ASIAN AMERICANS

A Historical Perspective

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Him Mark Lai and William M. Mason
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PEOPLE OF AMERICA FOUNDATION
AMERICANS ALL

Americans All®

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Note: Biographical information was compiled at the time the individuals contributed to Americans All®.

Organizational Resources

Bancroft Library
University of California
Berkeley, CA 94720
(415) 642-6481

Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum
1525 Bernice Street
P.O. Box 19000-A
Honolulu, HI 96817
(808) 848-4182

Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco
750 Kearny Street, 3rd Floor
San Francisco, CA 94108
(415) 986-1822

Chinese Historical Society of America
650 Commercial Street
San Francisco, CA 94111
(415) 391-1188

Filipino American National Historical Society
810 18th Avenue, Room 201
Seattle, WA 98122
(206) 322-0203

Museum of Chinese in the Americas
70 Mulberry Street, 2nd Floor
New York, NY 10013
(212) 619-4785

National Asian American Telecommunications Association
346 Ninth Street, 2nd Floor
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 863-0814

Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County
900 Exposition Boulevard
Los Angeles, CA 90007
(213) 763-3359

National Japanese American Historical Society
22 Peace Plaza, Suite 225
San Francisco, CA 94115
(415) 921-5007

Waipahu Cultural Garden Park (Hawaiian Plantation Museum)
94695 Waipahu Street
Waipahu, HI 96797
(808) 677-0110

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Preface

Today's youth are living in an unprecedented period of change. The complexities of the era include shifts in demographics, in social values and family structures as well as in economic and political realities. A key to understanding young people's place in both the present and the future lies in history. History is so much more than a collection of facts. When appropriately studied, it is a lens for viewing the motivations, beliefs, principles and imperatives that give rise to the institutions and practices of people and their nations. As our nation's schools reform their curricula to reflect the diversity of our school-age population, a major challenge arises. Is it possible to teach United States history as a history of diversity without evoking feelings of anger, bitterness and ethnic hatred? Is it possible to diversify classroom resources without generating feelings of separatism and alienation?

Americans All® answers "yes" to both these questions. The Americans All® program has proven that not only is it possible, it is preferable. By choosing to chronicle the history of six diverse groups—Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, European Americans, Mexican Americans and Puerto Rican Americans—the program provides a frame upon which an inclusive approach to education on a nationwide basis can be built.

Nomenclature, regional differences, language and the demands of interest groups will always challenge an evolving diversity-based approach to education. These challenges are by-products of the freedoms that we treasure and strive to protect. This reality necessitates a process that becomes part of the product, however. Americans All® has integrated feedback from a diverse group of scholars in developing this program and maintains open lines of communication for continuous input from educators, parents and community members. The program's emphasis on six groups is based on historic patterns of migration and immigration. These six groups provide an umbrella under which many other groups fall. By developing 51 customized, state-specific resource packages, the continuing saga of diversity in the United States can and will be told.

Americans All® has succeeded in avoiding the land mines found in victim/oppressor approaches to our diverse history by using a thematic approach. The theme focuses on how individuals and families immigrated to and migrated through the United States (voluntarily and by force). Carefully planned learning activities engage teachers and students in comparative critical thinking about all groups simultaneously. These activities ensure sensitivity to the previously untold stories of women, working-class people and minority and majority groups. Results from the program's implementation in ethnically and culturally diverse school systems confirm the efficacy of this approach.

We have answered "yes" to the frightening questions about teaching diversity without teaching hate. Our nation's leaders must now answer even more frightening questions: Can we afford not to teach history that is diverse and inclusive when school dropout rates range from 25 percent to 77 percent among Native American, African American, Asian American, Hispanic and foreign-born youth? Can we afford to continue preparing so many of our nation's youth for a future of exclusion from the economic mainstream—a future that mirrors a history curriculum that excludes them?

To compound the problem, we must add the very real constraint of urgency. The future of our nation is characterized by computer technology and global interdependence. All students, regardless of their gender or their socioeconomic, ethnic or cultural status, must be helped to see themselves as participants in this human continuum of scientific and mathematical development to both visualize and actualize a place for themselves in our future.

Students need to be challenged to think critically and examine how today's technology grew out of yesterday's industrial era, an era spawned by the agricultural accomplishments of prior generations. They need to understand that even the simple tasks of weaving fabric and making dyes from fruits or plants required mathematical and scientific understanding; that today's freeways grew out of yesterday's hand-hewn trails; that ancient tribal herbs from many cultures formed the basis of many of today's wonder drugs; and that it took the agricultural skills of many different peoples to produce the nucleus of today's complex farming and food industries. Students must also see the relationship between citizenship responsibilities and privileges and understand their own importance in that dynamic.

The Americans All® materials provide diverse and inclusive images of history that can be a catalyst for this type of understanding. Not only is it wise to teach about diversity, using an inclusive approach as modeled in the Americans All® program, it is essential.

Gail C. Christopher
January 1992

Introduction

It is certainly true that history cannot satisfy our appetite when we are hungry, nor keep us warm when the cold wind blows. But it is also true that if younger generations do not understand the hardships and triumphs of their elders, then we will be a people without a past. As such, we will be like water without a source, a tree without roots.

—New York Chinatown History Project

Every immigrant group has faced serious problems in becoming part of the American mainstream, but legal barriers to entry, citizenship and even property ownership plagued Asian immigrants during the great wave of immigration that ended in the 1920s.

Chinese people were the first to come in significant numbers, drawn to the West in the mid-nineteenth century by the economic opportunities promised by the gold rush and then the building of railroads. Next came Japanese workers, a major source of labor on Hawaii's plantations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The great impetus for Filipino immigration came when the Philippines became an American colony in 1898. Like Chinese and Japanese people before them, Filipinos tended to go to Hawaii or to the West Coast.

Although all early Asian immigrants shared certain problems, including racial discrimination and an imbalance between the number of men and women immigrants, each group has had its own special difficulties and successes.

In the last few years other Asian nationalities have become major immigrant groups, but that is another story. This one tells of those whose American roots date back to an earlier time.

Chinese: The First Major Flow of Asian Immigrants

Him Mark Lai and William M. Mason

The first Chinese immigrants arrived in the United States in the late 1780s as workers on trading ships sailing out of New York and Baltimore. During this same period, crew members from Chinese trading vessels established themselves in Hawaii.

In the early 1800s, a few Chinese youths came to the United States to learn Western culture as a direct result of American missionary activity. The first Chinese immigrant known to relocate permanently to California came in 1815 and served as the cook for the governor in Monterey.

Poverty in China and Gold in California

Until the California gold rush, Chinese immigration was very small and generally limited to a few students, seamen, merchants and domestics. The first major flow of Chinese immigrants to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century was prompted more by the deterioration of southeast China's economy than by the promise of a bright new future in California's gold fields. It was part of a general movement stimulated by the need for labor in Western countries and colonies.

The changing conditions in southeast China made leaving almost a necessity for many emigrants. During the early 1800s, China had enjoyed a favorable balance of trade with the West. Western nations, especially England, were determined to gain an economic advantage by increasing their export trade. The key product became opium, which was being grown in India. Its effects on the Chinese economy and its people were devastating. By the 1830s the favorable balance of trade had been reversed. The Chinese government's efforts to stop the trade led to the Opium War (1839–1842). Defeated, China was forced to allow both American and European traders to engage actively in sales of the drug.

This unfavorable balance of trade began to affect the Chinese economy. People left to find better economic opportunities and to escape the pressures of overpopulation, the effects of the Taiping Rebellion, excessive corruption in local governments and heavy taxation. News of the California gold strike reached southeast China in 1848, and between 1849 and 1860 several tens of thousands of Chinese came to the United States.

Although the gold fields presented economic opportunities, there were also many problems. American miners resented foreigners, especially non-Europeans, digging for the precious metal. Chinese people were not unique. Coincidental with their arrival, a series of racist, organized efforts succeeded in preventing other groups, notably Mexicans and South Americans, from participating in profitable mining areas. Chinese Americans managed to survive, and their patience was rewarded. When most of the productive mines became difficult to work by the late 1850s, it was the Chinese miners who acquired the rights and skillfully removed the remaining gold.

The new immigrants often felt the sting of anti-Chinese sentiments. Some of these were based on a stereotype created, in part, by Chinese business activities. A small number of Chinese merchants dealt in gambling, drugs and enslaved women, and many Americans assumed that these businessmen were typical members of Chinese society. The state governments were of little help. In 1850 California passed a foreign miners' license tax. In 1854 the California Supreme Court denied Chinese people (along with African Americans, *mulattos* and Native

A Chinese mining camp in California

Americans) the right to redress by testifying against European Americans in courts of law. Problems were magnified by a lack of understanding of Chinese culture, a problem that still exists today.

Working on the Railroad

In the 1850s virtually all Chinese people in the United States were in California, and in the 1860 census, which reported approximately 35,000, only California listed Chinese in a separate category. About half lived in counties that were primarily mining areas. Thousands lived in agricultural counties, where they worked not only in farming but also on such tasks as draining swamps and building levees.

