegetables," was a hit among college students with lyrics depicting brown Filipino farmworkers toiling in the fields. He continues his Asian American cultural work with the theater storytelling group Eth-Noh-Tec.

Another Asian American group to record under the Paredon label in 1976 was the Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP, translated from *Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipinos*) with their songs of the struggle, "Philippines: Bangon! (Arise!)," against the Philippines martial law dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos. The KDP performed and helped produce politically charged theatrical musicals at Filipino conventions and student conferences and toured many communities. They also helped organize Filipino community Christmas caroling with fund-raising, carrying the message to support political prisoners in the Philippines. Another popular Filipino American community movement song was actually created from a poem written by United Farm Workers Union (UFW) leader Philip Vera Cruz, "Profits Enslave the World." It was put to music by Chris Bautista and was often sung at Filipino People's Far West Conventions in the 1970s and 1980s. Bataan Nitollano, aka Joe Bataan, is known as one of the instigators of the Latin Salsa Soul sound but hardly known as being of Filipino and African

American descent. He continues to tour and appreciates performing before diverse, crossover crowds, such as the annual Festival of Philippines Arts and Culture (FPAC) concert held in San Pedro, California.

Hawaiian music, traditional and contemporary, is also part of the Asian American movement landscape. The history of Asian Americans in Hawai`i, the struggle to preserve Hawaiian cultural values, and the pressure of the tourism industry have all shaped Hawaiian music over the years. From ancient hula story chants to contemporary Jawaiian reggae influences, Asian Pacific Americans of Hawai'i have produced artists and music appreciated around the world. When asked about the beginnings of Hawaiian contemporary music by Hawaiian music blogger Art Hadley, L. D. Reynolds, founder of the Voice of Hawaii.org, suggested that it seemed to coincide with the music revolution on the continent during the Vietnam era. Folk-rock was a major influence on the Hawaiian musicians and songwriters during the mid-late 1960s. It was used to communicate anger and sorrow over the 'selling' of Hawai'i and also to inspire hope for the future. 'Waimanalo Blues' by Country Comfort is considered by most to be the first contemporary Hawaiian 'protest' song.

There are many contemporary Hawaiian groups with songs carrying the message of Hawaiian sovereignty and cultural pride. However, just as more and more contemporary artists were gaining mainstream popularity for Hawaiian music, in April 2011, the Grammys restructured some of the category awards, effectively eliminating future Hawaiian music from being recognized within a much broader field of genres. Ironically, it was just on March 25, 2011, that the song "Somewhere Over the Rainbow" by IZ (the late Israel Kamakawiwo'ole) won Germany's Echo Award for Hit of the Year. The song had set records in Hawai'i years ago and even dominated the German singles charts with 10 straight weeks as their number one hit. IZ had also produced songs that expressed native Hawaiian cultural identity and pride, along with many other fellow Grammy artists under the Mountain Apple Company label.

RESISTANCE AND ACTIVISM

While the challenges of assimilation are ongoing for AAPI, not until the Black Power movement and the Civil Rights Movement did Asian Americans find their own voices. As a collective pan-Asian community but also as racialized others who found solidarity with their ethnic counterparts, they created new cultural forms. The common bond of experiencing and witnessing inequality propelled key AAPI leaders into action. For example, they watched as Native Americans occupied Alcatraz Island in 1969. A notorious prison, Alcatraz had been abandoned by the federal government in 1963. An old treaty with the federal government had allowed abandoned U.S. properties to revert to Native American ownership, and Indian activists were attempting to capitalize on this precedent and reclaim Alcatraz. Asian American activists, some of whom were members of the Japanese American Citizens League, brought food and supplies to the Native Americans. They also unfurled a banner reading "Japanese Americans Support Native Americans" and connected the occupation with their own campaign to repeal Title II of the Internal Security (McCarran) Act of 1950. Nicknamed the "concentration camp law," Title II authorized the construction of detention facilities in which the president, through the attorney general, could apprehend and detain any person whom the government suspected of engaging in espionage or sabotage in the event of invasion, war, or insurrection. Support for the Indian occupation of Alcatraz was part of the JACL's strategy of making alliances with other minority groups and gaining support for its own campaign. Title II was repealed in 1971.

The occupation of Alcatraz was not conceived as a cross cultural or cross-racial protest, having been organized explicitly and exclusively by Native American activists. However, it did inspire solidarity and support among some Asian American activists, beyond the JACL members. In particular, the Asian American newspaper *Gidra*, which covered the Asian American movement during its run from 1969 to 1974, published several pieces that expressed solidarity with Native American protest actions.

Asian American involvement in Native American protest actions continued with the occupation of Wounded Knee, which began on February 27, 1973, when about 200 Oglala Lakota and followers of the American Indian Movement seized and occupied the town of Wounded Knee, South Dakota. An article in the May 1973 issue of *Gidra*, "From Manzanar to Wounded Knee," reports that a contingent of about 50 Asian Amer-

ican activists arrived from Los Angeles to join efforts to break the federal blockade. The occupation ended on May 8, 1973, after an agreement was reached between Oglala elders and U.S. government officials.

In Karen Tei Yamashita's novel, *I Hotel* (2010), one of the storylines involves a group of three Japanese American activists joining the occupation in order to look for "that plug of earth that can grow into a continent." Yamashita stages Alcatraz as the place where these Asian Americans began their journey of figuring out their place in the world and credits the Native American protest action as inspiration for their own activism.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

From its inception to the present, bilingual education in the United States has been shaped by sociopolitical, economic, and ideological factors that have broadly characterized its historical phases, at times overlapping, as permissive, restrictive, tolerant, and dismissive. With English spoken as the language of the majority of the settlers in the colonies that eventually formed the original 13 states, English has served and continues to serve the interests of powerful majority groups, namely through educational policies of language exclusion and inclusion.

With the introduction of a common public school system in the mid-1800s and the objective to unite a linguistically and ethnically diverse nation, English gradually became the universal medium of instruction for public schools by the 1920s. This period marks the restrictive stage due to widespread attempts to Americanize communities speaking native languages other than English. With the prevalence of yellow peril campaigns that reflected anti-Japanese as well as anti-Asian attitudes, Hawai'i and California prohibited the teaching of Japanese in schools, while 22 states legally banned the teaching of foreign languages in elementary school by 1923. Additionally, Hawai'i also established an elitist two-tiered educational system where white Anglophone students were instructed in English, while native Hawaiians and children of immigrants were taught in Hawaiian Creole English, an arrangement that reinforced social inequality. Eventually, the restriction on teaching foreign languages, in this case German, was ruled unconstitutional in *Meyer v. Nebraska* in 1923. Later in 1927, the U.S. Supreme Court also declared Hawaii's plans to shut down Japanese, Korean, and Chinese extracurricular heritage language schools in *Farrington v. Tokushige* also unconstitutional. Oddly, Hawaii's legislature passed the "Act regulating the teaching of foreign languages to children" in 1943 on the basis that children's cognitive and academic abilities would be compromised if they learned a foreign language during their formative years. As a result, in *Mo Hock Ke Lok Po v. Stainback*, parents of Chinese descent fought and won the right to teach their children their heritage language with the Supreme Court citing parents' rights to educate their children as they wish.

With passage of the National Defense Education Act in 1958, the latter half of the 20th century ushered in a period of tolerance. This act allocated federal funds for the study of specific areas of the world and foreign languages to support the United States' military defense agendas. A bilingual teacher in New York City in 1964 with recent immigrant Chinese students instructs the class partly by displaying cards with their names written in both Chinese and English. The 1960s saw significant changes in attitudes toward bilingual education as immigration increased dramatically from Asian and Latin American countries.

These events later coincided with the Civil Rights Movement demanding fairer educational treatment for racial and linguistic minority groups. About the same time, the Immigration Act of 1965 brought an end to the national origin quota system, leading to increases in Asian and Latin American immigrant populations. The significant numbers of immigrant students entering U.S. schools and unable to understand English necessitated instructional policy changes. Interestingly, the Cuban Revolution and exile of Cubans in Florida paved the way for a bilingual model called two-way (also dual language) immersion. As exiled Cubans anticipated their stay in the United States to be temporary with their children eventually resuming their education in Cuba, leaders in the community established a bilingual education program for Cuban children that would foster bilingualism and bi-literacy in English and Spanish at the Coral Way Elementary School in Dade County in 1963. Based on the success of Coral Way, which can be attributed to community support and a highly skilled teacher workforce, more two-way immersion programs gradually spread around the United States, first in Spanish, but later in other languages, including Cantonese,

Japanese, Korean, and Mandarin.

In 1974, the seminal case of *Lau v. Nichols* represented a turning point for bilingual education and immigrant students. In a class action lawsuit filed on behalf of 1,800 Chinese Americans in the San Francisco school system, the Supreme Court ruled that inappropriate linguistic provisions denied these students equal educational opportunities because classroom instruction was not provided in a language they could understand. The Supreme Court concluded the same treatment for language majority and minority students (i.e. English only instruction) was a violation of non-English speaking students' civil rights. Symbolically, the court's decision drew much needed attention to the importance of bilingual education; logistically, however, no specific guidelines were provided on how to effectively educate English language learners.

Despite the progress achieved through the implementation of bilingual programs, bilingual education entered the dismissive period by the 1980s. Against a backdrop of growing immigration and rising xenophobia, public resentment toward the special treatment of language minorities led to a backlash against offering instruction in a non-English language and even accommodations such as bilingual driver's tests. One common, albeit misinformed, concern expressed by opponents of bilingual education was that students were only learning their native language and not learning English. Under the Reagan and Bush administrations, federal funds for English language learners were diverted to transitional models of bilingual education or ESL programs in spite of research demonstrating that students in additive bilingual education programs, such as two-way and maintenance, achieve higher levels of academic success, as well as bilingual competency over a five-year period than their counterparts in transitional bilingual education programs. Policy makers may have been swayed by research that indicates, over the short term, students in subtractive programs, including transitional bilingual education and ESL classes, demonstrate higher gains than those in additive bilingual programs, which would be expected because students are being tested in a language they are just starting to learn.

The dismissive period also witnessed the birth of organizations such as U.S. English and English First, dedicated to eliminating bilingual education. Leaders of these groups often cited the lore of past immigrants who succeeded in learning English without bilingual education as proof that English only instruction is superior. However, what is not mentioned is the high dropout rate of early generation immigrants and the limited level of English required for manual labor positions, in which these generations were typically employed.

While bilingual education programs are officially prohibited in California, Arizona, Colorado, Washington, and Massachusetts, parents can still apply for a waiver to enroll their children in a bilingual education program if one is available. Otherwise, English language learners in these states typically attend ESL classes. Across the United States, two-way immersion programs have been gaining in popularity in Cantonese, Korean, Japanese, and Mandarin, mainly at the elementary level, although a small number of secondary programs does exist.

For example, when second-generation Chinese, Japanese, and Filipina women of the early Cold War era (1948–55) speak for themselves, we learn about aspects of their youth culture, such as their views on beauty in magazines. We also find them confronted with expectations to perform in community beauty pageants as a show of their ethnic group's Americanness. That some Asian American women accommodated these requests and others resisted and even refused to participate in community pageants is revealing of their choices and the meaning they give to them in regard to the use of their bodies by their communities and the larger society. Similarly, studies of Vietnamese, Cambodian or Khmer, and Hmong communities, most of whom arrived as refugees in the United States during the mid-1970s through 1980s, feature women as well as men. In providing rich details of family life, gender, and generational role tensions and negotiating new ways of being and doing, women's agency and contributions in their households' adaptation to a new culture and society are ever present.

CONTINUING STRUGGLES

The struggle over cultural retention among Asian Americans continues. The recent political climate has resurfaced the fears and anxieties of Executive Order 9066 with threats to register Muslims and tentative assertions that the incarceration of Japanese Americans during WWII might have been justified. The difference now is

that many AAPIs have found a collective voice. After the September 11, 2001, attacks on the twin towers in New York City, Japanese Americans were among the first to come forward to remind Americans to stay calm and to avoid national and religious profiling. When Republican candidate Donald Trump insisted that he would register all Muslims, Japanese American leaders were among the first to remind America of the history of forced internments. George Takei's musical *Allegiance* commemorates the historical injustice of the internments and reminds Americans never to commit the same injustice. One of the key differences from the 1940s is that contemporary Asian Americans will stand up with other ethnic groups under attack. There will be no sign insisting "I'm not Muslim" as occurred during WWII – instead Asian Americans and others are more likely to join in solidarity with Muslims to confront religious and national profiling. The challenges that Asian Americans have faced politically, socially, and culturally all have shaped the ways in which AAPIs respond to oppression today. No longer do they want, overwhelmingly, to assimilate into the dominant white culture but insist on their rights, places, and positions in the shaping of America. From the railroads, to the farmlands, to the businesses, to media and arts, Asian Americans have been a part of the dynamic organism that we call America. As policies and social climates fluctuate, AAPIs adapt, sometimes moving with the current, at times resisting.

Endnotes

1 Teresa Bill, 2015. "Hawai'i 1946 Sugar Plantation Strike" in *Asian American Society,* ed. Mary Danico, (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Press, 2014), 438-440.

2 Dean T. Alegado, "The Filipino Community in Hawai'i: Development and Change" *The Social Process in Hawai'i,* Vol. 33, (1991), 13-38.

3 Prosy Abarquez-Delacruz; Enrique Delacruz, "The Birthplace of Labor Rights becomes a Historic Landmark" *in Asian Journal*, February 26, 2011.

4 Kale Farjado, "Manila Men" in *Asian American Society,* ed. Mary Danico, (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Press, 2014)

5 Tina Soong, "Filipino American Culture Celebrations Coming New Orleans-wide Oct. 8-9," *Times Picayune-Greater Louisiana*, September 14, 2016.

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HAWAII
CHRISTMAS I.
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ISLANDS
MARQUESAS
ISLANDS
France

Essay 14

Asian American Activism and Civic Participation: Battling for Political Rights and Citizenship, 1917 to the Present

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In the early 20th century, Asian immigrants were denied citizenship, and even American-born citizens of Asian ancestry suffered from systematic legal, social, and economic discrimination that relegated them to second-class citizenship. Scorned as a "Yellow Peril" that threatened the economic and moral fabric of the nation from the mid-19th century to the mid-20th century, they were transformed into the so-called "model minority" during the Cold War yet still faced prejudice and violence. Over the past century, Asian Americans have battled for equal inclusion in the United States, participated actively in the political and judicial processes that define the nation, and mobilized grassroots efforts that sought to better the living and working conditions of poor and working-class people. People of many different Asian ancestries have come together in the U.S. under the umbrella category of "Asian American"—a term coined in

Jack Maki, regional specialist for Japan Far East Section, Overseas Branch, Office of War Information. Despite the incarceration suffered by West Coast Japanese Americans, individuals like Maki were able to find good opportunities during the war.
Photo by Esther Bubley, 1943; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

the 1960s to unite groups with diverse ethnicities, cultures, languages, and nations of origin in alliances for social justice.

EXCLUSION AND BARS TO NATURALIZATION

By 1917, Asians were largely barred from immigrating to the U.S. An active and powerful anti-Asian movement successfully targeted Chinese, Japanese, Asian Indians, and Filipinos for exclusion. The Page Law of 1875, the first anti-Asian immigration act, prohibited "Chinese, Japanese, and Mongolian women" from entering the United States "to engage in immoral or licentious activities." Although it was intended to combat the importation of prostitutes, officials enforced it under the presumption of poor moral character of all Asian women attempting to immigrate. Hence, the Page Law effectively resulted in a de facto bar on immigration of Chinese women. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 bestowed upon the Chinese the dubious distinction of being the first people to be specifically barred, on the basis of their race or nationality, from immigrating to the U.S. It prohibited the migration of Chinese laborers, who were by far the bulk of Chinese immigrants, and so effectively ended Chinese immigration.

While the flow of Chinese workers was largely stanched, the need for the labor they provided continued unabated, and Japanese began immigrating in large numbers in 1885. The 1907 to 1908 Gentlemen's Agreement formed the mechanism for Japanese exclusion. School officials in San Francisco had decreed that Japanese students had to attend segregated public schools with Chinese rather than whites. (The mere existence of public education for Chinese was itself the result of litigation by Chinese Americans in *Tape v. Hurley* (1885), which forced the San Francisco school district to enroll Chinese students, though the Board of Education chose to comply by enforcing segregation.[1]) To avoid an international incident with Japan, President Theodore Roosevelt pressured school officials to rescind their orders, segregating Japanese students with the Chinese; in return, the Japanese government agreed to cease issuing exit visas to Japanese laborers bound for the U.S. However, Japanese women continued to migrate as picture brides until 1920, when the U.S. again pressured Japan – this time to stop allowing women to join their husbands in the U.S. After Japan colonized Korea in 1905, it severely curtailed Korean emigration, and Koreans, as subjects of Japan, were barred under Japanese exclusion. Historians Yuji Ichioka and Eiichiro Azuma have detailed widespread community efforts to combat exclusion by Japanese Americans, who appealed, largely unsuccessfully, to both the Japanese and U.S. governments to protect their rights.

Asian Indians migrated to the U.S. in small numbers in the early 20th century, but were confronted by exclusionists, who included them in the ranks of the undesirables, with the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, renaming itself the Asiatic Exclusion League in 1907. Indian immigration ended with the passage of the 1917 Immigration Act, which created an "Asiatic Barred Zone" that included the Indian subcontinent. But as Seema Sohi has shown, South Asian migrants used the United States as a base for radical social movements organizing that pursued ambitious goals, including ending the British occupation of India.[2]

The 1924 Immigration Act, also known as the Johnson-Reed Act, tied immigration to eligibility for citizenship by barring the immigration of aliens racially or nationally ineligible to naturalization, a category that applied to Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Indians (Filipinos continued to be admissible because the Philippines was an American colony). The 1790 Naturalization Act and the Civil Rights Act of 1870 reserved naturalization to "free white persons" and persons of "African nativity or descent," respectively. Because neither law enumerated Asians, the eligibility of Asians to naturalization rested on a number of court decisions in what the legal historian Ian Haney Lopez has termed the "prerequisite cases."[3]

Asian Americans vociferously and repeatedly pursued citizenship rights through the courts, beginning in the late 19th century. A Chinese immigrant named Ah Yup applied for naturalization but was denied by the Federal District Court of California, which decreed that as a member of the "Mongolian race," he was not a "white person" and therefore was ineligible to naturalization (*In re Ah Yup*, 1878). During World War I, a law called the "Act of May 9, 1918," encouraged aliens to join the military in exchange for the promise of naturalization. In 1921, a Korean American veteran, Easurk Emsen Charr, petitioned for naturalization under the Act but was denied because the federal District Court

of Western Missouri deemed him to be a member of the "Mongol family." The eligibility of Japanese was tested by Takao Ozawa, a well-assimilated Japanese immigrant of impeccable character, who applied for naturalization in 1914 but was denied. The push to advance Ozawa's case to the Supreme Court was broadly supported by the Japanese American community and widely covered in the immigrant press. Indeed, Ozawa had been selected as an ideal subject for a test case by the Pacific Coast Japanese Association Deliberation Council, a confederation of Japanese Associations throughout the western U.S. and Canada, which hired former U.S. Attorney General George Wickersham to represent the community's interest.[4] In 1922, the Supreme Court ruled in *Ozawa v. United States* that Takao Ozawa was ineligible for naturalization, being neither "Caucasian" nor of African descent. The very next year, the Supreme Court took up the case of Bhagat Singh Thind, an Indian immigrant who had been naturalized in 1920 due to his service in the U.S. military during World War I. Federal officials sought to deport Thind because he was an advocate of Indian independence from Great Britain but had to strip him of citizenship in order to do so. The Supreme Court ruled in *United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind* (1923) that Thind, who claimed he was "Caucasian," was not white according to "the understanding of the common man" and thus ineligible to naturalization. In 1925, the Supreme Court ruled in *Toyota v. United States* that Filipinos who had served in the military during World War I were eligible for naturalization under the Act of May 9, 1918, but were otherwise ineligible to naturalization. Though unsuccessful, these cases demonstrate the determination with which Asian immigrants sought to attain citizenship.

One of the chief economic results of being denied naturalization was that Asian immigrants fell prey to Alien Land Laws enacted in California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and other states. These laws were tailored to bar Asian immigrants from owning land and property, which had particularly harmful effects on immigrant communities whose economies were based on agriculture. Litigants challenged the legality of the Alien Land Laws, taking their cases to the U.S. Supreme Court, which upheld their constitutionality in four cases decided in 1923.[5]

WORLD WAR II AND THE COLD WAR: TRANSITION TO THE MODEL MINORITY

Decades of exclusion and discrimination culminated in the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II. But even as the war had disastrous consequences for Japanese Americans, it opened opportunities for other Asian Americans. From 1943 to 1965, Asian Americans enjoyed a number of victories in areas including immigration and naturalization and social acceptance.[6]

Wartime geopolitics impacted the fates of Asian Americans in multiple ways. The World War II alignment of the United States with China, the Philippines, and India as allies against Japanese imperialism cracked the edifice of exclusion. During the war, the California Attorney General reinterpreted alien land laws to enable Filipinos to lease agricultural land, often the abandoned farms of Japanese Americans sent to concentration camps.[7] With the Chinese now seen as brave resisters against the hated Japanese, rather than racial undesirables, Congress repealed the Chinese exclusion in 1943 with the passage of the Magnuson Act, which allotted a meager quota of 105 Chinese immigrants per year but, perhaps more importantly, enabled Chinese immigrants to be naturalized. Similarly, in 1946, the Luce-Celler Act ended Filipino and Indian exclusion, designating each group an annual quota of 100 immigrants and legalizing their naturalization. It is important to note the minuscule size of these quotas in comparison to those designated for Europeans.

The rapid transition from World War II to the Cold War similarly reoriented U.S. treatment of Asian Americans. Japan experienced a dizzying transformation from being seen as a bloodthirsty conqueror to a domesticated junior partner of the U.S. in the struggle against communism. The 1952 McCarran-Walter Act nullified Japanese exclusion, granting Japan an annual quota of 185 immigrants and other Asian nations quotas of 100. Most importantly, it abolished the racial bar to naturalization, making all Asians eligible for citizenship. Although these affordances constituted major advances in Asian American civil rights, the bill also contained provisions barring the entry of suspected subversives and deportation of aliens and naturalized citizens suspected of communism. The Japanese American Citizens League lobbied strongly for the passage of the Act, while Asian American progressives opposed it. President

Truman vetoed the bill over civil liberty concerns, but Congress overrode his veto. Four years later, California repealed its Alien Land Laws, a symbolic act given that the McCarran-Walter Act had effectively negated the category of aliens ineligible to citizenship.

In Hawai'i, long governed by a white plantation-owning elite, Asian Americans surfed the postwar political wave of the "Democratic Revolution of 1954" into the statehouse. Many of the newly elected officials were Japanese American veterans of World War II who had proven their patriotism by serving their country, even while co-ethnics were locked away in concentration camps. Most notably, Daniel Inouye, who lost his right arm in Italy fighting as a member of the legendary all-Nisei 442nd Regimental Combat Team, earned a seat in the Territorial House of Representatives and went on to serve in the U.S. Senate for 40 years. The Honolulu-born Inouye gained fame for his role in the Watergate hearings and chairing the Senate inquiry into the Iran-Contra scandal. Hawai'i also elected Patsy Mink—born in the tiny town of Paia, Maui—to Congress in 1964, making her the first female Asian American to serve in the House of Representatives. As an ardent proponent of women's rights and educational opportunity, one of Mink's signal accomplishments was writing Title IX, which prohibits gender discrimination in higher education.

The Hart-Celler Act of 1965 represented a major breakthrough in Asian American rights. Also known as the Immigration Act of 1965, it abolished the national origins quota system that had underlain immigration policy since 1924. Under a racist wrinkle in the national origins system, Asian immigrants were the only group to be enumerated by ethnicity rather than nation. For example, an Indian person migrating from London counted against India's quota rather than Great Britain's, whereas a British subject migrating from New Delhi also counted against India's quota. Hart-Celler eliminated this unequal treatment of Asians and, in place of national quotas, established a system of preferences that aimed to reunify families and attract immigrants with desired job skills. In the decades since 1965, Asian immigration has skyrocketed and, as a result, remade the demographics of Asian America and the United States itself.

Popular representations of Asian Americans reflected the legal gains they made during the Cold War. The emergence of the "model minority" representation of Asian Americans is generally dated to 1966, when the *New York Times Magazine* published William Petersen's "Success Story, Japanese-American Style," a laudatory tale of Japanese Americans overcoming prejudice through hard work, education, family values, and strong communities. *U.S. News and World Report*'s subsequent "Success Story of One Minority Group in U.S." repeated these claims for Chinese Americans. Published in the midst of the Civil Rights Movement, these parables contrasted Asian Americans' purported meekness (an extraordinarily untrue supposition) to increasing African American militancy, posing Asian Americans as a model for other minorities to follow by arguing that equality is most effectively gained through education and industriousness rather than social protest.

THE GRASSROOTS ASIAN AMERICAN MOVEMENT

Even as the model minority representation lauded Asian Americans for their supposed docility, a defiant social movement arose. Known as the Asian American movement, this grassroots movement represented a break with prior Asian American strategies of using courts, political lobbying, labor organizing, and ethnic mobilization as means by which to fight for justice. The Asian American movement emerged from the Black Power and anti-Vietnam War movements, adopting an analysis that understood racism as a common ill shared by Asians of all ethnicities in the U.S., declaring solidarity with blacks, Latinos, and American Indians, and positioning Asian Americans alongside "Third World" people around the



Local 7 leaders Ernesto Mangaoang, Vincent Navea, and Irineo Cabatit in the early 1940s. Photo courtesy of the Filipino American National Historical Society.

globe. It operated on college campuses, urban areas, and countrysides from Hawai'i to the east coast.[8]

EARLY ORGANIZATIONS

Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA) constituted one of the most important early Asian American movement organizations. Formed in Berkeley in 1968 as an effort to bring together progressive Asians of all ethnicities, AAPA grew out of the fertile soil of the New Left. Founder Yuji Ichioka coined the term "Asian American" in naming the new group; he and co-founder Emma Gee recruited members by combing the roster of the antiwar Peace and Freedom Party (which ran Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver for President in 1968) for Asian surnames. AAPA adopted anti-racism and anti-imperialism as its principles, locating Asian Americans as subjects of racism alongside other people of color and condemning the Vietnam War as anti-Asian genocide.

Asian Americans for Action (AAA), established in New York City in 1968, shared many similarities with AAPA, but had key differences as well. Like AAPA, AAA drew from the Black Power and antiwar movements. Its two women founders, Kazu Iijima and Minn Masuda, were inspired by the pride and militancy expressed by leaders like H. Rap Brown and James Farmer, who harshly condemned U.S. racism and militarism. They recruited members by scouting antiwar demonstrations for Asian American participants, regardless of ethnicity. But unlike AAPA, which was composed of college-aged students, AAA had ties to older generations of Asian American radicals. Iijima was a veteran of the Young Communist League and had belonged to a Japanese American progressive group called the New Democrats before World War II; Masuda shared Iijima's history of prewar radicalism. Another older member was Yuri Kochiyama, whose radicalism developed in New York after the war. Kochiyama called Harlem in the 1960s "my university-without-walls," at which she learned about black struggles from leaders including Malcolm X. Her apartment in Harlem became a center of organizing and a salon for progressive activists. Although Kochiyama became the best-known Asian American radical, she remained thoroughly enmeshed in the struggles of black and Puerto Rican peoples. AAA's name bespoke its commitment to creating social change. Members protested against nuclear weapons by commemorating the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and held demonstrations against the Vietnam War.



Founding members of the Cannery Workers' and Farm Laborers' Union Local 18257 obtain a charter from the American Federation of Labor 1933. Back left: Tony Rodrigo. Front left: Joe Mislang; President Virgil Duyungan. Front right: Frank Alonzo.
Photo courtesy of the Filipino American National Historical Society.

Unlike AAPA, which began with college students, the Red Guard Party arose from the streets of Chinatown in San Francisco. Despite the reputation of Chinatown as an exotic wonderland, Chinese American youth experienced chronic underemployment, substandard education and social services, and regular police harassment. A group called Legitimate Ways (Leways for short) opened in 1967, offering job training and operating a pool hall as a recreational opportunity to keep kids out of trouble. Leways attracted both street kids and progressive Asian Americans who had imbibed the politics of the black power and antiwar movements. Alex Hing had grown up in Chinatown but left to attend San Francisco City College, where he joined Students for a Democratic Society and later joined the Peace and Freedom Party. When he returned to Chinatown, he found a group of rapidly politicizing youth at Leways. The Black Panthers—famous for their analysis of racism as a systemic problem impacting all non-white people—also noticed the rising militancy in Chinatown and invited some of the Leways members to study political theory with them. The group formed the Red Guard Party with Hing as its Minister of Information and announced their presence in April 1969. The Red Guards endorsed Mao Tse-tung, called for the liberation of "yellow people" in a 10 Point Program, operated a Free Sunday Brunch program for Chinatown elders, published the *Red Guard*

Community Newspaper, and provided draft counseling that condemned the Vietnam War. One significant site for the Red Guards was Portsmouth Square on the edge of Chinatown, where the group held rallies and protests.

The conditions in New York City's Chinatown mirrored those in San Francisco, with congested housing, substandard healthcare, and endemic poverty. Some members of AAA and the Columbia University chapter of AAPA formed a group called I Wor Kuen (IWK) and opened a storefront in February 1969. IWK published a newspaper, *Getting Together*, in English and Chinese, operated a free health clinic, screened films lauding the People's Republic of China, and called for "Yellow Power" that would lead to the "freedom and power for all non-white (YELLOW, BROWN, BLACK) peoples."[9] In 1971, the Red Guards and I Wor Kuen merged to form National I Wor Kuen, the first and eventually largest national Asian American revolutionary organization.

CAMPUS ACTIVISM

The opening salvo of Asian American campus activism was fired at San Francisco State College (now University), an urban commuter campus in a diverse city with a long history of student activism. Throughout the 1960s, SFSC students supported the Civil Rights Movement, protested hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and demonstrated against the Vietnam War. Three Asian American student groups aimed to make higher education more available and more relevant to their communities. The largely Japanese American San Francisco chapter of the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA) operated in Japantown; the Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action (ICSA) in Chinatown; and the Pilipino American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE) in the Mission, working on community issues including fights against redevelopment, operating off-campus tutoring programs, and recruiting community members to college. In spring of 1968, AAPA, ICSA, and PACE joined the Black Student Union, Latin American Student Organization, and Mexican American Student Confederation to form the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF), a multiracial alliance dedicated to remaking the college in fundamental ways. Although the college had begun a Black Studies program, students found the pace of progress and the administration's commitment of resources to be unsatisfactory. TWLF declared a strike on November 6, 1968, demanding the establishment of "schools of ethnic studies" for each group, with students "having the authority and the control of the hiring and retention of any faculty member, director, and administrator, as well as the curricula." In addition, they demanded 50 faculty positions be allocated to ethnic studies, with 20 reserved for the Black Studies program. Finally, they demanded blanket admissions for nonwhite applicants in fall of 1969, control over financial aid, and non-retaliation against faculty members. Throughout late 1968 and early 1969, TWLF did its best to shut down the college with sit-ins, picket lines, mass demonstrations, and various disruptions. The strike reduced class attendance by as much as half at times and even forced the temporary closure of campus, even though the authoritarian Acting President S. I. Hayakawa called in the San Francisco Police Department's tactical squad, which broke up rallies and conducted mass arrests. Notable locations at SFSU include the corner of 19th and Holloway Avenues, where Hayakawa was photographed clambering onto a sound truck and pulling wires out of the amplifier to silence speakers (an image that catapulted Hayakawa into the national consciousness as a conservative hardliner) and the central quadrangle where the TWLF held daily rallies. After five months of protest, organizing, and battling the police, the TWLF settled with the administration. The agreement established a school of ethnic studies (albeit at far less faculty strength than the strikers had demanded) but did not grant student control over hiring, curricula, or financial aid. The TWLF strike at SFSC continues to be the longest student strike in U.S. history.



Sam Mukaida leads fellow students at the University of Hawai'i in song during a special rally on the steps of Hawai'i Hall, saying Aloha to Varsity Victory Volunteers, 25 February 1942. Photo #765, Hawai'i War Records Depository; courtesy of the University Archives & Manuscripts Department, University of Hawai'i at Manoa Library.

East of San Francisco, across the Bay Bridge, stood the prestigious University of California, Berkeley, widely known for the Free Speech Movement (1964) and antiwar protests. Berkeley students formed their own Third World Liberation Front, which was inspired by and ideologically aligned with the SF State version, but organizationally distinct. The Berkeley TWLF was comprised of Cal student groups including the Afro-American Student Union (AASU), the Berkeley chapter of the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA), Mexican American Student Confederation (MASC), and Native American Student Union (NASU). The TWLF demanded the establishment of a Third World College, departments for the study of each constitutive racial group, and community control of hiring, curricula, and financial aid. As at SFSC, students had been negotiating with administrators prior to the strike but became frustrated with what they deemed to be intransigence. The Berkeley TWLF began on January 22, 1969. Strikers picketed, protested, rallied, and withstood police brutality. Notable locations include Sather Gate and Sproul Plaza, both sites of protests and arrests. Among Asian American protesters, Richard Aoki held the most notoriety. A founding member of AAPA, Aoki had first joined the Black Panther Party and rose to the position of Field Marshal, though he didn't advertise his Panther affiliation to AAPA.[10]

Like their counterparts at SF State and Berkeley, Asian American and Pacific Islander students at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa fought for ethnic studies. The key difference in Hawai'i was that students pressed for curricula on Native Hawaiian history and culture, as well as on Asian immigrants. Although the UH administration agreed in 1969 to establish ethnic studies, it did so as an experimental program that did not receive permanent status until 1977. The Panther-Asian American linkage embodied by Aoki recurred in Seattle, where Black Panther members Mike Tagawa and Alan Sugiyama founded the Oriental Student Union at Seattle Central Community College in 1970. OSU took over the administration building in the protests to demand the hiring of an Asian American administrator.

SERVE THE PEOPLE

Asian American organizations adopted Mao's slogan of "Serve the People" in urban settings like Honolulu, Seattle, the San Francisco Bay Area, Los Angeles, New York, and Philadelphia. After the TWLF strike at Berkeley, some AAPA members came to believe that they could make a greater contribution by working within the community and thus created the Asian Community Center (ACC). To improve living conditions in Chinatown, ACC operated a free food program that distributed food to 300 people per month and a free health clinic that screened elders without health insurance for glaucoma and dispensed glasses and hearing aids. ACC also brought alternative perspectives to Chinatown through Everybody's Bookstore, which sold books and magazines on Asian American history and the People's Republic of China, and newspapers published by the Black Panthers and the Puerto Rican Young Lords Party. In addition, its free film program screened movies from the PRC, providing immigrants with much-appreciated access to the sights and sounds of home that were censored by the anti-communist elites who dominated Chinatown. ACC morphed into Wei Min She (WMS, "Organization for the People"), a self-described anti-imperialist organization in late 1971 to early 1972.

ACC/WMS's undertakings in San Francisco were but one example of the principle of "Serve the People" in action. As mentioned previously, the Red Guards/IWK operated similar programs in San Francisco and New York. In New York, Asian Americans for Equal Employment (AAFEE) waged a campaign that demanded that Asian American construction workers be employed in the building of Confucius Plaza, a high-rise housing project in Chinatown. In Philadelphia, a multiethnic organization called the Yellow Seeds (formed in 1971) fought against a freeway expansion that threatened Chinatown; helped immigrants find apartments and negotiate with landlords; provided advice on healthcare, education, immigration paperwork, and taxes; provided job training and placement; provided translation services; and advised young men on the draft. In Los Angeles, Yellow Brotherhood and Asian Hardcore reached out to youth at risk of falling into gangs and fought drug abuse. A coalition of Asian American organizations in Seattle provided health, nutrition, and legal aid programs in the International District, published a community newspaper, the *International Examiner*, and renovated the Milwaukee Hotel to enable elderly residents to remain in place.

TRANSNATIONAL ORGANIZING

Although groups like AAPA, IWK, and WMS declared solidarity with Asians subjected to imperialism across the Pacific, the group Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP, "Union of Democratic Filipinos") arose directly from the intermixture of American leftists and Philippine radicals. Many of the Filipino American activists who eventually formed KDP had been radicalized in the student, antiwar, and Third World power movements. Meanwhile, student activists in the Philippines, some of whom were associated with the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), fled to the U.S. to escape political repression in their homeland. These two streams came together in the Kalayaan (Freedom) collective, which published the *Kalayaan* newspaper from 1971 to 1972. Articles in the pages of *Kalayaan* attempted to enlist support for the CPP and its armed wing, the New People's Army (NPA), and argued that revolution in the Philippines and the fight against racism in the United States were integrally connected. After President Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in the Philippines, the Kalayaan collective formed KDP, which adopted a dual focus on advocating revolution in the Philippines and socialism in the U.S. In 1981, Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo, two KDP activists and union leaders of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), were gunned down at the union hall of Local 37 in Seattle. Their murders—which were eventually traced back to the Marcos regime—made Viernes and Domingo martyrs to the progressive movement in Seattle and across the nation, and in 2004 a low-income housing complex in Seattle's International District was named the Domingo Viernes Apartments in their honor.

URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

Urban redevelopment threatened Asian American neighborhoods in cities across the country. These communities featured ethnic restaurants and small businesses and offered affordable, though often substandard, housing to poor and elderly immigrants. But because they were often located on prime real estate near city centers, which were expanding, developers proposed to destroy them in order to erect office buildings and parking structures. The Committee Against Nihonmachi Eviction (CANE) and the Little Tokyo People's Rights Organization (LTPRO) combatted redevelopment in historic Japanese American neighborhoods in San Francisco and Los Angeles, respectively, and Inter*IM opposed the construction of the King Dome in Seattle. Similarly, in Honolulu, a group called People Against Chinatown Evictions (PACE) opposed the eviction of Asian American elders from cheap residential hotels and pressured the city to build replacement housing. In all of these cases, Asian American organizations fought on the streets through pickets and demonstrations but also organized tenants to stand up for their rights.