As the United States entered the 1860s, the move to develop the natural resources of its western states required a cheap and reliable labor source. Chinese people were available. They were very good workers, very adaptable to changing conditions, quick to learn new tasks and not bothered by physical labor. Of all the western states, California had the greatest need for laborers. Chinese workers represented more than 20 percent of the total manual labor force even though they accounted for only about 10 percent of the state's population.

California also envisioned the creation of a major transpacific trade link with Asia—if it could gain rapid access to the manufactured goods from the industrialized eastern United States. The key component was a transcontinental railroad.

Construction of the western section of that railroad began in 1863. After having little success in recruiting (due in part to enlistment in the Civil War) and in gaining production from European American laborers, in 1865 railroad developers turned to Chinese immigrants who by that time were looking for alternatives to the mining camps. Although Chinese Americans demonstrated a talent and proficiency for railroad work, they were paid less than their European American counterparts.

Building the railroad proved a larger task than initially expected, so developers needed an increased labor supply. With economic conditions worsening in China, that area once again became a fertile source of new workers. Most of the recruits could not afford the cost of passage, so employers used the "credit ticket" system to bring them to the United States. Passage money was advanced to the emigrant, who repaid his employers, usually by deductions from his wages.

Labor and the Chinese Exclusion Act

The labor pool was assured in 1868 when China signed the Burlingame Treaty, allowing Chinese laborers to immigrate freely to the United States. The treaty included a clause recognizing the "inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance," but it did not guarantee the right of naturalization.

Chinese workers drying raisins in Fresno, California

After the railroad was completed in 1869, a few Chinese left to establish communities, or Chinatowns, in the Midwest and on the East Coast, and some established homes along the route they helped create. The 1870 census listed only 368 Chinese immigrants living east of the Rockies. That number increased tenfold by 1880.

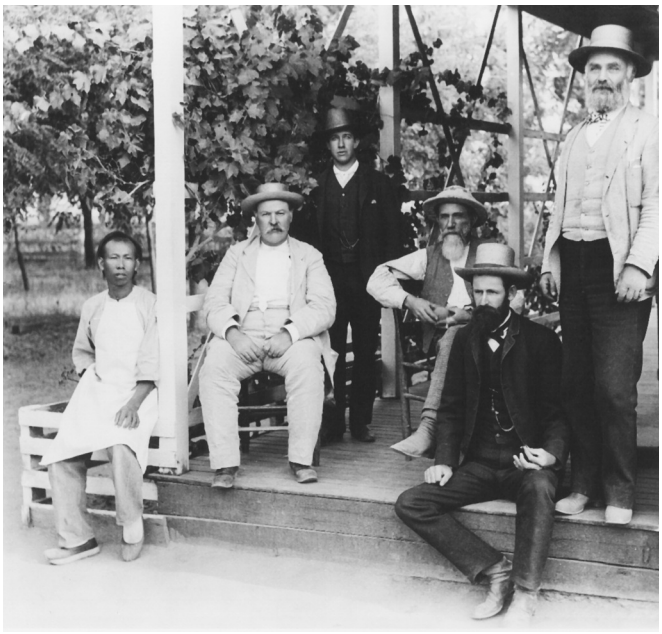
Prosperity did not come easily to the former railroad workers. American labor unions prevented Chinese immigrants from entering the skilled and industrialized trades. Undaunted, Chinese Americans turned to other types of industry. When California farmers began to diversify their production, Chinese workers became the chief source of labor. In a few instances, these workers were able to form small companies to buy farmland of their own, but in most cases they were sharecroppers or leaseholders. Between 1870 and 1880, Chinese-grown vegetables became an important staple in California towns and cities.

Other occupations opened to these tireless workers. Canneries regularly employed Chinese people, and Chinese Americans were among the pioneers in commercial fishing along the West Coast. These immigrants were most active in the shrimp and abalone fisheries.

The one area in which Chinese immigrants were able to earn substantial wages was in the service trades. From their earliest arrival in the mining fields, they were valued as laundry workers, domestic servants, gardeners and cooks. Both in the cities and the mining fields, Chinese laundries provided a valuable service. As Chinese Americans moved east, they continued to establish laundries. Initially they opened restaurants with American food, and later, as Americans became accustomed to Chinese dishes, both cuisines were offered.

When the economic decline of the 1870s hit the United States, Chinese Americans were accused of taking jobs away from European American workers. Anti-Chinese sentiment ran so strong that in 1882 Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act. California's legislators pushed the act through by forming a coalition with southern supporters of racist laws.

The Chinese Exclusion Act slowed, but did not stop, Chinese immigration to the United States. China's internal difficulties continued through the nineteenth century. Of the 2.5 million who left China in the middle of the nineteenth century, only 15 percent went to the United States. Crossing the Mexican or Canadian border was not difficult, especially during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; others used assumed identities to gain legal entry. Illegal entry continued the process that had begun 30 years before. To enforce the Chinese Exclusion Act, the federal government closely examined the travel documents of and detained Chinese arrivals for intense interrogation at port-of-entry immigration stations. The largest and best known of these stations was San Francisco's Angel Island Immigration Station (1910–1940).



A Chinese cook on the Poso Ranch, Kern County, California, 1888

In the early years, during the California gold rush, the migration was circulatory; men would leave China for a few years, try their luck in the mines and return when they had accumulated sufficient savings. This system slowed during the railroad building era of the 1860s and 1870s and came to a near halt after the 1882 exclusion.

Migration within the United States

Another aspect of the 1880s was the migration of Chinese people within the United States to other parts of the country. Their move east was helped along by the completion of the transcontinental railroad network, intense hostility against Chinese people in the West and the western movement of thousands of European Americans and other groups that helped create a non-Chinese labor pool. In addition, California passed legislation aimed at harassing Chinese residents and depriving them of their livelihood. For example, in 1879 the new state constitution contained a provision that no corporation or local government could hire Chinese workers. And yet, from 1860 through 1890, when Chinese immigrants accounted for only 10 percent of California's population, they paid almost half of the taxes the state collected.

The eastern states began to acquire a few small Chinatowns by 1890 as Chinese Americans found life

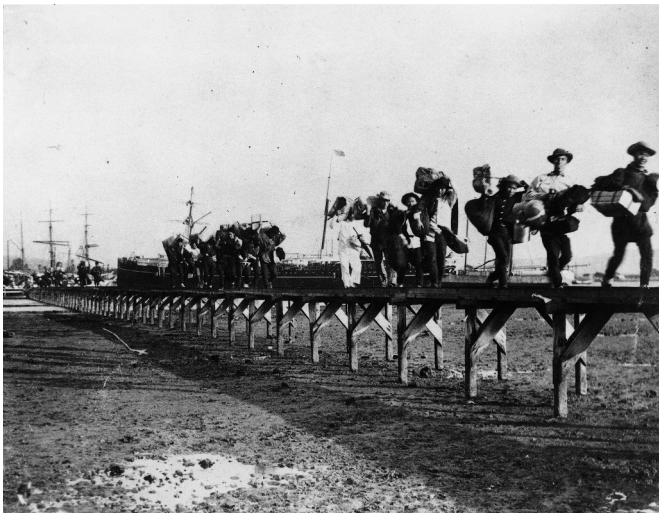
there more amenable, especially for raising families. In 1880 only 870 Chinese lived in the New York–Brooklyn area; by 1890, 2,500 lived there. Chicago had 170 Chinese in 1880, but by 1890 it had 570. Philadelphia's Chinese population rose from 80 to 740 in the same decade. Still, most Chinese immigrants continued to live in the Pacific Coast states, especially California. By 1890 San Francisco had an imposing population of approximately 26,000 Chinese, by far the largest Chinatown in the country.

Overall, however, the Chinese population dropped dramatically in San Francisco between 1890 and 1900. Some returned to China, some relocated to other West Coast states and some followed the railroad lines to the eastern United States. By 1910 approximately 13,000 Chinese immigrants lived in New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Pennsylvania; 46,000 lived in California, Oregon and Washington. As the Chinese population of the United States continued to shrink, thanks in great part to the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, the anti-Chinese riots and the preponderance of men over women (the Chinese male-female ratio ran as high as 27 to 1 in 1890), the Chinese population in those five eastern states increased slightly, reaching 14,000 by 1920. In the Pacific states, however, the Chinese population declined to 34,000, a drop of more than 25 percent in one decade. Chinese American migration to other parts of the United States had become a significant trend.

Japanese Immigration: Hawaii and the Mainland

Franklin S. Odo and Clifford I. Uyeda

Tales tell of shipwrecked Japanese fishermen drifting thousands of miles east to Hawaii as early as the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. They probably were absorbed into the native Hawaiian population. The first organized groups of Japanese immigrants, however, arrived in Hawaii and Eldorado County, California, in 1868, the year Japan's old feudal system was overthrown and replaced by ambitious officials determined to create a modern and powerful nation. Japan did become a world power but, like other nations that achieved this stature, allowed many of its people to suffer greatly. The government was forced to allow some of them to leave the country to find better lives.



Japanese immigrants on the bridge to Quarantine Island

Workers on Hawaiian Plantations

Thousands of Japanese people left for work on the sugar plantations of Hawaii beginning in 1885. Most were young men, but nearly 20 percent were women and a few were children. This inclusion of women meant Japanese immigrants were much better off than Chinese immigrants who came before them or the groups of Filipinos who came after them, both with far more men than women.

These early Japanese immigrants arrived in Hawaii while it was still a monarchy—with King Kalakaua reigning over an independent and sovereign nation. Foreigners, mostly Americans, led a rebellion that overthrew the monarchy in 1893, and the United States annexed the islands in 1898.

By 1900, 60,000 Japanese people lived in Hawaii, constituting about 40 percent of the population. The native Hawaiians continued to decline in power and population. The rapid increase in Japanese immigration was due to the growth of the sugar industry, which continued to need massive amounts of cheap labor.

Schoolboys on the Mainland

Many Japanese who went to the American mainland were students who sought an education with the encouragement of their government. These "schoolboys" often did housework in exchange for room and board. During their free time, many went to classes to learn English and study a wide variety of subjects. Those who remained in the United States learned enough of the new language and customs to become the first generation of leaders in the new Japanese American community.

Unlike in Hawaii, where Japanese workers were housed in plantation camps and developed their own communities, the early immigrants on the mainland were scattered and isolated. Still, in both areas, there were enough people to maintain cultural practices, including musical performances, and to start such essential institutions as newspapers and Japanese language schools for the growing numbers of children born to immigrant families. Some of the earliest and most important centers for emotional and psychological support were the Buddhist temples and Christian churches, where Japanese American congregations could socialize and worship in their own language and with their own people and could celebrate their traditional festivals.

Although men usually formed the religious organizations, women often carried out many of the activities, which included teaching the Japanese language and handicrafts. The women's auxiliaries also created such entities as mutual self-help groups to take care of needy families and rotating credit associations to help individuals save money for special expenses.

One of the most striking things about Japanese immigrants was the wide diversity among them. They ranged in age from infancy to middle age. Although the majority came from southwestern Japan, they came from nearly every part, including Okinawa, which had been an independent country until the 1870s. Japanese immigrants who arrived in the 1880s from rural villages in western Japan were extraordinarily different from those who came to America in the early 1920s from bustling cities in eastern Japan. These later immigrants included students from wealthy families, poverty-stricken tenant farmers, Buddhist priests, entrepreneurs with capital seeking to make their fortunes, doctors, skilled craftsmen and a wide range of people teaching the arts and culture of the homeland. It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to depict a "typical" Japanese immigrant.

Making a Living

Nearly every immigrant had to find a way to make a living. Most of the Japanese immigrants who went to Hawaii worked on sugar plantations in jobs ranging from cutting cane to bookkeeping to carpentry. On the mainland, Japanese immigrants worked in salmon canneries in Alaska, mined for copper and iron in Wyoming, ran gambling dens in Los Angeles and raised most of California's vegetables. Before 1900 very few Japanese American women worked outside their homes, and three out of four who did were servants, cooks and personal service workers. By 1920, however, more than 10 percent held jobs, with more than a third of them doing agricultural work.

As laborers in the mines or fields of Washington, Oregon and California or on the sugar plantations of Hawaii, Japanese Americans endured long hours of hard and dangerous work. When the conditions became intolerable or the management too brutal to bear, they organized protests and strikes.

On the mainland, labor unions generally tried to keep Japanese immigrants out, even though they were well qualified. This racism prevented unified and effective action.

In Hawaii, Japanese immigrants were in a very different situation since, by the early 1900s, they made up more than half of the laborers on the plantations. In 1909 Japanese sugar workers on the island of Oahu, led by such articulate men as Fred Kinzaburo Makino, staged a major strike. Although the planters improved wages and working conditions after the strike, it was clear that organizing on a racial basis weakened the effort.

By 1920 conditions had worsened. When Japanese workers called another strike, they attempted to include other ethnic workers, especially Filipinos who had been brought in specifically to counterbalance Japanese workers. This strike also was broken, and it was not until the late 1930s that a truly multiracial union, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, could be formed.

These pioneering union efforts reinforced much of the anti-Japanese prejudice that erupted into hostility and racist acts designed to drive them from the mainland. One of many indications that other Americans would not welcome Japanese immigrants was the San Francisco School Board's decision in 1906 to segregate 93 Japanese American students attending the city's 23 public schools. The resolution was particularly ironic considering the Japanese Red Cross and government had contributed more than half of the total relief resources from outside the United States following the San Francisco earthquake earlier that same year.

President Theodore Roosevelt sent Secretary of Labor and Commerce Victor H. Metcalf to investigate the discrimination against Japanese students, and in 1907 the school board rescinded its order. The incident escalated into an international issue between the United States and Japan. Finally, the "Gentlemen's Agreement" was reached when President Roosevelt persuaded the Japanese government to stop issuing passports to any more Japanese laborers seeking to come to the United States to find work.

"Picture Brides"

The Gentlemen's Agreement did not solve the problems of immigrant men who could not return to their homes with the savings they hoped to accumulate and who, in most of the United States, could not marry women of other races because of antimiscegenation laws. Some of these

Japanese "picture brides"

laws were not repealed until the 1950s and 1960s. For these bachelors, the traditional practice of finding suitable brides and arranging marriages was the logical solution. The men who could afford to go back to Japan and secure a wife did so; friends and relatives helped many others locate a prospective bride and perhaps exchange letters and photographs before the formalities took place in Japan. Then, the brides sailed to the United States to be met for the first time by their new husbands. Most of the marriages worked out, but some disappointed partners endured very sad lives, returned to Japan or found other partners.

From 1908 to 1920, more than 20,000 Japanese women came to the United States as "picture brides," but many others also came. The ratio of females to males rose from approximately 1 to 7 in 1910 to 5 to 8 in 1920. By 1930 males outnumbered females by only about 10 percent.

The arrival of so many wives meant immigrant households soon had large groups of children. Indeed, Japanese Americans are the only immigrants that count their generations with specific terms: *issei* for the first generation, *nisei* for the second and *sansei* for the third.

The actual numbers of Japanese immigrants were extremely modest except in Hawaii, where they continued to represent 40 percent of the population until the beginning of World War II, after which the proportion began a steady decline. On the mainland, the Japanese never exceeded 2 percent of the population in California, so the degree of race hatred seemed altogether out of proportion to the reality of the situation. It was California, too, where the next major battle was set.

Ban on Land Ownership

Japanese Americans had begun purchasing land for their own farms by the early 1900s. Some Californians feared Japanese immigrants would "take over" the state's agriculture. The California legislature's 1913 Webb Act and its revised Alien Land Law of 1920 not only prohibited aliens who were ineligible to be naturalized from buying land, but also prohibited them from buying property or even serving as guardians of property for their minor citizen children. Because Asian immigrants were the only ones who could not become citizens and because Japanese Americans were the majority involved in land purchases, it was clear that the Webb Act and Alien Land Law were directly aimed at Japanese immigrants.

Other states soon followed suit. In some cases, immigrants could have the *nisei* children, who were United States citizens by birth, buy the land, but the general effect of the legislation was to keep Japanese immigrants working for other people.

Prohibition against Naturalization

The question of naturalization was an important one. Although it is not clear whether many Japanese wanted to become American citizens, the absolute prohibition was racist and humiliating. In 1916 Takao Ozawa filed suit in Honolulu to challenge that policy. Ozawa had grown up in Berkeley and gone to the University of California there. He married, had children and was so anxious to become a citizen that he ordered his family to speak only English at home and to eat only American food. Nevertheless, the courts ruled against him. He appealed the decision to the United States Supreme Court. The Supreme Court ruled, in 1922, that Ozawa, as an Asian, did not have the right to naturalization.

In Hawaii, where the Japanese American population was relatively large, the development of the ethnic community was sometimes viewed with alarm. Particularly concerned were those who saw the growing numbers of *nisei* citizens who, when they came of age, would become decisive voters in local elections.

The Fight over Language Schools

Crude attempts at Americanizing the *nisei* included political moves to eliminate schools teaching the Japanese language. Immigrant parents created language schools for two basic reasons. First, parents working 10 to 12 hours a day, six days a week, could not go to English classes and wanted to speak Japanese with the children who attended public schools taught in English. Second, as immigrants with no rights in the United States, they felt the need to have their children learn enough Japanese language and culture to be able to adapt to Japan if necessary. Attempts to destroy the language schools continued into the 1920s, with the Japanese American community bitterly divided over a proper response.

More than half of the 140 language schools in Hawaii joined in a lawsuit to prevent further attacks from the territorial government. On the other side, nearly half argued that they should comply and voluntarily close their schools. The case eventually ended in the Supreme Court, which ruled, in 1927, that the Hawaiian government was acting unconstitutionally in depriving parents of the right to provide language instruction. In several of these important cases, a sympathetic European American attorney, Joseph Lightfoot, played a major role.