The best-known fight for affordable housing occurred at San Francisco's International Hotel.[11] The shabby hotel housed Chinese and Filipino elders on the residential floors, which stood above a basement containing a number of movement organizations, including the Kearny Street Workshop, Kalayaan, Wei Min She, Everybody's Bookstore, and I Wor Kuen. A developer purchased the hotel and threatened to evict all tenants on January 1, 1969, but was turned back by community pressure. Asian American students from the Bay Area and as far away as Los Angeles, Seattle, and Honolulu flocked to the I-Hotel to help renovate the dilapidated building. But four years later, a new owner renewed efforts to evict the tenants. A coalition including the International Hotel Tenants Association (IHTA), KDP, WMS, and IWK continued to fight eviction. Students and activists found a sense of purpose and identity working at the hotel, where they learned Filipino American history firsthand from the pioneering generation of manongs (a term of respect and endearment meaning "older brothers"). Kearny Street Workshop artists produced works celebrating the struggle, including an acrylic that depicts a manong defiantly stopping a wrecking ball and a block-long mural on the I-Hotel itself, showing the struggles of Asian American workers. Although the I-Hotel campaign brought together many Asian American movement organizations, it also exposed fault lines over ideology and tactics. The eight-year long I-Hotel struggle died on August 3, 1977, when the final eviction took place. Two hundred activists barricaded themselves inside the building, while 2,000 supporters locked arms outside to block sheriff's deputies from entering. Riot police waded through the crowd on foot and horseback, clubbing protesters as they went. After gaining entry, deputies led tenants out one by

one. Although the hotel was demolished, the developer was unable to build on the lot for decades, leaving only an ugly hole in the ground. In 2005, instead of a high rise office building or parking structure, International Hotel Senior Housing opened at the site of the old hotel. Featuring 15 stories of senior housing above a ground floor cultural center run by the Manilatown Heritage Foundation, the new building represents a resurrection of the dreams of dedicated tenants and activists and a testament to their years of struggle.

RURAL ACTIVISM

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders applied the same principles of serving the people outside of cities, most notably in California and Hawai'i. Just as they had organized to aid manongs at the I-Hotel, Asian American students sought to create better living conditions for elderly farmworkers in California's Central Valley. Inspired by the little-known history of Filipino labor organizing by figures including Larry Itliong and Philip Vera Cruz and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), students made pilgrimages to Delano, the site of the famous United Farm Workers (UFW) grape strike.[12] AWOC initially struck against grape growers in 1965 and was joined a week later by the largely Chicano National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) led by Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta. AWOC and NFWA combined to form the UFW union in 1966 and remained on strike until 1970. In 1972, construction began on Agbayani Village, a UFW retirement center for Filipino workers named for Paolo Agbayani, a Pinoy laborer who had died while on the Delano strike. Students from the Bay Area and Los Angeles traveled to Delano to help construct housing, which opened in 1974. Agabayani Village remains open as a part of the National Historic Landmark historic district, Forty Acres.

Where Asian Americans worked alongside Chicanos in Delano, in Hawai'i, Pacific Islanders and Asian Americans joined forces to save Kalama Valley. The rural valley, located east of Honolulu, was home to pig and vegetable farming families who were threatened with eviction in 1970 by the Bishop Estate, which intended to build hotels, subdivisions, and a golf course. Residents found allies in the antiwar movement in Hawai'i, who connected the dispossession of locals on Oahu to the displacement and genocide of Vietnamese peasants. Valley resisters and college students formed the Kokua Kalama Committee ("Help Kalama Committee"). Decisions concerning leadership of the committee revealed the relationship between Asian Americans and Native Hawaiians. Although Kalama residents appreciated the support of haoles (whites), they often dominated their own media interviews and images. Thus, the committee reserved leadership positions for Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) people. However, this requirement was loosened to allow Japanese, Filipinos, and Chinese to serve in leadership because of the Third World perspective that Kokua Kalama adopted. Understanding that racism and exploitation made common cause among people of color, the committee viewed Asian Americans as "peoples who were oppressed by the plantation system" and natural allies of the Kanaka Maoli. Although Kokua Kalama eventually lost the eviction fight, it morphed into Kokua Hawai'i, an organization based on a capacious notion of Hawaiian sovereignty. The ideology of Kokua Hawai'i resembled the nationalism of the Black Panther Party: members developed a 10 Point Program; read Marx, Lenin, and Mao; and found solidarity with groups like I Wor Kuen and the Young Lords Party. Kokua Hawai'i also supported Filipino families at Ota Camp and farmers in Waiahole-Waikane who were resisting eviction. As the Native Hawaiian movement moved forward, it embraced sovereignty and came to see itself in alignment with other indigenous movements.

ASIAN AMERICAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Women in the Asian American movement often faced the contradiction of being in organizations that professed to be dedicated to women's liberation, yet also practiced sexism. However, women operated within the larger Asian American movement rather than breaking away; occupied leadership positions in important movement organizations; carefully theorized the intersections of race, class, and gender; created Serve the People programs tailored to women's needs; and built their senses of self and sisterhood through their activism. Women proved integral to the movement from its birth, co-founding or leading groups including AAPA, AAA, IWK, KDP, and the movement newspaper *Gidra*. Nevertheless, they confronted being sexually objectified; were at times relegated to the scut work of the movement, such as typing, serving food and drinks,

and cleaning; and were sometimes dismissed as serious political thinkers.

College classes on Asian American women examined the "triple oppression" of race, class, and gender. The publication *Asian Women* (1971), which contained essays, poetry, and interviews, resulted from a seminar on Asian women at Berkeley. It argued that because racism, sexism, and class exploitation were intertwining systems of domination, none could be addressed effectively without confronting the others. Similarly, the January 1971 special issue of *Gidra* focused on women and pointed to racism, capitalism, and imperialism as the root causes of "male chauvinism" against Asian women.

Women's organizations put theorization about gender into practice. In Los Angeles, Asian Sisters investigated and combatted drug abuse among young Asian American women, and the Asian Women's Center provided health and family planning counseling.[13] Other Asian American groups integrated gender into their ideologies and programs. WMS condemned Confucianism for teaching women to be subservient to men and capitalism for exploiting women as wage workers and unpaid domestic workers; covered women's issues in its newspaper, *Wei Min Bao*; and provided free food and nutrition tips to families.

Because Asian American women believed that racism and sexism had to be confronted as parts of a unified system of power and privilege, they did not form a separate movement but rather continued to fight from within the Asian American movement. Doing so enabled them to build a sense of sisterhood with each other. In addition many women testified that their movement activities enabled them to grow as confident speakers and leaders. For example, Jeannie Dere recalls that her work in WMS transformed her from being too timid to speak in public to "leading group meetings and discussions [and] talking to people on the various issues we took up."[14] Fighting for Asian Americans thus resulted in the empowerment of Asian American women.

REDRESSING INTERNMENT

For decades after the end of World War II, Japanese Americans remained relatively silent on their history of incarceration. However, the rising race consciousness of the Civil Rights and Black Power movements, along with the swelling of the Asian American movement, invited a return of what had been repressed.[15] The redress movement began in 1970, when Edison Uno introduced a resolution at the national Japanese American Citizens League convention calling for the federal government to pay monetary reparations to Japanese Americans for exclusion and incarceration. Although the JACL adopted the resolution, it took no further action. Around the same time, grassroots activists began organizing pilgrimages to former sites of incarceration. The first, a pilgrimage to Manzanar in the desolate Owens Valley of California, occurred on December 27, 1969. The Manzanar Committee, led by Sue Kunitomi Embrey and Warren Furutani, organized annual pilgrimages that continue to this day. Similar pilgrimages have visited the incarceration sites at Tule Lake, Amache, Minidoka, Heart Mountain, and Poston.

The redress movement to secure official apologies and monetary reparations for Japanese Americans incarcerated during WWII gained steam in the late 1970s and contained three strands. First, the JACL pursued a strategy of political lobbying and capitalized on access to Japanese American politicians, Senators Daniel Inouye and Spark Matsunaga, and members of Congress, Norman Mineta and Robert Matsui. (Notably, Japanese American Senator S. I. Hayakawa staunchly opposed redress.) Second, the National Council for Japanese American Redress advocated a lawsuit to recoup financial losses suffered during incarceration. Finally, the National Coalition for Redress and Reparations (NCRR) organized at the grassroots, mobilizing Japanese Americans and organizing letter-writing campaigns. NCRR was filled with veterans of the Asian American movement, who continued their activism in this new cause. Federal law established the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) in 1980, and the commission held hearings in 10 cities throughout the nation, with witnesses testifying before packed audiences about the experiences and losses during the war. The CWRIC's report, *Personal Justice Denied*, acknowledged the injustice of the exclusion and incarceration, and documented suffering and property losses.[16] The commission released its recommendations separately; these included an apology and monetary compensation to individuals impacted by evacuation and relocation.

Bolstered by the CWRIC report, supportive politicians introduced several bills to enact its recommenda-

tions over the next four years, but none passed out of committee. Finally, Congress introduced, debated, and passed House Resolution 442, named in honor of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and the Senate passed its version as well. President Ronald Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which authorized payments of $20,000 to each survivor of exclusion or incarceration alive on the date of its signing, and authorized $50 million to educate the public on civil liberties in general and the wartime wrongs imposed on Japanese Americans. Most importantly, the bill apologized for the "grave injustice done to both citizens and permanent residents of Japanese ancestry by the evacuation, relocation, and internment of civilians during World War II," calling them "fundamental violations of basic civil liberties and constitutional rights."

ANTI-ASIAN VIOLENCE: RETURN OF THE YELLOW, BROWN, AND TURBANED PERIL

Combatting anti-Asian violence has constituted a major part of Asian American activism since the 1970s. The Asian American movement based its opposition to the Vietnam War on the understanding that U.S. wars in Asia were enabled by racism that dehumanized Asians and devalued their lives. Instances included the slaughter of thousands of Filipinos in the Philippine-American War (1899 to 1902), which was instigated by Filipino resistance to being handed from one colonial power (Spain) to another (the U.S.) following the Spanish-American War; the horrific civilian toll of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (1945); and the casting of Vietnamese people as "gooks," undifferentiable from combatants, and therefore subject to be killed in free fire zones. Closer to home, the 1975 beating of a Chinese American professional, Peter Yew, by New York City police, drew 10,000 protesters into the streets. Organized by Asian Americans for Equal Employment (AAFEE), the demonstrators marched on City Hall and shut down Broadway for several hours.

The 1982 murder of Vincent Chin in Highland Park, Michigan, proved to be one of the most consequential incidents of anti-Asian violence, not only because of the notoriety of the crime or the fact that his killers never spent a day in jail, but also because it spawned a pan-Asian social movement for justice.[17] At the time, Detroit and the auto industry were in decline due to competition from Japanese manufacturers. Chin, an aspiring automotive engineer, went to the Fancy Pants strip club with friends to celebrate his upcoming wedding. Autoworkers Ronald Ebens and Mike Nitz confronted Chin, shouting, "It's because of motherfuckers like you that we're out of work," and a fight ensued. Ebens and Nitz followed Chin out of the bar and beat him to death with a baseball bat in a parking lot on Woodward Avenue. The perpetrators escaped justice, incurring only a $3,000 fine by a judge who stated, "These aren't the kind of men you send to jail." Chin's murder became a pivotal point in Asian American history, as Asians from all ethnic and class backgrounds rallied around the case. Ebens's misidentification of the Chinese American Chin as Japanese showed the continuing power of race, as it rendered all Asians as equally part of a revived Yellow Peril. A new group formed in Detroit, American Citizens for Justice (ACJ), pushed for a federal indictment, and demonstrations around the country mobilized Asian American communities and garnered national media coverage. ACJ succeeded in part, as federal prosecutors charged Ebens and Nitz with violating Chin's civil rights and a jury convicted Ebens but acquitted Nitz in 1984. However, Ebens's conviction was overturned in 1987. Despite failing to attain justice for Vincent Chin, the efforts of activists like the journalist Helen Zia galvanized Asian American communities by underscoring the continuing power of anti-Asian racism.

The New York City-based Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence (CAAAV) was established in 1986 in the aftermath of the Chin murder. Although CAAAV was initially formed as a pan-Asian way to oppose anti-Asian violence, it has branched out to address issues such as tenants' rights, workers' rights, and environmental justice for Asian Americans; further, it operates within a framework of solidarity with all people of color recognizing the gendered and sexualized nature of race and racism.

After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Asian Americans, particularly South Asians and Muslims, were targeted for retaliation. South Asian American Leaders of Tomorrow (SAALT) cataloged 645 incidents of hate crimes against South Asians and Arab Americans in the first week after 9/11, including murders, assaults, threats and intimidation, and vandalism of businesses, mosques, temples, and gurdwaras; eight in 10 attacks were against South Asians, and four in 10 targeted Sikhs.[18]



Labor Day in Seattle, Washington, 1939. Photo courtesy of the Filipino American National Historical Society.

In the weeks following 9/11, the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF) documented some 75 incidents against Asian Americans, ranging from name-calling, intimidation, tire slashing, and graffiti to murder. A Sikh home in Colorado Springs was vandalized on September 13 with graffiti that read "Terrorists" and "Terrorist on board." On September 15, 2001, Balbir Singh Sodhi was shot and killed at his Mesa, Arizona, gas station. The assailant, Frank Roque, went on to shoot at the Lebanese American owner of another gas station and then fired shots into the home of an Afghani family. In contrast to Ebens and Nitz, Roque was convicted of murder. But as in the Chin case, the assailant committed murder based on a mistaken identification that racialized Asian Americans and Middle Eastern Americans as threats to the nation. Sikhs and South Asian Americans bore the brunt of post-9/11 violence, but Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino Americans felt the sting as well.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the 20th century and into the present, Asian Americans have fought for social justice in the courts, in the public mind, on campuses, and on the streets. They have tackled issues including citizenship and immigration rights; the living and working conditions of poor people; access to affordable housing, historical neighborhoods and land; women's rights; and violence. The most successful moments of Asian American activism have occurred when Asians of all ethnicities declared common cause with each other and demonstrated solidarity with other people of color in the U.S. and abroad. Despite progress on many fronts, Asian Americans continue to face problems of poverty, discrimination, and invisibility, but if the past century offers any indication, they will continue to mobilize multiethnic and multiracial coalitions for the foreseeable future.

Endnotes

1 See Mae Ngai, *The Lucky Ones: One Family and the Extraordinary Invention of Chinese America* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2010) on the fascinating Tape family.

2 Seema Sohi, *Echoes of Mutiny: Race, Surveillance, and Indian Anticolonialism in North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

3 For more information on the prerequisite cases, see Ian F. Haney Lopez, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).

4 Yuji Ichioka, "The Early Japanese Immigrant Quest for Citizenship: The Background of the Ozawa case," *Amerasia Journal* 4, no. 2 (1977); 1-22.

5 The four cases were *Terrace v. Thompson*, *Porterfield v. Webb*, *Webb v. O'Brien*, and *Frick v. Webb*. See Keith Aoki, "No Right to Own? The Early Twentieth-Century 'Alien Land Laws' as Prelude to Internment," *Third World Law Journal* 37 (1998-99); 37-72, note 61.

6 On the rise of the model minority, see Ellen Wu, *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014).

7 Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 362.

8 On the Asian American movement, see Karen Ishizuka, *Serve the People: Making Asian America in the Long Sixties* (New York: Verso, 2016); Daryl Maeda, *Rethinking the Asian American Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012) and *Chains of Babylon: The Rise of Asian America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Michael Liu, Kim Geron, and Tracy Lai, *The Snake Dance of Asian American Activism: Community, Vision, and Power* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington, 2008); William Wei, *The Asian American Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

9 *Getting Together*, Feb. 1970, quoted in Chin, "New York Chinatown," 10.

10 Diane C. Fujino, *Samurai Among Panthers: Richard Aoki on Race, Resistance, and a Paradoxical Life* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).

11 The best scholarly source on the I-Hotel is Estella Habal, *San Francisco's International Hotel: Mobilizing the Filipino American Community in the Anti-Eviction Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007). See Curtis Choy's documentary, "The Fall of the I-Hotel," for interviews with tenants and activists, along with arresting footage of the eviction.

12 On Filipino labor organizing and the UFW, see Craig

Scharlin and Lilia V. Villanueva, *Philip Vera Cruz: A Personal History of Filipino Immigrants and the Farmworkers Movement* (Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, Labor Center and Asian American Studies Center, 1992; reprinted, University of Washington Press, 2000).

13 Susie Ling, "The Mountain Movers: Asian American Women's Movement in Los Angeles," *Amerasia Journal* 15, no. 1 (1989); 51-67; Mary Uyematsu Kao, "Three Step Boogie in 1970s Los Angeles: Sansei Women in the Asian American Movement," *Amerasia Journal* 35, no. 1 (2009); 112-138.

14 Jeanie Dere, "A Wei Min Sister," *Stand Up*, 175-81.

15 For an overview of the movement, see Mitchell T. Maki, Harry H. L. Kitano, and S. Megan Berthold, *Achieving the Impossible Dream: How Japanese Americans Obtained Redress* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999). A more particular Seattle-centric account can be found in Robert Sadamu Shimabukuro, *Born in Seattle: The Campaign for Japanese American Redress* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001). The CWRIC report is United States Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997).

16 Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1982; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997).

17 On the Chin case, see Helen Zia, *Asian American Dreams: The Emergence of an American People* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000) and the documentaries by Christine Choy and Renee Tajima-Peña, "Who Killed Vincent Chin?" (1987) and Curtis Chin, "Vincent Who?" (2009).

18 Deepa Iyer examines the post-9/11 period and its broad impact across racial, ethnic, and religious lines in *We Too Sing America: South Asian, Arab, Muslim, and Sikh Immigrants Shape Our Multiracial Future* (New York: The New Press, 2015).

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Essay 15

Asian Immigrants and Refugees: Demographic Transformations in the United States from World War II to the Present

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Since World War II, especially with the passing of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 and the refugee flows starting in 1975, the number of Asian Americans has increased significantly. It has become the fastest growing population in the nation, even outpacing the growth of the Latino population. U.S. foreign policy, including U.S. colonization and involvement in wars in Asia, such as the Philippine-American War (1899-1902), Pacific War (1941-1945), Korean War (1950-1953), and Vietnam War (1965-1975), are interlinked to the migration of Asians to the U.S. Unlike the earlier historical period when most Asian immigrants arrived as laborers, Asians in the contemporary period have divergent paths of migration and may enter the United States as refugees, orphans, adoptees, spouses, veterans, professionals, or students, as well as close relatives of U.S. residents. The classification and regulation of immigrants and refugees

Among hundreds of participants in the tenth annual Hmong New Year's celebration in downtown Chico, California, these friends gather for a quick picture. Photo by Carol Highsmith, 2012; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

does not reside with the person as it does with the institutional entities that enact differential treatment based upon selective criteria, such as race, citizenship, and national origin, and these constructions fluctuate according to political circumstances.[1]

In 1860, the U.S. Census recorded almost 35,000 Asians in the country, mainly Chinese immigrants in California, and 90 percent were male, accounting for 0.1 percent of the total U.S. population. Due to immigration restrictions, the Asian American population was barely 500,000 in 1960. However, with changing immigration and refugee policies, five decades later in 2010, there were 17.3 million Asians in the United States, representing 5.6 percent of the total U.S. population, an increase of 46 percent from 2000 when they were at 11.9 million. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, over 14.7 million identified as Asian alone and an additional 2.6 million reported Asian in combination with one or more additional races. They resided in geographic regions across the country: 46 percent lived in the West, 22 percent in the South, 20 percent in the Northeast, and 12 percent in the Midwest. The 10 largest concentrations where three-quarters of all Asians live are California (5.6 million), New York (1.6 million), Texas (1.1 million), New Jersey (0.8 million), Hawai'i (0.8 million), Illinois (0.7 million), Washington (0.6 million), Florida (0.6 million), Virginia (0.5 million), and Pennsylvania (0.4 million).[2]

In the contemporary period, the U.S. continues to be the primary destination for Asian migrants, and Asian Americans have become more diverse in terms of their ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender, and geographic distribution. By 2010, in terms of legal immigrants, the foreign born was 13 percent of the total U.S. population, while the foreign-born was 66 percent of the Asian American population, in contrast to 38 percent of Latinos, 8 percent of African Americans, and 4 percent of non-Hispanic Whites. Historically, these immigrants arrived mainly from China, Japan, Korea, India, and the Philippines, but currently major groups originate from China, India, the Philippines, South Korea, and Vietnam, with smaller numbers coming from Bangladesh, Cambodia, Hong Kong, Laos, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Taiwan, while in contrast, immigration from Japan is minimal. In the past, it was mainly males who immigrated; however, Asian women began entering in substantial numbers in the post-WWII years and now make up over half of the population and, in some cases, are taking the lead in sponsoring the migration of family members. Some immigrants are well-educated and highly skilled professionals with financial assets, while others arrive with limited educational training and monetary resources. Their resettlement and adaptation experiences depend on their work skills as well as access to financial resources and networks. However, they are also contingent on the economic and political circumstances at the local and national level, which can shape receptivity in their new environment and their incorporation into American society. Earlier immigration and naturalization policies impact current Asian migration patterns, providing a perspective for comprehending the significant transformations starting in the 1940s and the following decades that led to the influx of newcomers from Asia.[3]

IMMIGRANTS

The reasons that Asians left their homeland and chose to come to America are intimately connected to U.S. foreign policies in Asia, as well as America's need for laborers. Western imperialism in China (Opium Wars), Japan (Perry Expedition), and India (British colonialism) forced these nations to open their countries to trade relations with the West, created opportunities for the recruitment of an exploitable labor force from these regions, and led to Christian missionaries finding Asian converts, some of whom were encouraged to relocate to America. In the mid- to late 1900s, Chinese males were recruited through the contract labor system to be employed for below-market wages in the mining, railroad, fishing, and agricultural industries, followed by Japanese and smaller numbers of Korean and Asian Indian laborers; the last group coming across the border from Canada. In 1868, the Burlingame Treaty was signed by the U.S. and Chinese governments authorizing Chinese laborers to enter the U.S. Established in 1910 as a United States Immigration Station, Angel Island in the San Francisco Bay Area processed over 1 million people between 1910 and 1940. This was a major port of entry for Asian immigrants; however, they were also classified as "undesirable aliens" and were excluded from entering alongside those with contagious diseases, polygamists, persons classified as mentally ill or with physical deficiencies, criminals, prostitutes, anarchists, and vagrants.[4]

While Asian laborers contributed considerably

to building the nation's infrastructure, nativist sentiments led to xenophobia and an anti-Asian movement that accused them of creating unfair competition for European immigrant laborers. The 1790 Naturalization Act specified that "free, white persons" could become citizens; Asian immigrants were later classified as "aliens ineligible for citizenship," excluding them from full incorporation into American society. This animosity contributed to the U.S. government passing immigration legislation or negotiating treaties that placed restrictions on Asian migrants, such as the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. Japanese laborers were recruited to replace Chinese workers until the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907-1908 between the United States and Japan, which resulted in Japan agreeing to cease sending more workers to America. The Immigration Act of 1917 established the Asiatic Barred Zone, preventing further immigration from Asia, except Japan, since it was a World War I ally, and the Philippines, which was a U.S. dependency at the time. The Immigration Act of 1924 was intended to reduce immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe, but it also barred entry of "aliens ineligible for citizenship," which specifically targeted Asians. During the U.S. colonization of the Philippines from 1898 to 1946, Filipinos were recruited en masse as laborers to replace other Asians who were barred from immigrating and were allowed to enter as U.S. nationals. The Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1935 granted the Philippines their independence a decade later and turned Filipino "nationals" into "aliens ineligible for citizenship" and curtailed further immigration.[5]

While the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, known as the McCarran-Walter Act, liberalized immigration laws by eliminating racial restrictions, it was also marred by restrictionist tendencies because it maintained the 1924 national origins quota system, which gave preference to immigrants from northern and western Europe. Since China was a wartime ally during WWII, the U.S. repealed the Chinese Exclusion Acts and passed the 1943 Magnuson Act enabling Chinese to immigrate but allotted them an annual quota of only 105 persons. The 1946 Luce-Celler Act allowed Filipinos and Asian Indians to immigrate, as India gained independence from British colonial rule in 1947. However, these Asian nations were assigned minimum quotas of 100 visas each year, with a total of 2,000 annually from Asia. The 1952 law employed racial factors, dismissing their nationality or place of birth, instead it based the quotas on their ethnic origin; therefore, all Asians were counted under the allotments for the "Asian Pacific Triangle." The law introduced a system that gave preference to skilled workers and relatives of citizens and permanent residents, policies that would be expanded in 1965.[6]

The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act created significant shifts from European immigrants comprising the majority to about one-half entering from Latin America and one-quarter from Asia by the late 1990s. Asians in the U.S. were allowed to sponsor the immigration of close family members, which reunited relatives who had been separated for long periods and created a chain migration process. The 1965 Act has been amended a number of times; however, family reunification is still the primary preference, followed by occupational preferences 1) unmarried children of U.S. citizens, 2) spouses of resident aliens and unmarried children of residents, 3) professionals or persons of exceptional ability in arts and sciences who intend to work for American employers, 4) married children of U.S. citizens, 5) noncitizen sisters and brothers of U.S. citizens, and 6) skilled and unskilled workers employed in jobs in which American workers are in short supply. Due to annual visa caps, there is an extensive backlog of Asians waiting to enter the U.S., approximately 18 million people are on the waitlist for family visas.[7]

The Cold War era and Civil Rights Movement forced the U.S. to reflect on its racially restrictive policies and created more equitable immigration legislation and naturalization procedures. Following WWII, the Cold War created fears about competition from communist nations, which played a role in fostering more open immigration policies favoring immigrants who could boost technological and scientific innovation. The incorporation of newcomers was also perceived as a strategy to create patriotic loyalty and prevent infiltration of subversive "unassimilable aliens." Some legislators were also intent on improving U.S. relations with Asia in order to protect national security, leading to a reexamination of domestic laws that could be perceived as offensive to Asian nations. When the U.S. repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943, it also authorized Chinese immigrants to become naturalized citizens. The 1946 Luce-Celler Act allowed Filipino and Asian Indian immigrants



A Marine Corps sergeant teaches two Vietnamese women to clean M-14 magazines. Interactions with Vietnamese civilian women occurred in numerous capacities, including food service, cleaning, administration, and military support, and occasionally developed into romantic encounters or long-term partnerships. Photo by 1st Lt. M.H. Handelsman; courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.

to become naturalized citizens and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 granted naturalization rights to Japanese and Koreans immigrants. These procedures provided them citizenship rights and made it possible for them to sponsor relatives under the family reunification policies. After 1965, ethnic Chinese immigrants arrived from Mainland China as well as from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other nations, thus considerably diversifying the "Chinese" community. Adding to the ethnic diversity of the population are sizeable numbers of immigrants from India, the Philippines, and South Korea, as well as smaller numbers of immigrants who are originally from Bangladesh, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and Thailand.[8]

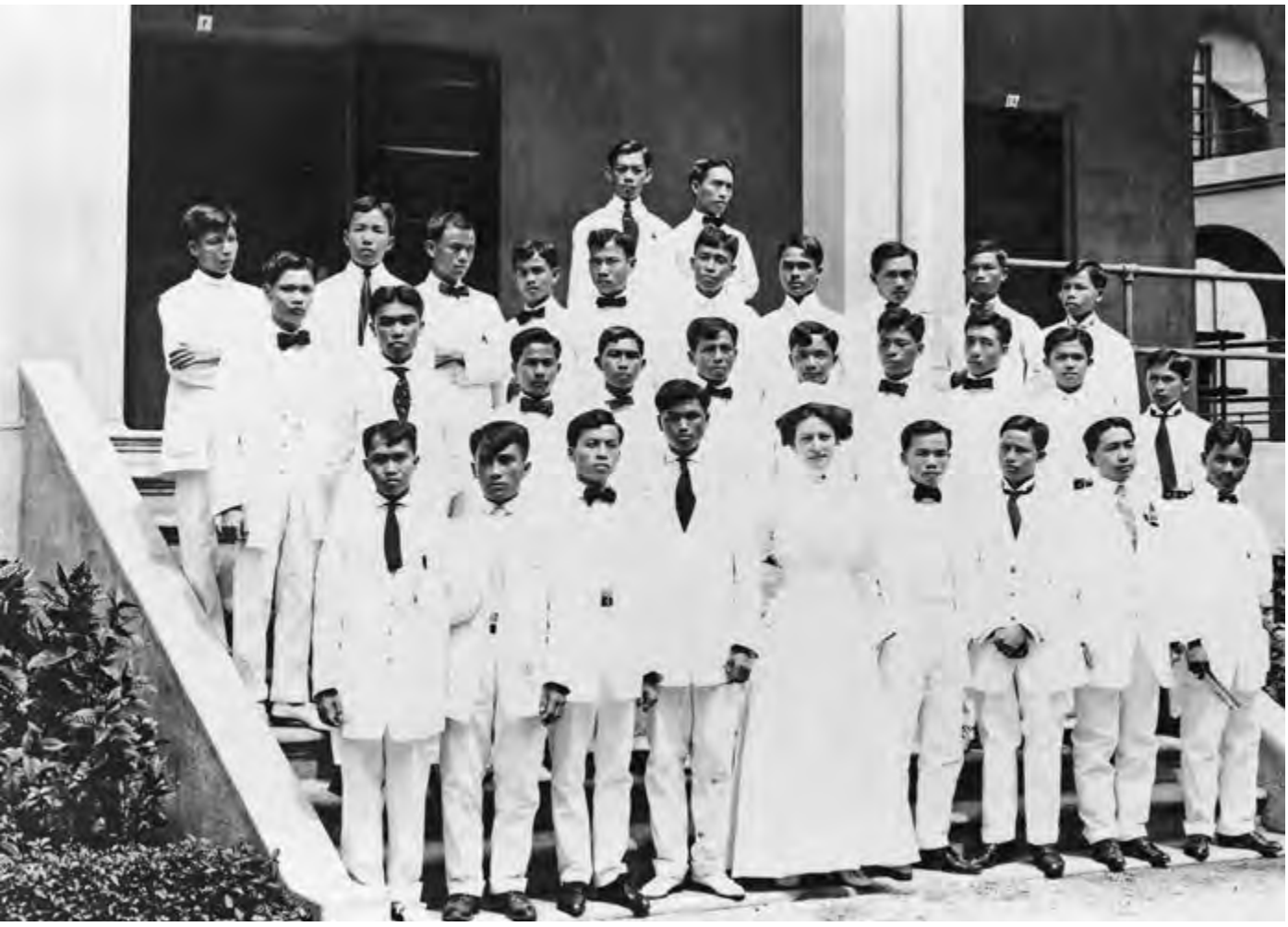
Historically, Asians were recruited as common laborers to work in the railroads, agriculture, and fishing industries and small factories, as well as in service sector jobs as domestic servants with some operating small businesses that catered to ethnic customers. In the contemporary period, many Asian immigrants who arrive through family reunification policies fulfill U.S. labor demands at some of the lowest paid jobs in the U.S. economic structure. However, skilled Asian immigrants are being recruited by industries, which can demonstrate that U.S. workers are in limited supply, such as the medical, technological, and computer science fields. Additionally, the U.S. government also began allotting H-1B non-immigrant visas for temporary, foreign workers in specialty occupations where there is a worker shortage, such as in the high-tech industries. In particular, many computer programmers and engineers are being recruited through what has been labeled a new "brain drain" from China, India, and Taiwan. While some corporations argue that these allotments should be increased, others who fear displacement argue that these shortages are exaggerated and that hiring foreign workers lowers wages for American workers and creates unfair competition. While policies have fluctuated, currently an annual total of 65,000 H-1B visas are available under the cap and an additional 20,000 visas are set-aside for those with at least a U.S. master's degree, with some securing permanent employment and allowed to apply for a green card.[9]

Adding to this labor pool are international students from Asia who historically have been encouraged to enroll in American universities, with the expectation that they will return to their homelands and become economic and political leaders who will then implement policies favorable to the U.S. Upon completion of their undergraduate or graduate degrees, a number of them have found employment in the U.S. and eventually become U.S. citizens, contributing to the U.S. economy. With the economic recession and cutbacks in educational funding in the last decade, public and private universities are more actively seeking international students who can pay full tuition, and one-in-three international students selects universities in California, New York, and Texas. In 2014-15, the majority of these students, 1 million annually, are from Asia, with China and India leading the list. Included in the top 10 sending countries

are South Korea, Taiwan, Japan, and Vietnam.[10]

Family reunification preferences lead to a socioeconomically diverse immigrant community. Some, who were professionals in their homeland, faced downward mobility when their degrees and skills were not recognized and their English proficiency was limited. Many in this group turned to entrepreneurship to make a living. They have established small mom-and-pop businesses in Asian ethnic communities as well as businesses in low-income African American and Latino neighborhoods, where set- up and maintenance costs are lower. In mini-malls, swap meets, and other retail venues, they fulfill a niche in local economies, which larger, chain retailers have avoided or vacated, and helped revitalize depressed neighborhoods. However, in some cases this perceived encroachment has also created racial conflicts between Asian immigrant entrepreneurs and local communities of color, who have faced obstacles establishing businesses in their own neighborhoods. For example, the Los Angeles Uprising (aka Riot or Rebellion) of 1992 was sparked by ongoing racial and economic inequities and tension when Korean business owners were scapegoated and accused of exploiting other racial communities.[11]

The 1965 Act also encouraged larger numbers of Asian women to enter as immigrants. Many then initiate migration flows and sponsor relatives. Historically, male laborers from Asia were preferred and Asian women were only permitted to arrive in limited numbers, mainly as the wives of merchants. This policy was designed to ensure that male immigrants would return to their homelands and discourage them from establishing families in the U.S. In addition to arriving as sponsored family members as mothers, spouses, daughters, and



A class of nurses graduates from Philippine General Hospital, c.1923. Their successors some forty years later became a staple of the American health care industry. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

siblings, Asian women are now entering as skilled workers and as primary breadwinners for their families. For example, the economic and political destabilization in the Philippines, along with the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act, led to large numbers of Filipinas migrating to the U.S. to fill the nursing shortage or as medical practitioners. Others, seeking improved economic opportunities arrive as nannies, homecare providers, and live-in domestics; some of these transnational workers send remittances to their families who remain in the Philippines. As a result of U.S. colonization, Filipinos are seen as preferable workers, since they have English fluency and are trained in educational systems that are similar to the U.S. This gender balance has led to a substantial increase in the U.S.-born Asian population and the expansion of Asian ethnic communities.[12]

Also among those who enter as immigrants are veterans of the U.S. Armed Forces, who were recruited to serve in U.S. war efforts conducted in Asia. During World War II, the Philippines was a U.S. Commonwealth and the U.S. military recruited an estimated 260,000 Filipino soldiers from the Philippines. They fought alongside U.S. troops under the command of General Douglas MacArthur. Despite the promise of U.S. citizenship and full veterans benefits upon completion of their enlistment, President Truman signed the Rescission Act in 1946 that rescinded this pledge. It was not until the 1990s that a mere 26,000 surviving veterans were granted citizenship rights. In 2009, those still alive were provided overdue benefits, U.S. citizens receiving $15,000 and non-citizens receiving $9,000. In 2015, the U.S. government established a program for Filipino veterans to bypass the backlogged visa system and more quickly process petitions to sponsor family members who could immigrate to the U.S. Along with advocacy organizations, they continue to fight for the rights and benefits promised to these veterans and their family members, as well as recognition for their valor and loyalty. In 2016, these veterans were awarded the Congressional Gold Medal, the highest civilian honor bestowed by the U.S. Congress.

REFUGEES

During periods of civil and political instability, there have been massive refugee exoduses from different regions in Asia. The U.S. has limited their entrance based on foreign policy agendas, most conspicuously as a political statement against communist regimes. The United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) in 1951 defined refugees as individuals who flee their country of origin "owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion." The U.S. government determines exactly who can be classified as a political refugee and each year controls how many refugees will be granted asylum. It also regulates what types of humanitarian assistance or resources are allotted for these displaced populations; those admitted still need to apply for naturalization to become U.S. citizens.

The first refugee legislation was the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, a temporary measure intended for dislocated Europeans in the post-WWII period. In 1949, when the communist regime created the People's Republic of China, this act granted permanent resident status to 15,000 Chinese, many of whom were students and professionals. This political gesture was repeated with special legislation in the early 1960s allocating another 15,000 political asylum status. When the Tiananmen Square Massacre occurred in 1989, the U.S. Congress dispensed green cards to Chinese nationals. It then passed the Chinese Student Protection Act of 1992, allowing for an estimated 45,000 Chinese students to remain in the U.S. Overall, this has been a selective refugee process prioritizing educated intellectuals, professionals, and entrepreneurs to enter; their advancement and integration differs significantly from other Asian refugees.[13]

Most notably, U.S involvement in the controversial Vietnam War (1965-1975) led to one of the largest refugee flows to America. Before 1975, there were small numbers of individuals from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam in the United States, with the majority being international students studying at high schools and colleges, as well as military officials receiving training and diplomats, many of whom were stranded in America at war's end. The first large influx of refugees arrived after the "Fall of Saigon" on April 30, 1975, when the U.S. military evacuated by sea and air approximately 130,000 refugees. They were transported to Guam and then flown to four U.S. military bases that served as refugee processing centers at Fort Chaffee in Arkansas, Camp Pendleton in Cali-



A Vietnamese refugee volunteer at Camp Pendleton leads children in a line during play time at the Play-School Center, sponsored by the American Red Cross. Photo by Cpl. J.A. Sweet, published by the U.S. Marine Corps, June 2, 1975; courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.

fornia, Elgin Air Force Base in Florida, and Fort Indiantown Gap in Pennsylvania. The U.S. Congress passed the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975, allowing Cambodians and Vietnamese to enter the country under a special "parole" status and providing over $400 million to assist in their resettlement. The act was later amended to include refugees from Laos. They could leave the camps when they found relatives or individuals, religious groups, or charitable organizations willing to sponsor them. Among this group were employees who worked for the South Vietnamese military or U.S. government or military and feared persecution when the new communist regime took over. For the U.S. government, while these policies signified some responsibility for causing their displacement, it was notably employed to condemn the new regime.