The disputes over language schools took place as the period of greatest Japanese migration, 1885 to 1924, was ending. In 1924 Congress passed an immigration act that

Hawaiian National Guard, Company D, 1st Regiment, 1917

excluded immigrants from Japan. Nonetheless, some continued to arrive illegally through Mexico and Canada. And, of course, immigration has continued since the end of World War II, albeit at a much reduced level.

Records of Valiant Military Service

Japanese Americans have fought and died for the United States since the Spanish-American War. Seven Japanese American sailors died in the explosion destroying the U.S.S. *Maine* in Havana harbor in 1898. In World War I, 803 Japanese Americans, 385 of them natives of Japan, served in Hawaii's "all-Japanese" Company D, and one rose to the rank of major. Despite their and other Japanese Americans' service, in 1925 the Supreme Court ruled that laws granting citizenship to Asian World War I veterans were invalid. Ten years later Congress passed a law granting citizenship to approximately 500 Asian World War I veterans.

More than 33,000 Japanese American men and women served during World War II, 6,000 of them in the Pacific. Their casualty rate was five times higher than that of the combined American forces. Japanese American linguists from the Military Intelligence Service (MIS) became essential to the successful prosecution of the war against Japan. The plea for their service came not only from all branches of the American forces, but also from the Allied forces throughout the Pacific and Southeast Asia. They were attached to every major campaign in the Pacific. Their value was stated by General Douglas MacArthur: "Never in military history did an army know so much about the enemy prior to actual engagement." At the end of the war, MIS personnel played an important role in the occupation of Japan.

The 100th Battalion/442nd Regimental Combat Team was the most decorated unit in American military history for its size and length of service. The unit received eight Presidential Unit Citations and more than 18,000 individual decorations, including a Congressional Medal of Honor and 52 Distinguished Service Crosses.

Many World War II veterans also fought in the Korean War. Forty-three Japanese Americans died in the Korean War, and more than 100 died in the Vietnam War.

Detention

An ongoing drama played out as Japanese struggled to find a place in American society and American society struggled to redefine itself to accommodate this new group. During World War II, when Japan became the enemy, both the United States and the Japanese community temporarily lost the fight. The federal government rounded up and placed in detention camps—without charges, hearings or trials—approximately 120,000 persons of Japanese descent, including more than 70,000 American *nisei* citizens. Yet during the war more than 33,000 Japanese Americans fought to preserve the rights their families could not enjoy at that time.

The fortunes of the Japanese American community improved dramatically after the end of World War II. Yet the problem of identity in contemporary America lingers.

Filipinos: America's Second-Largest Asian Group

Dorothy and Fred Cordova

Although most people think Filipino migration to the United States began in the late nineteenth century, recent research shows that the first Filipinos came to colonial North America as refugees more than a century earlier.

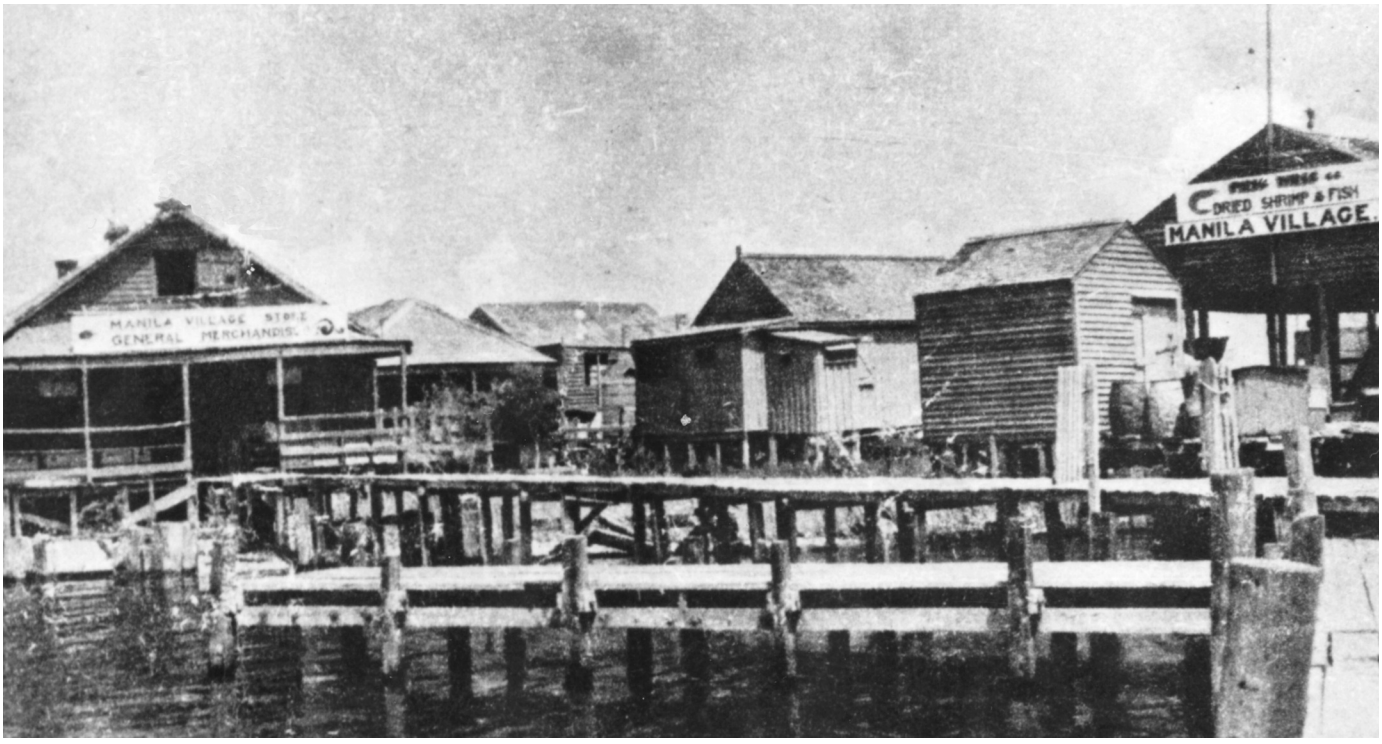
First Asians in North America

Filipino American historian Marina Espina has discovered that a small group of Filipinos were the first Asians to immigrate to North America. They arrived in Louisiana as early as 1763, when it was a Spanish possession, by way of the galleon trade between the Spanish colonies of Mexico and the Philippines. Louisiana became a state in 1812, and Filipinos fought on the American side against the British in the Battle of New Orleans at the end of the War of 1812.

In the mid-eighteenth century, approximately 100 Catholic Filipino men established an unusual community, St. Malo, near the mouth of Lake Borgne in St. Bernard Parish. They allowed no women to live there. If a man had a family, that family had to live elsewhere. St. Malo prohibited liquor, and the oldest member of the community settled any disputes. In 1915 a hurricane destroyed St. Malo.

Another Filipino community was Manila Village in Jefferson Parish. Built on stilts at the edge of the bayou, the village was the home of Filipino seamen and fishermen for more than a century. About 300 Filipinos, with a sprinkling of Mexicans, Spaniards and other nationalities, lived there. Jacinto Quintin de la Cruz, its founder, introduced the sun-drying of shrimp in the United States. The finished product was sent to New Orleans for export to Asia, Canada and South and Central America.

During the nineteenth century, sailing clippers from different countries sought as crew members Manilamen, known everywhere in the Pacific as hardy and skillful sailors who understood currents and could foretell weather. Ships carried these seamen to European, South American and North American ports, including some in the Pacific Northwest.



Manila Village, c. 1890

Immigrants in the Northwest

The Pacific Northwest was still the Oregon Territory—with vast forests and small communities—when the first Filipinos arrived there aboard British or American trading and exploring ships or German schooners. They landed in Vancouver and Victoria or United States ports immediately to the south. Some Filipino seamen left their ships and made their homes first in British Columbia and later in Washington. There are also records showing Filipino residents in California in the 1820s.

The Port Blakely Company on Bainbridge Island in Washington was the largest lumber mill in the world during the late nineteenth century. Workers came from many different countries. Company files from 1892 recorded several Filipino workers. One, known simply as Manila, is believed to have been the first Filipino in Washington.

Among the first Filipinos in Seattle were 40 hired by the American government in 1903 to work on the steamship *Burnside*. Employed for a three-year period to lay cable in the Pacific and Alaska, many remained in the United States when their contract ended.

Early Years as American Nationals

In 1898 American troops captured Manila a few hours after the signing of the Treaty of Paris, ending the Spanish–American War. Thus, the United States could not claim the islands by right of conquest. To avoid further delay, the McKinley administration offered $20 million for the islands. Spain accepted. For the next 48 years, the Philippines was an American colony. Until 1934 Filipinos were American nationals with the right to come to the United States if they could pay passage.

Among the Filipino immigrants who came at the turn of the twentieth century were America's first Asian war brides—the wives of Spanish–American War servicemen. Although most of them gradually assimilated into their new communities, others were never accepted by their husbands' families.

A few years later, responding to the threat of a reduction of Japanese immigration, the Hawaiian Sugar Plantation Association (HSPA) began a frantic recruitment of Filipinos to work on the sugar plantations. Hawaii was then an American territory. The first group of 15 Filipino laborers arrived in late 1906. The following year 150 came. In 1909 the HSPA began large-scale importation of workers. At first there were no provisions for their return to the Philippines. By 1915, however, increased pressure from Philippine government officials prompted members of the HSPA to agree to pay return passage after a laborer completed a three-year contract. Between 1907 and 1919, 28,449 Filipino nationals—mostly men—arrived in Hawaii. Fewer than 4,500 returned.

These two students, members of the ilustrado *(well-to-do) class, came to America in the early 1920s.*

From 1903 through the 1930s, several thousand young Filipinos came to the United States by enlisting in the United States Navy. The terms of their enlistment made them stewards, and in a few years, Filipino stewards became some of the Navy's best cooks. After serving their tour of duty, some remained in seaport towns and created small Filipino communities.

Americanization through Education

One positive aspect of American influence in the Philippines was the expansion of public education. The United States Army established the first American schools there in 1898. In 1901 the first of more than 1,000 American teachers began arriving. They became known as "Thomasites," named after one of the ships, the *Thomas*, that brought them to the islands. The Thomasites taught English, introduced American ways and began training a new generation of Filipinos through the widespread establishment of public schools.

Beginning in 1903 the first group of 104 bright Filipinos—including a number of women—was sent to

the United States to study in colleges and universities. Subsidized by the American government, hundreds of these *pensionados* continued to come until the outbreak of World War II. Upon their return to the Philippines, they became leaders in government, business and education.

Encouraged by the success of returning *pensionados* and by their American teachers, even larger numbers of Filipino students—largely self-supporting—followed to continue their education in American high schools and colleges and universities throughout the United States.

As the closest American mainland seaport to the Philippines, Seattle was the major port of entry for thousands of Filipinos arriving each year in the continental United States. Most continued on to other parts of the country, including San Francisco, Stockton, Fresno, San Diego, Los Angeles, Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia and New York during the 1920s and 1930s.

Although many completed their studies and eventually attained degrees, these early Filipino Americans rarely had the opportunity to work in their chosen professions. Institutional and individual racism produced a hostile climate that was exacerbated by the Great Depression.

Not Just Milk and Honey

Life was not easy for many early Filipino immigrants. In a September 26, 1911, *Seattle Times* article Frank Bolima (a former teacher in the Philippines) stated that "despite assurances Filipinos as American nationals would be treated with respect . . . when I landed in San Francisco in 1906 it did not take me two hours to realize that . . . fair treatment would not be forthcoming . . . because of the darker color of my skin."

Yet, for most Filipinos, America was "the land of milk and honey." The American flag flew over the Philippines and Filipinos belonged to the United States. Many Filipinos immigrated for a better life. Some came for education, while others came for adventure. Most were male, young and single. Men with wives and small children also came to secure better-paying jobs because life in the Philippines—especially in the rural areas—was hard. Families sold land, animals and jewelry to send their brightest sons and daughters to America. The new arrivals, in turn, hoped to send money home and to bring honor to the families they left behind, and most of them did. Some sponsored and paid for their family members' passages to America.

Boom Times

During the 1920s the United States enjoyed a financial boom. These were relatively good times for Filipino immigrants and jobs were abundant. A few who had come before World War I had small businesses in Filipino enclaves. *Sakadas* (contract workers from Hawaii) came to work in the growing California agribusinesses, as did other new arrivals. Some Filipinos disembarking in Seattle found employment immediately in lumber mills in Washington and Oregon.

Filipinos worked as kitchen help in restaurants and hotels. Some worked on railroads. Thousands—including self-supporting students—worked every summer in Alaska's salmon canneries. During the school year, many students earned room and board as houseboys for wealthy Americans. Filipinos were musicians in speakeasies and dime-a-dance halls. They also played for social events sponsored by Filipino fraternal lodges and organizations. New Filipino immigrants quickly assumed the fashions and carefree lifestyle of the Roaring Twenties. To them, life in the United States was good.

According to the 1920 census, only 5,000 Filipinos lived in the continental United States, and 3,000 of them were in California. In 1924 Congress enacted a law that stopped the immigration of Japanese, Chinese and Koreans. This exclusion act did not apply to Filipinos who, thanks to American imperialism, were not aliens and who now came in growing numbers.

The 1930 census counted 45,208 Filipinos in the continental United States, with about 30,000 in California. The ratio of males to females was 33 to 1. This lack of women was a major factor in the large number of intermarriages between Filipino men and women of other races. Outrage over this mixing of races helped trigger public animosity toward Filipinos. The first of 50 anti-Filipino riots in the United States took place in 1927.

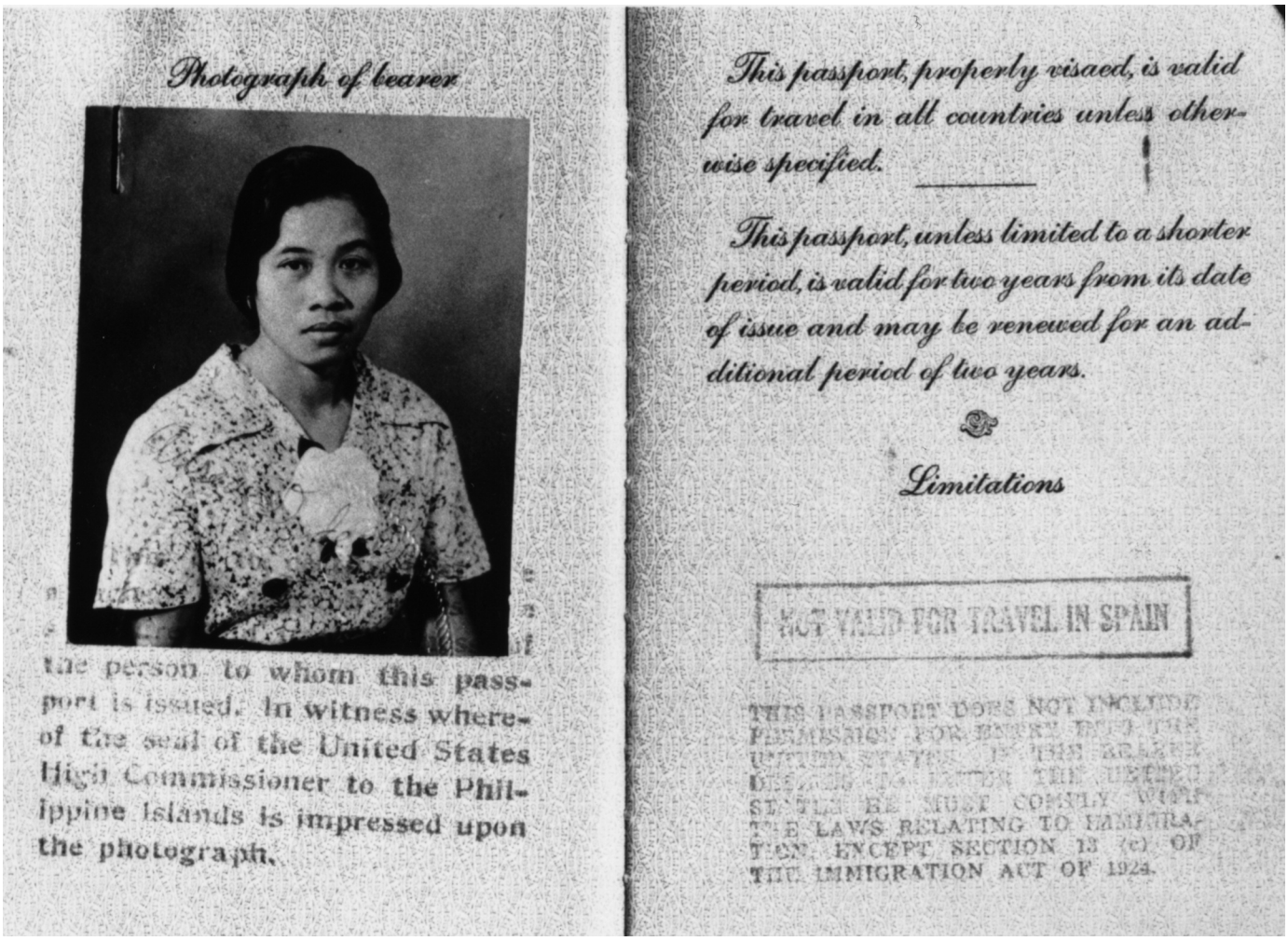
The Great Depression

With the onset of the Great Depression, Filipino Americans competed with European Americans for scarce menial jobs. Many young Filipino Americans lived migratory lives—following the crops in the West Coast states and working in Alaska's canneries during the summer. Some migrated to other cities, such as Detroit, where jobs in the auto industry were opening up to Filipinos.