During the late 1970s to the 1990s, there was a massive exodus of refugees from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam who escaped by land to refugee camps in Thailand, while other refugees escaped in fishing boats or shipping vessels to countries of first asylum in Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. Some stayed in refugee camps or detention centers for brief periods, while others languished for years waiting for sponsorship in resettlement countries, with the majority eventually coming to the U.S. Many individuals attempted to escape numerous times, and those who escaped were susceptible to storms and starvation and preyed upon by pirates in the open waters. It is estimated that hundreds of thousands lost their lives at sea. Ethnic Chinese, many who had lived in Vietnam for generations, had their businesses and properties confiscated and were targeted for persecution by the new regime; they comprised a significant percentage of boat people. The UNHCR estimates that between 1975 and 1995, there were over 800,000 Vietnamese boat refugees. As the number of refugees swelled, compassion fatigue set in, and nations refused to rescue the refugees at sea or allow their boats to land on shore while others classified as economic refugees were repatriated or forcibly returned.

Given the humanitarian crisis and overcrowding in the refugee camps and detention centers, the UNHCR created the Orderly Departure Program to process the departure of Vietnamese immigrants; approximately one-half million people arrived in the United States through this program. The U.S. government negotiated for South Vietnamese veterans or former employees

who worked for the U.S., who had been imprisoned in the reeducation camps after the war, to immigrate to the U.S. through the Humanitarian Operation program. Additional legislation was passed (such as the Refugee Act of 1980), that allowed for more refugees to be admitted and outlined emergency procedures to process refugees in the U.S. These later waves of refugees were more socioeconomically diverse than the ones that arrived in 1975, many with limited human capital and provided fewer resources; many in these groups faced major challenges reestablishing their lives.

The battlefields of the Vietnam War spread into Cambodia and Laos, destabilizing these nations economically and politically, leading to millions of civilian lives lost, in addition to major geographic displacement. Ethnic tribal groups in Laos, such as the Hmong and Mien, who were self-sufficient agriculturalists, were enveloped in the war that surrounded their territories. Boys and men were recruited by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to serve in the U.S. "Secret Army" and assist the U.S. military in covert combat missions in the fight against the North Vietnamese, who were using neighboring countries as pathways to attack South Vietnam. When the war ended, these former U.S. allies and their family members were persecuted by the new regime, forced into hiding, and fled to refugee camps in Thailand, before making their way to America. Many of these fighters arrived as refugees in the post-Vietnam War period but were never accorded equal treatment with other U.S. veterans or provided veteran benefits. When the Vietnam War spread into Cambodia, U.S. bombings in the region caused major disruptions in the country's political and economic system. This chaos led to the rise of Pol Pot and his military. His regime abolished the nation's infrastructure, institutions, and cities and enforced an authoritarian, agrarian society, slaughtering millions of innocent people in the process. This led to massive starvation; those able to escape fled into the jungles where survivors found their way to the refugee camps in Thailand and, subsequently, were forced to locate host countries willing to accept them as refugees.[14]

According to opinion polls, the majority of the U.S. public was opposed to accepting these refugees, and U.S. government policy dispersed refugees across the country to force assimilation by preventing the formation of ethnic ghettoes; unfortunately, these policies



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 21, 1977

Dear Mr. Chairman:

In accordance with the provisions of the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975, I am reporting to you on the status of refugees from Cambodia and South Vietnam.

We have made and continue to make remarkable progress in the resettlement and assimilation of the Indochina refugee into American life. This progress has been made possible through the efforts of many private individuals and through the cooperative efforts of public and private institutions. Many refugees have made the transition into American life. Others require financial, medical or educational assistance. As my report to you shows, that assistance is adequately being provided through several federally assisted programs.

Vast strides have been made by these newcomers to our country. I am confident that in the near future, they will achieve full citizenship and contribute greatly to our society.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

The Honorable John J. Sparkman
Chairman
Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

A letter from President Ford references the resettlement and assimilation efforts of Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees, expressing confidence that they will "achieve full citizenship and contribute greatly to our society" in the near future. Photo courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.

proved to be counterproductive. Many were relocated to remote rural areas with colder climates where there were few fellow Asians, limited job opportunities, and racial animus. They began a process of secondary migration, moving to areas with warmer weather and where they could find educational and employment opportunities and supportive ethnic networks. Some refugees adjusted and were able to rebuild their lives, while others did not fare as well; often their fates depended on their educational background and skillsets. Too often, these refugees were settled in areas with high crime rates, poor performing schools, and intense racial hostility, which led to a number of the younger generation dropping out of school and joining gangs for protection. A number of refugees, especially Cambodian and Hmong, continue to live in poverty and have low educational attainment and high unemployment rates, comparable to African Americans and Latinos. Many continue to be victims of post-traumatic stress disorders.

The Vietnamese created their own large ethnic communities in Los Angeles, Orange, and San Diego counties in southern California and in the cities of San

Francisco, Oakland, and San Jose in northern California and Houston, Texas. Ethnic Chinese Vietnamese populations settled in or near Chinatowns, such as in Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and Seattle. There are large concentrations of Cambodians in Long Beach, California, where a contingent of Cambodian international students helped to originally resettle them, and also in lower income areas, such as Lowell, Massachusetts, and the Bronx in New York City. For many Hmong, their agricultural skills were mismatched in the urban areas where they were placed, so they remigrated to rural areas in California's central region, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, where they could make a living. Refugee flows from these three nations have ceased and, in recent years, the largest Asian refugee groups are from Bhutan and Burma/Myanmar, where political instability has led to their displacement. They are being resettled in urban areas across the country and encounter some of the same barriers that previous refugees faced.[15]

INTERNATIONAL BRIDES, WAR BRIDES, MILITARY BRIDES

During and after WWII, international marriages between Asian women and Asian American servicemen, especially Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos, contributed to the growth of Asian American families. The 1945 War Brides Act permitted spouses, natural children, and adopted children of members of the U.S. Armed Forces to enter the country; many brides arrived from Europe. This law also benefitted Asian American men, since immigration restrictions were lifted for Chinese in 1943 and the U.S. passed the 1946 Chinese War Brides Act allowing brides to be admitted as non-quota immigrants. The U.S. repealed immigration restrictions for Filipinos and Asian Indians in 1946, allowing foreign-born spouses to enter the country. In 1947, an amendment was added to the War Brides Act that permitted Filipino, Japanese, and Korean brides admission; the first two groups estimated to be 50,000 each. This process allowed Asian American soldiers to bring Asian wives to the U.S. at a time when there was a high ratio of Asians males to females in the U.S. Additionally, anti-miscegenation laws made it illegal for Asians and whites to intermarry and were not overturned nationally until 1967. Further, Asian American males were highly discouraged from socializing with white women, although some did intermarry with African American, Latina, Native American, and Pacific Islander women. According to U.S. Census records, the ratio of Chinese males per 100 Chinese females was as high as 1,858 in 1860; 1,887 in 1900; 695 in 1920; and 135 in 1950. The entrance of Asian brides led to more of a gender balance, and the birth of their children led to an increase in the Asian American community.[16]

Special allotments as non-quota immigrants were allocated for Asian war brides or military brides to enter the country with their American husbands who worked for the U.S. military or government. International brides also married American civilian husbands, specifically those who were non-governmental organization workers, missionaries, and students. U.S. colonization and military presence in Asia, such as in Japan, Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam led to interracial contact between American servicemen and U.S. civilians based in Asia and native Asian women during World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War, as well as during postwar recovery and peacetime.[17] These societies were devastated by war casualties, leading to higher ratios of women to men, as well as by displacement and famine. Asian women were thus forced to find various forms of paid labor for economic survival. Many Americans encountered Asian women who worked as prostitutes or in the bars around U.S.



"Americans come as friends. Let's cooperate with them," reads a poster in Vietnamese. It was part of a series of 438 "psychological warfare" posters distributed during the Vietnam War that were meant to undermine the Viet Cong and encourage support for and defection to the American military and Chieu Hoi. Photo courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.

military installations and at sites where military personnel spent their rest and relaxation time (R&R). Other military men met these women while they were working in the service industries as servers, maids, cashiers, office workers, or translators. While some were temporary sexual encounters, others developed into romantic relationships that led to marriage, despite the fact that the U.S. military actively discouraged these interracial, transnational unions.[18]

For example, during the post-war occupation in Japan, between 1945 and 1952, there were 500,000 U.S. soldiers stationed throughout the country, inevitably leading to fraternization between occupation troops and Japanese women.[19] Even after 1946 when the Philippines gained its independence, the U.S. continued to maintain military bases in the region. The U.S. military presence in South Korea during the Korean War – to the present – has contributed to ongoing interracial encounters between American G.I.s and Korean women. Over 100,000 Korean women have become wives of U.S. soldiers. During the U.S. occupation in Vietnam, over 8,000 war brides intermarried with American soldiers and government personnel. Most of these women married Anglos, but others married African American, Latino, or Native American men. When these men were stationed in the United States or retired, they brought their wives to the U.S. and often lived on military bases or in the surrounding communities. Increasing rates of domestic interracial marriages in the last several decades combined with international brides from Asia has expanded the number of multiracial families and children. By 2000, the multiracial Asian population rose to 1.7 million, increasing to 2.6 million a decade later. Additionally, many of these Asian spouses sponsored relatives through the family reunification policies of the Immigration Act of 1965, helping to enlarge the overall Asian American community.[20]

AMERASIANS

The term "Amerasian" is used to refer specifically to a group of children born out of wedlock, and often abandoned, to Asian mothers and American fathers. As result of their parentage, they faced severe ostracization in the homeland and were denied educational and employment opportunities. In homogenous societies, their mothers faced the stigma of having interracial sexual relations and a multiracial child out of wedlock. One result was socioeconomic hardship for the mothers, and as a result, some abandoned their children. In addition to being perceived as the offspring of the enemy, these children of foreign fathers were treated as national outcasts, since citizenship was based on paternal descent. While some Amerasians could hide their non-Asian parentage, it was impossible for those who physically "showed" their interracial ancestry, with Black Amerasians often facing the harshest forms of derision and mistreatment.[21]



A P.S. 1 Manhattan schoolteacher poses with students recently arrived from Hong Kong and Formosa, holding up cards with three versions of their name: ideograph, Romanization, and an American name that will be entered into the school records. Photo by Fred Palumbo, published by the *New York World-Telegraph and Sun*, January 24, 1966; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

As part of the post-war U.S.-Japan security alliance, the U.S. maintains a constant military presence in Japan; over one-half of the U.S. military troops are stationed in the single prefecture of Okinawa, which has an estimated 15,000 to 20,000 Japanese Amerasians on the island.

After the U.S. government left its military facilities in the Philippines in 1992, there were approximately



Amerasian children eat lunch at the St. Vincent's Home for Amerasian Children in Bupyeong, South Korea. Photo courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration.

50,000 Filipino Amerasians abandoned there, especially in the vicinity of the Subic Bay Naval Base in Olongapo. Most of these fatherless "G.I. babies" were not provided services such as medical care, education, or child support and a fair number live on the streets or in orphanages. Given the legacies of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, there have been concerted efforts to bring Amerasians from Vietnam to the U.S. When the war ended in 1975, Amerasians in Vietnam were left behind, and it was not until years later when Western reporters highlighted their plight that pressure was placed upon the U.S. government to authorize Amerasians to immigrate. The Amerasian Immigration Act of 1982 permitted those whose fathers were U.S. citizens and whose mothers were nationals of Kampuchea (Cambodia), Korea, Laos, Thailand, or Vietnam and who had been born after December 31, 1950 and before October 22, 1982 to immigrate to the United States. Children under 18 were forced to leave their mothers behind and to find institutional or private sponsors. As a result, relatively few eligible Amerasians left under this law.

To rectify this, Congress passed the Amerasian Homecoming Act of 1988, allowing Amerasians, mainly the children of Vietnamese women and American fathers, born between January 1, 1962 and January 1, 1976, along with their close relatives, to be resettled in the U.S. But because so few Amerasians had documentation of their fathers or had destroyed them at war's end to avoid persecution by the communist regime, applicants were permitted to establish mixed-race identity by appearance alone, meaning those who had "Amerasian facial features." It is estimated that 23,000 to 28,000 Amerasians and 68,000 to 75,000 of their relatives emigrated to the U.S. The program was closed in 1994, partly because of the prevalence of fraud by Vietnamese traffickers and underestimates of the funding needed to resettle Amerasians.[22] Arriving in America as teenagers or as young adults after enduring difficult childhoods, many Vietnamese Amerasians struggled with mental and physical health problems and other major challenges during the resettlement process. The Vietnamese American community continues to harbor some of the same animosities as Vietnamese in their homeland and treats them with indifference. Although they may "pass" for white or Afri-

can American, they have difficulty connecting with these groups as a result of the cultural and communications gaps. Barred from receiving an education because of their racial mixture, a number of Amerasians are illiterate and unable to take the U.S. citizenship examination.

As of 2008, about one-half of Amerasians living in the U.S. were resident aliens. Non-profit organizations assist in reuniting Amerasian children with their fathers, DNA testing, and searches for relatives of deceased fathers; in spite of these efforts, few have been reunited with their fathers, and such reunions have had uneven results.[23]

TRANSNATIONAL, TRANSRACIAL ADOPTEES

Some Asians arriving in the U.S. are adoptees, a migration process directly related to U.S. military presence in Asia. The first large group came from South Korea, estimated at 200,000, as a result of wartime conditions that produced a substantial orphan population during the Korean War. This adoption flow originated with Bertha and Harry Holt, a religious family who had special legislation passed so they could adopt eight children from South Korea; they then established the Holt International Children's Service to encourage other Christians to adopt from Asia. Many of the earlier adoptees were the multiracial children of U.S. military personnel and native women but, in later decades, South Korean babies were of solely Korean parentage given up for adoption by single mothers. During the last days of the Vietnam War in 1975, Operation Babylift, which was supported by the U.S. government, airlifted approximately 3,000 Vietnamese orphans, a number who were Amerasian, to the U.S., where mainly white families adopted them. Stories would later surface that a number of these children were not truly orphans but were only temporarily housed in the orphanages during the chaos of the war. Some of their parents who would later arrive in the U.S. as refugees sought to retrieve their children; however, because the courts sealed their records, they were unable to do so. Like South Korea, this highly publicized event popularized the narrative of rescuing children from a war-torn or poverty stricken country.[24]

These earlier practices of transnational, transracial adoption that began with a humanitarian mission continued into the post-war period. Circumstances changed beginning in the 1960s when there was a shortage of



A medical staff worker examines a refugee infant inside an ambulance at San Francisco International Airport, following the arrival of an Operation Babylift plane from South Vietnam. Photo published by the White House Photoic Office, April 5, 1975; photo courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.



President Ford carries an infant from the recently landed Clipper 1742, an Operation Babylift plane carrying 325 Saigonese orphans, at San Francisco International Airport. Photo published by the White House Photoic Office, April 5, 1975; courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.

white babies available for adoption after contraception become more widely available and single mothers gained more social acceptance. As a result, American parents wanting to adopt looked overseas for newborn babies and Asian countries created programs to facilitate these adoptions. When China implemented family planning with the one-child policy in the late-1970s, parents preferring a son, who could carry on the family name, left their daughters at orphanages. China formally permitted international adoptions in 1992, and according to statistics from the U.S. State Department, more than 85,000 Chinese children have been adopted in the U.S. The persistent stereotype of Asians as model minorities who are studious, hard-working, and obedient has created perceptions of Asian children as model adoptees. In addition, the U.S. government made it easier to obtain immigrant visas and U.S. citizenship for children adopted from abroad with the Child Citizenship Act of 2000. Although it can cost $20,000 or more for an intercountry adoption, these new policies have facilitated adoption from additional Asian countries, such as Bangladesh, Cambodia, India, Pakistan, and Vietnam. These adoption practices are part of a global pattern of migration from Asia as well as from Africa, Eastern Europe, and Latin America.[25]

Most of the children are adopted by non-Asian parents and are scattered throughout the country, often in states that have minimal Asian populations. While many adoption processes are closely monitored with adoptees being raised by loving parents, other scenarios have been less than ideal. These adoptions have become controversial because some are operated as for-profit entities leading to charges of corruption and baby selling as a result of poverty in Asia. This has curtailed adoptions from Asia and generated calls for more international oversight of the transnational adoption system. Ethical questions about practices of international adoption across racial groups, similar to concerns regarding adoption of African American or Native American babies by white parents, have led to reevaluations of what is in the best interest of the child. Some adult adoptees of Asian ancestry are advocating for in-country adoption, focusing on making adoption practices more acceptable within Asian countries and providing support for single mothers who want to keep their children. As a result of public criticism or irregularities, adoptions from South Korea and Vietnam have declined, and China abandoned its one-child policy in 2015. As a result, adoptions from Asia are likely to decrease. Many of these adoption cohorts are entering adulthood; some feel an affinity to their Asian heritages, while others question any connection to their heritages or to Asian American communities.[26]

UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS

In the past, Asians arrived by steamship; however, the majority of contemporary immigrants and refugees arrive by air and are processed through immigration screening centers at terminals through the Department of Homeland Security, formerly Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Additionally, it is estimated

that there are 12 million undocumented immigrants in the United States, most seeking improved economic opportunities or to be rejoined with relatives; approximately 1 million are from China, India, South Korea, and the Philippines. Historically, most Asian Indians entered as unauthorized immigrants across the Canadian-U.S. border in the Pacific Northwest, and some Japanese and Chinese immigrants entered through the Mexican-U.S. border. In the 1990s, media attention focused on an estimated 200,000 individuals from the Fujian province of mainland China who were smuggled into the U.S. by land through Canada or Mexico or by cargo ships. Today, undocumented Asians may enter covertly through the U.S. borders, but they may also be tourists, students, or workers who overstay their visas.[27]

These new immigrants often reside in ethnic concentrations where they blend in and can find employment in the ethnic economy. Economic and political instability in their homeland and high levels of poverty have led some to seek better opportunities and opt for unauthorized stays. Many work in low wage employment, including in factories doing assembly or garment work or laboring in service sector economies, such as the restaurant industries where they can easily be exploited. Given the extensive backlogs with the family reunification immigration policies, which can take 20 years from countries like the Philippines, some decide to find alternative methods to rejoin their relatives. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 imposed criminal sanctions on those who hired undocumented immigrants and provided an amnesty program allowing some to become legal immigrants. Subsequent legislation has tried to amend policy gaps to contend with this undocumented population. While some argue that undocumented immigrants compete for employment with Americans and burden support services, studies indicate the opposite, and that as workers, consumers, and entrepreneurs, they fill labor shortages, pay billions in taxes, and underutilize services. As part of the immigrant rights movement, activists and policy makers have worked to halt deportations and rally for comprehensive immigration reform. In the meantime, President Obama's 2012 Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act provides renewable deferred action for potentially 1.8 million unauthorized youth, or DREAMers, under the age of 30 who meet specific criteria, such as attending school, graduating from high school, having a GED, or serving in the military.[28]

In the aftermath of 9/11, fears about Muslims and those perceived to be political extremists have led to intense debates on how religious, cultural, and ethnic biases disproportionately impact immigrants and refugees. The U.S. Congress passed the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT) Act in 2001, which increased the government's ability to arrest, detain, and deport non-citizens. While some argue that this is necessary to protect national security and counter global terrorism, advocates contend that it inhibits civil liberties and unfairly contributes to the racial profiling of immigrants, including South Asian Americans.

The post-9/11 era has led to the deportation or forced repatriation of Cambodian permanent residents as a result of a treaty signed between the U.S. and Cambodian governments in 2002 and made permissible by the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996. Even with green cards or spouses who are U.S. citizens and with U.S.-born children, over 600 Cambodians who have been convicted of any crime, even a misdemeanor, including those who already served their prison time, have been deported. Mostly males born in Cambodia or the Thailand refugee camps, they are being sent to a country they are unfamiliar with and where they often barely speak the heritage language. Their separation from families in the U.S. is permanent since U.S. law bars them from ever re-entering the U.S.; advocates claim this is an inhumane policy.[29]

FORMING COMMUNITIES

Asian Americans reside primarily in urban areas, with the greater Los Angeles area (1.9 million), New York metropolitan area (1.8 million), and San Francisco Bay Area (1 million) having the largest concentrations. There are, however, expansive concentrations across the country. Historically, racial covenants created segregated spaces and restricted areas where Asians could reside, farm, and operate their businesses. A number of Chinese communities were destroyed by anti-Chinese discrimination, but there are numerous communities that survived, including sites in Boston, Chicago, Hawai'i, Seattle, Philadelphia, and Washington D.C., with the



The Friendship Arch in Washington D.C.'s Chinatown, designed by architect Alfred Liu and dedicated in 1986, was the world's largest gateway of its kind and contrasted sharply with the dull, declining neighborhood around it at the time of its construction. After years of development, it now sits in one of the liveliest parts of the city's downtown. Photo courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration.

largest centers in Los Angeles, New York City, and San Francisco. New immigrants from Mainland China are revitalizing urban Chinatown areas, and in some cases, ethnic Chinese refugee populations from Southeast Asia are contributing to their growth. While there were once thriving Japantowns in California, many of them were abandoned when Japanese Americans were forcibly removed from the west coast and incarcerated during WWII. Previously, the Alien Land Act of 1913 and subsequent acts in California and other states prohibited "aliens ineligible for citizenship" from owning agricultural land; however, some of the Japanese immigrants were able to acquire land through their U.S.-born children, since the 14th Amendment of 1868 gave them automatic birthright citizenship. Other properties were destroyed during urban renewal projects starting in the 1970s, although remaining communities survived in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Jose.

With economic and political stability in Japan, there are few Japanese immigrants; because many Japanese Americans have moved to the suburbs, these urban commercial centers struggle to preserve their historical sites in the face of gentrification and redevelopment. Filipinos are dispersed across the country; earlier generations settled in agricultural areas, U.S. military personnel reside near military bases, and medical professionals select areas with hospitals and research centers. In addition, Filipino residential concentrations are growing in commercial clusters in California, New York, and New Jersey. There are now preservation efforts to protect historic Filipinotowns or Little Manilas. For example, although the Filipino population is small, the "HiFi" community in Los Angeles has established a park, monument, crosswalks, mural, and a library attesting to its historical presence in the city, and there are concerted efforts to preserve the remaining Little Manila buildings in Stockton, California.[30]

The influx of immigrants and refugees arriving directly from Asia has led to the creation of new ethnic concentrations, such as Koreatown, Little Saigon, Little Taipei, Cambodia Town, Thai Town, Little India, and Little Bangladesh. Some were relegated to economi-

cally depressed areas where they faced environmental pollution or gentrification, and they have been advocates for improving and sustaining their communities. Others have already turned these neighborhoods into vibrant centers that incentivized immigrants from other parts of the United States to relocate to these hubs, since they are sites where they can find employment in the ethnic economy, benefit from co-ethnic networks, and share in cultural events. A number are officially designated neighborhoods, with freeway and street signs, as well as ethnic landmarks directing local visitors and tourists to the communities. Although ethnic populations may be dispersed and reside outside these designated areas, they can be significant spaces for co-ethnics to hold community gatherings, such as cultural festivals, thus helping new immigrants feel more comfortable in their surroundings.[31]

As noted, new immigrants often move to urban areas where there are ethnic concentrations and job opportunities; however, in recent decades, Asian immigrants, along with their U.S.-born counterparts, are relocating to the suburbs, including neighborhoods that were once all-white. Suburbs were created in the post-WWII era when U.S. veterans, many of them immigrants or the children of immigrants from Europe, were provided subsidized educational and housing loans, giving them the resources to escape inner cities for safer neighborhoods, better schools, and bigger homes. Some contemporary Asian immigrants bring financial resources with them that allow them to move into suburban neighborhoods. In the San Gabriel Valley in Southern California and around the Silicon Valley in Northern California, for example, Asian Americans of various ethnicities, particularly Chinese and Taiwanese, are building thriving suburban communities. While some spaces are either residential concentrations or commercial clusters, other sites are filled with residents and businesses that cater to their needs. The numbers and reach of Buddhist, Catholic, Protestant, Hindu, Islamic, and Sikh buildings that serve new Asian immigrants have increased rapidly in recent decades, attracting even more migrants. New immigrants are linked to global economies in their homeland and have diasporic connections used to alter commercial and residential urban and suburban regions.[32]

CONCLUSION

In 2014, the population of Asian alone or in combination was estimated to be 20.3 million. Barring major immigration policy changes and assuming continuing uncertainties in their homelands, the Asian American populations will continue to increase rapidly in the future. With a median age of 34 years, they are younger than the median American population of 38; thus, a larger percentage are of child-bearing age, and as a result, U.S. birth rates will contribute to demographic growth. This, in turn, will increase the numbers of Asian American youth in school districts. Educational institutions are learning to adjust and accommodate English language learners as well as to work with immigrant parents. In large state institutions, such as the University of California and California State University systems, as well as some elite private institutions, Asian American student populations have increased significantly, causing anxiety about their "overrepresentation" on college campuses. Some wealthy, transnational migrants establish U.S. residences, maintain their jobs or businesses in Asia, and leave their children, referred to as parachute kids, in the U.S. hoping that their children will be admitted into prestigious U.S. colleges. It is expected that younger, U.S.-born generations, from the 1.5 to fifth generations, who are socialized in the U.S., will have more opportunities, and their attachments to ethnic communities or homelands will diminish.[33]

While one-half of all immigrants to the U.S. become naturalized citizens, the rate is higher for all Asian immigrants at 59 percent. The percentages of those who elect to become naturalized varies by national group: Vietnamese at 76 percent, Taiwanese at 74 percent, Filipinos at 68 percent, Koreans at 59 percent, Chinese at 51 percent, and Asian Indians at 47 percent. As naturalized citizens, they have the opportunity to become more civically engaged and influence the electoral process, especially in areas where they are highly concentrated. There are a handful of elected officials at the gubernatorial levels and, ironically, except for Hawai'i, the others hail from areas, such as Louisiana, South Carolina, and Washington, with smaller Asian populations. They have gained congressional seats from states such as California, Florida, Hawai'i, Minnesota, Ohio, Oregon, Texas, and Virginia. Chinese and Japanese politicians continue to break barriers, but representatives who are Asian

Indians, Hmong, Koreans, Thai, and Vietnamese are also winning elections. Their presence is more substantial at the local and state levels, with Asian Americans running for office and winning elections, especially in California, Hawai'i, and New York. At these levels, large concentrations of Asian Americans create voter mobilization for Asian candidates; allowing them to win local elections and advance to higher office; however, even non-Asian candidates recognize their influence in close elections and are wooing Asian American constituents. While there have been strong historical affinities to the Republican Party, the new demographics point to significant shifts with greater numbers identifying as independent or as Democrats in recent presidential elections, particularly amongst the younger generation.[34]

Although Asian Americans are depicted as a largely monolithic and homogeneous community, a nuanced disaggregation of the demographics indicates the differentiations within the group by immigration histories, socioeconomic background, residential patterns, religious practices, political ideologies, language proficiency, and rates of naturalization. The Asian American population has increased significantly because of new immigration and refugee flows since WWII, and although the majority is predominantly foreign-born, they are making major contributions to the cultural, economic, and political landscape of this country. Yet they continue to be racialized and experience anti-Asian discrimination in social arenas, the workplace, and the educational context. Anxiety over the expanding Asian American population and the perception that they are perpetual foreigners, no matter how many generations they have been in the U.S., directly and indirectly impacts their treatment, as well as national debates over future immigration policies.

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Essay 16

New Asian American Communities: Building and Dismantling

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Growth and diversity characterize the development of new Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) communities in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Legacies of wars fought in Asia, the passage of more equitable U.S. immigration legislation in 1965, and post-1975 Southeast Asian refugee resettlement in the United States ushered in new waves of immigration and the exponential growth of the AAPI community. The phenomena of interracial and interethnic marriages and families have also contributed to its increasing heterogeneity. In 1960, persons of Asian ancestry in the United States numbered less than one million. In 2012, the estimated number of U.S. residents who were Asian (identifying as either one race or in combination with one or more additional races) was 18.9 million. The increase in this population has not slowed in the 21st century. On the contrary, the growth of the Asian population between

View of a street in Chinatown, San Francisco, c. 1920-1930.
Photograph by Arnold Genthe, courtesy of Library of Congress.

the 2000 and 2010 censuses was 46 percent, more than any other major race group.[1] Demographic profiles present one dramatic lens to view the development of new communities. Place and culture provide others.

This essay profiles the five largest Asian groups in the United States—Chinese, Filipino, Asian Indian, Vietnamese, and Korean—in order to highlight populations that have been most impacted by new immigration. Its purpose is two-fold. First, it examines contemporary immigration as it transforms our American geographical landscape through the creation of new Asian urban and suburban communities and commercial districts. These new places reflect some upward social and economic mobility, but they are not without conflict and controversy. Their creation has also coincided with the destruction and dismantling of AAPI communities through urban renewal projects and gentrification.

Second, this essay explores how AAPI communities have made an impact on America's cultural landscape through the revitalization of Asian cultural traditions. In the 19th and 20th centuries, racial stereotyping in world's fairs, dime novels, comics, Hollywood films, and other forms of American popular culture characterized AAPI cultures as heathen, primitive, child-like, dirty, mysterious, and exotic. These representations commodified and appropriated AAPI peoples as villains, sidekicks, sexual objects, and curiosities in popular entertainment, tourism, and consumerism. In reality, AAPI communities have employed cultural traditions in more dynamic ways. They preserve, adapt, and re-interpret these traditions in order to represent their histories, artistic contributions, and contemporary concerns with humanity, dignity, and resilience.

NEW CHINESE AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

According to the 2010 census, the Chinese population comprises the largest Asian group in the United States. The Chinese alone-or-in-any-combination population was 4.0 million.[2] A distinctive feature of the Chinese American community is that it is a product of both a long history of immigration beginning in the mid-19th century, as well as new immigration. Nearly 300,000 Chinese migrants entered the United States between 1850 and 1889. As their numbers grew, they increasingly encountered racial hostility and violence. Political movements calling for their exclusion ensued, culminating in the passage of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, which prohibited Chinese labor immigration and barred Chinese from obtaining U.S. citizenship. Although Chinese exclusion was repealed in 1943, immigration was extremely limited (annual quota of 105) until the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 and the normalization of U.S.-China relations beginning in the 1970s. New immigration fuels the population's growth. Between 2000 and 2010, the Chinese population increased by 40 percent.[3] While Chinese Americans have settled across the United States, large proportions live in the West (49 percent) and in the Northeast (26 percent), especially in the states of California and New York.[4]

The most recognizable place-based feature of AAPI community development is the ethnic enclave, and the most well-known of these enclaves are Chinatowns. While many 19th and early 20th century Chinatowns died out as Chinese Americans were either driven out or moved out on their own to settle elsewhere, San Francisco's Chinatown, founded around 1850 and based around Stockton Street and Grant Avenue, remains a vibrant cultural center of San Francisco's Chinese American community. Tourism is a major contributor to its economy. For example, it hosts the largest Chinese New Year celebration in the Western hemisphere, attracting hundreds of thousands of visitors with elaborately decorated floats and costumes, exploding firecrackers, and an over 200-foot-long Golden Dragon. However, San Francisco's Chinatown is not solely an iconic tourist site. It is also home to a multi-generational Chinese American community. Elderly Chinese meet at the Woh Hei Yuen Park's Recreation Center to play mahjong or Chinese poker. The center also offers English classes, Chinese Lion Dancing and Kung Fu for adults as well as Kindergym and Chinese lessons for children ages 3 to 14.

There are many other Chinatowns in California as well as in states across the country, and their histories bear witness to the ways in which processes of urban renewal and suburbanization dismantle older communities. Los Angeles's older 19th century Chinatown was leveled in preparation to build Union Station. A new Chinatown was then built in 1938 with the more explicit objective of becoming a tourist attraction. A rural Chinatown in Locke, California, founded in 1915, once home to a Chinese-language school, is now predominantly a white community.



Celebrations like this one in Washington, D.C.'s Chinatown are held all over the country for the Lunar New Year, featuring "lion" and "dragon" dances accompanied by a plethora of fireworks. Photo by Carol Highsmith, courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Recent Chinese immigrants have breathed new life into older Chinatowns in California and New York, such as Manhattan's Chinatown, by investing in businesses such as sewing factories. The influx of investment boosted local employment and additional services proliferated. Many of these new immigrants come from urban areas, many of them are women, and they include both Mandarin as well as Cantonese speakers. Historian Ronald Takaki described their class backgrounds as "bipolar," comprised of a "Downtown Chinese" working class and "Uptown Chinese" professionals.[5]

Original urban Chinatowns could not contain the large influx of new immigrants, thus leading to the creation of new Chinatowns in surrounding areas, including other New York City boroughs, Queens and Brooklyn. As historian Shelley Lee writes, "Nationwide, a smaller and smaller percentage of Chinese live in city centers—in 2000, for example, just 2 percent of Chinese in the Los Angeles metropolitan area lived in Old Chinatown—although they have by and large remained in major metropolitan areas."[6]

New Chinese immigrants not only accelerated settlement across cities, they also contributed to the suburbanization of Asian American communities. A prominent example of this phenomenon is Monterey Park, California, which the media dubbed the "first suburban Chinatown." Located eight miles east of downtown Los Angeles, Monterey Park became a "majority minority" city where Asians made up 56 percent of the population by 1990. The transformation of Monterey Park grew out of the efforts of Frederic Hsieh, a realtor who had come from Hong Kong to the United States in 1963 to attend college. Hsieh arrived in the area in the early 1970s and promoted it to potential immigrants in East Asia as the "Chinese Beverly Hills." During that time, concerns over political and economic stability in East Asia motivated young engineers, scientists, and businesspeople from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the People's Republic of China to relocate and invest in Monterey Park.

More recently, gentrification has contributed to the dispersal of Chinese from Chinatowns. In a 2013 study entitled "Chinatown Then and Now," the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (AALDEF) warned that gentrification threatens the sustainability of Chinatowns in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Although these three Chinatowns are comprised primarily of small businesses related to the food industry, developers have also transformed factories and warehouses into luxury condominiums. And high-end businesses are concentrated on specific streets within, and bordering, the three Chinatowns. The AALDEF study expressed concern about the decreasing availability of green space and affordable housing. In 1990, Asians had made up more than half of the populations in all three Chinatowns, but from 2000 to 2010, their populations decreased to less than half of the residents.[7]

Another distinctive feature of new Chinese communities is related to international adoption. Since the late 1990s, China has been a major sending nation of adoptive children to the United States, topping the list of the top twenty sending countries in 2000. Adoption from China is a powerful visual example of contemporary American multiculturalism, because it is predominantly transracial with white American parents adopting the majority of Chinese children. Social, educational, and entrepreneurial organizations create and sustain communities of Chinese adoptees and their families. One of the largest is Families with Children from China (FCC), a nondenominational organization comprised of more than one hundred separate organizations across the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom. The increasing ubiquity of the Internet



The Museum of Chinese in America (MOCA), in Manhattan, New York, was established in 1980 by historian John Kuo Wei Tchen and activist Charles Lai. The museum's purpose is to preserve, and make Chinese American arts, culture, and history readily available to the public. Photo by Jim Henderson, courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, licensed under Creative Commons.

has also resulted in highly specialized virtual networks for Chinese international adoptive families. These networks further diversify Chinese American communities in the new millennium.[8]

The creation of new networks is also a reflection of individual and collective agency. Individual and collective agency signifies the ability of seemingly ordinary people to make history. In the context of new AAPI communities, agency reflects the will and desire of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders to create and sustain a sense of belonging. The preservation and interpretation of history on their own terms—through the establishment of historical societies and museums, for example—are at the forefront of these endeavors. Founded in 1963, the Chinese Historical Society of America (CHSA) Museum is the oldest organization in the United States dedicated to the promotion and preservation of the history and contributions of the Chinese in America.[9] Housed in the landmark Julia Morgan-designed Chinatown YWCA building at 965 Clay Street, San Francisco, CHSA promotes the contributions of the Chinese in America. One of their recent events honored Chinese American chef and restaurateur Cecilia Chiang, who opened the Mandarin Restaurant in San Francisco in 1961 and is best known for bringing authentic, high-quality Chinese cuisine to American palates.

The Museum of the Chinese in America (MOCA) in New York began as a community-based organization founded in 1980 by historian John Kuo Wei Tchen and community activist Charles Lai.[10] One of its objectives is to make Chinese American history accessible to the general public through the appreciation of Chinese American arts, culture, and history. Educational resources for younger visitors feature learning about Chinese cultural



The Man@ngs were not able to freely get their education and, because of this, students of the Little Manila after School Program do not take their education for granted. Photo by Aldrich Sabac, courtesy of the Little Manila Foundation.

traditions like Lunar New Year and Cantonese opera, while high school-level programs include the study of U.S.-China relations and constitutional rights during World War II and the Cold War. A recent exhibition, entitled "Sub-Urbanisms," explores the controversial conversion of suburban single-family homes into multi-family communities by immigrant Chinese casino workers in Connecticut. Thus, preservation encompasses traditional Chinese culture as well as more recent immigration history in the making.[11]

NEW FILIPINO AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

Filipinos are the second-largest Asian group in the United States, with a population of 3.4 million.[12] New immigration is a major factor in the rapid growth of this group, which increased by 44 percent between 2000 and 2010. In the early 1970s, political instability (from dictator Ferdinand Marcos's declaration of martial law in 1972 until the People Power movement resulted in his ouster in 1986), high levels of domestic unemployment, and a Philippine government-sponsored labor export policy fueled the outmigration of Filipino workers worldwide. U.S. immigration legislation favoring workers with needed skills, American labor shortages (especially in the health professions), and higher salaries made the United States a favored destination. Overall, Filipino immigrants are a well-educated group with much higher education rates compared to both the native- and total foreign-born populations.[13] High levels of English language proficiency and Americanized educational training (legacies of the history of U.S. colonization of the Philippines from 1898 to 1946) and their propensity towards U.S. naturalization have also contributed to their integration into American communities.

But it would be more accurate to characterize new Filipino immigration as having a dual nature. Both working-class as well as middle-class Filipinos have immigrated in large numbers. Professional workers comprised the majority of new immigrants only in the decade after 1965. Beginning in the mid-1970s, the numbers of Filipinos immigrating to the United States as family members would comprise the vast majority of new immigrants. These immigrants were more socio-economically diverse and worked in blue-collar or low-wage service jobs such as custodial and assembly work.

New Filipino American communities are most visible in places throughout the United States that have



Built in 1832 and altered considerably over time, the YMCA building is an icon in Philadelphia's Chinatown; it once housed the Chinese Cultural and Community Center, but has been closed since 2007. Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.

employed Filipino workers, most notably U.S. hospitals and military bases. A unique feature of new Filipino immigration is the highly visible stream of Filipino health worker immigrants. Hospitals in New York, California, Florida, Texas, and Massachusetts have been the major recruiters of nurses from the Philippines. Urban areas in the Midwest, most notably Chicago, have also been major destinations.[14] Filipino men are also immigrating as physicians and other healthcare practitioners. These workers reside in small towns as well as metropolitan areas throughout the United States. A segment of the 2003 documentary film series "Searching for Asian America" features two Filipino immigrants—Jeffrey Lim and Martin Bautista—who work as physicians in the rural town of Guymon, Oklahoma.[15]

The Philippines is also the largest source of foreign-born U.S. military personnel. As a result of its longstanding recruitment of Filipino nationals (another outgrowth of U.S. colonialism in the Philippines), the U.S. Navy has the highest number of foreign-born personnel. In the second half of the 20th century, Filipino immigration in connection to the U.S. Navy resulted in the growth of Filipino American communities near naval bases and training facilities in the United States from San Diego, California, to Norfolk, Virginia, and Bangor, Maine.

The high percentage of mixed-heritage Filipino Americans is another noteworthy feature of this group. According to the 2010 census, "the largest proportion of Asians in combination with another race(s) was for respondents who identified as Filipino (24 percent)."[16] Historian Rudy Guevarra's volume, *Becoming Mexipino*, documents the ways in which shared histories of Spanish colonialism, Catholicism, and U.S. racial segregation brought Mexicans and Filipinos together, resulting in a vibrant, mixed, multigenerational Mexipino community in San Diego as well as other parts of the Pacific West Coast.[17] In her memoir, *Twenty-Five Chickens and a Pig for a Bride*, community activist and author Evangeline Canonizado Buell records the history of her mixed-heritage Filipino and African American family in the Philippines and in Oakland and Berkeley.[18] Buell is the granddaughter of a Filipina mother and an African American soldier, one of the 6,000 Buffalo Soldiers sent to the Philippines to fight in the Spanish-American War of 1898.

A large proportion of Filipinos (66 percent) lives in the West, especially in California and Hawai'i, where they comprise the largest Asian group in these states.[19] While many Filipino-born immigrants live in urban areas such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, and New York, they have also contributed to the suburbanization of Asian American communities in the late 20th century. A prominent example is Daly City, located just south of San Francisco; it is also known as the "Pinoy capital" of the United States. According to writer Benito Vergara, Filipinos in Daly City find life there nearly indistinguishable from "back home" in the Philippines because of the presence of Filipino restaurants and shops, the celebration of Filipino cultural events, and the large concentration of Filipino residents.[20] In the 1970s, the vast majority of Daly City residents was white, but by 2008, Filipinos comprised fully one-third of its population.[21]

The creation of new Filipino communities coincided, however, with the destruction of older ones that were populated by predominantly single Filipino men who had migrated to the United States in the 1920s and 1930s. They had entered as U.S. nationals (a colonial status that enabled them to enter the United States despite restrictive U.S. immigration laws barring Asians) with dreams of furthering their Americanized colonial education. With few exceptions, however, they were relegated



Local high school students now lead tours of the Little Manila Historic Site, located in Stockton, California. At one point, Stockton had the largest Filipino population outside of the Philippines. Photo by Aldrich Sabac, courtesy of the Little Manila Foundation.

to backbreaking labor, primarily in agricultural fields on the West Coast. In the second half of the 20th century, these men, affectionately known as *man@ngs*, would become the majority of elderly residents of the International Hotel (or I-Hotel) in San Francisco's new financial district. Beginning in the late 1960s, the I-Hotel was the center of an anti-eviction fight between its low-income residents and local and international developers bent on gentrification. Despite the multi-generational and coalitional support that the tenants received, the battle would culminate in the eviction of the tenants and the demolition of the building in 1977. A parking lot took its place. Then, a gaping hole in the ground remained for decades until a new hotel was built in 2005. The new building includes low-income housing units. On the ground floor is a Manilatown Center, which preserves I-Hotel's history and serves the present-day Asian American community. While it is a testament to the political gains of the Asian American Movement, the recent escalation of gentrification and redevelopment in San Francisco's South of Market (SoMa) neighborhood is a cause of alarm for Asian American and Filipino American community organizations, including the Kearney Street Workshop, Filipino American Development Foundation, and Manilatown Heritage Foundation.[22]

Another example of Filipino American community dismantling is the history of Stockton's Little Manila, a once-vibrant community of restaurants, union halls, grocery stores, and churches. Famed Filipino American writer Carlos Bulosan used Little Manila's Lafayette Lunch Counter as his permanent address from the 1930s to the early 1950s. Stockton was home to the largest Filipino community outside the Philippines until urban redevelopment, beginning in the 1960s, demolished most of its landscape to build freeways and strip malls. The research and advocacy of community members, such as historian Dawn Mabalon and Dillon Delvo, resulted in the establishment of the Little Manila Historic Site and the creation of the Little Manila Foundation, which preserves what remains of this historic community.[23]

A community-based organization that aims to preserve and to document Filipino American history on a national as well as local scale is the Filipino American National Historical Society. Founded in 1982 by Fred and Dorothy Cordova, FANHS boasts thirty local chapters throughout the United States from Metropolitan New York to Hampton Roads, Virginia, to the Sacramento Delta and Alaska. It maintains an invaluable archival collection, the National Pinoy Archives, in Seattle, Washington. FANHS has also been at the forefront of institutionalizing the observance of Filipino American History month in October, a commemoration honored by the White House in 2015.

A similarity shared with the other fastest growing Asian immigrant groups in the United States is the centrality of a global diaspora in the Philippine experience and Filipino American transnational ties to other overseas communities throughout the world. Large numbers of Filipino migrants reside in Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Canada, and Japan, a result of the labor demands of a global economy and the Philippine government's promotion of the employment of Filipinos as OCWs (overseas contract workers) beginning in the 1970s. The significance of the Philippine diaspora throughout the world has inspired Filipino American diasporic cultural expression. The non-profit web-based organization CA+T (Center for Art + Thought) takes the Philippines and Filipinos around the world as a point of departure to explore histories, spaces, and communities. Their inaugural exhibition was entitled "Sea, Land, Air: Migration and Labor."[24] It highlighted the fact that Filipinos work everywhere and posed the question: "But where do they come from?" One of the featured visual artists is Jenifer K Wofford, a Filipina-American who was born in San Francisco but raised in Hong Kong, China, the United Arab Emirates, and Malaysia. Paintings from her "Macarthur Nurses" and "Point of Departure" series depicted Filipino nurses in their white uniforms and caps in historical re-enactments of iconic World War II images as well as in more abstract forms in recent times.

Another CA+T exhibition, entitled "Food Worlds," featured the Philippines and its diaspora as a "culinary landscape;" "a global archipelago of scent, sight, sizzle, and spice;" and "an empire of eating memories." Creative writing by Filipino American poet, playwright, and performer Aileen Suzara entitled "Litany For the Sea" connects the memories of the Philippine Islands and some of its most beloved dishes to the 18th century settlement of Filipino American villages on the bayous of Louisiana:

> *It must have been like this: like home, our seven thousand islands. And so you built a village on the bayou. The same shrimp, the marsh buzzing and singing, like the jungle. Familiar - thick like mud, like rainstorms, like pinakbet or lugaw. It must have been like this.*[25]

Cultural expression preserves the ties that bind Philippine and Filipino American history and memory.

NEW ASIAN INDIAN COMMUNITIES

The difference between pre- and post-1965 Asian Indian communities is profound. Prior to the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, the Asian Indian population was relatively small in number, comprising a few thousand by the 1950 census. In the 1990s, Asian Indians became the second-largest immigrant group in the United States, second only to Mexico.[26] According to the 2010 census, they comprised the third largest Asian group (3.2 million). Their growth between 2000 and 2010—68 percent—was the fastest among Asian American groups.[27]

Their socio-economic and cultural backgrounds also changed dramatically. In the first half of the 20th century, the majority of this population was comprised of men with farming backgrounds. They labored primarily in agricultural, fishing, lumber, and railroad industries on the West Coast. Hailing predominantly from the province of Punjab, most of them would live in California. Early 20th century exclusion campaigns targeting a "Hindu invasion" resulted in the passage of restrictive immigration acts in 1917 and 1924. In reality, most of these men were Sikh; only a small minority practiced Hinduism or Islam.

Given their small numbers and the transitory nature of their work, they formed few ethnic neighborhoods in the first half of the 20th century. This absence does not mean that they did not form communities. Rather, the conditions of their labor as well as overtly racist U.S. exclusion campaigns forced them to create communities on the move. Further, their participation in anti-British imperialist movements demanded secrecy for their survival.

The construction of gurdwaras (Sikh temples) on the West Coast attests to their presence. Baba Jawala Singh and Baba Waskaha Singh, farmers of California's Central Valley and proponents of Indian independence from British rule, built the first Sikh temple in Stockton in 1912.[28] In August 2012, the year of the temple's centennial, writer Bhira Baukhaus reflected on the significance of this history in relation to a devastating hate crime that took place in Wisconsin that same year. A gunman with ties to a white supremacist movement shot and killed six Sikh worshippers in a gurdwara in Oak Creek. At this temporal confluence of what was a commemoration and testament to Asian Indian resilience in the United States and horrific American racist violence, Baukhaus reflected:

> But I do know this: to wipe away what has come before, who we have been over the centuries, also means to forget who our own mothers and fathers were. It means that how they conducted their lives — the families they raised, the homes they built — didn't matter. It denies us that basic human impulse, to remember their stories, the unique timbre of their voices. It would be as if they had never existed at all.[29]

The Sikh Temple of Wisconsin had completed construction of the gurdwara at Oak Creek in 2007. The brick building also houses a library, a school for adults and children, and a childcare area for infants and small children. The site provides Punjabi language instruction, a mentorship program, and accommodations for visiting ragu jathas (priests) from around the world. The Sikh Temple also collaborates with the group Rangla Punjab to organize Punjabi folk dance and popular music events, such as gidha and bhangra, and other cultural activities.[30] After the massacre, the Sikh Temple has held an annual Oak Creek Sikh Memorial Commemoration. In 2015, these commemoration events included a 48-hours recitation of the Shri Guru Granth Sahib (the Sikh Holy book), meditation, a memorial 6K run/walk, and a remembrance ceremony.[31]

In the 21st century, not only had the numbers of Asian Indian immigrants to the United States increased exponentially, their population had become much more diverse. They hailed from multiple Indian states (most notably Gujarat, Punjab, and Kerala) and spoke multiple vernacular languages (with Hindi, Guajarati, Telugu, Panjabi, and Tamil comprising the top five languages).



India Square, Jersey City, New Jersey. New Jersey boasts the highest concentration of Asian Indian communities in the western hemisphere. Photo by Jim Henderson, courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, licensed under Creative Commons.

They practiced various religions including Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam as well as Sikhism.

These new communities are also much more socio-economically heterogeneous. They include urban professionals with strong English language skills as well as families of men, women, and children. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 and the Immigration Act of 1990 featured employment-based immigration and preferences for highly-skilled immigrants. This legislation encouraged and enabled well-educated Asian Indian professional workers, most notably in medicine, the sciences, the computer industry, and engineering, to immigrate to the United States. In contrast, the legislation's family-based immigration preferences contributed to the growth of Asian Indian working-class immigrants of taxi drivers, shop owners, and gas station owners.

The diaspora of the Asian Indian population across the United States is noteworthy. According to the 2010 U.S. census, Asian Indians comprised the largest Asian group in 23 states, more states than any other Asian group. Of these states, 13 were in the South (Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia); 6 were in the Midwest (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, and Ohio); and 4 were in the Northeast (Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and New Jersey).[32] Thus, while the largest populations of Indian immigrants have settled on the West and East coasts, "the South is distinctive in having a larger percentage of Asian Indians."[33]

New Asian Indian communities are concentrated in specific suburban areas as well as urban areas. Upper middle class Asian Indian families and other South Asian families, especially those in the high technology industry, were attracted to the suburbs of Silicon Valley in northern California. They are especially prominent in Fremont, which had a nearly 40 percent Asian population in 2000.[34]

One of the most visible features of new Asian Indian communities is the creation of Indian business districts—concentrated areas of Indian restaurants, grocery stores, clothing stores, and jewelry shops that are sometimes referred to as "Little Indias." Among the largest and well-known of the these places is Jackson Heights' "Little India" in Queens, New York; its expansion and popularity are partly a result of high rents in Manhattan that pushed Asian Indian businesses elsewhere. In 1991, a section of Chicago's Devon Street, the "Little India" stretch, was designated Gandhi Marg (Way). Another example—India Square on Newark Avenue in Jersey City, New Jersey—boasts one of the highest concentrations of Asian Indians in the Western Hemisphere. The Jersey City Asian Merchant Association (JCAMA) aims to organize Indian cultural activities and improve local business conditions. JCAMA helped organize a Navrati celebration in Jersey City, which involved over 100,000 participants and visitors.[35]

The greater New York City, Chicago, and San Jose metropolitan areas are home to the largest number of

Indian immigrants, accounting for about 27 percent of Indian immigrants in the United States.[36] According to the historian Vinay Lal, Indian ethnic, linguistic, and cultural divisions persist in the post-1965 Asian Indian community in Chicago. These differences are illustrated in organizations such as the Bengali Association, the Bihar Cultural Association, the Tamilnadu Foundation, the Telugu Association, the Punjabi Cultural Society, the Maharashtra Mandal, and multiple Gujarati associations. Several temples for the Hindu community, two gurdwaras for Sikhs, and a Jain temple reflect the religious diversity. However, cultural, professional, and social service organizations, such as the Indian Classical Music Circle and several Asian Indian professional organizations, promote a more encompassing Asian Indian identity.[37]

In Minnesota, five women—Neena Gada, Usha Kumar, Rita Mustaphi, Rujuta Pathre, and Prabha Nair—founded the School for Indian Languages and Cultures (SILC), a non-profit grassroots community project, in 1979. SILC students learn about Indian history, folklore, and classical culture in addition to language. School leaders point to the need for developing an "Indian cultural identity through the strength of our regional languages and cultures."[38] The staff and students represent many parts of India (Kerala, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, etc.) and other South Asian diasporic locations. Elective courses include instruction in instruments like the tabla, regional cooking, folk and classical dance, yoga, and folk art. While some classes read folk stories to complement their study of Indian history, others use Indian narratives and characters to write about current U.S. issues.

The diaspora of Asian Indians in the United States and other parts of the world is also linked to a broader South Asian American history of peoples who trace their heritage to Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Tibet, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. The South Asian American Digital Archive (SAADA) is a non-profit organization that aims to create a more inclusive society by documenting, preserving, and sharing the stories of South Asian Americans. Over 2,500 archival items are available on their online archive on themes including community, media, family, and political engagement. SAADA strives to build archival collections reflecting South Asian national, religious, regional, socio-economic, gender, sexual orientation, and cultural diversity: "We believe that diversity is a strength."[39]

NEW VIETNAMESE AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

The initial rise of new Vietnamese American communities can be directly attributed to the aftermath of war. U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War was the catalyst that transformed a once tiny population into the fourth largest Asian group in the United States. At the end of the war in 1975, the defeat of U.S.-backed South Vietnamese forces to Northern Vietnamese communist forces resulted in an American-orchestrated evacuation of approximately 125,000 Vietnamese refugees fleeing persecution from their homeland.

Beginning in the late 1970s, hundreds of thousands more Vietnamese and other Southeast Asian refugees—Laotians, Hmong, and Cambodians—followed their exodus, making Southeast Asia the largest source of refugees to the United States at the end of the 20th century. By the early 1990s, Southeast Asian refugee flows to the United States declined as formal refugee admissions programs, such as the Orderly Departure Program, ended. However, Vietnamese migration continues primarily through the family reunification provisions of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act.

Vietnamese migration to the United States thus occurred in three waves, each taking place within a specific political context and each having a distinct socio-economic composition. Military personnel and urban, educated professionals who were associated with the U.S. military or the South Vietnamese government comprised the first wave. The second wave—known as the "boat people"—were predominantly uneducated Vietnamese refugees from rural areas and ethnic Chinese-Vietnamese who had also become targets of communist persecution. The third wave entered the United States primarily through family-based immigration. It also included thousands of Vietnamese Amerasians (children born of U.S. servicemen and Vietnamese women) as well as political prisoners. In the 21st century, California, Texas, Washington, Florida, and Virginia are the states where most Vietnamese immigrants have settled.[40]

A distinctive feature of the history of Vietnamese American communities is the active role of the U.S. government in their early formation. The U.S. federal



Sign marking one of the two main entrances to Village de L'Est. in New Orleans. The sign is relatively new and is part of the Vietnamese American community's many post-Katrina infrastructure improvements intended to support their cultural heritage. Photo by Christopher A. Airriess, used with permission.

government and voluntary agencies throughout the country initially aimed to prevent large concentrations of Vietnamese refugees by deliberately dispersing them across the United States. By the end of 1975, most of them were in California, but they also settled in the Midwest with the aid of social service organizations, such as the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, as well as in the South where some found employment in chicken processing plants and nursing homes. Unsurprisingly, refugees left their initial places of settlement in increasing numbers to be closer to family and to seek new work opportunities. This relocation on their own accord (sometimes referred to as secondary migration) created sizable Vietnamese populations in Orange County and San Jose, California, and Houston, Texas. Subsequently, Vietnamese-owned businesses, including mom-and-pop stores as well as big supermarket chains like Wai Wai Supermarkets, fast-food *banh-mi* shops such as Lee's Sandwiches, and restaurant franchises like The Boiling Crab, proliferated in these areas.

In 1988, then-governor of California George Deukmejian officially designated the area in Orange County bordered by Westminster Boulevard, Bolsa Avenue, Magnolia Street, and Euclid Street as "Little Saigon." The sight and sound of Vietnamese language and the smell of Vietnamese cuisine permeated such ethnic enclaves and added to the diversity of the American landscape. For Vietnamese refugees, who left their homeland involuntarily and for whom there is often no return because warfare obliterated their hometowns and villages, these places had a deeper social and spiritual meaning. In one study on the significance of Orange County's Little Saigon, researchers emphasize that the enclave is not solely a commercial hub but also an emotional focal point of the Vietnamese community in America.[41] They argue that one of the ways that Little Saigon communicates a distinctive identity and presence reminiscent of Vietnam is through its architecture. For example, temples and other structures are built according to the principles of phong thuy, a Vietnamese form of the Chinese practice of feng shui. Familiar architectural forms, such as arches and curved roofs; artifacts like Buddhist statues; and landscaping with plants and trees from Vietnam remind refugees and immigrants of the places they left behind.

Places like Little Saigon are equally powerful for those Vietnamese Americans who were born in the United States and those who have little memory of Vietnam. They create a new place-based identity that forges connections between them and their immigrant parents and Vietnamese ancestors. These connections are sometimes conceptualized in spiritual terms as multigenerational communities and encourage Vietnamese Americans living outside of Little Saigon to make pilgrimages. The Vietnamese diaspora flocks to Orange County to attend the world's largest Tet festival, the most celebrated holiday outside of Vietnam. Little Saigon's cultural influence goes beyond its geographic borders through print and

other forms of media, such as its 24-hour Vietnamese radio and television broadcasts.[42]

In the Bay Area, the Diasporic Vietnamese Artists Network (DVAN) started in 2007 with the dual mission to promote artists from the Vietnamese diaspora and to enrich Bay Area communities through cultural programs that address Vietnamese American history, culture, and traditions. DVAN regards literature, films, and visual arts as tools for empowerment and healing. Recently, it has supported other Southeast Asian cultural productions of the diaspora by launching a San Francisco International Southeast Asian (I-SEA) Film Festival in 2015 in order to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the end of US military involvement in Southeast Asia.[43]

It is not, however, simply large concentrations of people and businesses that constitute a community. In the American South, a relatively small Vietnamese American community in New Orleans' Village de L'Est became a focal point of national attention after Hurricane Katrina, one of the deadliest hurricanes in U.S. history, devastated the city in August 2005. Although Vietnamese Americans constituted less than 1.5 percent of the city's population, they received inordinate attention from the press as many former residents returned to New Orleans and rebuilt their community in the aftermath of the hurricane.



Elderly vendors at the Saturday morning market in New Orleans that has been in existence for 30 years. With the gradual passing of the elderly Vietnamese American population, the number of vendors and cultivators of vegetables has declined. Photo by Christopher A. Airriess, used with permission.

Some observers attributed their resilience to innate Vietnamese family values and strong work ethic. Yet Asian American studies scholars cautioned against such ahistorical analysis, warning that it perpetuated a "model minority" stereotype and myth about Asian immigrants in relation to the negative stereotyping of African Americans. Rather, scholars, such as Karen J. Leong, Christopher A. Airriess, Wei Li, Angela Chia-Chen Chen, and Verna M. Keith, argue that the resiliency of New Orleans' Vietnamese American community can be largely attributed to their particular history and recent collective memory.[44] The violence and trauma of their experiences as refugees in relation to war in Vietnam shaped a different, more hopeful way of understanding their return to Village de l'Est. From their perspective, Village de l'Est was a place that Vietnamese American leadership and their social networks had forged out of relatively recent refugee displacement and resettlement. All was not lost. It was a place that they could re-inhabit and build anew.

NEW KOREAN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

Korean Americans comprise the fifth largest Asian American group. Their growth from a group of less than 10,000 in the early 20th century into a population numbering 1.7 million people in the United States can be primarily attributed to the U.S. military presence in Korea, the aftermath of the Korean War (1950-1953), and the passage of more equitable U.S. immigration legislation in 1965. By 2013, approximately 1.1 million Korean immigrants (the vast majority of whom are from South Korea) resided in the United States. Most Korean immigrants have settled in California (31 percent), New York (10 percent), and New Jersey (6 percent). They reside in large numbers in the metropolitan areas of New York, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C.

Early 20th century Korean migration was relatively small. In the early 1900s, approximately 7,000 predominately male laborers migrated to work on sugar plantations in Hawai'i. However, the 1908 Gentleman's Agreement between the United States and Japan barred the entry of U.S.-bound Korean as well as Japanese laborers because, by that time, Korea had become a protectorate of Japan. Thus, with the exception of approximately 1,000 "picture brides," who arrived between 1910 and 1924 to join their prospective Korean husbands, Korean mass migration was halted until the 1950s.

In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, the growth of the Korean American population can be attributed to two waves of mass migration. The first is connected to U.S. involvement in the Korean War (1950-1953) and resulted in the migration of Korean military wives and children of U.S. servicemen as well as war orphans, mixed-race adoptees, refugees, professionals, and students. According to historian Ji-Yeon Yuh, nearly a hundred-thousand Korean military brides of American servicemen immigrated to the United States between 1950 and 1989. Some of these marriages were based on loving relationships, but stereotypes of Korean wives as fallen women or prostitutes in the Korean camptowns located near U.S. military bases in South Korea were pervasive. Further, their new homes in the United States—from rural Kansas to urban Philadelphia to Fort Collins, Colorado—were usually based on their husbands' family histories. These Korean women were often the only Korean, if not the only Asian, immigrants in the local area. Often isolated and marginalized, they reached out to one another, sometimes traveling great distances to share Korean food in each other's company. Furthermore, Yuh points out that these "women have been the critical first link in chain migrations of Koreans throughout the 1970s and 1980s and, as such, have been instrumental in the construction of Korean immigrant communities."[45]

Another group whose migration can be traced to the Korean War is adoptees. International adoption from Korea became the first mass wave of international adoptions in global history. Beginning in the mid-1950s, the phenomenon has spanned six decades and involved over 200,000 Korean children adopted by families in Western nations (primarily the United States, but also France and Sweden). What began as a post-war humanitarian effort to adopt primarily the mixed-race children of Korean women and American servicemen had transformed into a large-scale industry by the 1980s.

Although the numbers of Korean international adoptions have declined in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, this longstanding history has resulted in the presence of multiple generations of Korean adult adoptees in the United States.[46] They have been at the forefront of creating a sense of community among adoptees. Minnesota Adopted Koreans (MAK), founded

in 1991, would become the first official Korean adoptee organization in the United States. The number of Korean adoptees in Minnesota is the largest in any one place in the world. Productions by Mu Performing Arts (founded in 1992 as Theatre Mu in the Twin Cities) have featured Asian international adoption stories, such as *Walleye Kid*. Written by R.A. Shio and Sundraya Kase, *Walleye Kid* features a Korean girl who miraculously appears as a baby out of a huge walleye; she then becomes the daughter of the couple that caught the fish. They take a magical journey back to the land of her birth in this modern American fable "inspired by Korean and Japanese folk tales."[47]

The second wave of Korean mass migration in the second half of the 20th century is the result of the liberalization of U.S. immigration policy beginning in 1965 and widening social, economic, and political inequality in Korea. A lack of job opportunities and political insecurity under a Korean military dictatorship in the 1960s and 1970s pushed many educated Koreans, along with their families, to emigrate for work and educational opportunities abroad; at the same time new U.S. immigration preferences for highly-skilled labor and family reunification pulled them to the United States. As a result, the number of Korean immigrants living in the United States grew rapidly, increasing from 290,000 in 1980 to 568,400 in 1990 and 864,000 in 2000.[48]

Although a large proportion of the post-1965 Korean immigrants were highly-educated, professional workers, many of them engaged in new forms of labor because of barriers related to English language fluency and professional licensure in the United States. Miliann Kang's ethnographic study of late 20th and early 21st century Korean-owned nail salons in New York City illuminates how beauty work increasingly relies on the labor of immigrant women of color. According to industry sources, women comprise 97 percent of nail technicians. In New York, over 80 percent of this workforce is Korean. In the 1970s and 1980s, constraining domestic roles, in addition to limited job opportunities and repressive politics, pushed middle-class South Korean women with financial capital to emigrate, while the perception of socio-economic opportunities and political freedom pulled them to the United States. Once in the United States, however, language and licensing issues hindered their participation in professions such as nursing and teaching. The prescient innovation of a small group of Korean women who took advantage of the open regulation of the nail industry prior to 1994 led to Korean immigrant women's occupation of this labor niche. Whereas a manicure was previously considered a private affair, it became increasingly commercialized. According to a 2006-2007 report, nail salons had become a $6.16 billion industry.[49]

Many new Korean immigrants also became small business owners. Entrepreneurship, especially the ownership of small grocery and liquor stores in predominantly black and Latino neighborhoods in New York and Los Angeles that were increasingly abandoned by white business owners, presented a means of socio-economic mobility. Separately, Korean immigrant small business owners were also at the forefront of creating new ethnic enclaves, known as Koreatowns. Koreatowns have visually transformed American urban landscapes with the establishment of various businesses—Korean groceries, restaurants, hair salons, dental offices—and Korean Presbyterian churches.

Some of these Koreatowns, most notably in Los Angeles, have developed into more sprawling, multiethnic communities in contrast to the more traditional dense and compact ethnic enclaves. In Los Angeles, Latinos comprise a majority of Koreatown's population; in 1990, its population was 68 percent Latino.[50] The enclave also includes a large number of businesses run by other Asians and Latinos. While this spatial layout and multiethnic composition may have contributed to the invisibility of Los Angeles's Koreatown, the racial, cultural, and economic tensions, especially between Korean shop owners and African American customers, have garnered an incredible amount of coverage in mainstream media. This visibility was largely the result of highly publicized African American boycotts of Korean-owned businesses in New York City and Los Angeles in the early 1990s and the shooting death of a black teenager Latasha Harlins by Korean shopkeeper Soon Ja Du.

These tensions have also escalated into grave violence and community destruction. On April 29, 1992, a California jury found the four white police officers charged with the beating of a black man, Rodney King, not guilty. Korean Americans painfully remember that day as *Sa-i-gu*, a day that unleashed, in the media's terms, the 1992 Los Angeles riot. California's governor declared

a state of emergency and dispatched 6,000 National Guard troops in the city. When the unrest ceased, the human toll included 58 deaths and 2,400 injuries. Fire, vandalism, and looting resulted in $800 million in damages. Over 3,000 businesses were impacted; most of these businesses were Korean-owned.[51]

The conflicts in these communities also gave rise to new Korean American leadership and organizations, as well as new ways of reflecting upon and preserving diverse community histories. For example, media artist and scholar Kristy H.A. Kang is the creator of *The Seoul of Los Angeles: Contested Identities and Transnationalism in Immigrant Space*, an online platform for community storytelling and cultural history on the multi-ethnic identity and development of Los Angeles' Koreatown. Although many visitors conceive of Koreatown as an extension of Seoul culture, Kang points out:

> . . . what most people may not know is that the majority of inhabitants who comprise its residential and working class population are not Korean, but Latino. Though the majority of businesses are owned by struggling first generation Korean immigrants or, in some cases, financed by Korean transnational capital, the everyday space of this community is largely inhabited by a mix of immigrants coming from Mexico, Central and South America, and even Bangladesh.[52]

Kang continues that, although these multi-ethnic communities have unique cultural histories, they converge in the urban space of Koreatown. These community formations challenge popular conceptions of ethnic enclaves as ethnically homogenous. They illuminate a contemporary truth about Korean immigrants and other new Asian immigrant groups: Asian Americans are transforming as well as being transformed by American landscapes and places.

Finally, similar to other Asian American communities whose growth is fueled by new immigration, Korean Americans' transnational ties to Korea and diasporic connections to overseas Koreans are significant. These ties to Asian homelands and connections to Koreans overseas in many parts of the world influence the missions of new community institutions and research centers. For example, the Research Center for Korean Community at Queens College in Flushing, New York was established in Fall 2009 to promote and disseminate research on Korean Americans to the local community, overseas Koreans, and the Korean government.[53] Its main activities include helping faculty members from Korea and other countries visit the Center and publicizing research on Korean Americans through its online Korean American Data Bank. The reach of the Center is yet another example of how the impact of new Asian American communities is multi-layered and intersectional. New Asian immigration and community formations must be understood at local, regional, national, transnational, and global levels.

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Essay 17

AAPI Political Mobilization and Participation

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This essay focuses on the emergence and participation of Asian American and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) in the United States (U.S.) political landscape. Chinese immigrants arrived in the U.S. as low wage workers with limited knowledge of the nation they were entering and found they were denied virtually all political rights. As part of this political assault, in 1882 Chinese laborers were singled out for immigration exclusion, as they were viewed as an economic threat by white working people and the larger society that viewed them as unassimilable to U.S. values. However, despite being marginalized by discriminatory laws, Chinese Americans and, later, other Asian immigrants were undeterred and engaged in ethnic group political activities, sought civil rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution, and some second-generation Asian Americans began to vote and participate in traditional political activities by the 1930s. World

The First Japanese Embassy to the United States was photographed at the Washington Navy Yard in May 1860.
Photo courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration.



Crowd in front of 'Iolani Palace, circa 1900. Photo #1501, Hawai'i War Records Depository; courtesy of the University Archives & Manuscripts Department, University of Hawai'i at Manoa Library.

War II was a watershed for Asian Americans politically, as for the second time in the U.S. an Asian ethnic group was singled out for the denial of civil rights. This time it was Japanese Americans, who were forced to leave their homes and farms on the west coast, including Hawai'i, interned in isolated camps with few political rights, and guarded by the military throughout the war. During this same period, the U.S. government eliminated the exclusion of Chinese American labor as part of its war efforts against Japan, with no apology or acknowledgement of the harm it caused.

Asian Americans emerged from World War II politically marginalized in communities isolated from the larger society. Yet in a single generation, many Asian Americans moved from the margins to political activism and active participation in the 1960s and 1970s in electoral politics and civil rights advocacy. The passage of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act liberalized U.S. policy and started a large migration of Asians and Pacific Islanders to this nation that has contributed to the growth and diversity of the AAPI population. Beginning in the mid-1970s, thousands of political refugees from Southeast Asia fled their homelands and came to the U.S.; they have struggled to affirm their identity in the midst of numerous economic, linguistic, and cultural challenges. These two streams of migrants and refugees have participated in both grassroots and electoral politics. Today, AAPIs have achieved some of the highest elected and appointed positions in the political world, while many still live in communities with limited political participation and access to resources. To overcome these obstacles, AAPIs are in the process of building the organizational capacity and resources to advance their political aspirations and address the social and economic problems that confront their community.

EARLY POLITICAL PARTICIPATION EFFORTS

Upon their arrival to the U.S. as sojourners seeking better lives and economic opportunities from the mid-1800s to the 1920s, Asian immigrants, including Chinese, Japanese, East Indians, Koreans, and Filipinos, were confronted with harsh and low-paying working conditions, racism and violence, and the denial of basic political rights. Asian immigrants were denied citizenship through the naturalization process that European immigrants obtained during the same era. Numerous laws were passed designed to prevent Asian immigrants from being treated equally, including the right to vote. The lack of citizenship did not deter Asian immigrants from challenging the lack of political rights. Chinese immigrants filed hundreds of legal cases challenging the denial of their disenfranchisement of their rights, including the case of Wong Kim Ark, a native-born American citizen of Chinese descent whose case reaffirmed birthright citizenship for people born in the United States, regardless of race (*United States v. Wong Kim Ark*, 1898).

In the period before World War II, although limited by anti-Asian laws that disenfranchised immigrants from traditional political activities such as voting by first generation settlers, Asian immigrants were active in both homeland politics and various political mobilizations, including the 1905 anti-American boycott organized by Chinese reformers in exile and merchants in China who were opposed to how Chinese immigrants were abused and discriminated against in the U.S. Later, Chinese Americans and others organized boycotts of Japanese goods following the invasion of China by Japan in the 1930s. There were also protests and boycotts by Korean immigrants against Japanese occupation of their homeland, and South Asian immigrants were active in anticolonial campaigns to end British rule in India. These protests were early forms of group political protest and were often coordinated with groups in their countries of origin.

In addition to group protests, Asian immigrants

initially formed fraternal associations usually based on their occupation or the region of the country they came from, and often these associations served as vehicles for advocating for group rights, such as the Laundrymen's Association, in various cities. For example, in New York City, Chinese workers formed the Hand Laundryman's Alliance in the 1930s to challenge policies that favored white workers. During this same period, civil rights organizations, such as the Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA) and the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), were formed to advocate for civil rights. Some second-generation Japanese Americans formed Young Democrat clubs to participate in local party politics. Asian immigrants were also active in homeland politics, such as opposing the occupation of China and Korea by Japan. Second-generation Chinese Americans, including women, began to vote in cities such as San Francisco, although they had virtually no political representation on the mainland. In Hawai'i, on the other hand, the children of Asian immigrants began to participate and run for political office in the territorial government by the 1930s.

Following WWII, many AAPIs sought ways to participate in the political system. A few Asian Americans began to seek elected office and were early political pioneers. An early effort in 1956 was by Dalip Singh Saund, a successful businessperson; he was elected to the U.S. Congress from the Riverside and Imperial Valley areas of California. Congressman Singh Saund was a trailblazer in many respects. He was born in 1899 in a rural village in Punjab Province, India. He came to the United States in 1920 to attend the University of California and graduated in 1922 with both an M.A. and Ph.D; he went on to become a farmer in the Imperial Valley. Mr. Singh Saund became a citizen of the United States in 1949, and in 1952 he was elected as a local judge and served until his resignation in 1957. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Conventions in 1952, 1956, and 1960; he was elected as a Democrat to Congress in the 85th district and to the two succeeding Congresses (January 3, 1957-January 3, 1963). He died in 1973 in California.

In Hawai'i, Native Hawaiians and Asians participated in territorial politics before WWII, although they were politically marginalized and only held a few seats. The Republican Party was the dominant political power for decades while it was a territory of the United States. In 1954, the Democratic Party was able to achieve electoral victory in legislative races and win the majority of seats in the territorial houses. In 1959, when Hawai'i became a state, Asian Americans, who were the majority of Hawaii's population, were elected to numerous state and local offices including the House and Senate seats.

A notable elected official from Hawai'i in this period was Hiram Fong. He was born in Honolulu, Hawai'i in 1906. His parents immigrated from China to Hawai'i. Mr. Fong became the Deputy Attorney for the City and County of Honolulu from 1935 to 1938. He also served 14 years in the Legislature of the Territory of Hawai'i from 1938 to 1954. He was Vice-President of the Hawaii State Constitutional Convention in 1950 and was a strong supporter of statehood for Hawai'i. After statehood was established, Hiram Fong was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1959 and became the first American of Asian ancestry to be elected. Fong, a Republican, was re-elected until he retired in 1977. He remains the only Chinese American elected to the U.S. Senate.

The most well-known Asian American elected



Shiro Kashino, a decorated veteran of World War II, stands with his family and Senator Daniel Inouye during the dedication of the Nisei veterans memorial. Left to right: Shiro Kashino, Debbie McQuilken, Senator Daniel Inouye, and Louise Kashino. Photo by Akio Yanagihara, 1988; courtesy of the Densho Digital Repository, Yanagihara Family Collection.



U.S. Representatives, including Nita Lowey, Pat Schroeder, Patsy Mink, Jolene Unsoeld, Eleanor Holmes Norton and Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, walking by the U.S. Capitol on their way to the Senate. Patsy Mink is second from the right. Photo by Maureen Keating, 1991; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

leader was Daniel K. Inouye who was also from Hawai'i. He was born in the City of Honolulu in 1924 and fought in World War II as a member of the 442nd Infantry Regimental Combat Team. He was wounded and received several military decorations, including the Medal of Honor. When he returned to Hawai'i, he was elected to the territorial House of Representatives in 1953 and to the territorial Senate in 1957. When Hawai'i became a state in 1959, Inouye was elected as its first member of the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1962, he was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he remained until he died in 2012. He was the first Japanese American to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives and later became the first Japanese American in the U.S. Senate. He was undefeated in 58 years as an elected official.

In this early period, mostly in California where the largest numbers of AAPIs lived following WWII, Asian Americans began to be elected to office in small numbers as city council members and on school boards. For example, in Oakland, California, the first Japanese American to sit on a city council on the mainland was Frank Ogawa, who was appointed to the city council in 1966 and was followed closely by Raymond Eng, a Chinese American, who was elected in 1967. The plaza facing Oakland City Hall is named after Frank Ogawa for his many civic accomplishments.

An additional Asian American political pioneer was Alfred H. Song. He was born in Hawai'i of Korean ancestry and moved to the mainland to attend the University of Southern California where he obtained a B.A. and a law degree. He began his political career in the City of Monterey Park as a city council member in 1960 and soon after was elected to represent the San Gabriel Valley in the California State Assembly in 1962; he was the first Asian American elected to the California legislature. He was elected to the State Senate in 1966 and stayed in office until 1978; he began a long line of Asian Americans elected in the area east of the City of Los Angeles.