Many survived by sharing resources. Filipino women's clubs promoted social activities and provided social welfare services. Clubs and fraternal lodges allowed men—often rebuffed because of their race in mainstream recreational and social areas—the opportunity to be leaders within their own ethnic group.

Reclassification as Aliens

In 1934 Congress passed the Tydings-McDuffie Act, also called the Philippine Independence Act, which



Aurea Duran Ordona received one of only 50 passports issued in 1937 to Filipinos desiring to enter the United States.

reclassified Filipinos as aliens and subject to immigration control. The number of immigrants from the Philippines was reduced to 50 per year.

Although few in number, Filipino women had power and were accorded great respect. They were the focal point of the extended family and fundraisers for their clubs and communities. By the end of the 1930s, several thousand American-born Filipino children—some of them of mixed blood called *mestizos*—were growing up in cities and farming communities throughout the country. By 1940 the economic hardships of the Great Depression had eased, and Filipino communities throughout the United States became more established.

World War II Changes

World War II changed the lives of Filipinos because Japan invaded and eventually occupied the Philippines. When war between Japan and the United States broke out in 1941, thousands of Filipino men volunteered for the United States Armed Forces. Upon completion of basic training, Filipino soldiers received the option of becoming American citizens. Some seized the opportunity, but others did not. Filipinos also worked in essential war industries or helped raise or process food necessary for both civilians and the military. Filipinos were not immune from the wave of anti-Japanese hysteria that swept the nation after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Police sometimes stopped them and required them to show identification.

Many Filipino American and other American soldiers married young Filipinas, and these women became the second group of Filipino war brides.

At the conclusion of World War II, more immigrants began to arrive. They included families of Spanish-American War veterans and American civil servants who had chosen to live in the Philippines, the children of Filipino men who had come during the 1920s and 1930s

and American-born Filipinos caught in the Philippines during the war. Others were families of former Philippine scouts who became American citizens before the Philippines gained independence in 1946.

After the war the United States raised the immigration quota to 100 per year. Exchange workers, students and visitors overcame rigid quotas and remained by marrying American citizens. The second generation began raising families. Filipinos were growing in number, and the ratio between men and women was getting smaller.

A New Surge

Two important events then changed the character of Filipino American communities—the revision of United States immigration laws in 1965 and the fight for minority civil rights.

The annual quota for Filipinos coming as permanent residents was increased to 20,000. Also, earlier immigrants had become citizens and brought in their spouses, children and parents. All this—coupled with economic and political instability and the perennial dream of coming to America—created a great surge of immigration from the Philippines.

Second-generation Filipinos were moving into the mainstream by the 1960s. Many were involved in and became leaders of the Asian American movement.

Once close-knit and geographically contained, Filipino Americans are now scattered throughout the United States. A once-homogeneous Filipino community is now composed of different layers: early immigrants and their children, grandchildren and great grandchildren; post-World War II arrivals; post-1964 arrivals; and recent immigrants. Family unity among Filipinos remains strong.

Once employed primarily as laborers, many Filipinos today are skilled workers and professionals. A few are elected officials or hold administrative positions in government. In Filipino American communities today, Philippine culture, customs, folkways and mores live in foods, dances, songs and wedding ceremonies. Although 85 percent of Filipinos are Catholics, a significant number of them are Protestants.

The 1980 United States census counted 775,000 Filipinos. Since then the Immigration and Naturalization Service has reported that annual arrivals from the Philippines have ranged from a low of 35,000 to a high of 52,000. Filipinos have become the second-largest Asian American group in the United States.

Student Background Essays

The Americans All® student essays provide background information on Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, European Americans, Mexican Americans and Puerto Rican Americans, as well as on Angel Island, Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty. Adapted from the Americans All® resource texts, the student essays have been created to meet both the language and social studies requirements of grades 3–4, 5–6 and 7–9. These essays are in blackline-master format and appear in their respective grade-specific teacher's guides. Learning activities found in each teacher's guide encourage the use of these student essays both in the classroom and at home.

Chinese: The First Major Flow of Asian Immigrants

260. Between 1890 and 1900, the Chinese population of the San Francisco area dropped significantly. Some returned to China, some relocated to other western states and some went east to establish new Chinatowns. The overall population of Chinese Americans continued to shrink, in part due to the Chinese Exclusion Acts, anti-Chinese riots and the preponderance of men over women. Although little is known about Sam Lee, when photographed about 1900, he was listed as the 86-year-old mayor of Chinatown, San Francisco, California.
261. Lalu Nathoy, an 18-year-old in China, was sold to a slave trader heading for America. There, she and other girls were sold at a public auction to become wives or prostitutes. Her buyer named her Polly and took her to work in a saloon in Idaho. She eventually won her freedom through her courage, sharp wit and the help of friends. She became a successful businesswoman, married happily and, despite the racial bigotry at that time, gained the respect of her community, even having a river named after her. (Information for this caption was provided by the National Women's History Project.)
262. Large-scale Chinese immigration to California began after news of the discovery of gold reached China. Because most opportunities were for able-bodied laborers, the bulk of the early immigrants were men, and it was very difficult for early Chinese immigrants to develop a normal family life. Some were fortunate, however, and a few photographs do show early immigrant families.
263. As the United States entered the 1860s, the move to develop the natural resources of its western states required a cheap and reliable labor source. Chinese immigrants were suitable because they were good workers, very adaptable to changing conditions, quick to learn new tasks and not bothered by physical labor. Although the railroad owners were not vocal in their praise of Chinese workers, it was generally agreed that without their help, completion of the railroads would have been severely delayed. This photograph of the trestle at Sierra Point, California, 1867, shows the difficult terrain facing builders of the railroad.
264. (top) From the early gold rush days, Chinese immigrants have been in the service trades as cooks, servants, gardeners and laundry workers. Service trades were among the few fields in which Chinese workers commanded high wages, even during the 1870s when they were accused of lowering wage standards. The relaxed attitude of this cook and his helper in a lumber camp in the late 1880s illustrates the opportunities that many Chinese immigrants found in rural employment. (bottom) This Chinese miner is carrying a rocker, a device used to wash gold from among rocks. It was a faster method than panning, because a rocker could hold and wash more quartz rock than a pan could. Water ran through the rocker, washing away dirt, silt and pebbles, and the gold was caught in a series of ribs or ridges. A miner "rocked" the equipment on supports that looked like those found on a baby's cradle.
265. A Chinese congregation poses for a photograph outside a church in Honolulu, Hawaii.
266. When the completion of the transcontinental railroad provided easier access to the eastern markets, California farmers began to diversify, changing from wheat to perishable but more profitable crops. Chinese immigrants became the mobile pool of labor for California's orchards, vineyards, cotton fields, etc. These Chinese workers are picking olives on the Quito Ranch, probably in northern California.
267. Chinese immigrants were among the first to engage in commercial fishing along the West Coast in the 1850s. They were also among the first to gather abalone for sale. By the 1870s numerous abalone junks were sailing in and out of San Diego Bay, and this activity soon extended to Baja, California. These children are selling abalone shells to be used for ornamental materials in Monterey, California. Meat from the abalone was dried and sold separately.
268. The economic status of Chinese Americans during the 61 years of exclusion was characterized by

slow advances in the face of persistent discrimination. By sheer determination and hard work, however, some Chinese immigrants accumulated sizeable amounts of capital and established their own businesses. (top) Many started with small stores, such as those selling goods to a predominantly Asian clientele. (bottom) Others attracted a more diverse clientele, as this butcher and grocery store owner attempted to do.

269. Whenever possible, new immigrants made an effort to be accepted as part of their adopted homeland. One such case was the great Hub-to-Hub Race at Deadwood, South Dakota, July 4, 1888, between the only two Chinese hose teams in the United States. Apparently staged as part of an Independence Day celebration, this event was well attended, with some viewers taking to the rooftops. The inset shows the champion Chinese Hose Team of America.
270. Like their brethren in China, those who came to the United States maintained strong ties with their families and native villages and retained deep respect for the traditions and customs of their homeland. Religious ceremonies provided much-needed spiritual solace to lonely men living in a foreign and often hostile country. This burial service for High Lee in Deadwood, South Dakota, about 1891, was one such ceremony.

Note: Information on photographs 260 and 262–270 derived from Lai, H. M., Joe Huang and Don Wong, *The Chinese of America, 1785–1980: An Illustrated History and Catalog of an Exhibition at the Oakland Museum in the Spring of 1984*, San Francisco, CA: Chinese Culture Foundation, 1980.