Another location of early political activism was Seattle, Washington, where Wing Luke was an early pioneer in electoral politics. Wing Luke was elected to the Seattle City Council in 1962; he became the first Chinese American from a major mainland city to hold elected local office. Wing Chong Luke was born in a village near Guangzhou, China, in 1925 and soon moved with

his family to Seattle in 1931. Although Wing Luke was a recent immigrant, he became a student body president at a local high school and fought in World War II. After the war ended, Wing Luke attended the University of Washington for his B.A. and law degrees. Before being elected to the Seattle City Council in 1962, he served as an Assistant Attorney General from 1957 to 1962. He died at the age of 40 in a plane crash. In honor of Wing Luke's contributions, in 1966 the Wing Luke Asian Museum was established in Seattle's International District and still exists today as a testament to his legacy and serves as a focal point of the Asian and Pacific Islander experience in Seattle.

AAPI WOMEN ELECTED OFFICIALS EMERGE

The initial political leaders that were elected to office were not only men; in Hawai'i, Washington, and California, strong Asian American women were elected in this earlier era. In Hawai'i, Patsy Mink joined the efforts of other second-generation Japanese Americans who mobilized Democrats to take control of the state government from the Republican Party in 1954. She was elected to the territorial House in 1956 and territorial Senate in 1959. Mink served in the Hawai'i State Senate from 1962 to 1964, when she was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. She served with distinction from 1964 to 1977 and again from 1990 to 2002. Ms. Mink also held numerous other leadership roles at the local and national level throughout her career. Also, she was a co-sponsor of a groundbreaking piece of legislation, Title IX of the 1972 Amendments to the Education Act, which prohibits sex discrimination in education, and the bill was later renamed in her honor.

Another AAPI woman pioneer was March Fong Eu; she was a third generation Californian and was born in the small Central Valley community of Oakdale in 1922. She moved to the San Francisco Bay Area and earned a B.A. at the University of California, Berkeley, an M.A. at Mills College, and an E.D. at Stanford University. She taught and worked in education and served for three terms on the Alameda County Board of Education. In 1966, Fong Eu was elected to the California State Assembly from the 15th District, representing the Oakland area. Fong Eu was later elected Secretary of State of California in 1974, becoming the first Asian American woman elected to a state constitutional office in the United States. Later, in 1994 to 1996, she served as the U.S. Ambassador to the Federated States of Micronesia.

Ruby Chow, a Chinese American pioneer, was born on Seattle's fishing docks in 1920 and was one of 10 children. Ruby Chow grew up poor; however, she rose to become a restaurant owner. In 1973, she was elected to the King County Council, where she served three terms before retiring in 1985. She also became the first woman elected president of a local chapter of the Chong Wa Benevolent Association, an international organization that advocates for Chinese immigrants.

These women pioneers and others who became active in local electoral political activities established a presence and visibility of Asian American women leaders in Asian American communities that have grown and flourished in succeeding generations.

BIRTH OF THE ASIAN AMERICAN MOVEMENT IN THE 1960S-1970S

While Asian Americans were beginning to participate in local and state elections and other forms of traditional political activities, beginning in the 1960s, a new generation of activists emerged on university campuses and in the Civil Rights Movement who began to speak out on issues of the day such as the Vietnam War, the Civil Rights Movement, and other concerns. A popular issue raised by young people was a demand that the study of Asian American history should be offered in universities, so people of Asian descent and others could learn the history of Asian Americans in the U.S. and why their ancestors migrated to this country. To learn about their communities, many young Asian American students went into ethnic community hubs in Chinatowns, Japantowns, and Manilatowns to learn from the community residents and seniors who lived in the U.S. before World War II. This diverse group of young and veteran activists joined together to create the Asian American Movement to form pan-ethnic identity efforts and address issues confronting Asian American and Pacific Islander students, workers, and communities, such as affordable housing, access to health care, and worker rights.

Veteran Filipino labor activists, including Phillip Vera Cruz and Larry Itliong, helped form the United Farm Workers Union with Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, and they were an inspiration to the young generation of activists who supported efforts to unionize

farm workers and provide decent working conditions. Other Manongs joined with young activists to preserve the International Hotel in the remnants of a once flourishing Manilatown in San Francisco. There were similar efforts to preserve Japantowns and Chinatowns by young people and elders in numerous cities across the country. The veteran labor and community activists were instrumental in educating the 1960s to 1970s generation of young people about their own histories in this country and their struggles for political participation and worker rights and against racism. Out of these efforts grew several community institutions that still exist today, including law centers, health centers, as well as youth and elderly service providers. These newer institutions complemented the previous civil rights organizations, ethnic associations, and some community churches that provided an institutional infrastructure for political efforts.

AAPI ELECTORAL GROWTH

The challenge for AAPIs is to build beyond a legacy of AAPI political pioneers and develop the capacity for political succession of subsequent AAPI elected officials. AAPIs have worked to build an ongoing pipeline of future generations of elected leaders in the U.S. For example, it took 35 years from 1966 to 2000 for two more AAPI women, Wilma Chan and Carol Liu, to be elected to the California State Assembly after March Fong Eu was first elected. This was followed in 2001 by the election of Judy Chu to the California Assembly; Ms. Chu was later elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 2009 and became the first Chinese American woman elected to this position. Currently she chairs the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus (CAPAC). Today, AAPI women have been elected in cities and to school boards and to state and federal level positions throughout the U.S.; in fact, they outnumber their AAPI male counterparts in Congress.

Another early Asian American pioneer is Norman Mineta, who served in many elected and appointed positions in government, including Mayor of the City of San Jose, U.S. Congressman, Commerce Secretary in the Clinton Administration, and Transportation Secretary in the Bush administration. Mineta and his family are among the 120,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry who were incarcerated in camps during World War II. After the war, Mineta became active in civic affairs and served as a San Jose City Council member from 1967 to 1971 and mayor from 1971 to 1974. He was the first Asian Pacific American mayor of a major U.S. city. From 1975 to 1995, he went on to serve as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives. While serving in Congress, Mineta played a key role behind the passage of H.R. 442, the Civil Liberties Act of 1988. With this act, the U.S. government officially apologized and provided reparations for the wrongs suffered by Japanese Americans during the war years. Following his service in Congress, Mr. Mineta then served as Secretary of Commerce under President Bill Clinton and became the first Asian Pacific American to serve in the Cabinet of the United States. In 2001, he became the Secretary of Transportation, appointed by President George W. Bush, where he also served with distinction until stepping down in 2006. Mr. Mineta remains active in Asian Pacific Islander affairs, and he is a bridge between the elected leaders of the pioneer generation to today's contemporary era of AAPI political leaders.

GROWTH OF AAPI POPULATION AND AAPI ELECTED AND APPOINTED OFFICIALS

The first systematic study of the numbers of AAPIs in electoral positions was conducted in 1976 by Professor Don Nakanishi at the University of California, Los Angeles; at the time, there were relatively few AAPI elected officials in the states and localities outside of Hawai'i. In 1970, the U.S. Census Bureau counted only 1.4 million Asian Americans; more than 40 percent were Japanese American, and 32 percent were Chinese American. By 1980, the number of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders had increased to 3.7 million, and in 1990, the number grew to 7.3 million, reflecting both growth as well as migration from Asian countries and the entrance of large numbers of political refugees from Southeast Asia. The AAPI population increased not only in its size but also in its diversity. Groups that did not even appear on the 1970 Census—including Asian Indian, Vietnamese, and Korean Americans—are now among the five largest AAPI populations in the U.S. The numbers of people that identify as Southeast Asian Americans, including Cambodian, Laotian, Hmong, and Mien, have grown in size as have the populations of Pacific Islander Americans, including Native Hawaiian, Samoan, Ton-

gan, and Guamanian.

By 1995, there were over 230 AAPIs elected, including one governor, two U.S. senators, 20 mayors, 204 judges, and other local elected seats, such as the election of Tony Lam from Westminster, California, the first Vietnamese American elected to office in the U.S. While Hawai'i dominated the numbers of AAPIs elected to office, there were AAPIs elected in 31 states, including Alaska, Arizona, Texas, and Ohio. In 1996, a presidential election year, Asian Americans launched a first-ever national voter registration campaign to enfranchise Asian Americans, and thousands of AAPIs were registered for the first time. Gary Locke was also elected as Governor of Washington, becoming the first Chinese American to win the highest elected position in any state; he previously served in the state assembly and as King County's Executive. Also, in 1996, the election of Mike Honda of San Jose to the California Assembly was important as he became only the second AAPI elected to the California legislature.

Unfortunately, the 1996 elections were marred with allegations of illegal campaign finance activities directed at a few Asian and Asian American donors and fundraisers. There were fears that the intense media and partisan attention paid to potential campaign violations would have a detrimental impact on turnout and future involvement of AAPIs in electoral politics. However, as noted in the 8th Edition of the Asian Pacific American Almanac, there was a 10 percent increase in the number of AAPI elected officials nationally in 1996. Also in 1996, AAPIs were elected in 33 states; they included new immigrants and refugees who arrived in the U.S. over the past three decades beginning in the 1960s.

Following the 2000 elections at the national level, George W. Bush was elected U.S. President, and he appointed two Asian Americans to the Presidential Cabinet, Norman Mineta, as Secretary of Transportation, and Elaine Chao, as Secretary of Labor, the first time two AAPIs served simultaneously in the Cabinet. The numbers of AAPIs had grown to 2,200 elected and major appointed officials from more than 30 states. There were also AAPI officials from American Samoa, Guam, and the Northern Mariana Islands who served in local, state, and federal roles.

In 2002, Mee Moua became the first Hmong American elected to office in the U.S.; her election to a Minnesota State Senate seat is an example of the new generation of AAPI elected officials in non-traditional locations. Ms. Moua was born in Laos, lived in a refugee camp for three years in Thailand, and came with her family to Wisconsin and later to Minnesota. She attended law school and then became involved in local politics before winning a special election to represent the east side of St. Paul. Mee Moua is currently President and Executive Director of Asian Americans Advancing Justice (AAAJ). The rise of Hmong Americans, such as Mee Moua and others that have followed into elected office, is a testament to this community's perseverance to have



Representative Patsy Mink announces the formation of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus at a press conference, with (left to right) Representatives Don Edwards and Norman Mineta, Guam Delegate Robert Underwood, and Representatives Nancy Pelosi and Neil Abercrombie. Photo by Laura Patterson, May 20, 1994; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

a voice in the U.S. political process as refugees.

By the 2000s, AAPI politics were growing in suburban areas of the U.S. beyond the traditional gateway cities. AAPIs were traditionally elected in the large urban centers where significant numbers of AAPIs reside; however, due to political competition with other ethnic minorities and difficulties of creating districts with high concentrations of AAPIs, in many cases they were unable to be re-elected. However, due to immigration patterns of middle class immigrants from Taiwan, China, India, South Korea, and refugees from Southeast Asia, many have settled in the suburbs. This has resulted in a dramatic shift in population in places such as Monterey Park, California, which became an Asian American majority population in the 1980s. By the 2000s, cities such as Daly City, Cupertino, Fremont, Sunnyvale, Irvine, Torrance, Westminster, and Garden Grove in California all saw large growth in the Asian American population. The largest numbers of AAPIs still live in the large urban centers such as New York City, Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Jose, San Diego, and Philadelphia. Both of these trends reflect the rapid growth of the AAPI population and their political participation in both types of localities as well as increasingly on the state level.

By 2010, the AAPI population had grown to 14.7 million and more than 17.4 million, if Asians alone and in combination with persons of other races are included. In 2014, there were over 4,000 AAPI elected and major appointed officials at all levels of government. This includes 360 federal representatives, state representatives, governors and lieutenant governors, mayors, county and city council members, and an additional 304 judges. The AAPI elected and appointed officials are located in 39 different states as well as American Samoa, Guam, and the Northern Mariana Islands. Among the notable firsts was the election of two Indian Americans as Governors, Nikki Haley in South Carolina and Piyush "Bobby" Jindal in Louisiana. Also, several new AAPI Congressional members were elected, including Dr. Ami Bera and Mark Takano both from California, Tammy Duckworth from Illinois, and Grace Meng from New York City. The election of Maizie Hirono as U.S. Senator from Hawai'i was also another landmark, as she became the first Asian American woman elected to the Senate. After humble beginnings in Japan and later in Honolulu, she became an attorney and rose through the ranks of Hawai'i politics as a State legislator and Congresswoman before being elected U.S. senator.

In 2011 and 2012, there were more local successes for AAPIs; the election of two Chinese Americans in major U.S. cities broke ground as the first Asian Americans elected as mayors in their respective cities. Edwin Lee was elected in San Francisco, and Jean Quan was elected in nearby Oakland. These two local leaders were both instrumental in moving economic development and job creation during the extremely difficult recession beginning in 2008.

AAPIs have taken significant steps forward from their humble beginnings to advance politically in this nation. They have grown from a handful of elected officials in a few cities and state offices, to holding office in numerous states in virtually all regions of the country, as the population has dispersed from the traditional gateway cities on the west and east coasts. Whereas in the 1970s, most Asian American elected officials were born and raised in the United States (California U.S. Senator, S.I. Hayakawa, born in Canada, being the exception) and were primarily Japanese and Chinese Americans, by 2014, there were large numbers of immigrants and American-born Southeast Asians, South Asians, Filipinos, and Korean Americans being elected to office. There have been other notable AAPI political success stories. Gary Locke, after being elected as the first Chinese American Governor of Washington in 1996, later became the Secretary of Commerce in the first Obama Administration and then from 2011 to 2014, he served as the U.S. Ambassador to China in the Obama administration.

While AAPIs overwhelmingly live in electoral districts where they are the minority of the population, in a growing trend outside of Hawai'i, AAPIs are becoming the majority or near majority in several local communities, and this fact has the potential to increase their representation in a fashion similar to the trajectory of other ethnic minority groups in the U.S. There are now an estimated 511,000 elected positions in the U.S.; AAPIs are still heavily underrepresented holding far less than 1 percent of all positions although they are perhaps 8 percent of the U.S. population. Electoral representation for many AAPIs is extremely challenging. Pacific Islanders have limited political representation on the mainland, yet their communities have educational, social, and economic challenges that necessitate

political solutions. Similarly, the entry of refugees from Southeast Asia to the U.S. since the late 1970s has been uneven as evidenced on the east coast of Texas, in New Orleans, in several communities in the Midwest, and in most West Coast states. Many Cambodians and Laotians have faced difficult transitions with limited political influence and challenging economic situations for the majority of first generation refugees and their children. Hmong Americans have organized and been successful in electing some of their members to political office even though their population numbers are small. Vietnamese Americans are the largest Asian refugee community, and in some places, their population numbers and organizing efforts have enabled them to become influential in local politics such as in Garden Grove, Westminster, and San Jose, California, where they have been successful in winning local and state races and serving not only their communities but the larger populations as well.

BUILDING AN ORGANIZATIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE FOR AAPIS

To sustain the growth of AAPIs winning electoral seats requires the building of organizational infrastructures that can help sustain and nurture efforts and bring more AAPIs into electoral politics. This effort is taking many forms; there are active AAPI caucuses of elected officials, such as the Asian Pacific American Municipal Officials (APAMO) caucus of the National League of Cities and similar caucuses for the various levels of elected officials at the county, state, and congressional levels, such as the Asian Pacific Islander Legislative Caucus in California which formed in 2001. These caucuses are an important opportunity for AAPI elected officials to network with others statewide and nationally, develop supportive infrastructures when individuals seek to run for a higher office, and reflect the growing political influence of Asian Americans.



Union pioneers Virgil Duyungan, Tony Rodrigo, CB Mislang, Espiritu in 1933. Photo courtesy of the Filipino American National Historical Society.

At the federal level, the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus (CAPAC) formed in 1994; its purpose is to support legislation by the U.S. Congress that provides for the participation of AAPIs and reflects the concerns and needs of the communities. A corollary organization founded in 1995 is the Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies (APAICS), which was created to promote AAPI politics and conduct non-partisan education and informational activities, with programs designed to increase the participation of AAPI communities in the democratic process. APAICS continues to flourish as more AAPIs have been elected to Congress; it works closely with CAPAC.

Another piece of the growing infrastructure necessary to develop a sustainable presence of AAPI voters was the formation of APIAVote in the 1990s. APIAVote is a national nonpartisan organization, currently headed by Christine Chen, that works with local partners to mobilize AAPIs in electoral and civic engagement. It is focused on voter mobilization and the civic participation of the Asian American and Pacific Islander community. Their programs include education and outreach, field and infrastructure building, leadership training, research and communications, and work with youth.

In almost every election cycle, new barriers are broken. In 2012, the first Filipino American, Rob Bonta, was elected to the California State Assembly representing an important milestone in AAPI politics. Filipinos arrived in California as laborers beginning in the early 1900s and since the 1960s have migrated to the U.S. as part of family reunification efforts and to contribute their professional skills. Currently, they are the third largest AAPI group in the U.S., but they have lacked political representation beyond a few local community elected officials. The election of Bonta signals greater opportunities for other Filipino Americans in the future.

AAPI CIVIL RIGHTS AND LEGAL ORGANIZATIONS FLOURISH: 1970S TO THE PRESENT

As some Asian Americans became active in efforts to achieve electoral representation, others found different ways to contribute to the political landscape, and

these efforts and organizations are important to discuss. Established civil rights organizations in the Asian American community have been active in raising important issues for decades. The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), founded in 1929, continues to focus on issues of civil rights, including becoming a strong voice in the efforts in the 1970s and 1980s to achieve redress and reparations for Japanese Americans who were held in internment camps during World War II. JACL has also built bridges to other AAPIs and other ethnic and religious groups to support their efforts for justice.

The Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA), which started as a local organization of Chinese born in America in 1895, evolved into the present organization in 1915 and continues today. Their mission is to empower Chinese Americans and defend American citizenship and its rights and responsibilities, observing patriotism, preserving historical and cultural traditions, and providing youth leadership and community education. The CACA has strived to implement this vision by opposing racial discrimination, defending the civil rights of Chinese Americans, and opposing anti-immigration policies and movements.

Another Chinese American civil rights organization is the Organization of Chinese Americans, now the OCA, which formed in 1973. OCA has local chapters in 100 cities. OCA works to advance the social, political, and economic needs of Asian Pacific Americans (APAs). It has evolved into a national advocacy organization that seeks to advance the civil rights of APAs and aspiring Americans. It remains a grassroots advocacy organization and is open to diverse ethnic identities.

In 1969, Chinese for Affirmative Action (CAA) was established by a small group of community activists. This San Francisco organization is based in the city's Chinatown. For 47 years, CAA has challenged social norms in order to advance equality and helped build coalitions that bridged traditional boundaries and prioritized the needs of the Chinese and the at-large AAPI community's most marginalized members. Some of CAA's early accomplishments include the fact that they assisted in 1970 in preparation of the landmark U.S. Supreme Court case *Lau v. Nichols*, which resulted in bilingual education provisions for Chinese-speaking and Spanish-speaking public school students in San Francisco. In 1972, CAA demanded bilingual election ballots in San Francisco to comply with a new state election code that mandated bilingual assistance where a significant need is identified.

An important national organization for legal and civil rights for AAPIs is the Asian American Advancing Justice (AAAJ), which is a network of five affiliated organizations that provide legal services and advocacy for AAPI communities. The mission of Asian Americans Advancing Justice is to promote a fair and equitable society for all by working for civil and human rights and empowering AAPIs and other historically underserved communities. The AAAJ came together in 2013, although some of the local affiliates have been in existence for more than 30 years, providing grassroots legal services to those unable to afford and access legal services and advocacy. The Asian Law Caucus, for example, began as a storefront law group in San Francisco in 1972, set up to serve the low-income Chinese American and API communities. They have grown from a handful of young attorneys to a multi-purpose organization that provides legal assistance for low-income tenants, undocumented API students, wage theft of API workers, and many other issues. In New York City, the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund was organized in 1974. Similarly, the Asian American Legal Defense Center (AALDC) was formed in 1983 in Los Angeles to provide badly needed legal services to the rapidly growing API population. The AAAJ-LA has grown from one attorney to a staff of 80, including attorneys, advocates, researchers, leadership trainers, and other staff. The AALDC formed the year after the murder of Vincent Chin, a Chinese American, in Detroit, by two white autoworkers that took Mr. Chin as Japanese and scapegoated him for auto industry woes. The AALDC helped the family, serving as co-counsel to seek justice and has represented others who have been victims of racial violence.

A community organization that arose out of the murder of Vincent Chin, the Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence (CAAAV), was founded in 1986 in New York City to address issues of violence against Asians in the U.S. Today the organization reflects the growth in scope of work, utilizing a broad agenda of issues including police brutality, affordable housing, and other issues that impact Asian communities in New York. CAAAV has been organizing for social justice for more than 30 years. One of their programs was to organize the Southeast Asian Youth Leadership Project, which trained

refugee youth to become community organizers. Many Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees were inserted into the Northwest Bronx borough of New York City. These young people, many who were born in refugee camps, arrived in the U.S. and lived in extremely poor housing conditions, and their families had to survive on meager welfare benefits, which made civic participation extremely difficult.

CAAAV is one of hundreds of Asian ethnic specific and pan-Asian and Pacific Islander advocacy organizations, such as the Native Hawaiian Pacific Alliance, for health, youth and elderly services, along with ethnic specific and pan-Asian community based organizations that advocate for the rights of AAPIs at the local level. Some of these organizations were founded in the 1970s during the emergence of the Asian American Movement. They include the Chinese Progressive Association (CPA) in San Francisco (1973) and CPA Boston (1977), as well as the Filipino Advocates for Justice (FAJ), formerly Filipinos for Affirmative Action, which was established in 1973. Other organizations include the Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA), Asian Pacific Environmental Network (APEN), Filipino Worker Centers (FWC), Korean Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA), and other groups. These grassroots, locally-based, organizations are found primarily in the growing immigrant AAPI communities and provide an organizational voice for the concerns of young people, workers, LGBTQ members, and tenants.

In addition to the ongoing efforts of civil rights and legal organizations, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders have developed an extensive network of social service organizations that provide a wide variety of services. At the national level, the formation of the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (APALA) in 1992 brought together AAPI workers in labor unions to advocate for economic and social justice including among non-unionized workers and professionals. An important coalitional effort is the National Council of Asian Pacific Americans (NCAPA), which formed in 1996 and has brought together 29 national organizations based in Washington, D.C. NCAPA has raised the national profile of AAPIs in Washington, D.C. and routinely speaks out on social concerns including immigration reform, labor rights, education, and health and human services. Also, the National Coalition for Asian Pacific American Community Development (National CAPACD) is a national advocacy organization that is dedicated to addressing the housing, community, and economic development needs of AAPI communities. National CAPACD was founded in 1999. National CAPACD's member-based network has more than 100 community-based organizations, including community development corporations, community-based social service providers, preservation organizations, and advocacy groups in addition to national intermediaries and financial institutions in 17 states.

These national networks and other local coalitions highlight the broad organizational networking that exists in the AAPI community. These coalitional efforts are illustrative of the growing capacity of AAPIs to influence policy makers and public policy at the local level and increasingly at the national level. It is evident that when these efforts are combined with community grassroots initiatives to register and turnout AAPIs to vote and the efforts of AAPI elected and appointed officials, the diverse and growing AAPI community is developing the organizational sustainability and political voices to continue to grow in influence in the 21st century. With the AAPI community expected to nearly double in population by 2040 to 37 million persons, nearly one in 10 Americans will be AAPIs. AAPIs will have considerably more political influence than their humble beginnings in the U.S.

This essay highlights the fact that, in the face of racism and discrimination, AAPIs were able to find ways to challenge the denial of their political rights and advocate for causes they believed in during the first 100 years after their entry to the U.S. AAPIs have grown from small isolated groups of laborers in Hawai'i and the West Coast in the 19th and early 20th century into a very diverse majority immigrant/refugee community. While many challenges continue to confront the AAPI community, including the lack of full political representation, racial profiling, "model minority" stereotyping, and economic hardships, nevertheless, AAPIs have growing political clout in several states and at the national level and are building the organizational strength to be successful in the coming decades.

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Appendix I

Registration Requirements for Designating AAPI Properties National Historic Landmarks

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides guidance for evaluating the significance and integrity of properties associated with the Asian American/Pacific Islander theme and their potential for designation as National Historic Landmarks (NHLs). The physical evidence of this multi-faceted heritage is present in a huge variety of cultural resources throughout the United States—in North America and the Pacific Islands—although their representation as NHLs should be greater and in more states and regions of the U.S. Factors that have contributed to relatively sparse representation of AAPI-related resources among National Historic Landmarks include a lack of survey data, the relatively short time some groups have been part of United States culture, and fewer suggestions submitted by advocates. AAPI-related properties designated NHLs are listed below.

This theme study is an effort to improve AAPI representation in the NHL program. The essays provide general contexts for evaluating NHL eligibility. The registration requirements in this section provide specific guidance on applying the NHL evaluation methodology to AAPI resources, including applying the NHL criteria to AAPI resources and evaluating the integrity of AAPI resources. Examples of nationally significant resources related to AAPI culture and history are used to illustrate this process.

Introductory information about the NHL program and evaluation concepts are provided, but detailed instructions on initiating an NHL nomination and compiling an acceptable nomination are not provided. The National Park Service (NPS) National Historic Landmark website provides a great deal of information about the NHL program and the process for seeking designation.[1]

Possibly Okei Ito, originally taken circa 1870-1871 by George H. Gilbert.
Photo courtesy of the American River Conservancy.

AAPI PROPERTIES DESIGNATED NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS

The NHL designation year is in parentheses

NHLs with Chinese American Associations

Bodie Historic District, Bodie, CA (1961)
Kam Wah Chung Company Building, John Day, OR (2005)
Locke Historic District, Locke, CA (1990)
Pearl S. Buck House, Perkasie, PA (1980)

NHLs with Japanese American Associations

George Nakashima Woodworker Complex, New Hope, PA (2012)
Granada (aka Amache) Relocation Center (2006)
Harada House, Riverside, CA (1990)
Heart Mountain Relocation Center, Powell, WY (2006)
Little Tokyo Historic District, Los Angeles, CA (1995)
Manzanar Relocation Center, Independence, CA (1985)
McGregor Memorial Conference Center, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI (2015)
Panama Hotel, Seattle, WA (2006)
Poston Elementary School, Unit 1, Colorado River Relocation Center, Yuma County, AZ (2012)
Rohwer Relocation Center Cemetery, Rohwer, Desha County, AR (1992)
Topaz (aka Central Utah) Relocation Center, Delta, Millard County, UT (2007)
Tule Lake Segregation Center, Newell, CA (2006)

NHLs with Pacific Islander Associations

Government House, Pago Pago, American Samoa (1990)
The Forty Acres, Delano, CA (2008)
Hokukano-Ualapue Complex, Ualapue, Molokai, HI (1962)
Huilua Fishpond, Kaneohe, HI (1962)
'Iolani Palace, Honolulu, HI (1962)
Ka Lae (South Point Complex), Naalehu, HI (1962)
Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement and National Historical Park, Kalaupapa, HI (1976)
Honokohau Settlement, Kailua-Kona, HI (1962)
Kamakahonu, Kailua-Kona, HI (1962)
Kaunolu Village Site, Lanai, HI (1962)
Kawaiaha'o Church and Mission Houses, Honolulu, HI (1962)
Keauhou Holua Slide, Kailua-Kona, HI (1962)
Lahaina Historic District, Lahaina, HI (1962)
Loaloa Heiau, Kaupo, HI (1962)
Mauna Kea Adz Quarry, Mauna Kea Ice Age Natural Area Reserve, Island of Hawai'i, HI (1962)
Mo'okini Heiau, Kohala Historical Sites State Monument, Hawi, HI (1962)
Old Sugar Mill of Kôloa, Kôloa, HI (1962)
Pi'ilanihale Heiau, Hana, HI (1964)
Pu'u o Mahuka Heiau State Monument, Haleiwa, HI (1962)
Pu'ukoholâ Heiau National Historic Site, Waimea, HI (1962)
Russian Fort (in Fort Elizabeth State Historical Park), Waimea, Kauai, HI (1966)
Wailua Complex of Heiaus, Waimea, Kauai, HI (1962)
Washington Place, Honolulu, HI (2007)

Properties with Multiple AAPI Affiliations

Kake Cannery, Kake, AK (1997)
Steward's House, Foreign Mission School, Cornwall, CT (2016)
U.S. Immigration Station at Angel Island, San Francisco Bay, CA (1998)

UNDERSTANDING REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

"Registration requirements" refers to the essential considerations required for designating AAPI properties as National Historic Landmarks. In many cases, the essays in this theme study provide the most essential component of the property identification and evaluation process: the historic context. The historic context is a lens through which the property can be viewed to assess its place in history and the significance of the events related to it. Because of the complexity of AAPI history and culture, in some cases the essays do not provide sufficient information to support the identification of a property as significant, but may point to a historic context that needs to be further developed. For example, if an essay addresses Filipino reactions to unfair labor practices within the context of American labor history, and provides a context for evaluating a specific site of demonstrations or negotiations, it could be used as a model for development of a context that relates to a similar scenario affecting Chinese plantation workers in Hawai'i or cannery workers in Alaska.

Other considerations in the evaluation process

include the application of the NHL criteria for evaluation and the criteria considerations, establishing a period of significance, determining the areas of significance that apply, identifying a property's place within the NHL thematic framework, and evaluating a property's integrity. Each of these considerations is discussed in this chapter. Existing National Historic Landmarks illustrate how the criteria have been applied, providing models that may be applicable to other properties being considered.

For a property to be eligible for NHL designation under the Asian American/Pacific Islander theme, it must be directly associated with the history of associated cultural, national, or ethnic groups within the context of North American and Pacific Island heritage. A property must have a direct, meaningful, and documented association with an historical event or individual of national significance, or it must be of exceptional archeological or design significance (architectural, landscape architectural, engineering, or artistic). At least one of the six NHL criterion must be met to demonstrate eligibility, and exceptional significance must be demonstrated within the context of comparable resources.

The physical integrity of a nominated property must be intact from the period of significance, as evaluated within seven defined variables known as "aspects." In some cases, evaluations of integrity should be balanced within the framework of the scarcity or generally compromised nature of resources associated with a culture. Factors that may impact evaluations of integrity for resources associated with an AAPI group include a scarcity of built associations with a culture; a large number of resources that have been physically affected by modification, abandonment, or demolition; and a majority of resources less than 50 years old (the NHL and NRHP threshold for historical objectivity). In any evaluation, a thoughtful approach to evaluation is required within the accepted procedures and regulatory framework of the NHL program. Variance from standard evaluation practices should be explained and justified.

Cultural resources in the Pacific Islands may exhibit similarities with tribal resources in North America. In both cases, lands may have been associated with specific groups for a very long time, and cultural attachments today may resonate deeply with spiritual beliefs. For this reason, resources associated with Pacific Island history and culture may be evaluated as traditional cultural places (including traditional cultural landscapes) and nominated as historic districts, sites, or objects. Such resources may have lengthy periods of significance compared with other resources.

IDENTIFYING ASIAN AMERICAN/PACIFIC ISLANDER CULTURAL RESOURCES

Many places in the United States have been touched by AAPI cultures. Their presence may be overt, such as Japantown in Los Angeles, or subtle, like an archeological site associated with Chinese miners in a remote part of the West. Their presence may be pervasive, as in the Pacific Islands: evident everywhere today and in the past and influencing the culture in its entirety. With some AAPI cultures, the presence of associated places may be rare and the association fleeting.

Properties linked to AAPI heritage are wide ranging, including temples, schools, community centers, industrial plants, railroad camps, mining towns, World War II confinement camps, Chamorro *latte*, and urban historic districts. AAPI culture has affected United States laws, labor, religion, education, arts, and more, contributing a significant imprint on the nation's cultural fabric.

The essays in this theme study provide background information on many aspects of AAPI political, economic, and social life; community building; immigration experiences; and injustices and discrimination. The essays mention some specific places related to incidents or people important in AAPI history and, in some cases, suggest general types of properties that may be associated with AAPI history. Many of these places are or have the potential to be designated as NHLs.

THE NHL STUDY LIST

The AAPI essays and other resources were used to develop the AAPI NHL Study List, which includes properties that may be eligible for NHL designation. The list is considered preliminary, because it is not based on a comprehensive survey, the contexts are incomplete for this purpose, and the integrity of identified properties is often not known; however, properties on the Study List have histories and other qualities that indicate potential national significance.

The Study List was compiled using a variety of sources from the National Park Service and elsewhere.

Besides the essays in this theme study, the sources most consulted for development of the Study List were National Register and National Historic Landmark nominations and the NRIS database (National Register Information System). The NPS also queried state historic preservation offices about their knowledge of AAPI properties and the NPS regional offices about properties in their jurisdictions. These sources yielded additional recommendations for the AAPI NHL Study List.

AAPI ARCHEOLOGICAL RESOURCES

Archeological sites have an important role in achieving an understanding of AAPI history. For some aspects of AAPI history, the archeological record may be all that exists. For others, the archeology of the site has the potential to answer important questions about the built environment and the property's importance within a particular historic context. The contribution of a site's information potential can include the capacity to substantially modify a major historic concept, resolve a substantial historical or anthropological debate, or close a serious knowledge or data gap in a major theme of AAPI history. The national significance of an archeological site is evaluated by its potential to provide information of major scientific importance that may contribute to knowledge, theories, concepts and ideas, and answer questions about important chapters in history. Sites that are poorly represented elsewhere or that are the only known site of its type may be particularly important for their information potential. The evaluation process for archeological sites includes comparing a site to similar sites that are considered significant for their information potential. The integrity of archeological resources is evaluated by determining the degree to which the resources present or previously excavated can answer pertinent research questions.

Site types often associated with Asian American and Pacific Islanders include ethnic communities and districts such as, but not limited to, urban and rural Chinatowns and Japantowns; labor camps such as logging and sawmill camps, mining camps and towns, railroad construction camps, maritime industry camps, and agricultural and ranching camps; World War II internment and relocation facilities; commercial sites such as laundries, stores, mines, boarding houses, brothels, and bathhouses; buildings and sites used by community organizations, including temples, cemeteries, community halls, playgrounds, and government buildings; domestic properties such as homes and gardens; company towns; and agricultural areas and businesses. Common archeological features found at these locations include, but are not limited to, wells, privies, middens, fire/cooking pits/hearths, builders' trenches, foundations, basements/cellars, chimney falls, and graves. Other site specific features should be anticipated based on site and/or industry type. These could include, but are not limited to, garden or agricultural field layout features, mining features, milling features, and seafood/ maritime industry features. The spatial patterning of communities and features at a site may contribute to our understanding of a property and provide important information on broader topics of site formation.

Archeological research concerns the study of the origin, history, interaction, and evolution of cultures and human behavior. To contribute to the development of understanding in these broad areas, research questions are posed within more focused frameworks, such as acculturation and adaptation, globalization, social networks, racism, prejudice and discrimination, religion and spirituality, gender and sexuality, cultural comparison, age group studies, and recreational activities. Some themes commonly applied to research specific to the Asian American/Pacific Islander theme are patterns of cultural persistence and change, cultural interaction, Japanese internment, comparison with other non-Asian diasporic communities, social and commercial networks, the lives of women and children, and transnationalism. These frameworks can be used to propose research questions relevant to broad archeological topics, as well as to the areas of significance discussed in this thematic study. Some of these frameworks and areas of significance overlap each other, and characteristics of the sites are often relevant to multiple avenues of research.

Archeological research conducted on potentially eligible sites offers an opportunity to expand the understanding of a site and its contribution to the events and lives of the people and cultures it represents. For the potential of archeological work to be fully realized and contribute to an argument for national significance, elucidation of clear, focused research objectives aimed at addressing nationally significant themes is imperative. Difficulty exists in predicting what may lay beneath the

surface and the subsurface condition or degree of preservation—in other words, the archeological integrity of the site.

It is difficult to discuss the importance of a site prior to excavation, interpretation, and evaluation. Even if present, subsurface archeological components may not contribute data nationally significant to the specific history of a property or historical concept. On the other hand, they may provide data to completely change our understanding of an aspect of AAPI history. Because of the somewhat unpredictable value of unexplored archeological sites, assessing exceptional significance requires significant documentation and contextualization. Even lacking national significance, however, archeological sites can be a rich vein of information: the possibilities for discovery are vast, and the effort is worthwhile at most sites and essential at others.

The significance of archeological artifacts, assemblages, and features is derived from their ability to aid in site identification, ethnic affiliation, formulation of research goals, and the insight they provide into the everyday life of a site's occupants. Generally, the identification of ethnicity through artifact assemblages is complex and the degree to which individual material objects delineate ethnic identification is a major subject of disciplinary debate. For this reason, research questions that concern the relationship between ethnic affiliation and material culture require deep critical evaluation in the context of other historical or material information. For example, an ethnic community's consumer waste may be just as likely to reflect an adherence to national mass consumer trends or reflect economic conditions and establish ethnic differentiation based on traditional practices, identity, or resistance.

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK BASICS

In this section, fundamental concepts of the National Historic Landmarks program are briefly explained, including the types of properties nominated, the NHL criteria, areas of significance, periods of significance, the NHL thematic framework, and evaluating integrity. For those steeped in preservation programs, this information will be familiar, but those being introduced to the NHL program through this theme study should have a fundamental understanding of these concepts to appreciate the identification and evaluation methods applied when properties are considered for NHL designation. More detailed information about all of these concepts can be found on the NHL website https://www.nps.gov/nhl/.

AAPI PROPERTY TYPES

The Federal regulations that specify how the National Historic Landmarks program shall be carried out (36 CFR 65) state that a property that can be considered eligible for NHL designation is a "site, building, object, structure or a collection of the above which form a district" (36 CFR 65.3[m]).[2] Definitions for these property types follow, with examples of AAPI properties as illustrations of the types.

Buildings

A building, such as a house, barn, church, hotel, or similar construction, is created principally to shelter any form of human activity. "Building" may also be used to refer to a historically and functionally related unit, such as a courthouse and jail or a house and barn.

Examples of buildings

Houses, barns, stables, sheds, garages, courthouses, city halls, social halls, commercial buildings, libraries, factories, mills, train depots, stationary mobile homes, hotels, theaters, schools, stores, and churches.

Some AAPI Buildings Designated NHLs

Panama Hotel, Seattle, Washington
Old Sugar Mill of Koloa, Kauai, Hawai'i
Harada House, Riverside, California
McGregor Memorial Conference Center, Wayne State University, Detriot, Michigan
Government House, U.S. Naval Station Tutuila, Eastern District, American Samoa
Kake Cannery, Wrangell-Peterburgh Borough-Census Area, Alaska
'Iolani Palace, Honolulu, Hawai'i
Kam Wah Chung Company Building, John Day, Oregon

Structures

A structure is a work made by human beings and composed of interdependent and interrelated parts in a definite pattern of organization. Unlike buildings, structures are functional constructions, usually made for purposes

other than creating human shelter.

Examples of structures
Bridges, tunnels, gold dredges, firetowers, canals, turbines, dams, power plants, corncrib, silos, roadways., shot towers, windmills, grain elevators, kilns, mounds, cairns, palisade fortification, earthworks, railroad grades, systems of roadways and paths, boats and ships, railroad locomotives and cars, telescopes, carousels, bandstands, gazebos, and aircraft.

AAPI Structures Designated NHLs
No structures are presently designated NHLs, but potential AAPI structures include those associated with mining, transportation, fishing, and other agricultural or industrial activities.

Sites
A site is the location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a building or structure, whether standing, ruined or vanished, where the location itself maintains historical or archeological value regardless of the value of any existing structure.

Examples of sites
Habitation sites, funerary sites, rock shelters, village sites, hunting and fishing sites, ceremonial sites, petroglyphs, rock carvings, gardens, grounds, battlefields, ruins of historic buildings and structures, campsites, sites of treaty signings, trails, areas of land, shipwrecks, cemeteries, designed landscapes, and natural features, such as springs and rock formations, and land areas having cultural significance.

Some AAPI Sites Designated NHLs
Pu‘ukohola Heiau National Historic Site, South Kohala District, Oahu, Hawai‘i (archeological site)
Keauhou Holua Slide, Keauhou vicinity, Hawai‘i (archeological site)
Mauna Kea Adz Quarry, Hilo vicinity, Hawai‘i (archeological site)

Districts
A district is a geographically definable area, urban or rural, that possesses a significant concentration, linkage or continuity of sites, buildings, structures or objects united by past events or aesthetically by plan or physical development. A district may also comprise individual elements separated geographically but linked by association or history.

Examples of districts
College campuses, central business districts, residential areas, commercial areas, large forts, industrial complexes, civic centers, rural villages, canal systems, collections of habitation and limited activity sites, irrigation systems, large farms, ranches, estates, plantations, transportation networks, and large landscaped parks.

Some AAPI Districts Designated NHLs
Locke Historic District, Locke, California
George Nakashima Woodworker Complex, Solebury Township, Bucks County, Pennsylvania
Granada Relocation Center, Granada, Prowers County, Colorado
Little Tokyo Historic District, Los Angeles, California
The Forty Acres, Delano, California
U.S. Immigration Station, Angel Island, California
Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement, Molokai, Hawai‘i
Lâhainâ Historic District, Maui, Hawai‘i

Objects
An object is a material thing of functional, aesthetic, cultural, historical or scientific value that may be, by nature or design, movable yet related to a specific setting or environment. Objects are often artistic in nature or relatively small in scale and simply constructed. Although it may be, by nature or design, movable, an object is associated with a specific setting or environment.

Examples of objects
Sculpture, monuments, boundary markers, statuary, and fountains.

AAPI Objects Designated NHLs
The Rohwer Relocation Camp Memorial Cemetery is a historic district, but it contains 28 contributing objects: 24 grave markers, two entrance markers, and two monuments. All were made by the Japanese Americans confined at Rohwer.



Evacuee's Memorial at Rohwer Relocation Center Memorial Cemetery, 1990. Photo courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

Properties must meet at least one of six National Historic Landmark criteria to be eligible for NHL designation. Many properties designated NHLs also meet one or more National Register criteria for an aspect of state or local significance. Such additional significance may be noted in the nomination, but it does not contribute to the NHL designation. For example, a house, nationally significant as the home of an individual associated with an important Supreme Court ruling that enhanced the lives of AAPI people, may also have local architectural significance as an Arts and Crafts bungalow. This latter has no bearing on its NHL designation, although certainly the integrity of the house to the period of significance could be meaningful to the designation.

The eight NHL Criteria Exceptions are applied when properties normally excluded from consideration are nominated. Such properties are of exceptional national significance, despite being religious properties, moved from their original locations, and less than 50 years old, for example. The exceptional nature of the property must be justified in the text of the nomination. An example of the application of an exception is the George Nakashima Woodworker Complex, designated in 2014 for its association with the Japanese American furniture designer. A number of the components of the historic district that constitutes the complex were built less than 50 years ago. In addition, Nakashima died in 1990, and the nomination was put forth only 24 years later.

Examples of the application of the criteria and criteria exceptions to specific properties related to AAPI history and culture are provided later in this appendix. The following explanation of the NHL criteria and criteria exceptions is taken from the Code of Federal Regulations, 36 CFR 65.4, *National Historic Landmarks Program*.

36§65.4 National Historic Landmark Criteria

The criteria applied to evaluate properties for possible designation as National Historic Landmarks or possible determination of eligibility for National Historic Landmark designation are listed below. These criteria shall be used by NPS in the preparation, review, and evaluation of National Historic Landmark studies. They shall be used by the Advisory Board in reviewing National Historic Landmark studies and preparing recommendations to the Secretary. Properties shall be designated National Historic Landmarks only if they are nationally significant. Although assessments of national significance should reflect both public perceptions and professional judgments, the evaluations of properties being considered for landmark designation are undertaken by professionals, including historians, architectur-



Buddist or Shinto gravestone at the Rohwer Relocation Center Memorial Cemetery. Photo courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

al historians, archeologists, and anthropologists familiar with the broad range of the nation's resources and historical themes. The criteria applied by these specialists to potential landmarks do not define significance nor set a rigid standard for quality. Rather, the criteria establish the qualitative framework in which a comparative professional analysis of national significance can occur. The final decision on whether a property possesses national significance is made by the Secretary on the basis of documentation including the comments and recommendations of the public who participate in the designation process.

(a) Specific Criteria of National Significance: The quality of national significance is ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture and that possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

(1) That are associated with **events** that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained; or

(2) That are associated importantly with the **lives of persons** nationally significant in the history of the United States; or

(3) That represent some **great idea or ideal of the American people**; or

(4) That embody the distinguishing characteristics or an **architectural type** specimen exceptionally valuable for the study of a period, style, or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive, and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

(5) That are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but **collectively compose an entity** of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture; or

(6) That **have yielded or may be likely to yield information** of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation of large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

NHL Criteria Exceptions

(b) Ordinarily, cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years are not eligible for designation. If such properties fall within the following categories they may, nevertheless, be found eligible for designation:

(1) A religious property deriving its primary national significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or

(2) A building removed from its original location but which is nationally significant primarily for its architectural merit or for association with persons or events of transcendent importance in the nation's history and the association consequential; or

(3) A site of a building or structure no longer standing but the person or event associated with it is of transcendent importance in the nation's history and the association consequential; or

(4) A birthplace, grave, or burial if it is of a historical figure of transcendent national significance and no other appropriate site, building, or structure directly associated with the productive life of that person exists; or

(5) A cemetery that derives its primary national significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance or from an exceptionally distinctive design or an exceptionally significant event; or

(6) A reconstructed building or ensemble of buildings of extraordinary national significance

when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other buildings or structures with the same association have survived; or

(7) A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own national historical significance; or

(8) A property achieving national significance within the past 50 years if it is of extraordinary national importance.

Areas of Significance

The Areas of Significance are general topics intended to convey the broad area of history to which the criteria apply. Useful for searching for like properties in the National Register Information System database (NRIS), the Areas of Significance can also provide an organizing principle for nomination Statements of Significance. For each criterion applied to a property, one or more areas of significance can be applied and justified. The nomination for the Kam Wah Chung Company Building in John Day, Oregon, for example, applied two areas, Commerce and Health/Medicine. These areas relate to the commercial importance of the store to the Chinese American community, as well as its role in fostering health through its extensive offerings of herbal remedies. In the nomination, each area was explained, as was its national significance as a rare example of this type of mercantile business that included an extensive collection of historical documentation related to the business.

Any of the Areas of Significance listed below may apply to AAPI nominated properties, but some are more widely used than others. Note that "Other" enables the use of areas that are not otherwise specified.

Agriculture
Architecture
Archeology
  Prehistoric
  Historic–Aboriginal
  Historic–Non-Aboriginal
Art
Commerce
Communications
Community Planning and Development
Conservation
Economics
Education
Engineering Entertainment/Recreation
Ethnic Heritage
  Asian
  Black
  European
  Hispanic
  Native American
  Pacific Islander
  Other
Exploration/Settlement Health/Medicine
Industry
Invention
Landscape Architecture
Law
Literature
Maritime History
Military
Performing Arts
Philosophy
Politics/Government
Religion
Science
Social History
Transportation
Other

Period of Significance

The period of significance, which is defined for each nominated property, is the span of time in which a property achieved national significance. For a property associated with a historic event, the period of significance is inclusive of the years the "event" occurred. For an architecturally significant property, it is the year of construction. For a property associated with an important person, the period of significance is the years when their significant achievements were made that coincide with their association with the property. The process for identifying periods of significance is explained in the National Register and NHL instructions, available on the NPS website.

For properties associated with AAPI history and culture, the period of significance may be short, such

as the few years the Japanese American internment camps operated during World War II, or long and long ago, such as the period when the Keauhou Holua Slide in Hawai'i was used in contests by Hawaiian chiefs. Identifying a period of significance should confirm that the research effort has been probing enough to identify a time of association.

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

The NHL program developed a thematic framework of American history during the early years of its existence to foster well-rounded representation among designated properties. Just as today we have a goal to increase NHL designations to better reflect AAPI history and culture, in earlier years of the program it was considered important to represent all periods and themes in American history, using topics that were general enough to accommodate most aspects of history. Gaps in representation in the thematic framework were indicators of designations that were needed. The framework was revised in 1994 to better reflect the breadth of American history.

Today, nomination preparers are advised to find a place in the thematic framework for a nominated property and to develop an appropriate context accordingly. For example, the framework includes the topic "Expressing Cultural Values," which pertains to art, architecture, literature, performance, educational and intellectual pursuits, and other cultural expressions. The Pearl S. Buck House in Pennsylvania, associated with the author whose writing brought Chinese culture to non-Asian Americans, corresponds with "Expressing Cultural Values" in the theme of literature. The context for evaluating the significance of Pearl Buck and the house where she did much of her writing should revolve around the theme of literature of the period, non-Asians' understanding of China and Chinese Americans, and Pearl Buck's accomplishments in expanding Americans' world view and understanding of a culture that was foreign to most.

National Historic Landmark nomination preparers can use the framework as an aid to identifying the context that should be developed. It should be considered as a fundamental and common-sense means of viewing history and compartmentalizing, to a certain extent, historical phenomena. This process can help in focusing a context and preventing it from becoming either too expansive or too narrow. Further guidance on use of the NHL framework can be found on the NHL website https://www.nps.gov/nhl/.

NHL Thematic Framework

The thematic framework, as revised in 1994, includes the following topics:

I. Peopling Places

Topics that help define this theme include:

1. Family and the life cycle
2. Health, nutrition, and disease
3. Migration from the outside and within
4. Community and neighborhood
5. Ethnic homelands
6. Encounters, conflicts, and colonization

II. Creating Social Institutions and Movements

Topics that help define this theme include:

1. Clubs and organizations
2. Reform movements
3. Religious institutions
4. Recreational activities

III. Expressing Cultural Values

Topics that help define this theme include:

1. Educational and intellectual currents
2. Visual and performing arts
3. Literature
4. Mass media
5. Architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design
6. Popular and traditional culture

IV. Shaping the Political Landscape

Topics that help define this theme include:

1. Parties, protests, and movements
2. Governmental institutions
3. Military institutions and activities
4. Political ideas, cultures, and theories

V. Developing the American Economy

Topics that help define this theme include:

1. Extraction and production
2. Distribution and consumption
3. Transportation and communication

4. Workers and work culture
5. Labor organizations and protests
6. Exchange and trade
7. Governmental policies and practices
8. Economic theory

VI. Expanding Science and Technology

Topics that help define this theme include:

1. Experimentation and invention
2. Technological applications
3. Scientific thought and theory
4. Effects on lifestyle and health

VII. Transforming the Environment

Topics that help define this theme include:

1. Manipulating the environment and its resources
2. Adverse consequences and stresses on the environment
3. Protecting and preserving the environment

VIII. Changing Role of the United States in the World Community

Topics that help define this theme include:

1. International relations
2. Commerce
3. Expansionism and imperialism
4. Immigration and emigration policies

THE INTEGRITY OF AAPI PROPERTIES

A property must retain a high degree of physical integrity to be considered eligible for National Historic Landmark designation. According to NHL federal regulations 36 CFR 65.4(a), "the quality of national significance is ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, engineering and culture *and that possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association*" (italics added).

NHL guidance defines integrity as "the ability of a property to convey its historical associations or attributes. The evaluation of integrity is somewhat of a subjective judgment, but it must always be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its historical associations or attributes." Thus, a property with integrity exhibits the preservation of its features from the period of its historical significance. For example, if properties are significant examples of design or construction and nominated under Criterion 4, they must retain the majority of features that constitute the style or technique recognized as significant. The seven "aspects" of integrity that apply to National Historic Landmark evaluations are described below. They are the same as the seven aspects of integrity that apply to the National Register of Historic Places.

The Seven Aspects of Integrity

Location is the place where the historic property was constructed or the significant events occurred. Most properties associated with this theme will remain in their original location.

Design is the combination of elements that creates the historic form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property. Design includes such factors as the organization of space, proportion, scale, technology, ornamentation, and materials.

Setting is the physical environment of a historic property. For properties considered under this theme study, the setting includes the character of the places where they were developed, as well as their siting in those places.

Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.

Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history. Workmanship can be important in illustrating a time period associated with an event. This quality is particularly important for architecturally significant properties.

Feeling is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. It results from the presence of physical features that, taken together, convey a property's historic character.

Association is the direct link between an important historic theme, event, or person and a historic property. A property retains integrity of association if it is the place where the event occurred and can still convey that historic relationship to an observer.

Evaluating Integrity

Three basic steps are followed to assess the integrity of a property:

1. Identify the essential physical features that represent its significance;
2. Determine whether the essential physical features are apparent and intact; and
3. Compare the property with similar properties in the nationally significant theme.[3]

Each step is related to the historical significance of the property. For example, an essential physical feature of a significant Japanese gakuen (school) may be the existence of the floorplan that reflects classrooms. In step 1, this and other important features should be identified, such as building materials and the essential building form. If the floorplan is apparent and intact—for example, without later partitions to create apartments—step 2 may be met for this feature. The third step concerns both the relative significance of a property and its integrity compared to properties with similar significance. In this example, if the integrity of the gakuen has been compromised in some way, and another school with comparable national significance has excellent integrity, the school with better integrity may be considered a better representation of Japanese American education.

In some cases and with considerable discussion, the application of stringent integrity requirements may vary for AAPI properties that are unique or that represent a rare or vanishing resource type. In the example of the gakuen, there may not be any similar properties related to this educational context, so certain impairments in integrity may be found acceptable. A property's relative level of integrity needs to be assessed and justified by the nomination preparer. Slightly compromised integrity also may be acceptable for resources that represent an ephemeral type or transient function, such as outbuildings on a farm or plantation that have been altered for other uses. This is particularly true if other aspects of integrity are overwhelmingly intact—or if Criterion 6 (archeology) is the key to significance. For example, some Japanese American World War II internment camps have few physical features aboveground (therefore they may lack integrity of design, materials, and workmanship), but if they have a high degree of integrity of setting, location, feeling, and association, other deficiencies in integrity may not be a drawback to eligibility. If the archeological record is also deemed significant, the site could have even greater value.

Pacific Island sites may embody powerful cultural, spiritual, and historical meaning and be considered, in terms of the NHL program, as traditional cultural places (TCPs) or traditional cultural landscapes. These sites may have strong cultural values that are not diminished by changes that would seem to compromise the integrity of other sites. An example could be modern development on a site that otherwise retains its natural landscape of land and water, vegetation and topography. The degree of change should be weighed against the strength of the cultural values.

An analysis of physical integrity should be presented in Section 5 of the nomination (formerly Section 8). The Statement of Significance, Section 6 (formerly Section 7), should provide a comparative analysis, using other properties of a similar type or history.

Integrity Considerations for AAPI Non-archeological Resources

The integrity of properties considered exceptionally significant for their relationship to AAPI history are evaluated in the same way as resources without this association; however, in some cases, there are moderating issues. Factors that may moderate integrity evaluations could relate to the small number of permanent resources associated with an AAPI group for political, cultural or economic reasons; the recent arrival of some AAPI groups; overt actions by the government to limit property ownership; and a transient history due to various immigration or resettlement programs. For example, AAPI history is marked by state and federal laws that encouraged—even required—discriminatory practices related to land ownership. The alien land laws passed by many states limited the ability of Asian immigrants to own farmland and other real estate. The alien land laws did not name specific groups that were targeted, but referred to "aliens ineligible for citizenship," which generally referred to Chinese and Japanese natives (and other AAPI groups) who were ineligible for citizenship. These laws were finally ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1952, but for nearly a century in some states, Asian non-citizens could not own property.

Resources associated with Japanese Americans on

the west coast may have been reduced further by the imposed incarceration during World War II. When Japanese Americans were sent to internment camps, typically they were forced to abandon property and in many cases they were not able to reclaim it after the war. Thus, Japanese Americans were forcibly removed from shops, houses, factories, farms, and more in the proscribed military areas on the West Coast. Japanese American history in these areas may be poorly represented by standing resources, and those that remain may have compromised integrity due to changing uses and forced abandonment or encroachment by others. Other Asian groups, notably the Hmong and Vietnamese, were brought to the United States in the wake of war. Arriving with few resources, their early history is often linked to public housing, community centers, and churches. Although these were vital places providing physical and emotional comfort, links may be tenuous and fragmented.

These factors can indicate atypical relationships with property associated with Americans who have been less transient and less manipulated by government policy. Coupled with the menial, transitory work that was the lot of many Asian immigrants, tangible community building during the early years after arrival may be minimally evident in some places and in some periods. Although concrete data is not available, the number and age of buildings, structures, and sites related to AAPI history and culture may not be representative of the presence of these immigrants in many places.

For these reasons, every aspect of integrity should be considered within the framework of AAPI relationships with place. An actual shortage of resources related to AAPI culture may influence integrity evaluations of those that are extant. The evaluation of AAPI resources should consider that built cultural resources associated with AAPI groups may be minimal or compromised due to circumstances beyond their control. If there is a demonstrated rarity of built resources associated with the history of AAPI groups, for the reasons discussed, certain aspects of integrity might be judged less stringently. This should not be a consideration for archeological resources.

Integrity Considerations for AAPI Archeological Resources

Archeological integrity is based on a site-specific evaluation of conditions in terms of the potential to provide data relevant to archeological or anthropological questions of national significance. National significance, in turn, refers to either the *already recovered* or the demonstrated *potential to recover* data that has the ability to make a major contribution to the existing body of information. Examples of major contributions include the data's ability—once recovered, analyzed, and interpreted—to resolve a longstanding debate, challenge or revise the received wisdom on a given topic, or fill a knowledge or data gap in terms of what is known about a particular culture, place, practice, topic, or theme in American history and archeology.

The degree or nature of any disturbance—and whether it is the result of human agency (e.g. changes in land use, looting, agricultural activity, etc.) or natural forces (e.g. wind, water, erosion, burrowing animals, etc.)—is evaluated both horizontally (across the site) and vertically (moving downward through the strata comprising the site). This assists in assessing whether the site retains sufficient integrity to warrant designation. Archeological sites important for information they have already yielded (i.e., that have been largely or even entirely excavated) may still be eligible for designation if the data and knowledge they have generated are determined to meet the threshold of national significance.

THE NHL CRITERIA AND CRITERIA EXCEPTIONS APPLIED TO AAPI PROPERTIES

Properties nominated for National Historic Landmark designation must be nationally significant under at least one of the NHL criteria. Nominated properties may be eligible under more than one criterion, but for each applied, exceptional national significance must be demonstrated. In this section, application of the criteria to AAPI properties is illustrated through a number of examples. These examples are considered good and accurate applications of the NHL criteria. For those designated under more than one criterion, the most significant or best developed criterion is discussed.

APPLYING CRITERION 1: ASSOCIATION WITH IMPORTANT EVENTS

Properties significant under Criterion 1 are "associated with events that have made a significant contribution to,

and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained."[4] The essays in this theme study outline many aspects of AAPI history and aspects of specific histories of different AAPI groups. They provide a perspective of some important "events," referring to specific incidents, cultural patterns, and political and economic movements and developments. They are not comprehensive, but demonstrate how the history of one culture may apply to an evaluation of the history of another. For example, demonstrations by workers or students affiliated with one group agitating for change may pertain to other groups doing the same. In regard to specific properties, the significance of a cannery to Chinese American history might suggest how a nomination for a different agricultural processing plant associated with Filipino workers might also reflect nationally significant events. Furthermore, it may suggest how the nomination might be structured.

The NHL examples represent a range of history stories, including the development of communities resulting in Chinatowns and Japantowns, AAPI involvement in building the nation's railroads, and AAPI contributions to agriculture and mining. As citizens and resisters, AAPIs' activism resulted in changes to immigration and labor laws and led to positive ethnic identification in universities via new course offerings and majors related to AAPI history and culture.

For properties to represent the theme in terms of Criterion 1, a clear association with the AAPI population during the identified period of significance must be demonstrated. Properties must clearly represent a contribution, development, or watershed moment within the history of a specific AAPI group or groups. To be nationally significant, such resources must have an impact at a national level, for example by setting a precedent that is followed by others, influencing the nation's laws or legal system, or representing innovative contributions to any number of disciplines or endeavors. The history represented by Criterion 1 must clearly demonstrate the relationship of AAPIs to the history of the United States.

NHLs Designated Under Criterion 1

The significance of the following properties nominated under Criterion 1 is summarized in this section, in the order listed.

- **U.S. Immigration Center, Angel Island,** Marin County, California
- **Harada House,** Riverside, California
- **Kam Wah Chung Company Building,** John Day, Oregon
- **Bodie Historic District,** Bodie, California
- **Kake Cannery,** Kake, Alaska
- **The Forty Acres,** Delano, California
- **Government House,** Pago Pago, American Samoa
- **Granada Relocation Center,** Granada, Colorado
- **Iolani Palace,** Honolulu, Hawai'i
- **Kawaiaha'o Church and Mission Houses,** Honolulu, Hawai'i
- **Old Sugar Mill,** Kôloa, Hawai'i
- **Pi'ilanihale Heiau,** Maui County, Hawai'i

U.S. Immigration Center, Angel Island
(NHL 1998, NRHP 1971)
Marin County, California
Ethnic Heritage: Asian
Criteria: 1 (Politics/Government and Military) and 5 (historic district)
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=a29a579c-1873-4802-804f-b3f15d4a30f0

The U.S. Immigration Center on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay is nationally significant as the major West Coast processing center for immigrants to the United States arriving between 1910 and 1940. The majority of immigrants passing through the Angel Island facility were Asian. Harsh treatment was not unusual, but the Chinese were particularly targeted—with long periods of detention and grueling testimony intended to detect those immigrating with fraudulent paperwork. Graffiti on the walls in Chinese reveals the toll the immigration process took on individuals. After 1940, the Immigration Station was transferred to the U.S. Army and became the North Garrison of Fort McDowell (the entire island was Fort McDowell). Although not important to this theme study but considered a significant aspect of the fort's history in the nomination, the facility housed German and Japanese prisoners of war and members of the Italian Service Units from 1942 to 1946. The nomination does not mention the role of Angel Island in Japanese American history. Japanese Americans from Hawai'i were processed at

Angel Island en route to the mainland relocation centers.[5] The nomination could be amended to address this aspect of the North Garrison's history.

Harada House (NHL 1990, NRHP 1977)
Riverside, California
Ethnic Heritage: Japanese
Criteria: 1 (Law and Ethnic Heritage)
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=-164da850-d9fe-4333-8ca6-b7bd8954b351

This architecturally undistinguished house, built in 1884, represents the first test of the constitutionality of the California Alien Land Law of 1913, which barred non-citizens from owning land. In 1915, Jukichi Harada purchased the house for his family under his three children's names. Born in the U.S., the children were American citizens, and thus able to own real estate. In *California v. Harada* (1916 to 1918) the Riverside Superior Court ruled that all native-born citizens could own land, even minor children of immigrant parents.

Kam Wah Chung Company Building
(NHL 2005, NRHP 1973)
John Day, Oregon
Ethnic Heritage: Chinese
Criteria: 1 (Commerce, Exploration/Settlement, Health/Medicine, Social History, Ethnic Heritage)
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=a37edbc6-c117-4497-8faf-881709bdoab9

The Kam Wah Chung Company Building, located in the eastern Oregon community of John Day, is the only standing structure that remains as a reminder of the town's once thriving Chinese community. Built c.1866 as a trading post, the building later served as a commercial, social, cultural, and spiritual center for the Chinese settlement of John Day. The Kam Wah Chung Company Building is considered the best known example of a Chinese mercantile and herb store in the United States, representing the Chinese role in the post-Civil War expansion period of the American West.

Bodie Historic District
(National Historic Site 1961, NHL 1966)
Bodie, California
Ethnic Heritage: Chinese
Criteria: 1 (Community Planning/Development, Industry, Ethnic Heritage) The application of Criterion 1 is assumed; the nomination pre-dates use of the Criteria.
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=e4ed82ee-0eb0-421f-ad8c-76c138e98aa1

The Bodie Historic District, the best-preserved ghost town from the California gold rush period, is locat-



Kam Wah Chung Company Building, northeast view. Photo courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

ed seven miles south of Bridgeport, California, in the Sierra Nevada Mountains. It is an excellent example of an American West boomtown and the accompanying lifestyle that developed in western mining communities. Many Chinese came to live and work in Bodie during its early years, where they supplied a substantial workforce for the local gold mining industry. The Chinatown that developed in Bodie boasted a Taoist temple and a number of opium dens. More than 100 historic buildings remain in the district, conveying Bodie between its founding in 1859 and its demise in 1942, when mining was finally suspended and the last residents left the town. Although not mentioned in the documentation, the historic district represents Chinese contributions to mining and the development of Bodie.

Kake Cannery (NHL and NRHP 1997)
Kake, Alaska
Ethnic Heritage: Multiple
Criteria: 1 (Maritime History, Industry, and Social History) and 5 (historic district)
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=ebfefa8c-21fa-49f7-a620-2112c0f2f118

The Kake Cannery was designated a National Historic Landmark under the Labor History theme study. It encompasses multiple areas of significance, but the most important for the AAPI theme study are industry and social history. Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino workers comprised the primary contract labor force, helping launch the salmon canning industry as Alaska's largest industry in the first half of the 20th century. During the period of significance (1912 to 1940), the Kake Cannery emulated trends in labor practices of the Pacific salmon canning industry, which corresponded with national patterns of immigration and labor organization. The physical plan of the cannery exhibits the use of foreign contract labor, with work areas defined by cultural groups that performed specific tasks. The Kake Cannery retains an unmatched degree of integrity among the very few original Alaska canneries that are extant.[6]

The Forty Acres (NHL and NRHP 2008)
Delano, California
Ethnic Heritage: Pacific Islander
Criteria: 1 (Economics, Social History, and Ethnic Heritage—Pacific Island and Hispanic) and 2 (association with Césario Estrada Chávez)
Exception 8 (Less than 50 years of age)
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=f53395cd-4de9-445i-a248-479022071oof



Government House, Pago Pago, American Samoa, aerial view of the northernmost tip of the island. Photo courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

The Forty Acres in Delano, California, became the first national headquarters of the United Farm Workers of America, the first permanent agricultural labor union in the United States. The property is nationally significant for its association with the farm workers' movement and with the influential career of César Chávez, the most significant leader of the movement from 1962 to 1993 and the most important Latino labor leader in the history of the United States. Larry Itliong, a Filipino who was a leader of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, and

Chávez, leader of the National Farm Workers Association, combined efforts in the Delano grape strike that began in 1965. The collaboration resulted in formation of the United Farm Workers of America, with headquarters at The Forty Acres. The movement gained nationwide support and was ultimately successful in gaining a collective bargaining agreement for workers in 1970 and a number of subsequent gains for agricultural workers. The National Historic Landmark nomination notes the importance of the property to Filipino American history.

Government House (NHL 1990, NRHP 1972)
Pago Pago, American Samoa
Ethnic Heritage: American Samoa
Criteria: 1 (Politics/Government and Military) and Exception 8 (at the time of designation, the end date of the period of significance was less than fifty years ago)
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=b325643b-6630-4e67-9fcf-b245c039ec87

The Government House was built in 1903 by the U.S. Navy at the U.S. Naval Station Tutuila to serve as a residence for naval governors, shortly after the United States gained control of Eastern (American) Samoa. The two-story, frame house is the most enduring, land-based symbol of American naval and diplomatic might in the South Pacific. In essence the capitol of American Samoa through much of its history, the house has served as the official residence of civilian governors since 1951.

Japanese American World War II Sites
The NHL theme study *Japanese Americans in World War II* provides a historical context and guidance on nominating places associated with the Japanese American wartime experience in the United States. The theme study, which can be found on the NHL website, includes summary descriptions of designated and potential NHLs.[7] The following summary of the nomination for the Granada Relocation Center (Amache) provides an example of the application of Criteria 1 and 4 to one of the Japanese American World War II properties.

Granada Relocation Center, also known as Camp Amache (NHL 2006, NRHP 1994)
Prowers County, Colorado
Ethnic Heritage: Japanese
Criteria: 1 (Law, Politics/Government, Social History, and Ethnic Heritage) and 4 (Planning)
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=04b78227-faff-42ec-974d-cf11a836434c

The site of the Granada Relocation Center, commonly called "Amache," is one of several relocation centers designated National Historic Landmarks. The designated area encompasses 593 acres that was the core of the



Granada Relocation Center, Colorado, historic view. Photo courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.



'Iolani Palace, front and side elevations. Photo courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

center's developed area. It includes the sites of detainee housing, administration, military police, a warehouse, support areas, and the center cemetery. A small number of buildings remain, as well as the historic road network and a number of building foundations. The grid and functional divisions are apparent, and the layout of buildings is evident by the remaining foundations. The remarkable integrity of the plan suggested the application of Criterion 4, while the association of the complex with the World War II forced confinement confirmed the application of Criterion 1. The intact and visible layout of the center provides a strong sense of the size of the installation and its military layout. The integrity of location, setting, association, and feeling are compelling and lend significance that compensates for the absence of buildings. Although entirely probable that the site has a high degree of information potential, the property was not evaluated under Criterion 6.

'Iolani Palace (NHL 1962, NRHP 1966)
Honolulu, Hawai'i
Ethnic Heritage: Hawaiian
Criteria: 1 (Politics/Government) The application of Criterion 1 is assumed; the nomination pre-dates use of the Criteria.
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=4247173b-49a0-4d6f-8766-e32e0455fea8

Known as the only royal palace in the United States, 'Iolani Palace was the official residence of the last two rulers of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, King Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani. As such, it is the most important surviving symbol of the days of Hawaiian independence. Designed and constructed from 1879 to 1882, it combines Italianate and Second Empire details. In 1898, the formal transference of the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States took place on the palace steps.

Kawaiaha'o Church and Mission Houses (NHL 1962, NRHP 1966)
Honolulu, Hawai'i
Ethnic Heritage: Hawaiian
Criteria: 1 (History of Hawai'i—the only area of significance noted on the nomination form) The application of Criterion 1 is assumed; the nomination pre-dates use of the Criteria.
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=8e0189a0-c577-4a61-b8c6-5fa5ab659aa1

The impressive stone church, dating from 1838 to 1842, is the best representative of the work and influence of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Hawaiian Islands. The Kawaiaha'o Church was a mission of the original Mission Church, founded in Boston in 1819. As Hawaii's state church, it was used for inaugurations and other services associated with the Kingdom of Hawai'i. Earlier buildings associated with the missionary effort survive nearby. The earliest, a prefabricated building dating from 1820, was built in Boston, disassembled, shipped to the "Sandwich Islands," and

re-erected "for the comfort of the ladies." When nominated as an NHL, its significance was considered to be the "History of Hawai'i," but today we would consider it to be associated with the areas Ethnic Heritage, Politics/Government, Religion, and perhaps Architecture.

Old Sugar Mill of Kôloa (NHL 1962, NRHP 1966)
Kauai County, Hawai'i
Ethnic Heritage: Hawaiian
Criteria: 1 (Industry) and 6 (Archeology)
The application of Criteria 1 and 6 is assumed; the nomination pre-dates use of the Criteria.
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=68d0b514-a38a-4b06-9fc1-0cf42b49c2a6

The first commercially successful sugar plantation was established on the island of Kauai by Ladd and Company in 1835, marking the foundation of what became the largest industry in Hawai'i. Although native Hawaiians had grown sugar cane earlier, with commercial success sugar became pivotal in Hawaiian economics and politics, and was influential in the decision of the United States to annex the islands. The 10-acre site is marked by ruins of the enterprise; the massive stone base of the chimney and stone foundations of the mill date from the early 1840s.

Pi'ilanihale Heiau (NHL 1964, NRHP 1966)
Maui County, Hawai'i
Ethnic Heritage: Hawaiian
Criteria: 1 (Politics/Government and Religion), 4 (Architecture), and 6 (Archeology) The application of Criteria 1, 4, and 6 is assumed; the nomination pre-dates use of the Criteria.
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=ce4646ae-b8b6-43f0-80d9-8a3c16969eef

The Pi'ilanihale Heiau, located near the town of Hana on the Island of Maui, is the largest Heiau—place of worship—on Maui and one of the most important archeological sites in the Hawaiian Islands. It is exceptionally well preserved, with massive stone walls forming stepped terraces. Constructed in stages beginning in the 13th century, Pi'ilanihale Heiau measures approximately 340 feet by 425 feet. Inside the massive exterior walls, lesser walls and enclosures exist. The nomination notes several areas of significance that indicate application of the NHL Criteria noted above; however, the documentation is out of date, so for this summary a National Park Service website was consulted.[8]

APPLYING CRITERION 2: ASSOCIATION WITH SIGNIFICANT PEOPLE

Properties significant under Criterion 2 are associated with people who made contributions significant in American history. Their contributions may have impacted the lives of AAPI people or may represent AAPI contributions to American culture. Their association with the property must coincide with the period when they achieved national significance, and the association must be substantial. The essays of this theme study identify a number of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders who made significant contributions to American history and culture, law, science, commerce, industry, and more. For properties to represent the theme in terms of Criterion 2, the individual must have significantly impacted the lives of AAPI people or the individual's accomplishments must significantly represent AAPI history or culture. Simply *being* of AAPI descent does not convey national significance.

NHLs Designated Under Criterion 2

Properties designated under Criterion 2 are significant for their association with an Asian American or Pacific Islander (or someone not of AAPI heritage who is strongly associated with AAPI history or culture) who played an important role in American history.

- **George Nakashima Woodworkers Complex,** New Hope, Pennsylvania
- **Washington Place,** Honolulu, Hawai'i
- **Pearl S. Buck House,** Dublin, Pennsylvania
- **Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement,** Kalaupapa, Hawai'i

George Nakashima Woodworkers Complex (NHL 2014, NRHP 2008)
New Hope, Pennsylvania
Ethnic Heritage: Japanese
Criteria: 2 (George Nakashima), 4 (Architecture, Art—American Craft movement, Engineering), and Exception 8 (less than 50 years of age)
https://www.nps.gov/nhl/find/statelists/pa/GeorgeNakashimaWoodworkerComplex.pdf



George Nakashima's studio and workshop. Photo courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

George Nakashima is recognized as one of America's most eminent furniture designer-craftsman and a significant force in the American Craft movement of the mid-20th century, a seminal period for woodworking in the United States. As a self-proclaimed "woodworker," Nakashima became an important voice for the artist craftsmen, helping to create a new paradigm for studio furniture production in the postwar period. This is the basis of the significance of the property under Criterion 2, with AAPI significance achieved because Nakashima's work was influenced by his Japanese heritage. According to the NHL documentation, his exposure to Eastern religions and Japanese craft traditions taught him the value of humility and to seek peace, beauty, and harmony through his work. The Nakashima complex consists of 21 resources he designed and built in an innovative, Japanese influenced International Style design. Criterion Exception 8 was applied, because many of the buildings in the complex are less than 50 years old.

Washington Place (NHL 2007, NRHP 1973)
Honolulu, Hawai'i
Ethnic Heritage: Hawaiian
Criteria: 1 (Politics/Government and Social History) and 2 (Queen Lili'uokalani)
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=95c9bde4-93ff-4b86-bdf6-28d0f67acc55

Washington Place was the long-time home of the last Hawaiian monarch. It represents America's efforts to expand its influence and territory in the Pacific. Built in the 1840s as the elegant residence of wealthy American trader John Dominis, Washington Place later housed the U.S. Legation to the Hawaiian Kingdom. It became the private residence of the future monarch, Queen Lili'uokalani, after her 1862 marriage to John Owen Dominis, the son of the original owner. Upon her brother's death in 1891, she became monarch during a challenging period when American commercial and military interests sought to expand their already dominant influence in most aspects of Hawaiian life. The Queen's efforts to maintain the security and national identity of her kingdom prompted an American-backed coup d'état that overthrew the constitutional monarchy in 1893. The resulting provisional government was more favorable to American interests. Formal annexation by the United States followed in 1898. After the former Queen's death, Washington Place served as the official governor's mansion from 1919 to 1959. The criteria used to establish the property's significance reflect its importance in Hawaiian and U.S. history and its association with Queen Lili'uokalani.