Japanese Immigration: Hawaii and the Mainland

271. In Hawaii, the United States Immigration Station was located on Quarantine Island, a sandy island one mile offshore in Honolulu Harbor. Immigrants had to walk across the China Bridge (top) to enter the fence-surrounded station (bottom). They were kept here from one to two weeks to meet the quarantine requirements of 18 days following departure from Japan. This group of Japanese immigrants arrived in 1893.
272. A Japanese house in Wainaku, Hawaii, about 1890. Early Japanese contract laborers, especially those who brought their families with them, sometimes built their own houses with old boards, sugarcane leaves and bamboo provided by the plantations. It was not a particularly difficult task, for they had often helped one another in building such thatched houses in Japan.
273. The immigrants wore traditional *kimonos* in their quarters and around the plantation camps, but work clothes had to protect field laborers against the sun and rain, the sharp leaves of the sugarcane and the stinging insects, such as centipedes, scorpions and yellow jackets, that made their homes in the fields. For the men, western-style *ahina* (denim) was prized for its durability and was used to make shirts and trousers. Straw hats and raincoats were regular parts of the outfit.
274. In 1868, 148 Japanese arrived as sugar plantation contract laborers. They were known as the *gannemono* because they were "People of the First Year" of the Emperor Meiji's reign (1868–1912). Shown in this photo is the family of *gannemono* Matsugorō Kuwata about 1899. Matsugorō, a tailor, was nicknamed *Umiumi Matsu* (Matsu-the-Beard). From left front: Matsugorō, Seiichi, Meleana with baby Shiro, Lindo; back: Umi, Ome, Kimi.
275. Sugarcane cultivation was extremely labor intensive. The industry was constantly searching for technology that would reduce its reliance on masses of cheap labor. In the 1880s steam plows replaced plows drawn by horses or oxen, a major advance in the arduous task of preparing land for planting. Yet cutting the seed cane, planting, irrigating, weeding, fertilizing, cutting and loading the harvested cane into wagons and railroad cars still required backbreaking hand labor.
276. The development of an economically stable Japanese community in Hawaii was not easy, because many of the original Japanese immigrants intended to work only temporarily for the booming sugar industry and then return to Japan. Yet, as the community increased in size, some of its members accumulated enough wealth to afford more than a subsistence level of living and more goods and services became essential. These photographs show the store established by Saiji Kimura, an 1885 Japanese arrival who had worked as a Bureau of Immigration supervisor before he opened his store in 1893.
277. Starting families was difficult for Japanese immigrants due to the shortage of Japanese women and antimiscegenation laws that prevented Japanese immigrant men from marrying women of other races. Some relied on friends and relatives to arrange marriages in Japan, and "picture brides" sailed to the United States to be met for the first time by their new husbands. These Japanese "picture brides" (so-named because the husbands had only photos to see prior to the marriage) are being

vaccinated on board a ship en route to the United States in 1904.

278. Rihei Onishi, a journalist for the *Jiji Shimpo*, a Tokyo daily newspaper, came to the United States with his wealthy wine-merchant cousin, Toraichi, in 1903. They were impressed with the possibilities of growing rice in Texas and purchased approximately 300 acres of land near the Saibara property. Onishi was instrumental in leading Japanese immigrants to Texas and, in addition to owning the farm near Webster, managed another farm near Mackey. This studio portrait was taken c. 1910.
279. Kiyoaki Saibara (fourth from left) is standing with workers in a rice field owned by his father, Seito Saibara, in Webster, Texas, 1904. The father, an attorney and a member of the Japanese legislature, was one of the few Japanese who converted to Christianity. He came to the United States in 1902 to study at the Hartford Theological Seminary and decided to remain as an immigrant. Because Japan's growing population needed additional sources of rice, Seito established the nucleus of a Japanese rice colony in Texas.
280. Community leaders Kikumatsu and Shige Kushida Togasaki at their silver wedding anniversary, 1918. The college-educated daughter of the co-founder of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Japan, Shige came to San Francisco in 1892 to help Japanese immigrant women. She supported herself by working as a servant. Cut off from American society by linguistic and cultural barriers, *issei* women often suffered hardships. Many had been thrust into prostitution, and Shige organized refuges to which they could escape. She also served as an assistant midwife and lectured on skills needed in America. The Togasakis gave aid and shelter to anyone in need. Of her eight children, three daughters became doctors and three became nurses.
281. Japanese Americans have fought and died for the United States since the Spanish-American War. In World War I, 803 Japanese Americans, 385 of them natives of Japan, served in Hawaii's "all-Japanese" Company D, and one rose to the rank of major. This is the 1st Regiment of Company D at Schofield Barrack, Oahu, Hawaii, 1917.
282. Japanese immigrants began purchasing land for their own farms by the early 1900s. Some Californians feared immigrants would "take over" the state's agriculture. In 1913 the California legislature passed the Webb Act, prohibiting aliens who were ineligible to be naturalized from buying land. Because Asian immigrants were the only ones who could not become American citizens, it directly limited property ownership. Despite these odds, Japanese entrepreneurs still managed to compete. Genotsuke Kodani, a marine biologist from Japan, founded the Point Lobos Canning Company in Monterey in 1923.

Note: Information on photographs 271–277 and 281 derived from Odo, Franklin and Kazuao Sinoto, *A Pictorial History of the Japanese in Hawaii, 1885–1924*, Honolulu, HI: Hawai'i Immigrant Heritage Preservation Center, Department of Anthropology, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Press, 1985. Information on photograph 282 derived from the archives of the National Japanese American Historical Society.

Filipinos: America's Second-Largest Asian Group

283. Bibiana Montante Laigo Castillano on deck with her infant son, Valeriano Laigo, Jr., July 1930. She and her husband had gone on vacation and, during that time, she gave birth to her son. After the baby was six months old, they returned to the United States.
284. Most Filipinos immigrating from the Philippines from 1906 to 1934—the second wave of Filipino immigration to the United States—left home and loved ones because they wanted to go to school. These two students, members of the *ilustrado* (well-to-do), came to the United States in the early 1920s.
285. (left) This photo was taken in New York City in 1928, shortly before Pilar and Rosario Felix returned to the Philippines. She came to work as a nurse in 1913 to 1914. He went to Hawaii at the same time. Their son Manuel was born in New York City. (right) This photo, taken in Chicago in 1978, shows Manuel with his own family. Manuel returned to the United States in the mid-1970s, and his daughters are all United States citizens because Manuel was born in the United States.
286. Filipinos were not exempt from exclusionist feelings in the United States. One of the most effective measures used to prevent their entry was legislation making them aliens. On March 24, 1934, Congress did this by passing the Tydings-McDuffie law, which provided full independence to the Philippines. Although the Philippines gained political independence, the United States retained economic control. Filipino entry into the United States was limited to 50 per year; American entry into the Philippines remained unlimited. This passport, issued to Aurea Duran Ordona, was one of only 50 issued in 1937 under the new quota system.

287. Filipinos have been part of the United States Armed Forces since 1909. Prior to the outbreak of World War I, the Navy recruited young men close to the Navy installation on Luzon. The terms of their enlistment made them stewards, and in a few years, Filipino stewards became some of the Navy's finest cooks. By 1930 an estimated 25,000 Filipinos served as Navy enlistees, and many of them would complete more than 20 years of military service. Others, like this unidentified sailor, joined the United States Coast Guard and served that branch with pride and distinction.

288. Although many parts of the Filipino culture have been Americanized, music still has its own *Pinoy* (a term Filipinos use in referring to themselves) touch. Whether in informal orchestras or in field ensembles, *Pinoys* play their inimitable interpretation of *juss* (jazz) through swing, fox trot or Latin arrangements. This photo shows Inez Cayaban and her husband as they entertained servicemen and women during World War II. The Sampaquita Girls and the USO sponsored their tour. She was a nurse, and he was one of the first Filipinos to graduate from the University of Hawaii. The others in the troupe are either members of their family or *sakadas* (indentured workers from the Philippines).

289. The aftermath of World War II, which had stopped all travel to the United States, brought a new group of Filipinos to the United States. Those post-war arrivals included United States citizens, military personnel and their dependents, students and exchange workers. It also included the war brides of *Pinoy* (a term Filipinos use in referring to themselves) soldiers, who, having served in the United States Armed Forces, had become citizens.

290. As their numbers grew in the United States, the *Pinoy* (a term Filipinos use in referring to themselves) labor force also developed a significant group of self-employed operators of service businesses, such as Placido Lazaro's Los Filipinos Tailoring Shop, which catered to the impeccable *Pinoy* taste in Stockton, California, during the 1930s. Some had businesses that sold Philippine-imported handmade goods, while others sold insurance; these entrepreneurs were often women. It was also women who broke the discrimination barrier by getting jobs in European American-owned retail stores.

291. An American Federation of Labor charter was granted in 1934 to the Cannery Workers' and Farm Laborers' Union, Local No. 18257, founded June 19, 1933. Among the charter members seated (left to right) were secretary Cornelio B. (Joe) Mislang, president Virgilio S. Duyungan, Apolonio E. Espiritu and Frank Alonzo (Emiliano A. Francisco). Standing were treasurer Antonio G. (Tony) Rodrigo, Victor Carreon and Frank Cabrales. These men were among those who organized and helped establish the first Alaskan fish cannery union solely to protect the interests of the *Pinoy* (a term Filipinos use in referring to themselves).

292. It has been said that if two *Pinoys* (a term Filipinos use in referring to themselves) get together, they form a club; add a third, and they immediately organize a Filipino community. The sense of community among persons of Filipino ancestry has been strongly evident in the United States since 1870, when the very first Filipino social club, the Hispano-Filipino Benevolent Society of New Orleans, was formed. This float was one of many floats that took part in a Filipino Day Parade in Salinas, California, about 1925.

293. Marina Estrella Espina, full librarian and head, Education/Psychology Department, Earl K. Long Library, University of New Orleans, immigrated to the United States with her family in 1967. While working on her M.A. in sociology, she uncovered the fact that Filipinos immigrated to Louisiana in 1763, almost 140 years before their arrival on the West Coast. Regarded as one of the nation's leading scholars on early Filipino history in America, she is widely published and very active in professional and civic affairs. In June 1990, sponsored by the United Nations Development Program, she lectured in the Philippines on early United States–Philippine relations and trends in librarianship.

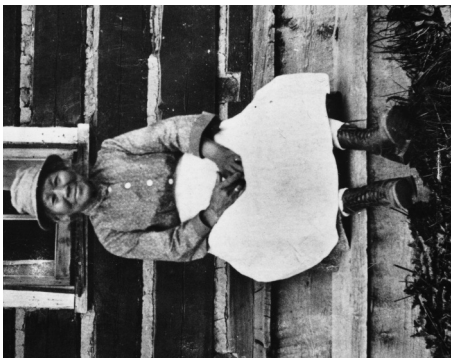
294. Jacinto E. Esmele, the youngest of eight children, was born August 16, 1896. His father was a poor rice farmer in a tiny *barrio* in Masinloc, Zambales, Philippines, and the family sacrificed to send the boy to school. Joining the Navy, he arrived in the United States in 1916. After his discharge he returned to school, graduating from Louisiana State University in 1924 with a B.S. in sugar engineering. He received his M.S. the following year. He founded the Dixie Chemical Company, Inc., and the Gulf Trapping Company in 1930. He took part in many activities benefiting the Filipino community. In 1948 he was a prime force in establishing the Philippine Consulate in New Orleans and in securing passage of the Rogers Bill (HR 4073), which provided benefits to Filipino war veterans. In 1964 he became president of the Agri-Chemical Corporation. He retired in 1973.

Note: Information on photographs 283–292 derived from Cordova, Fred, *Filipinos, Forgotten Asian Americans: A Pictorial Essay, 1763–c. 1963*, Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1983.

260

Sam Lee

261



Polly Bemis (Lalu Nathoy)

262

Chinese family

263

Railroad workers

264

Camp cooks and miner carrying a rocker

265

A Chinese congregation in Honolulu

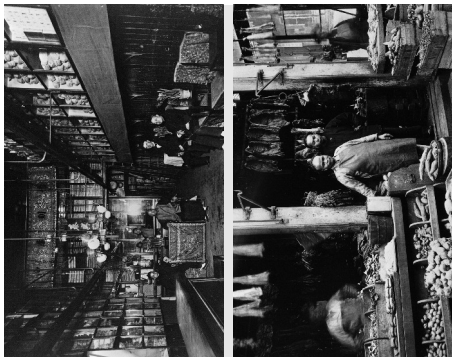
266

Picking olives

267

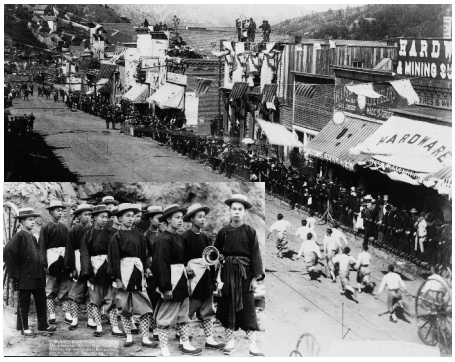
Children selling abalone shells

268



Dry goods and grocery stores

269



Hub-to-hub race

270

Burial service of High Lee

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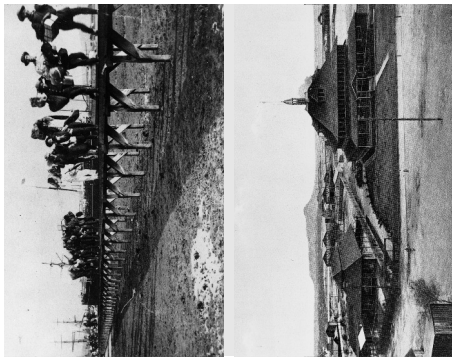

Crossing to the Immigration Station

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Japanese woman and child

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Japanese family working in Hawaii

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Kuwata family

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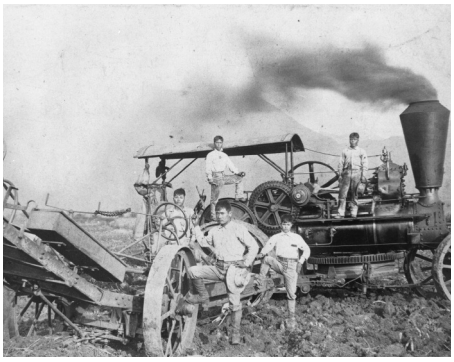

Laborers and a steam plow

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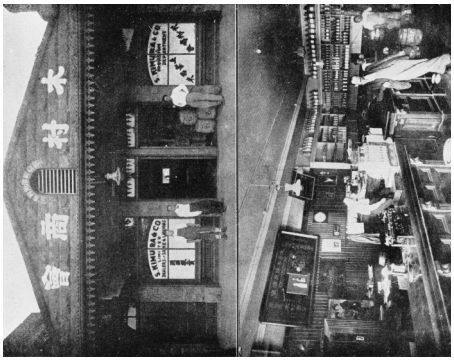

Saiji Kimura's store

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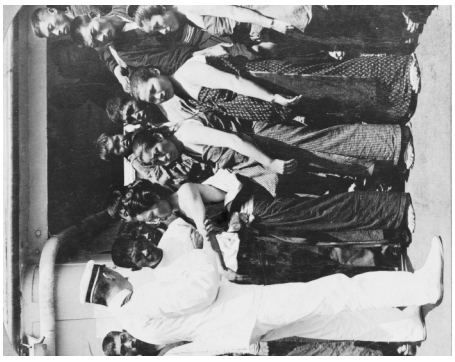

Japanese "picture brides"

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Rihei Onishi

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Rice fields in Texas

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Kikumatsu and Shige Togasaki

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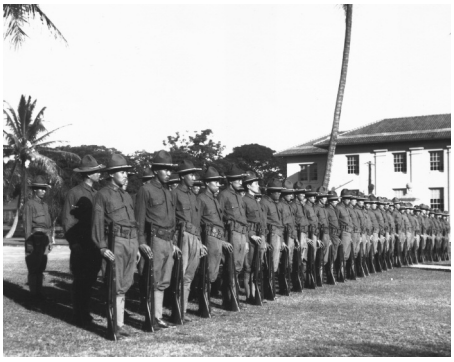

Company D, 1st Regiment

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Genotsuke Kodani

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Bibiana Montante Laigo Castillano

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Two students

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The Felix families

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Aurea Duran Ordona

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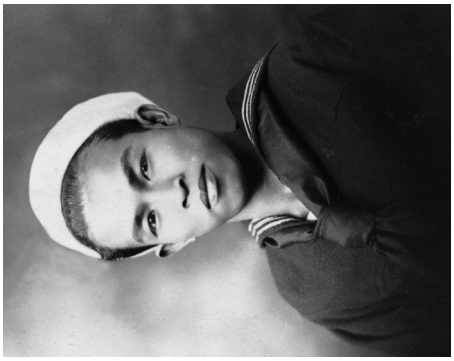

Filipino sailor

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Inez Cayaban

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Filipino war brides

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Filipino tailoring shop

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Cannery Workers' Union

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Filipino Day Parade, Salinas, California

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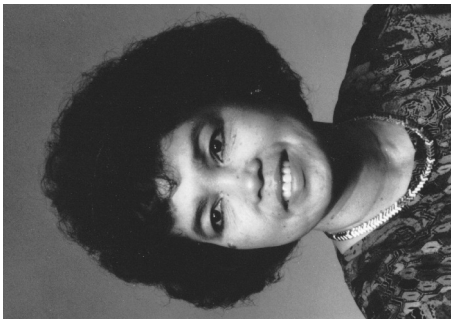

Marina E. Espina

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Jacinto Esmele

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top left Early Chinese immigrant family. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, photo 1905.2 Por 29

top right Japanese "picture brides" being vaccinated on board a ship en route to the United States in 1904. Library of Congress, photo LC-US262-15538

bottom left Genotsuke Kodani, a marine biologist from Japan and founder of the Point Lobos Canning Company in Monterey, California, standing amid a pile of abalone shells. The Eugene Kodani Collection, The National Japanese Historical Society, photo 201

bottom right Placido Lazaro's Los Filipinos Tailoring Shop, in Stockton, California, 1930s. *Filipinos, Forgotten Asian Americans: A Pictorial Essay, 1763–c. 1963*, page 111

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The Portfolio Project, Inc., photo 43

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