Pearl S. Buck House (NHL 1980, NRHP 1974)
Dublin, Pennsylvania
Ethnic Heritage: Chinese
Criteria: 1 (Literature and Social/Humanitarian) and 2 (Pearl S. Buck)
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=-333fa673-f9a3-49fd-97a6-f681b7b64a95

Noted American novelist Pearl S. Buck maintained this mid-19th century stone farmhouse in Bucks County as her principal residence from 1933 until her death in 1973. She did much of her writing here. In 1932, she won the Pulitzer Prize for her novel *The Good Earth*, and in 1938 Buck won the Nobel Prize for literature "for rich and

genuine epic portrayals of Chinese life, and for masterpieces of biography." Buck worked to dispel negative Asian American stereotypes through her writing and other initiatives, such as the East-West Association, which she founded in 1941 to bring entertainers and lecturers from Asia to the United States. She founded the Pearl S. Buck Foundation in 1963 to aid in the adoption and care of Amerasian children. Criterion 2 is applied because of this remarkable woman's achievements in literature and in fostering appreciation for Chinese culture.

Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement
(NHL and NRHP 1976, National Historic Park 1980)
Kalaupapa, Hawai'i
Ethnic Heritage: Hawaiian
Criteria: 1 (Community Planning, Religion, Social/Humanitarian), 2 (Father Joseph Damien), 4 (Architecture), 6 (Archeology) The application of Criteria 1, 2, 4, and 6 is assumed; the nomination pre-dates use of the Criteria.
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=322a82dd-d087-4bde-98bd-4902dd7f2635

This windswept peninsula on Molokai's northern coast was the site of a leper colony established in 1866 to curb an epidemic among native Hawaiians. Belgian priest Father Joseph Damien, "Martyr of Molokai," volunteered to minister here in 1873 and died a victim of the disease in 1889. The site, which includes Fr. Damien's Saint Philomena Church, became a National Historical Park in 1980.



Kalaupapa Leprosy Settlement, view from the lighthouse to the southeast. Photo courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

APPLYING CRITERION 3: AMERICAN IDEALS

Properties eligible under NHL Criterion 3 are strongly associated with the most profound ideas and ideals of American democracy. Such properties related to AAPI history may have been associated with successful efforts to secure equal rights, including the right to own property, to have a free and equal education, to secure work and own businesses, and to vote and hold office. Thus, properties associated with American ideals may be public buildings where important decisions were made that affected AAPI rights, such as courthouses, statehouses, and city halls. They may be businesses, houses or schools where important civil actions were instigated; or that are tangible reminders of discriminatory practices toward AAPI people that were abandoned or revised to reflect American ideals; or places where stands were made to highlight and change discriminatory practices.

Criterion 3 is seldom used, but AAPI achievements in securing equal rights may present opportunities for its application. One of the few properties nominated under Criterion 3—in this case related to African American history—is the Brown Chapel AME Church in Selma, Alabama. Criterion 3 was applied because actions at the church are strongly associated with the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. Members of the church and the building itself played pivotal roles in the Selma to Montgomery marches that contributed to passage of the Voting Rights Act. At this writing there are no properties related to AAPI history that have been nominated under Criterion 3.

APPLYING CRITERION 4: ARCHITECTURE/LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

Properties that are exceptionally important works for their design are nominated under Criterion 4. To be eligible for NHL designation, the property should be an iconic or benchmark work for a nationally significant architect or landscape architect. A property can also be eligible under Criterion 4 if it is an important example of a noted type, period, or method of construction. To be nationally significant, the property should have an exemplary or innovative quality and a high level of integrity compared to others of a similar type.

- **Panama Hotel,** Seattle, Washington
- **Mo'okini Heiau,** Hawi, Hawai'i

NHLs Designated Under Criterion 4
Properties designated under Criterion 4 are significant as works of architectural or landscape architectural design reflecting AAPI cultural influences. To be nationally significant, the design should be exceptional as an executed work with an AAPI association, which may include association with an AAPI master designer.

Panama Hotel (NHL and NRHP 2006)
Seattle, Washington
Ethnic Heritage: Japanese
Criteria: 1 (Ethnic Heritage) and 4 (Architecture)
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=fb3b719e-66db-4440-97ea-a1c645d4e704

Located in Seattle's International District, the Panama Hotel contains one of the best remaining examples of a Japanese-style bathhouse in the United States in the hotel's basement. Bathing was a valued tradition in Japan, and bathhouses—*Hashidate Yu*— were among the most significant building traditions and cultural practices brought to the United States by Japanese immigrants. At one time, there were hundreds of Japanese-style bathhouses in the western United States. Now there are only two known; the other is at Walnut Grove, California.

Built in 1910, the Panama Hotel was designed by Sabro Ozasa, one of a few Japanese American architects at the time and the first Japanese American architect to practice in Seattle. The hotel is located in the heart of the traditional *Nihonmachi*, or Japantown, and has provided temporary lodging for nine decades. The Panama Hotel is especially valuable for the study of early Japanese immigrants and their cultural retention and adaptation.



Historic image of the Panama Hotel. Photo from King County Assessor's Office, Property Record Cards, courtesy of the Washington State Archives, Division of Archives and Records Management, Puget Sound Regional Branch.

Mo'okini Heiau (NHL 1962, NRHP 1966)
Hawi, Hawai'i
Ethnic Heritage: Hawaiian
Criteria: 1 (Religion), 4 (Architecture), 6 (Archeology), and Criteria Exception 4 (birthplace). The application of Criteria 1, 4, and 6 is assumed; the nomination pre-dates use of the Criteria.
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=adf1a376-c540-45d3-bff3-3cda7f693483

This massive platform, with its open, stone-paved court, was a temple of the rulers—a state temple, or *luakini*—where human sacrifices were performed. It is one of the most important traditional sites in Hawai'i because of its association with the legendary Polynesian priest Pa'ao, who is believed to have introduced new religious and social concepts to the islands c.1370. The landmark, a unit of the Kohala Historical Sites State Monument, also contains the nearby birthplace of King Kamehameha I, who founded the Kingdom of Hawai'i in 1795.

APPLYING CRITERION 5: DISTRICTS

Areas that contain a number of resources that collectively are important for their historical, artistic, or archeological significance can be eligible under Criterion 5. As historic districts, they may be an entire community, a discrete section of a city that comprises the local Chinatown, Japantown, or Little Manila, or a rural area. Districts may be areas that have a single, short-lived purpose, such as a mining or lumber camp, or they may be a complex of buildings whose purpose and appearance evolved over time, such as the U.S. Immigration Center at Angel Island (described under Criterion 1, above).



Main streets, Locke, California. Photo courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places, 1970.

NHLs Designated Under Criterion 5

Properties designated under Criterion 5 are significant as districts. Although the criterion is not always applied, the following represent AAPI districts that have been designated NHLs.

- **Locke Historic District,** Locke, California
- **Little Tokyo Historic District,** Los Angeles, California
- **Lâhainâ Historic District,** Lâhainâ, Hawai'i

Locke Historic District (NHL 1990, NRHP 1971)
Locke, California
Ethnic Heritage: Chinese
Criteria: 1 (Ethnic Heritage) and 5 (District)
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=7ce3cdb3-577a-4550-a532-becc4043f218

Locke, founded in 1915, is the largest and most intact example of a rural Chinese American community in the nation. More than 50 closely spaced commercial and residential frame buildings comprise what has been called a "frontier Chinatown." Locke is the only such community remaining in the Sacramento-San Joaquin River delta, where a large number of Chinese immigrants settled.

Little Tokyo Historic District
(NHL 1995, NRHP 1986)
Los Angeles, California
Ethnic Heritage: Japanese
Criteria: 1 (Ethnic Heritage), Criteria Exception 1 (religious property) Criterion 5 applies but was not used in the nomination.
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=4eba7631-720a-465c-9dda-28ccc021ab58

This small historic district, also known as Japantown, is directly southeast of the Los Angeles Civic Center. Little Tokyo served as a haven for newly arrived Japanese immigrants prior to World War II. It became the largest concentration of Japanese American centers in the United States. Little Tokyo Historic District reflects the ethnic heritage of Japanese Americans, despite enormous losses that occurred after 1942 when Japanese Americans in West Coast areas, including Los Angeles, were forced into "relocation" centers. Although after the war the community never fully recovered from the wartime evacuation, it still serves as the center of Japanese American culture in Los Angeles.

Lâhainâ Historic District (NHL 1962, NRHP 1966)
Lâhainâ, Hawai'i
Ethnic Heritage: Hawaiian
Criteria: 1 (Commerce, Political, Religion/Philosophy, Social/Humanitarian, Transportation), 4 (Architecture), and 5 (historic district). The application of Criteria 1, 4, and 5 is assumed; the nomination pre-dates use of the Criteria.
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=2a63dfe5-a9fb-4784-a6c9-bb27330f7d8a

Lâhainâ, a port town, was a favorite residence of Maui kings and chiefs before Maui was incorporated into the Hawaiian Kingdom. It served as the royal residence and capital of the Hawaiian Kingdom from 1820 to 1845, in the period Hawai'i was changing from a traditional chiefdom to a constitutional monarchy. From c. 1830 to 1860, the American whaling fleet made Lâhainâ an annual port of call. The core of the small town preserves the architecture and character of a mid-19th century Hawaiian seaport.

APPLYING CRITERION 6: ARCHEOLOGY

Properties significant under Criterion 6 are commonly archeological sites or properties with archeological components or potential. They contain or have provided archeologically relevant data with national significance, and retain a high degree of archeological integrity. For more information, please see the earlier section in this appendix, "A Note on Archeological Resources."

NHLs Designated Under Criterion 6

The following properties were designated NHLs under Criterion 6. Hawai'i has a particularly rich collection of archeological sites related to AAPI culture. Summaries of their significance are provided below.

- **Huilua Fishpond,** Kaneohe, Hawai'i
- **Hokukano-Ualapue Complex,** Molokai, Hawai'i
- **Kaloko-Honokôhau National Historical Park,** Kailua-Kona, Hawai'i
- **Kaunolu Village Site**, Lanai City Vicinity, Hawai'i
- **Kamakahonu,** Kailua-Kona, Hawai'i
- **Loaloa Heiau**, Honolulu, Hawai'i
- **Mauna Kea Adz Quarry**, Hilo, Hawai'i
- **Ka Lea (South Point) Complex,** Nâ'âlehu, Hawai'i

Huilua Fishpond (NHL 1962, NRHP 1966)
Kaneohe, Hawai'i
Ethnic Heritage: Hawaiian
Criteria: 6 (Archeology)
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=a875d21e-24fd-4639-a1f3-2ace36c1f535

The Huilua Fishpond, which was operational well into the 20th century, is one of the few surviving fishponds of an estimated 97 that once existed along the coast of Oahu. Fishponds were constructed for hatching and keeping fish; they were unique achievements of ancient Hawaiians in their extensive aquaculture practice.

Hokukano-Ualapue Complex (NHL 1962)
Molokai, Hawai'i
Ethnic Heritage: Hawaiian
Criteria: 6 (Archeology)

These discontiguous sites form one of the most important and impressive archeological complexes in Hawai'i. Six temple platforms and two fishponds are testament to the architectural and engineering achievements and to the political and economic power that evolved on Molokai between 1500 and 1778, when contact with the West was made.

Kaloko-Honokôhau National Historical Park (NHL 1962, NRHP 1978)
Kailua-Kona, Hawai'i
Ethnic Heritage: Hawaiian
Criteria: 6 (Archeology)

Because of its ideal landing places for canoes and its fishponds, the Honokôhau coastal area was important to ancient Hawaiian Island chiefs and their descendants. This settlement location includes numerous ancient house sites, temples, fishponds, a sled run, tombs, and scattered petroglyphs. It is now included within the boundaries of the Kaloko-Honokôhau National Historical Park.

Kaunolu Village Site (NHL 1962, NRHP 1966)
Lanai City Vicinity, Hawai'i
Ethnic Heritage: Hawaiian
Criteria: 6 (Archeology)

Remains of this former village on Lanai's leeward coast represent nearly all phases of Hawaiian culture. The state's largest surviving example of a prehistoric fishing community, Kaunolu included at least 86 house platforms, at a time when 10 were typical of such communities. The Village was a favorite deep sea fishing location for King Kamehameha I, from c. 1778 to 1810. It was abandoned in the 1870s.

Kamakahonu (NHL 1962, NRHP 1966)
Kailua-Kona, Hawai'i
Ethnic Heritage: Hawaiian
Criteria: 1 (Politics/Government, Religion), 2 (Kamehameha I and Kamehameha II), and 6 (Archeology). The application of Criteria 1, 2, and 6 is assumed; the nomination pre-dates use of the Criteria.
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=dbaa161a-c22b-472a-b97f-d80fce0c61d4

Kamakahonu was the home of Kamehameha I, unifier of the Hawaiian Islands, from 1812 until his death in 1819.



View to north of Manawainui Valley from the highest platform in the Eastern Division of the Heiau. Photo courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

The residential compound included the Ahuena *heiau* (personal temple) of the king. His son and heir King Kamehamdha II (Liholiho) abolished the traditional religious system, and less than a year after Kamehameha I's death the first missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands landed at this location. The site is now within the grounds of a hotel. Several of the buildings associated with Kamehameha have been reconstructed, but they are not considered part of the site's national significance.

Loaloa Heiau (NHL 1962, NRHP 1966)
Honolulu, Hawai'i
Ethnic Heritage: Hawaiian
Criteria: 1 (Architecture, Politics/Government, Religion) and 6 (Archeology) The application of Criteria 1 and 6 is assumed; the nomination pre-dates use of the Criteria.
http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=e5d6f8c6-7160-46ff-8f39-13a65aee1493

This hillside temple site is one of the few intact examples of a state sacrificial temple. Once the center of an important cultural complex, the raised platform at the site may have been built c. 1730 by Kekaulike, a king of Maui. When nominated, the site was considered to have the potential to contribute valuable information about the aboriginal architecture, politics and government, and ancient religion of Hawai'i.

Mauna Kea Adz Quarry (NHL 1962, NRHP 1966)
Hilo, Hawai'i
Ethnic Heritage: Hawaiian
Criteria: 1 (Ethnic Heritage, Industry) and 6 (Archeology) The application of Criteria 1 and 6 is assumed; the nomination pre-dates use of the Criteria.

Located at the top of Mauna Kea at an elevation of 12,000 feet, the large complex of archeological sites constitutes the largest primitive rock quarry in the world. It was used by ancient Hawaiians to obtain basalt and to make various stone tools, as evidenced by extensive heaps of basalt flakes and debris. The adz or adze is an ancient type of tool, similar to an axe in shape. The archeological complex contains more than 35 shrines and other ancient features.

Ka Lea (South Point) Complex
(NHL 1962, NRHP 1966)
Nâ'âlehu, Hawai'i
Ethnic Heritage: Hawaiian
Criteria: 1 (Ethnic Heritage) and 6 (Archeology) The application of Criteria 1 and 6 is assumed; the nomination pre-dates use of the Criteria.

This multifaceted site provides the longest and most complete archeological record of human occupation in the Hawaiian Islands. Fire hearths, a temple platform, canoe mooring holes, and salt pans are included in the complex. Through carbon 14 testing, a date of ca. A.D. 124 has been obtained at one house site, establishing it as one of the earliest recorded occupations in Hawai'i.

APPLYING THE NHL CRITERIA EXCEPTIONS

The National Historic Landmark Criteria Exceptions allow for the designation of properties that are ordinarily excluded from designation. Each exception is addressed below in terms of its relevance to the Asian American/Pacific Islander theme study.

Applying Exception 1: Religious Properties

Religion and spirituality were important aspects of Asian American and Pacific Islander cultural traditions. Many settlements by AAPI people were marked by the construction of temples and churches, which eventually may

have become the focal point of the community. Exception 1 is applied when temples, mosques, churches, and other houses of worship are nominated for NHL designation. They must derive their national significance from architectural or artistic merit or historical and cultural associations. Exception 1 does not need to be addressed if the religious institution is located in a historic district and it is not the focal point of the district. If a property is eligible under Criterion 6 for its information potential, Exception 1 does not need to be applied.

Exception 1 is not thought to have been applied to any NHL designations associated with AAPI history and culture at this writing, but several houses of worship that are potentially eligible for NHL designation would require the application of Exception 1. These include the Oroville Chinese Temple, the Weaverville Joss House (Taoist Temple), the Mendocino Joss House (Temple of Kwan Tai), and the Enmanji Buddhist Temple—all potentially eligible under Criterion 4 for their architectural merits. The Stockton Sikh Gurdwara appears to be eligible for NHL designation under Criterion 1 for its social and political associations. In all of these cases, Exception 1 also would be applied.

Applying Exception 2: Moved Buildings

Exception 2 is applied to properties that have been moved from their original locations but retain their architectural value or national significance under another criterion.

Exception 2 has not been applied to any AAPI associated property already designated a National Historic Landmark. The Enmanji Buddhist Temple in Sebastopol, California, is the only potentially eligible property identified through this theme study to which Exception 2 would be applied. It is architecturally significant as a representation of a 12th century Kamakura-style Japanese temple. The temple was built in 1933 as part of the Chicago World's Fair exhibit for the Manchurian Railroad Company. It was subsequently sold, dismantled, and reassembled on its present site in Sebastopol.

Applying Exception 3: Sites without Buildings and Structures

Exception 3 is applied when the site of a building or structure no longer standing is considered significant because the person or event associated with it is of transcendent importance in our nation's history. Exception 3 is not often applied, but it has been used for resources associated with the theme study *Japanese Americans in World War II*. This exception does not apply if the property is being nominated under Criterion 6.

Exception 3 has been applied to the Topaz Relocation Center and the Heart Mountain Relocation Center. It would not be applied to any of the potentially eligible NHL properties identified in this study, but additional research may reveal the applicability of this exception to properties not yet identified.

Applying Exception 4: Birthplace, Grave, or Burial

A person of national significance associated with the AAPI theme study might be represented by their birthplace or burial place, if no sites, buildings, or structures that represent their historical significance still exist. Exception 4 is not often applied, and its use is not appropriate for properties nominated under Criterion 6. This exception has not been applied to any AAPI properties currently designated, and no applications for this exception have become evident through this study. Additional research may reveal the applicability of this exception to properties not yet identified.

Applying Exception 5: Cemeteries

Exception 5 pertains to the designation of cemeteries. Cemeteries associated with this theme study may be considered significant for their association with the grave of a person of national significance, for an extraordinary design, or for an extremely significant event that occurred there. The use of this exception is not appropriate for properties eligible under Criterion 6.

Exception 5 was applied to the Rohwer Relocation Center Memorial Cemetery near McGehee, Arkansas, which is associated with the *Japanese Americans in World War II Theme Study*. It is the most intact component of the Rohwer Relocation Center, which operated from 1942 to 1945. The cemetery includes 24 headstones, monuments, and landscaping. Further applications of Exception 5 did not become evident through research for this study, but additional research may reveal the applicability of this exception to properties not yet identified.

Applying Exception 6: Reconstructed Properties
Exception 6 is applied to nominations for reconstructed properties, but such properties are only eligible if the reconstruction is accurate and is part of a restoration master plan, when no other buildings with the same association are extant.

Kamakahonu is a Hawaiian site comprised of several reconstructed buildings that were recreated as part of a restoration master plan in 1975 to 1977. The nomination did not identify the criteria exception, because the criteria and exceptions were not in use in 1962 when the property was nominated. Also, the nomination pre-dated the reconstructions. It is not clear if the reconstructions constitute nationally significant components of the site or intrusions. Additional applications of Exception 6 did not become evident through research conducted for this study, but additional research may reveal the applicability of this exception to properties not yet identified.

Applying Exception 7: Commemorative Properties
Exception 7 pertains to commemorative properties that have attained national significance on their own merits. This Exception has not been applied to any designated NHLs related to AAPI history or culture. If nominated, Exception 7 might apply to the Sacramento Nisei VFW Post No. 8985, also known as the Nisei War Memorial Community Center. The memorial commemorates the residents of Sacramento's lost Japantown, an area with over 300 businesses before residents were forced to relocate under the infamous Executive Order 9066.

Applying Exception 8: National Significance within the Past 50 Years
Properties less than 50 years of age are not eligible for NHL designation unless Exception 8 is applied. This Exception was applied to the George Nakashima Woodworker Complex in New Hope, Pennsylvania. Other potential applications of Exception 8 did not become evident through research conducted for this study; however, it is likely that additional research will reveal the applicability of this exception to properties not yet identified, because a number of AAPI groups are fairly recent arrivals to the U.S. For such properties, it may be possible to assess exceptional significance before 50 years have passed.

A SAMPLING OF PROPERTIES POSSIBLY ELIGIBLE FOR NHL DESIGNATION

Asian American and Pacific Islander cultural resources exist throughout the United States: in cities, towns and rural areas, and aboveground and subsurface. As discussed earlier in this chapter, because there are many resources and they relate to many different cultures, it is nearly impossible to design and carry out a nationwide cultural resource survey. Instead, state historic preservation offices, city preservation programs, and others will carry out surveys to identify resources related to AAPI historical and cultural themes on a local or regional basis.

The properties mentioned in this chapter were taken from the AAPI NHL Study List, developed as part of this theme study. Inclusion on the list and in this appendix is not a confirmation that NHL eligibility is assured. The evaluations of those included are preliminary and generally based on minimal information. However, they provide a sampling of properties associated with several ethnic and national groups related to AAPI history and culture.

The properties described in this section are organized by national or regional origin. For some groups, such as Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans, many more historic properties were noted than for others. For other groups, little information about associated resources became evident. One purpose of this theme study is to inspire people to consider where AAPI resources are located, what is important, how they correspond with the theme study contexts, and whether they are eligible to be recognized as National Historic Landmarks.

CHINESE AMERICAN RESOURCES

Six Companies (Not NRHP Listed)
843 Stockton Street
San Francisco, California
Possible Criterion: 1

The Chinese Six Companies refers to the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in San Francisco. Six benevolent associations consolidated in 1882, maintaining the six original groups as branches under a main governing body. The association was located at a headquarters building on Stockton Street. The Six Com-

panies held a critical social and economic role in the development of Chinatown, helping Chinese immigrants gain employment and form businesses, develop schools and build temples, and maintain a presence at the center of community events. They also served a political and judiciary role by mediating disputes between fellow Chinese. The group eventually became a powerful national organization, known for defending the civil rights of Chinese Americans. The funds received from membership dues were used to hire successful litigators to fight unconstitutional laws aimed at Chinese residents and citizens. Six Companies helped fight cases before the United States Supreme Court, including *Chew Heong v. United States*. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of Heong, agreeing that his right to re-enter the US after leaving was protected under the 1880 Angell Treaty.

Recommendation. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (Six Companies) is nationally significant for its role in defending the rights of Chinese immigrants, particularly following passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Additional research is needed to determine the building's full national significance. It appears to have retained a high degree of integrity.

Forbidden City Nightclub (Not NRHP Listed)
369 Sutter Street
San Francisco, California
Possible Criterion: 1

Charlie Low opened the Forbidden City Nightclub on the outskirts of Chinatown in San Francisco in 1938. The club eventually became the most famous nightclub and cabaret among the 12 located in Chinatown. It was the setting for C. Y. Yee's best-selling novel *Flower Drum Song*, published in 1957. A year later, Rodgers and Hammerstein wrote a successful musical based on the novel, and in 1961, the musical became a Hollywood film. The nightclub provided burlesque and vaudeville-style entertainment and became the Asian American equivalent of the New York City Cotton Club.

Recommendation. The Forbidden City Nightclub may be nationally significant under Criterion 1 for its contribution to entertainment as a nightclub for AAPI people and as the backdrop for various Broadway and movie productions that attained national recognition. It helped break the barriers of the types of entertainment that Asian Americans could enter and inspired an appreciation for Chinese women (although not all performers were Chinese, they were marketed as such) and various aspects of Chinese culture. The nightclub was located on the second floor of the Sutter Street building in San Francisco. The exterior of the second floor has retained a high degree of integrity; however, the first story has been compromised with modernized store fronts. A more in-depth investigation is necessary to determine if the Forbidden City Nightclub has sufficient integrity to be considered eligible for NHL designation.

Fong Won Herb Company Building
(Not NRHP Listed)
575 10th Street
Oakland, California
Possible Criterion: 2

The Fong Won Herb Company Building, located in Oakland, California, may be significant under Criterion 2 for Fong Won's efforts to promote Chinese therapeutics in the greater San Francisco area and his efforts for legal acceptance of Chinese medicine. Fong Won, the most renowned Chinese herbalist in America during the 1930s, opened his business in Oakland in 1915. He wrote the publication *Herb Lore*, which provides details about various ailments and their treatment by the Chinese with herbs. The Fong Won Herb Company treated conditions of over 30,000 patrons, and Won was known as the "King of the North American Herbalists." In 1931, Fong Won was indicted on 16 counts of fraud by the Medical Board and Federal Trade Commission, but he was acquitted in Federal court.

Recommendation. The Fong Won Herb Company moved several times after it was launched in 1915, finally locating at 575 10th Street in Oakland at the home and store Fong Won built in 1924. The building is nationally significant as a renowned store for Chinese herbal therapeutics. Several illustrations of the exterior and interior are depicted in the book *Herb Lore,* which provides critical insight to its original historic appearance. It has undergone several alterations on the exterior, including treatment of the doors and removal of the Chinese-style cupola. A thorough evaluation of its integrity on the interior and exterior and a comparison with other buildings of this type are needed to determine NHL eligibility.

You Chong (Y. C.) Hong Law Office
(Not NRHP Listed)
Gin Ling Way, Central Plaza, New Chinatown
Los Angeles, California
Possible Criterion: 2

You Chong Hong (1898-1977) was an important figure in the field of civic law, working on behalf of Chinese Americans to attain equal rights. In 1923, he became the first Chinese American to pass the bar exam in the State of California. Hong became a successful immigration lawyer, working on more than 7,000 cases between 1925 and the 1960s. On numerous occasions he was invited to provide testimony at congressional and presidential commission hearings, particularly regarding the Chinese Exclusion Act. He was a founding member of the Los Angeles New Chinatown, and he served as grand president of the Chinese American Citizens Alliance and chairman of the Chinese Times Publishing Company. Hong helped build the New Chinatown in Los Angeles, after the original Chinatown was demolished to make way for Union Station. His law office, restored to its 1938 appearance in recent years, was located on Gin Ling Way on the Central Plaza in the New Chinatown.

Recommendation. The building that houses the Y. C. Hong law offices may be eligible under Criterion 2 for association with the noted Chinese American attorney. Other buildings associated with Hong, including his house (if extant), need to be considered for the strength of their association with Hong and his career.

Ah Louis Store (NRHP 2008)
800 Palm Street
San Luis Obispo, California
Possible Criterion: 2 (People)

The Ah Louis Store in San Luis Obispo, California, is historically significant for its association with Chinese American pioneer Ah Louis, or On Wong. The Ah Louis Store is a two-story, brick, Italianate-style building, built in 1885. It was located in the center of Chinatown in San Luis Obispo and was the Ah Louis family home from 1885 to 1936.

Ah Louis was a prominent labor contractor in California, who brought much of the Chinese work force to California for various projects, including construction



View looking north from Palm Street, California State Historical Landmark plaque located to left under lower window.
Photo courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

of the Pacific Coast Railway and the Southern Pacific Railroad. He also organized contract labor for numerous road projects, as well as for agricultural and domestic needs. Ah Louis was a successful businessman, and he pioneered the flower and vegetable seed business in San Luis Obispo County. From there his seeds were sold across the United States. Ah Louis served as a bridge between the Asian and white communities, supplying various industries with the labor that helped make them prosperous.

Recommendation. A thorough evaluation of Ah Louis and his contributions to the Chinese community in California and to the American economy in general should be undertaken to determine if his accomplishments can be evaluated as nationally significant under this theme study.

Weaverville Joss House
(NRHP 1971: Weaverville Historic District)
SW corner of Hwy 299 and Oregon Street
Weaverville, California
Possible Criteria: 4 and Exception 1

The Weaverville Joss House, built in 1874, is the oldest continuously used Chinese temple—or Joss House—in California. The Taoist temple is also known as "The Temple among the Trees beneath the Clouds." In 1956,

it became part of the California State Park System. The Weaverville Joss House looks much as it did when it was built, with minor adjustments to the building and grounds for safety and to accommodate visitors. The building has exquisite detailing and its Chinese heritage is overwhelmingly evident.

Recommendation. Although this joss house has remarkable integrity, its significance in terms of its history and architectural design should be compared with other Chinese joss houses of the second half of the 19th century—and perhaps earlier and later. It is essential to develop an inventory of extant joss houses for the sake of comparison. The Mendocino Joss House, the Bok Kai Temple, and the Oroville Joss House are among those with which it should be compared.

Bok Kai Temple (NRHP 1975)
Corner of D and First streets
Marysville, California
Possible Criteria: 4 and Exception 1

The Bok Kai Temple was built in 1880 in the Chinatown part of the small mining town of Marysville in the Northern Sacramento Valley. Marysville's Chinatown is one of the oldest in the United States, and the temple is one of the earliest. The importance of the small temple is indicated by visits from important Chinese dignitaries in its earlier history, including Sun Yat-Sen, founder and first President of the Republic of China, and Kang Youwei, leader of the Constitutional Monarchy movement in China from 1898 to 1911. The Bok Kai Temple, with unusual murals on the exterior, seems unique among Chinese temples in the United States.



Front of Bok Kai Temple, taken from the top of the Yuba river levee. Photo courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places, 2001.

Recommendation. The Bok Kai Temple is an exquisite representation of 19th century temple building by early Chinese immigrants to the United States. Listed in the National Register in 1975 at the state level of significance, its re-evaluation for national significance seems warranted. The temple retains excellent integrity.

Mendocino Joss House (NRHP 1971: Mendocino and Headlands Historic District)
45160 Albion Street
Mendocino, California
Possible Criteria: 4 and Exception 1

Located in the Mendocino and Headlands Historic District, the Mendocino Joss House represents early temple building by Chinese immigrants to the United States. Its simple wood construction with little decoration and rectangular plan are typical of pioneer western construction practices. The temple may have been built as early as 1854, or slightly later. It is an important example of a simply constructed temple, perhaps reflecting the materials available during this early settlement period.

Recommendation. The Mendocino Joss House is one of the earliest and most continuously used Chinese temples in the United States. It may be a rare, mid-19th century survivor, reflecting early Chinese immigration. Its integrity appears to be excellent. Efforts should be made to confirm the date of construction and to find comparable examples. A historical context related to joss houses could assist in the evaluation of all those known to exist and yet to be found. Explanations of the disparities in decoration and embellishment would be useful.

San Francisco Chinatown (Not NRHP Listed)
San Francisco, California
Possible Criteria: 1 and 5

Only a few Chinatowns in the United States are nationally significant. The San Francisco Chinatown may rise to that distinction as the primary port of entry for Chinese immigrants to the United States. Established in 1848 to



Historic photograph of Main Street looking west in the Mendocino and Headlands Historic District. Photo by Willis B. Foote; courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places, 1971.

1849, until about 1980 the San Francisco Chinatown had the largest concentration of people of Chinese heritage in the nation. It developed as an enclave that was self-supporting, with businesses, schools, hospitals, benevolent societies, temples, and other services and businesses to maintain a community. Its residents retained homeland customs and Chinese languages.

Recommendation. The San Francisco Chinatown, rebuilt in the same location after the original Chinatown was destroyed by the San Francisco earthquake, is potentially nationally significant for its size and early history. Parts of Chinatown today may not retain sufficient integrity for NHL consideration, but a critical component may be intact. This Chinatown warrants a closer examination to determine if, compared to other Chinatowns, it may be exceptional.

Riverside Chinatown (NRHP 1990)
Riverside, California
Possible Criterion: 6

The Riverside, California, Chinatown archeological site was inhabited from 1885 through 1939. The majority of residents migrated from the Guangdong Province in China. This site contains archeological features and data representative of domestic life, commercial enterprises of many different types, social and community assembly, and religious practices. These features make this



Chinese New Year in Riverside, California, Chinatown, c. 1898. Photo courtesy of the Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside, CA.

site significant under several areas of the NHL thematic framework.

The significance of this site is representative of the Chinese immigrant American experience in the areas of ethnic diaspora, commercial practice, agricultural practice, and community relations and social movements.

In 1985, an archaeological, anthropological, and historical study was undertaken on the Riverside Chinatown site. This study demonstrated that the site was preserved and protected under 10 to 15 feet of fill and that the archeological deposits were not only intact but maintained a very high degree of integrity. In addition to the high degree of archeological integrity of the Riverside Chinatown site, this site is one of the only known sites "encompassing an entire Chinese commercial and residential village that has not been subjected to later Anglo development."[9]

Recommendation. As an urban archeological site exhibiting several decades of occupation by Chinese Americans, the Riverside Chinatown has the potential to explain a great deal about the evolution of Chinese American lifeways over time, the relationship between the Chinese community and the development of Riverside and its infrastructure, and how the Chinese were integrated into the city's life and fabric. Because the most extensive investigations were done a number of years ago, an update on the current subsurface integrity of the archeological landscape will be critical for determining NHL eligibility.

Wong How House
San Luis Obispo County, California
Possible Criteria: 1 and 6; Exception 8
(less than 50 years)

This standing structure and associated archeological deposits date to the 1890s. The house displays characteristics of both turn-of-the-century American vernacular and Chinese vernacular building styles. Located near China Harbor, it was the home of the last seaweed gatherer on the California central coast. Wong How lived an isolated life as a seaweed gatherer, and his life represents an individual's navigation of life as an immigrant in the United States. He died in 1975.

The Chinese are considered pioneers of California's maritime industries. The industry began when, in response to urban racism and calls to boycott Chinese businesses, immigrants moved into this area and engaged in gathering and selling the *Ulva* seaweed, also known as 'sea lettuce,' which only grows in this area along the California coast. They exported the seaweed to Chinese American consumers and later to China and elsewhere.

The archeological site appears to have great integrity, in part because it is located in an isolated spot. A surface collection identified an intact midden nearby, which included a variety of Chinese ceramics, Chinese and American glass bottles, faunal material, and shellfish, including abalone. Archeological resources at this site may contribute to an understanding of immigrant survival and adaptation in isolated environments.

Recommendation. The Wong How House and its associated site should be evaluated for current integrity and all research confirmed for accuracy, including claims about Wong How's life as a seaweed gatherer and the seaweed industry in general. Further archeological investigations have the potential to address some of these claims, as well as provide information about the 20th century life of a Chinese American man living in relative isolation and, perhaps, little influenced by modern American lifeways. An assessment of comparable sites in order to gauge the particular significance of the research potential of the property is also recommended.

Summit Camp
Tahoe National Forest, Placer County, California
Possible Criterion: 6

Summit Camp, located near Donner Pass in Tahoe National Forest, was a camp where Chinese men lived for four years while blasting tunnels for the rail lines. The property is a large area, with intact structural elements. It has been the subject of a number of research projects, because it was among the largest and longest-occupied residential bases for Chinese railroad workers in North America.

Recommendation. The Summit Camp may be eligible for NHL designation based on the information that has been gleaned from this remote but long-studied site and the information potential of areas that have

not yet been studied. Findings should be consolidated and evaluated to determine if studies have been sufficient to evaluate the site's NHL eligibility.

Ouray Chinese Laundry/Vanoli Site (5OR30)
Ouray, Ouray County, Colorado
Possible Criterion: 6

Ouray, a small mining town located in the San Juan Mountain Range, represents the life of the Chinese as part of a small, rural, and isolated population. The research conducted here contrasts to life in urban Chinatowns that have been better studied. In this context, members of both the Chinese and Euro-American immigrant communities interacted in this laundry, which existed at the turn of the last century. Archeological findings reveal important understandings of the complex networks formed within an isolated pluralist community. Portions of the site were excavated in the 1970s and 1980s by archeologist Steven Baker.

Recommendation. Although the site is relatively small, it may be an excellent source of information about life in a small mining town where Caucasian and Asian workers lived separately but with overlap in some aspects. Previous findings, current integrity, and the potential for additional information all need to be evaluated to assess the NHL potential of the site.

Gin Lin Hydraulic Mining Site
Applegate River Valley, Siskiyou Mountains,
Jackson County, Oregon
Possible Criterion: 6

The Gin Lin Hydraulic Mining Site represents innovations in Chinese placer gold mining and demonstrates the ingenuity and business acumen of Chinese immigrants to the United States at a time of widespread discrimination against Asian Americans. Early Chinese miners started as placer miners and then moved to implementing the process of hydraulic gold mining, borrowing from the surrounding American technological methods. The Chinese arrived in southwest Oregon by 1855. Gin Lin, the owner of the Gin Lin Mining Company, was a mining entrepreneur, who purchased claims along the lower Little Applegate River in 1864. He first worked with one hydraulic, but added a second in 1878 and expanded subsequently. He was highly successful, apparently earning millions from the mining operations. Gin Lin appears to have left Oregon in the 1880s, and his fate is unknown. Remains of the mining operation are visible at the site, including the mining ditches necessary for the enormous amounts of water required to separate the gold from its matrix.

Recommendation. Further investigation could reveal archeological resources that have the potential to provide information about Chinese immigrant domestic life, as well as mining technology. An analysis of current integrity, comparative sites, and the data potential of the site all need to be evaluated to assess the NHL potential of the Gin Lin site.

Miller Gulch Sawmill Site (Site CA-SON-2263H)
Sonoma County, California
Possible Criterion: 6

The 1870s sawmill is located in what is now Salt Point State Park in northern California. The site includes a bunkhouse. The site sheds light on the work and life of overseas Chinese who worked in the redwood lumber industry in California. Previous archeological work recovered ceramics, including brown-glazed stoneware used for liquids and food storage, rice bowl fragments, and fragments of opium pipes. The finds would help reconstruct the economic and social life of the overseas Chinese and their inter-relationships with American mill owners and other residents and employees of the mill.

Recommendation. The site should be compared with other work sites and camps that have answered questions about Chinese lifeways and the interaction between Chinese and other workers. Scores of such sites once existed and a number have been studied and evaluated for National Register eligibility. Fewer have been evaluated for NHL eligibility, so integrity standards and the comprehensiveness of the information potential need to be compared to find those that are of exceptional value.

JAPANESE AMERICAN RESOURCES

Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Colony Farm (NRHP 2009)
Placerville, California
Possible Criterion: 1

The Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Colony Farm is possibly eligible as a National Historic Landmark under Criterion 1 as one of the oldest permanent Japanese settlements in North America. Members of the colony occupied the site from 1869 to 1871, marking the beginning of Japanese immigration to the United States. The site has a residence and barn associated with the Wakamatsu settlers, mulberry trees planted by the colonists, and associated agricultural fields and a fish pond. The agricultural setting, including surrounding farmlands, has remarkable integrity.

The Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Colony Farm contributes significantly to the broad patterns of the nation's history as the site of the first permanent settlement of Japanese immigrants in the continental United States. Of the 55 people of Japanese heritage documented by the United States census in 1870, nearly half were settled at the Wakamatsu Colony in Gold Hill. The first child born in the United States of Japanese immigrants was born at Wakamatsu. The colony represents early Japanese influence on the agricultural economy of California and the United States.



Wakamatsu colonists, c. 1870-1871; photo by George H. Gilbert. Photo courtesy of the American River Conservancy.

Recommendation. This property appears to be potentially eligible for NHL designation under Criterion 1. The entire colony once covered 180 acres, but only 54 acres were listed in the National Register. The area had excellent integrity when the National Register nomination was written in 2009; however, the integrity of the entire 180 acres should be evaluated. The property also should be evaluated for its eligibility under Criterion 6. Recovery of archeological materials could provide unique insights into the material culture, the personal lives, relationships, cultural adaptations, and the maintenance of cultural traditions by the first Japanese immigrants to the United States.

Japanese Language Schools

- **Castroville Japanese Language School, Castroville, California (NRHP 1995)**
- **Holland Union Gakuen, Clarksburg, California (Not NRHP Listed)**
- **Kinmon Gakuen, San Francisco, California (Not NRHP Listed)**
- **Walnut Grove Gakuen Hall, Walnut Grove, California (NRHP 1980)**

Possible Criterion: 1

Japanese Language Schools or *gakuens*, developed by first- and second-generation Japanese Americans, were considered essential to all Japanese American communities. The *gakuens* were cultural and community centers, often established prior to the construction of a temple or church. *Nisei*, first-generation Japanese Americans, emphasized the importance of younger generations remaining connected to their heritage, including through knowledge of the Japanese language. *Gakuen* typically were situated near public elementary schools to facilitate student access to them. Only a very small number of *gakuens* remain on the mainland. They reflect the politics, ethnic heritage, and social history of one of the largest ethnic groups in the western United States.

Recommendation. Each *gakuen* should be evaluated for significance and integrity. Those with the



Main gate of the Eugene de Sabla Teahouse. Photo courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

greatest significance and integrity may be eligible for NHL designation. Their disappearance and deterioration, particularly due to the mass relocation of Japanese Americans in 1942, makes the few remaining schools important reflections of Japanese culture and symbols of pride in their heritage. The language schools in Hawai'i are much more numerous, reflecting the larger Japanese population and a different wartime experience. Because of their prevalence, Hawaiian *gakuens* may more likely be of local or statewide significance and possibly eligible for the National Register.

Gilroy Yamato Hot Springs (NRHP 1995)
Gilroy, California
Possible Criterion: 1

The Gilroy Yamato Hot Springs is potentially eligible for NHL designation under Criterion 1 for its significance in the area of Recreation. It is the only known Japanese-owned hot spring resort in the United States, catering to Japanese American vacationers. From 1938 to 1942, the property was owned and operated by (Harry) Kyuzaburo Sakata, and it became a popular destination for Japanese Americans in California. Author Sei Mitani considered the hot spring to be a gift to Japanese Americans from the owner Sakata. In turn, guests felt a responsibility to "protect the pureness of the hot spring given by Mother Nature and make this a place to revive the Japanese spirit among our fellow countrymen along the Pacific coast."[10] The resort was closed when the United States entered World War II and Japanese and Japanese Americans were removed from Gilroy.

Recommendation. The Gilroy Yamato Hot Springs is the only known example of its type, a Japanese hot spring resort that provided spiritual healing and a sense of relief from discrimination. An evaluation of integrity should be made to determine if enough fabric remains to convey a sense of time and place.

Eugene J. de Sabla, Jr., Teahouse and Tea Garden (NRHP 1992)
70 de Sabla Avenue
San Mateo, California
Possible Criterion: 4

Built in 1907, the Eugene de Sabla, Jr., Teahouse and Tea Garden is significant under Criterion 4 as an excellent early example of the influence of Japanese garden design. Although listed in the National Register of Historic Places, its significance in terms of the NHL criteria has not been evaluated. Makota Hagiwara designed this tea garden and the Japanese Tea Garden at Golden Gate Park in San Francisco. It is the only known privately owned tea garden that remains in the San Francisco area, from many that once existed.

Recommendation. The significance and integrity of the Eugene J. de Sabla, Jr., Teahouse and Tea Garden needs to be confirmed for the property to be considered exemplary of a Japanese tea garden type. Its notable design and apparent integrity are preliminary indicators of its significance. A definition of this landscape type must be articulated and a comparative analysis with similar designed landscapes will be important components of the evaluation process. Built in 1907, the garden also needs to be assessed within a timeframe and a level of influence of this particular Japanese garden style.



Walnut Grove, California, Japanese American Historic District, C Street. Photo courtesy of the National Register of Historic Places.

San Jose Japantown (Not NRHP Listed)
San Jose, California
Possible Criteria: 1 and 5

Japanese immigrants developed cohesive communities called Nihonmachi where they became largely self-sufficient. Most Japantowns were located on the West Coast, primarily in California. Japantowns were both large and small and were located in cities, suburbs, and rural areas. They were located in coastal areas, as well as inland; they were developed by farm laborers, cannery workers, fisherman, truck farmers, and railroad laborers. Although once Japantowns were numerous, only 43 have been identified in California through a statewide identification, evaluation, and preservation effort led by the California Japanese American Community Leadership Council (CJACLC). The group identified communities that exhibited one or more of the following characteristics: community halls, language schools, bathhouses, Buddhist temples, Christian churches, markets, nurseries, and other Nihonmachi businesses. Of these, only three of the major Japantowns survived the forced evacuation of their residents in 1942 and the nationwide urban renewal movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Little Tokyo in Los Angeles is already designated a National Historic Landmark. Others are in San Jose and San Francisco. The CJACLC determined that the San Jose Japantown retains a very high degree of integrity, providing a definite historical sense of time and place, even compared to Little Tokyo in Los Angeles, which has undergone some modification over the past 30 years.

Many of the original late 19th and 20th century buildings associated with the San Jose Japantown still remain. These include several restaurants, laundries, a hall/theatre, boarding houses, a market, a Buddhist temple, a school, a midwifery clinic, a hospital, a United Methodist Church, original residences, a service station, residences turned into offices, and a senior center (the only one of its kind in the Silicon Valley). The CJACLC also identified the location of a bathhouse and of a baseball field/sumo ring. These sites are not very disturbed and, therefore, may have a high potential for answering important questions through archeological investigations.

Recommendation. The San Jose Japantown may be nationally significant as one of the oldest and most intact major Japantowns in the United States, and the San Francisco Japantown should be evaluated for the same potential. A nationwide survey of Japantowns is required to determine the national significance and comparative integrity of these communities.

Walnut Grove Japanese American Historic District (NRHP 1990)
Walnut Grove, California
Possible Criteria: 1, 4, 5, and 6

Walnut Grove, located between San Francisco and Sacramento in the California Delta asparagus belt, became a center for Japanese American settlement during the early 20th century. It is especially significant for its vernacular architecture of the 1910s. As noted in the National

Register nomination, Walnut Grove has a rare collection of vernacular building types associated with Japanese American settlement.

Recommendation. Walnut Grove is an excellent example of a small rural community of Japanese Americans, with lots entirely owned by white Americans. The Japanese were able to build on these lots and own their buildings, but the lots remained owned by white Americans until the 1990s. The community retains a high degree of integrity. A comparative analysis is needed to determine if Walnut Grove is an exceptional example of a small, rural Japantown of the early 20th century.

Oakland Japantown
Oakland, California
Possible Criterion: 6

The Japantown in Oakland appears to have been occupied after the 1906 earthquake, when Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans relocated from San Francisco. In the early part of the 20th century the community was flourishing with laundromats, markets, restaurants, and other shops. Resentment and racism were on the increase, however, with discriminatory California state laws passed in the 1910s and the federal exclusionary laws passed in 1924, barring Japanese immigration. Local racism, for example in the form of real estate redlining, was also endemic. Prior to World War II the area consisted of a mix of Japanese and other ethnic groups.

During World War II, the residents were forcibly moved to relocation camps. In the post-war era, the area changed, assuming a more dispersed character. Later, urban renewal programs displaced thousands of residents and established businesses closed. Redevelopment also caused the demolition of numerous historic buildings, and the entire community was reduced in size. Archeological remains of portions of the original Japantown may be intact. One residential property has been excavated, and the entire neighborhood may be a potential NHL district.

Recommendation. Because the extent and integrity of the Oakland Japantown archeological site is not clear, it is difficult to determine its information potential or if it is of exceptional importance. The several West Coast Japantowns that were vacated when Japanese Americans were forcibly removed in response to Executive Order 9066 should be compared—both standing and subsurface components—to evaluate the NHL eligibility of each.

Japanese Gulch Site
Mukilteo, Snohomish County, Washington
Possible Criterion: 6

Japan Gulch represents an entire Japanese community that was associated with the Mukilteo Lumber Company (later the Crown Lumber Company) that was in operation from 1904 to 1930. In this case, the Japanese community was separate from the European-descent community and lived in company housing. It consisted, in part, of Japanese-style structures. Archeological resources at this property may contribute to an understanding of the settlement patterns and labor experiences of Japanese workers and their families.

Recommendation. Because of the extent and isolation of this exclusively Japanese community, the potential for its NHL eligibility should be studied from all aspects of its information potential: architecture, lifeways, adoption of American ways and products, and retention of Japanese culture. Further, the archeological landscape has the potential to reveal information about broad patterns of the lives of AAPI immigrants in the context of pluralist work forces, identity, and ethnic persistence in the context of company town environments.

KOREAN AMERICAN RESOURCES

Willows Korean Aviation School/Corps Airfield
(not NRHP listed)
7233 State Highway 162, Willows, California
Possible Criterion: 1

Korean Americans and the Korean government recognize the Willows school as an important heritage site. The building housed the Korean Aviation School/Corps in 1920. During its short existence, the school stood as a centerpiece of the Korean diaspora independence movement, allowing independence leaders from all over California to congregate and develop tactics to fight the Japanese and win their sovereignty. Its development was

a result of the March First Movement, a peaceful protest against the Japanese in Korea, which also succeeded in rallying Koreans abroad to fight for independence. The location of the flight school in Glenn County is due to the prevalence of rice farming, which attracted a number of Koreans. Kim Chong-lim, who made his fortune selling rice, enabled the Korean American community to lease land, buy airplanes, and manage the school. The Korean government considers the school the origin of the Korean Air Force, with a number of pilots who trained there becoming its first aviation officers.

Recommendation. The school is unique among AAPI resources, and its history seems compelling. The integrity of the building and the surrounding airfield (or former airfield) needs to be evaluated to determine if the 1920 appearance is intact.

FILIPINO AMERICAN RESOURCES

Filipino Community Hall (Not NRHP Listed)
1457 Glenwood Street
Delano, California
Ethnic Heritage: Filipino
Possible Criteria: 1 and 2

The Filipino Community Hall represents the nationally significant role of Filipino Americans in the farm labor movement, beginning in the mid-20th century. On September 8, 1965, Filipino American farm workers gathered in this building and voted to strike against Delano table-grape growers. The hall served as headquarters for the first few years of the five-year strike and was visited by influential supporters like the United Auto Workers' president Walter Reuther and Senator Robert F. Kennedy. The Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), as the farm workers group was known, merged with the movement led by César Chávez, forming the United Farm Workers. The most prominent leader of AWOC was Filipino activist Larry Itliong. The building in Delano is associated with his important work and the work of other Filipino activists

Recommendation. This building is significant under Criterion 1 for its role in fostering better working conditions for Filipino agricultural workers and under Criterion 2 for its association with Larry Itliong, an important Filipino American labor activist. Itliong's contributions were acknowledged by the designation of October 25 as Larry Itliong Day by Gov. Jerry Brown in 2015. Among questions to be addressed are Itliong's and other Filipinos' roles in farm labor history (particularly Philip Vera Cruz), their collaboration with César Chávez, and other buildings associated with Itliong and the farm labor movement. Answers to such questions can confirm Itliong's overriding significance as a labor leader and the importance of the labor hall in the work of the AWOC. The association of this building with Forty Acres needs to be clarified. The building retains a high degree of integrity.

Historic Filipinotown (Not NRHP Listed)
Los Angeles, California
Possible Criteria: 1 and 5

Filipinotown in Los Angeles is one of the few areas where Filipinos settled during the early 20th century, following the first large wave of immigration in 1923. In the 1920s and 1930s, a small area called Little Manila was created within Little Tokyo in Los Angeles, but numerous Filipino organizations and businesses developed during this period in another area that became Filipinotown. Filipino Americans began building houses in Filipinotown in the 1940s, after leaving Little Manila.

Recommendation. Although numerous Filipino communities (Little Manilas, Manilatowns) exist throughout the United States, Historic Filipinotown in Los Angeles seems to be the oldest extant Filipino settlement in the United States. Although the Filipino population is only one-quarter of the total population, the city of Los Angeles designated Historic Filipinotown a historic district in 2002, marking recent preservation efforts. A comparative analysis with other Filipinotowns is necessary to determine if the area is nationally significant, and a current survey of resources is needed to identify those related to Filipinos. Other Filipinotowns are located elsewhere in California and in the boroughs of New York City.

INDIAN/SOUTHEAST ASIAN RESOURCES

Refugee Processing Centers

- **Camp Pendleton, San Diego, California**
- **Fort Chaffee, Fort Smith, Arkansas**
- **Eglin Air Force Base, Valparaiso, Florida**

- **Fort Indiantown Gap, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania**

Ethnic Heritage: Vietnamese
Possible Criteria: 1 and Exception 8

The four refugee processing centers that were created after the Fall of Saigon in April 1975 accommodated over 130,000 Asians, primarily Vietnamese. This was the largest refugee resettlement effort in American history. It is significant in telling the story of Vietnamese immigration to the United States, as well as the political and military role the United States played in the lives of Vietnamese people during and after the Vietnam War.

Recommendation. These four processing centers are nationally significant under Criterion 1 for association with Vietnamese resettlement in the United States. Although not yet 50 years old, centers may be considered eligible if they retain enough integrity to represent this historical event. Although the temporary tents and support structures may no longer be standing, to be eligible for NHL designation the sites should retain integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association with few intrusions. These properties should also be evaluated for their significance under Criterion 6. Criteria Exception 8, applied when properties are less than 50 years old, should be applied if the age of the center so warrants.

RESOURCES WITH MULTIPLE AAPI AFFILIATIONS

San Francisco State College (Not NRHP Listed)
San Francisco, California
Ethnic Heritage: Multiple AAPI Affiliations
Possible Criterion: 1

San Francisco State College was the site of the longest student strike in American history organized by the Black Student Union and a conglomerate of campus ethnic organizations under the newly formed Third World Liberation Front. In 1968 to 1969, students and teachers fought to have separate black studies and ethnic studies programs developed at the school. After more than four-and-a-half months of striking, the school agreed to most of the Black Student Union and the Third World Liberation Front's terms. The strike resulted in development of the College of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State College. These events also marked the beginning of a trend of several more strikes at various California universities to achieve better recognition of non-white groups. It spurred universities throughout the country to create new ethnic studies programs.

Recommendation. The importance of expanding university courses to encompass ethnic studies can be pinpointed to the events associated with the 1968 strike at San Francisco State College. The campus is nationally significant for its role in promoting this educational revolution. The sites and buildings most associated with the strike should be identified and their integrity evaluated in order to determine the place(s) that best represent the strike.

San Miguel Abalone Fishery
San Miguel Island, Santa Barbara County, California
Ethnic Heritage: Chinese, Japanese
Possible Criterion: 6

The fishery, which operated from the 1850s through the 1880s, represents an aspect of the working lives of the overseas Chinese. The Chinese abalone fishermen took advantage of the opportunities for harvesting abalone, so by 1853 there were from 500 to 600 Chinese men working on San Miguel Island. There is some evidence that Japanese fisherman also worked at the fishery. The Asian workers were eventually driven out of business by restrictive legislation.

The fishery site complex consists in part of one large base camp at Adam's Cove, several middens along beaches, and features elsewhere. Two discrete areas have been identified archeologically, and there is also evidence of use by Japanese fisherman and American sea mammal hunters at different times. At least six different Chinese camps are mentioned in a research article (Todd J. Braje, Jon M. Erlandson, and Torben C. Rick, "An Historic Chinese Abalone Fishery on California's Northern Channel Islands," *Historical Archaeology* 2007, v. 41 (4): 117-128).

Recommendation. This extensive and complex site may constitute an NHL district, but more work is needed to evaluate the various components. There is no question about the value of the site and its information potential, but determining boundaries and the integrity of various components are essential tasks in the evaluation of eligibility.

First Transcontinental Railroad Sites
Various states
Ethnic Heritage: Chinese, Japanese
Possible Criterion: 6

The construction of the transcontinental railroad is one of the great engineering successes of the United States and the 19th century as a whole. The rail line connected San Francisco in the west to the great rail lines in the Midwest and East. Chinese immigrants made up a significant portion of the workforce, and Japanese immigrants were also represented. The Chinese were first hired in 1865 to do the blasting and laying of ties in the high Sierra Mountains. Chinese immigrant labor graded and constructed the rail line along canyons and mountains with tight curves and steep sides. The population of Chinese railroad workers at one point may have been as high as 10,000 to 12,000 individuals. By 1868, two-thirds of the workforce was Chinese.

The sites are located along the railroad and include various sites and historic districts, such as the 11.6-mile-long Niles Canyon Transcontinental Railroad Historic District in California, which retains most of its original grade and supporting infrastructure. Important sites also exist in Utah. The railroad workers lived in canvas tents along the grade and in bunkhouses in colder areas along parts of the line. Much Chinese railroad workforce archeology has been devoted to the larger camps; however, the Chinese also lived in more ephemeral camps, so the remains and sites may consist of intermittent scatters and trash areas. Once the railroad was complete, Chinese laborers stayed on to conduct maintenance and repairs, or may have moved to work on other railroads in the United States.

Recommendation. The recognition of Chinese contributions to construction of the first transcontinental railroad should be recognized through an NHL designation. The number of sites that have been discovered suggests that a discontiguous district may exist and may be appropriate, composed of sites of greatest importance from historical and archeological perspectives. Research and field investigations that have focused on the railroad's construction in various states need to be examined to determine which areas represent this significance.

Moore Gulch Placer Mining Community
(Site 10-CW-159)
Vicinity of Pierce, Clearwater County, Idaho
Ethnic Heritage: Chinese, Pacific Islander
Possible Criterion: 6

The site was identified as significant because it represents a complete mining complex, including living quarters, mine tailings, trash dump, and diversion ditches. The site is significant for revealing specialized Chinese mining methods, as well as the history of Chinese consumption and life in a remote area. The artifact and feature material date from approximately 1880 to 1890. The site contains artifacts from both Chinese and non-Chinese material culture, so it shows how the Chinese, who were segregated and subjected to violence and attacks, lived during this time period under these circumstances. The site includes a smaller Hawaiian component, described in the 1982 National Register nomination. It states that in 1870 in Pierce, Idaho, there were 136 white and Hawaiian residents, 461 Chinese, and one African-American resident.

Recommendation. The site is important for the information it has revealed and its potential to reveal more about mining, from the process to living conditions in a mining town. Archeological investigations may reveal important information about the dynamics between groups in this segregated community. The NHL potential should be explored in the context of the information potential. It needs to include a comparison with similar sites, if any of this scale exists.

Endnotes

1 See the National Historic Landmark website at https://www.nps.gov/nhl/; the publication How to Prepare National Historic Landmark Nominations and other useful information is available at this site.

2 The Federal Regulations 36 CFR 65 can be found at https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CFR-2009-title36-vol1/pdf/CFR-2009-title36-vol1-part65.pdf.

3 National Park Service, *How to Prepare National Historic Landmark Nominations* (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, 1999), 11.

4 *Code of Federal Regulations*, Title 36, Part 65.4(a).

5 Barbara Wyatt, ed., *Japanese-Americans in World War II: National Historic Landmarks Theme Study,* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2012), 190-191.

6 Linda Cook and Karen Bretz, "Kake Cannery," National

Historic Landmark Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1997), Section 8.

7 https://www.nps.gov/nhl/learn/themes/JapaneseAmericansWWII.pdf

8 National Park Service, Discover Our Shared Heritage Travel Itinerary, Asian American and Pacific Islander Heritage, "Pi'ilanihale Heia, Hana, Hawai'i" (Found at https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/Asian_American_and_Pacific_Islander_Heritage/Piilanihale-Heiau.htm on 1-4-2017)

9 Don Kleinhesselink, "Chinatown," National Register Nomination (Washington, D.C.; National Park Service), January 1, 1990. Accessed online at: http://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=a9dbb1c8-bd07-4e08-aa42-6ccce871e112. Viewed July 20, 2016.

10 *Gilroy Yamato Hot Springs National Register Nomination* (Washington, DC: National Park Service,1995).


PRIVATE

Appendix 2

AAPI National Historic Landmarks Study List

AAPI PROPERTIES THAT MAY BE ELIGIBLE FOR NHL DESIGNATION

This table includes a sampling of properties that may be eligible for NHL designation for their association with AAPI culture or history. The research and evaluation is too preliminary for an accurate assessment, but each property on the table has some quality that makes further investigation compelling. Certain factors may make some untenable candidates for NHL designation, but, at this writing, each is worth further investigation. Properties found to be ineligible for NHL designation may be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. This table represents a sampling of properties that are possibly eligible; a comprehensive inventory was beyond the scope of this project.

PROPERTY NAME	LOCATION	NRHP LIST YEAR	POTENTIAL NHL CRITERIA	POTENTIAL AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE
		CHINESE		
Ah Louis Store*	San Luis Obispo, California	2008	2: People	Social History Commerce Ethnic Heritage
Bing Kong Tong (within Isleton Chinese and Japanese Commercial District)	Isleton, California	1991	1: Events	Social History Ethnic Heritage
Bok Kai Temple*	Marysville, California	1975	4: Architecture	Architecture
Bolivar County Courthouse (in Rosedale Historic District)	Rosedale, Mississippi	2000	1: Events	Law
Boston's Chinatown	Boston, Massachusetts	NA	1: Events	Ethnic Heritage
China Alley Historic District	Hanford, California	1972	1: Events 4: Architecture	Ethnic Heritage Architecture

Riverside, California. F.B. Devine Packing House, 8th and Pachappa, circa 1888.
Photo courtesy of the Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside, CA.

PROPERTY NAME	LOCATION	NRHP LIST YEAR	POTENTIAL NHL CRITERIA	POTENTIAL AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE
Chinatown and Little Italy Historic District	New York City, New York	2010	1: Events 5: District	Exploration/Settlement Industry Architecture Commerce Economics Social History Ethnic Heritage
Chinatown Telephone Exchange, Canton Bank	Canton, California	NA	1: Events 4: Architecture	Industry Architecture
San Francisco Chinatown*	San Francisco, California	NA	1: Events 5: District	Exploration/Settlement Industry Architecture Commerce Economics Politics/Government Transportation Social History Ethnic Heritage
Six Companies (Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association)*	San Francisco, California	NA	1: Events	Politics Law Social History Community Planning and Development Ethnic Heritage
East Kong Yick Building, Wing Luke Museum of the Asian American Experience	Seattle, Washington (in Seattle Chinatown Historic District)	1986	1: Events	Social History Education Community Planning and Development Recreation Ethnic Heritage
Fong Won Herb Company Building*	Oakland, California	NA	1: Events	Health/Medicine
Forbidden City Nightclub, Sutter Street Theatre*	San Francisco, California	NA	1: Events	Social History Entertainment
Gin Lin Hydraulic Mining Site*	Applegate Historic District, Oregon	NA	6: Archeology	Exploration/Settlement Industry Ethnic Heritage
Grace Nicholson Building; Pacific Asia Museum	Pasadena, California	1976	4: Architecture	Architecture
Horace Mann School/ Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association (in Boston Chinatown)	Boston, Massachusetts	2015	1: Event 4: Architecture	Education Social History Architecture
Jacksonville Chinese Quarter	Jacksonville, Oregon	NA	6: Archeology	Archeology
Mendocino Joss House (Temple of Kwan Tai)*	Mendocino, California (in Mendocino and Headlands Historic District)	1971	4: Architecture Exception 1	Architecture

PROPERTY NAME	LOCATION	NRHP LIST YEAR	POTENTIAL NHL CRITERIA	POTENTIAL AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE
Miller Gulch Sawmill Site*	Salt Point State Park, California	NA	6: Archeology	Exploration/Settlement Industry Ethnic Heritage Archeology
Moore Gulch Chinese Mining Site	Clearwater National Forest, Idaho	1983	1: Events 5: District 6: Archeology	Exploration/Settlement Industry Ethnic Heritage
Oroville Chinese Temple	Oroville, California	1976	4: Architecture	Architecture Ethnic Heritage
Ouray Chinatown	Ouray, Colorado	NA	6: Archeology	Exploration/Settlement Social History Ethnic Heritage Archeology
Polly Bemis House	Idaho County, Idaho	1988	6: Archeology	Archeology
Riverside Chinatown*	Riverside, California	1990	6: Archeology	Exploration/Settlement Industry Ethnic Heritage Archeology
Rock Springs Massacre Site	Rock Springs, Wyoming	NA	1: Events 6: Archeology	Labor History Social History
Sam Choy Brick Store	Angels Camp, California	1984	1: Events	Architecture Commerce Politics/Government Ethnic History
San Francisco YMCA (in Chinatown)	San Francisco, California	NA	1: Events	Social History Ethnic History Recreation
San Miguel Abalone Fishery Part of Channel Islands National Park	San Miguel Island, California	NA	6: Archeology	Social History Industry Ethnic Heritage Archeology
Summit Camp	Donner Summit, California	NA	6: Archeology	Social History Transportation Ethnic Heritage Archeology
Transcontinental Railroad Grade	Corrine, Utah	1994	1: Events 6: Archeology	Transportation Archeology
Walnut Grove Chinese-American Historic District	Walnut Grove, California	1990	5: District	Social History Community Planning and Development Ethnic Heritage
Weaverville Joss House, Taoist Temple*	Weaverville, California (in Weaverville Historic District)	1971	4: Architecture Exception 1	Architecture

PROPERTY NAME	LOCATION	NRHP LIST YEAR	POTENTIAL NHL CRITERIA	POTENTIAL AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE
Wong How House*	San Luis Obispo County, California	NA	6: Archeology	Industry Ethnic Heritage Archeology
You Chong (Y. C.) Hong Offices*	Los Angeles, California	NA	2: People 4: Architecture	Law Architecture Ethnic Heritage
YWCA Chinatown/ Chinese Historical Society of America (CHSA)	San Francisco, California	NA	1: Events	Social History Community Planning and Development Ethnic Heritage
		JAPANESE		
Castroville Japanese Language School*	Castroville, California	1995	1: Events	Social History Community Planning and Development Education
Enmanji Buddhist Temple	Sebastopol, California	2006	4: Architecture Exceptions 1 and 2	Architecture
Eugene J. De Sabla, Jr. Teahouse and Tea Garden*	San Mateo, California	1992	4: Architecture	Architecture
Fresno Buddhist Temple	Fresno, California	NA	1: Events Exception 1	Ethnic Heritage
Gilroy Yamato Hot Springs*	Gilroy, California	1995	1: Events	Recreation Social History
Hakone Historic District	Saratoga, California	2013	4: Architecture	Landscape Architecture Architecture
Hamakua Jodo Mission	Honokaa, Hawai'i	NA	1: Events 4: Architecture	Architecture Community Planning and Development Religion
Hawaii Shingon Mission	Honolulu, Hawai'i	2002	4: Architecture	Architecture
Holland Union Gakuen*	Clarksburg, California	NA	1: Events	Social History Community Planning and Development Education
Japan Center	San Francisco, California	NA	4: Architecture	Architecture
Japanese Gulch Site*	Mukilteo, Snohomish, Washington	NA	6: Archeology	Exploration/Settlement Industry Ethnic Heritage
Kinmon Gakuen*	San Francisco, California	NA	1: Events	Social History Community Planning and Development Education
Kokugo Gakko (Japanese Language School and Cultural Center)	Seattle, Washington	NA	1: Events	Social History Ethnic Heritage

PROPERTY NAME	LOCATION	NRHP LIST YEAR	POTENTIAL NHL CRITERIA	POTENTIAL AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE
Kotani-En Garden	Silicon Valley, California	1976	4: Architecture	Architecture Landscape Architecture
Lavender Town	Selleck, Washington	NA	6: Archeology	Archeology Ethnic Heritage
Maui Jinsha Mission	Wailuku, Hawai'i	1978	4: Architecture	Architecture
Mukai Cold Process Fruit Barreling Plant	Vashon, Washington	1994	1: Events	Social History Industry Ethnic Heritage
Oakland Japantown*	Oakland, California	NA	1: Events 6: Architecture	Exploration/Settlement Social History Commerce Ethnic Heritage Archeology
San Francisco Japanese Tea Garden	San Francisco, California (in Golden Gate Park Historic District)	2004	1: Events 4: Architecture	Social History Recreation Architecture Landscape Architecture
San Francisco Japantown	San Francisco, California	NA	1: Events 5: District	Social History Community Planning and Development Architecture Commerce Ethnic Heritage
San Francisco Japantown YWCA	San Francisco, California	NA	1: Events 4: Architecture	Ethnic History Architecture
San Jose Buddhist Church Betsuin	San Jose, California	NA	4: Architecture	Architecture
San Jose Japantown*	San Jose, California	NA	1: Events 5: District	Social History Community Planning and Development Architecture Commerce Ethnic Heritage
Shofuso Japanese House and Garden, West Fairmount Park	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	NA	4: Landscape Architecture	Landscape Architecture Architecture
Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Colony Farm*	Placerville, California	2009	1: Events	Exploration/Settlement Agriculture Ethnic Heritage
Walnut Grove Gakuen Hall*	Walnut Grove, California	1980	1: Events	Social History Community Planning and Development
Walnut Grove Japanese American Historic District	Walnut Grove, California	1990	5: District	Social History Community Planning and Development Architecture Commerce Ethnic Heritage

PROPERTY NAME	LOCATION	NRHP LIST YEAR	POTENTIAL NHL CRITERIA	POTENTIAL AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE
		INDIAN/SOUTHEAST ASIAN		
Old Vedanta Hindu Temple	San Francisco, California	NA	1: Events 4: Architecture	Social History Religion
Sikh Gurdwara Sahib	Stockton, California	NA	1: Events	Social History
Refugee Processing Center at Camp Pendleton*	San Diego County, California	NA	1: Events	Exploration/Settlement Military
Refugee Processing Center at Eglin Air Force Base*	Valparaiso, Florida	NA	1: Events	Exploration/Settlement Military
Refugee Processing Center at Fort Chaffee*	Fort Smith, Arkansas	NA	1: Events	Exploration/Settlement Military
Refugee Processing Center at Fort Indiantown Gap*	Annville, Pennsylvania	NA	1: Events	Exploration/Settlement Military
		KOREAN		
Willows Korean Aviation School*	Willows, California	NA	1: Events	Aviation Social History
		PACIFIC ISLANDER		
Daifukuji Soto Zen Mission	Kealakekua, Hawai'i	1994	1: Events 4: Architecture	Ethnic Heritage Architecture
East-West Center, or Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange Between East and West	Honolulu, Hawai'i	NA	1: Events	Politics Education
Filipino Community Hall*	Delano, California	NA	1: Events 2: People	Politics/Law Ethnic Heritage
Historic Filipinotown*	Los Angeles, California	NA	1: Events 5: District	Ethnic Heritage
Kaho'olawe Island Reserve	Wailuku, Hawai'i	1981	1: Events 2: Persons (George Helm) 6: Archeology	Exploration/Settlement Military Archeology Social History Politics Ethnic Heritage
Leluh Ruins	Kosrae, Federated States of Micronesia	1983	1: Ethnic Heritage 6: Archeology	Archeology
Little Manila	Stockton, California	NA	1: Events 5: District	Agriculture Commerce Politics Social History Ethnic Heritage

PROPERTY NAME	LOCATION	NRHP LIST YEAR	POTENTIAL NHL CRITERIA	POTENTIAL AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE
Taga Latte Stone Quarry	Songsong, Rota, Northern Mariana Islands	1974	1: Events 6: Archeology	Ethnic Heritage (Chamorro) Archeology
Kyoto Gardens of Honolulu	Honolulu, Hawai'i	2004	4: Architecture	Architecture
Pagat Site	Yigo, Guam	1974	1: Events 6: Archeology	Religion Archeology Social History Ethnic Heritage
To'aga Site	Ofu Island, American Samoa	NA	1: Events 6: Archeology	Ethnic Heritage Archeology
MULTIPLE AAPI AFFILIATIONS				
International District (Seattle Chinatown Historic District)	Seattle, Washington	1986	1: Events 5: District	Exploration/Settlement Architecture Social History Community Planning and Development Ethnic Heritage
Isleton Chinese and Japanese Commercial Districts	Isleton, California	1991	1: Events 5: District	Ethnic Heritage Architecture
Portland New Chinatown-Japantown Historic District	Portland, Oregon	1989/ 2004	1: Events 5: District	Social History Ethnic Heritage Architecture
Pike Place Public Market Historic District	Pike Place, Washington	2002	1: Events	Social History Industry Commerce Ethnic Heritage
San Francisco State College *	San Francisco, California	NA	1: Events	Education
San Miguel Abalone Fishery (Part of Channel Islands National Park)	San Miguel Island, California	1979	6: Archeology	Commerce Industry

**A summary of the property can be found in the Registration Requirements in "A Sampling of Properties Possibly Eligible for NHL Designation."*


BOB HOPE THEATRE
IAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER AMERICANS IN HISTORIC PRESERV
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Appendix 3

Sources of Information about AAPI Cultural Resources

A number of NPS programs are concerned with AAPI history and cultural resources. Other groups are also useful sources of information, including the Asian and Pacific Islander Americans in Historic Preservation, which is dedicated to the preservation of AAPI cultural resources nationwide. The White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders was a staunch supporter of the development of the AAPI theme study. A brief description of the programs and groups who contributed to this publication is provided below.

ASIAN AMERICAN PACIFIC ISLANDER HERITAGE INITIATIVE (NPS)

A link to the NPS AAPI Heritage Initiative can be found on the NPS website "Telling All Americans' Stories." The website includes links to NPS programs, such as Teaching with Historic Places and Heritage Travel Itineraries. It also provides links to the national parks and historic sites related to AAPI cultures. The website generally serves as a clearinghouse for AAPI publications, activities, conferences, and accomplishments, inside and outside of NPS. Please see **www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/index.htm.**

UNDERREPRESENTED COMMUNITY GRANTS (NPS)

The NPS website for Underrepresented Community Grants describes AAPI projects funded through the grant program. When complete, many of the funded projects will be a rich source of identified AAPI sites in specific locations. Please see **www.nps.gov/preservation-grants/community-grants.**

Asian and Pacific Islander Americans in Historic Preservation. The Little Manila Dance Collective and 2016 honorees for historic preservation efforts are shown in Stockton, California, the site of the 2016 annual meeting. The APIAHiP was formed in 2007 to protect historic places and cultural resources significant to Asian and Pacific Islander Americans. It focuses on information sharing, educational programs to raise public awareness and impact historic preservation policy, and increasing public and private resources for building historic preservation capacity. Photo by Aldrich Sabac; courtesy of the Little Manila Foundation.

Projects funded with FY14 grants included two related to AAPI groups:

- The Utah State Historic Preservation Office was provided funds to complete a nomination of the Iosepa Polynesian Archeological District and to conduct an archeological survey of railroad sites associated with Chinese labor.
- The City of Boston was provided funding to develop a National Register historic context statement for the city's Chinese community in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The FY15 grants provided additional funding for projects associated with AAPI culture.

- The City of Los Angeles Asian American Historic Context Project was funded to develop historic contexts and survey materials associated with the city's Japanese, Filipino, Thai, Korean, and Chinese American populations.
- The City of San Francisco Civil Rights Project involved the preparation of three National Register nominations and a citywide inventory of properties associated with the advancement of civil rights for African American, Asian American, Latino American, LGBTQ populations, and women. The grant application mentioned two completed efforts of interest to the AAPI theme study. One was the San Francisco Filipino Heritage Addendum to the South of Market Area Historic Context Statements (Page & Turnbull, Inc., 2013); the other was the San Francisco Japantown Historic Context Statement (Donna Graves and Page & Turnbull, Inc., 2011).
- The Fort Snelling (Minnesota) Historic District National Historic Landmark Update Project was funded to update documentation to reflect the fort's role as a WWII Japanese language school.
- The Butte, Montana, Ethnic Atlas and National Register Nomination Project was funded to re-survey the Butte-Anaconda NHL Historic District to identify Chinese ethnic sites, as well as important enclaves of African American and Arabic-speaking (Lebanese) peoples, and develop two new National Register nominations.

NPS JAPANESE AMERICAN CONFINEMENT SITES (JACS) GRANT PROGRAM

Congress established the JACS grant program (P.L. 109-441, 120 Stat. 3288) to encourage the preservation and interpretation of sites where Japanese Americans were detained during World War II. Projects funded through the program are intended to identify, research, evaluate, interpret, protect, restore, repair, and acquire historic confinement sites, so present and future populations can learn from the failure in judgment of the nation's leaders. Projects have yielded a great deal of information about the confinement period and the facilities, including their material culture. Oral histories made through the program have profoundly increased our understanding of life at the sites and the toll it took on those confined. NHL nominations are a potential outcome of the program. Please see **www.nps.gov/JACS/index.html.**

WHITE HOUSE INITIATIVE ON ASIAN AMERICANS AND PACIFIC ISLANDERS

The White House Initiative did not contribute site specific information to development of the AAPI theme study or the property lists, but it was a constant supporter of the theme study effort. The web site includes current information of interest to the AAPI community, including political and social developments related to AAPI. Please see **www.whitehouse.gov/aapi.**

ASIAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER AMERICANS IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

Asian & Pacific Islander Americans in Historic Preservation (APIAHiP), formed in 2007, is a national network of preservationists, historians, planners, and advocates who are interested in historic and cultural preservation in Asian and Pacific Islander American communities. It provides forums for discussing AAPI preservation issues of mutual interest and is active in advocacy and policy issues. The group has sponsored two projects of particular relevance to the AAPI theme study, "East at Main Street," a national APIA history mapping project, and the APIA Endangered Sites list. Please see **www.apiahip.org/.**

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