



*Finding a Path Forward*

**ASIAN AMERICAN  
PACIFIC ISLANDER**

**NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS THEME STUDY**

*Franklin Odo, Editor*





*Finding a Path Forward*

**ASIAN AMERICAN  
PACIFIC ISLANDER**

**NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS THEME STUDY**

*Franklin Odo, Editor*



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## Essay 1

Asian Americans and Pacific Islander Americans Revisited:  
An Introduction to the National Historic Landmark Theme Study  
*Franklin Odo*

## Essay 2

Imperialism and Migration  
*Gary Y. Okihiro*

## Essay 3

A Sea of Islands: Early Foundations and Mobilities of Pacific Islanders  
*Amy Stillman*

## Essay 4

Archaeological Research on Asian Americans  
*Douglas E. Ross*

## Essay 5

Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance, 1800s-1940s  
*Erika Lee*

## Essay 6

Establishing Communities, 1848-1941  
*Nayan Shah*

## Essay 7

Reframe, Recognize, and Retell: Asian Americans and National Historic Sites  
*Dorothy Fujita-Rony*

## Essay 8

Asian American Businesses, 1848 to 2015: Accommodation and Eclectic Innovation  
*Lane Ryo Hirabayashi*

## Essay 9

The Architectural Legacy of Japanese America  
*Gail Dubrow*

**Essay 10**

Sites of Resistance to Imperialism

*Davianna Pomaika 'i McGregor*

**Essay 11**

Asian Americans and World War II

*Brian Niiya*

**Essay 12**

Asian Americans: The Cold War

*Rick Baldoz*

**Essay 13**

Pacific Islanders in the U.S. and their Heritage: Making Visible the Visibly Absent

*Kelly G. Marsh and Tiara R. Na'puti*

**Essay 14**

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders and Cultural Retention/Assimilation

*Mary Yu Danico*

**Essay 15**

Asian American Activism and Civic Participation:  
Battling for Political Rights and Citizenship, 1917 to the Present

*Daryl Joji Maeda*

**Essay 16**

Asian Immigrants and Refugees:  
Demographic Transformations in the United States from World War II to the Present

*Linda Trinh Võ*

**Essay 17**

New Asian American Communities: Building and Dismantling

*Catherine Ceniza Choy*

**Essay 18**

AAPI Political Mobilization and Participation

*Kim Geron*

**Essay 19**

Registration Requirements for Designating  
AAPI Properties National Historic Landmarks



## Essay 1



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

Franklin Odo

*Department of American Studies, Amherst College*

**I**n *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.”<sup>1</sup> 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

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup> This volume, then, foregrounds “place” as crucial variables 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 Landmark program.<sup>5</sup> The National Register lists properties that are important to cities, states, and the nation, while the National Historic Landmark (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.<sup>6</sup> 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 Jewel 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.<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup> 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 communi-

ties 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 marks the centennial of the establishment of the NPS in an act signed by President Woodrow Wilson. The NPS includes 413 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.<sup>12</sup> 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 pop-

ulation 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

### 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 who 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



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

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 serious and 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 nineteenth 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 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



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

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

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 Amer-

ican 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



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.

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.

Imperialism and colonialism constitute central themes in Erika Lee's essay "Immigration, Exclusion,



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.

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 new 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. Pāgat 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, Pāgat 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 Pāgat was deemed sacrilegious and provoked a firestorm of protest from indigenous Chamorros. The military backed down and is now considering other sites. Pāgat was listed by the National Park Service on the National Register of Historic Places in 1974. McGregor also uses the example of Kaho‘olawe, 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, led by Native Hawaiians finally succeeded in 1994 when the U.S. Navy signed title for Kaho‘olawe over to the Hawai‘i 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 neighbor-

hoods, 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 Hawai‘i, 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 Hawai‘i, 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 Hawai‘i where returning veterans were supported by a large and organized labor union work force. But the



**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 Kaho‘olawe. 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.

astounding 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 even from tributary stories? 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 section.

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 out-gunned 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 archeology 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 of Japanese gardens and buildings across



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

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 and their listing in the National Register of Historic Places. To that end, the concluding chapter of this collection addresses the potential for National Historic Landmark and National Register of Historic Places listing 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 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," *Wicazo Sa Review*, Vol. 24, No. 2, Native Feminism (FALL 2009), p. 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 Division, 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 Advisor, 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," *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](http://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 Hawaii, 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](http://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 new Teaching with Historic Places website: [http://nps.gov/subjects/teachingwithhistoricplaces/lesson-plan\\_iolani-palace.htm](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."

## Bibliography

- Azuma, Eiichiro, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America*. NY: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Bronner, Simon, ed. *Lafcadio Hearn's America: Ethnographic Sketches and Editorials*. Louisville, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2002.
- Danico, Mary, ed., *Asian American Society: An Encyclopedia*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2015.
- Foote, Kenneth, *Shadowed Ground: America's Aós Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*. Austin: University of Texas, 1997.
- Hayden, Dolores, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995.
- Ling, Huping and Allan Austin, eds., *Asian American History and Culture: An Encyclopedia*. NY: Routledge, 2010.
- David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*. NY: Cambridge University Press, 1985
- Maira, Sunaina 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.
- Murray, Alice Yang, *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.
- Page, Max and Marla Miller, eds., *Bending the Future: 50 Ideas for the Next 50 Years of Historic Preservation in the United States*.
- Pew Research Center, "The Rise of Asian Americans," Updated Edition, Washington, DC: 2014.
- Pfaelzer, Jean, *Driven Out: The Forgotten War Against Chinese Americans*. NY: Random House, 2007.
- Rosenzweig, Roy and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life*. NY: Columbia University Press, 1998.
- Silva, Noenoe, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004,
- Wyatt, Barbara, ed., *Japanese Americans in World War II: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Interior, 2012.
- Yoo, David and Eiichiro Azuma, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Asian American History*. NY: Oxford University Press, 2016.

PUCK



FROM THE CAPE TO CAIRO.

THOUGH THE PROCESS BE COSTLY, THE ROAD OF PROGRESS MUST BE CUT.

© 1881 PUCK MAGAZINE

## Essay 2



# Imperialism and Migration

Gary Y. Okihiro

*Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race, Columbia University*

**T**he 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 over 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



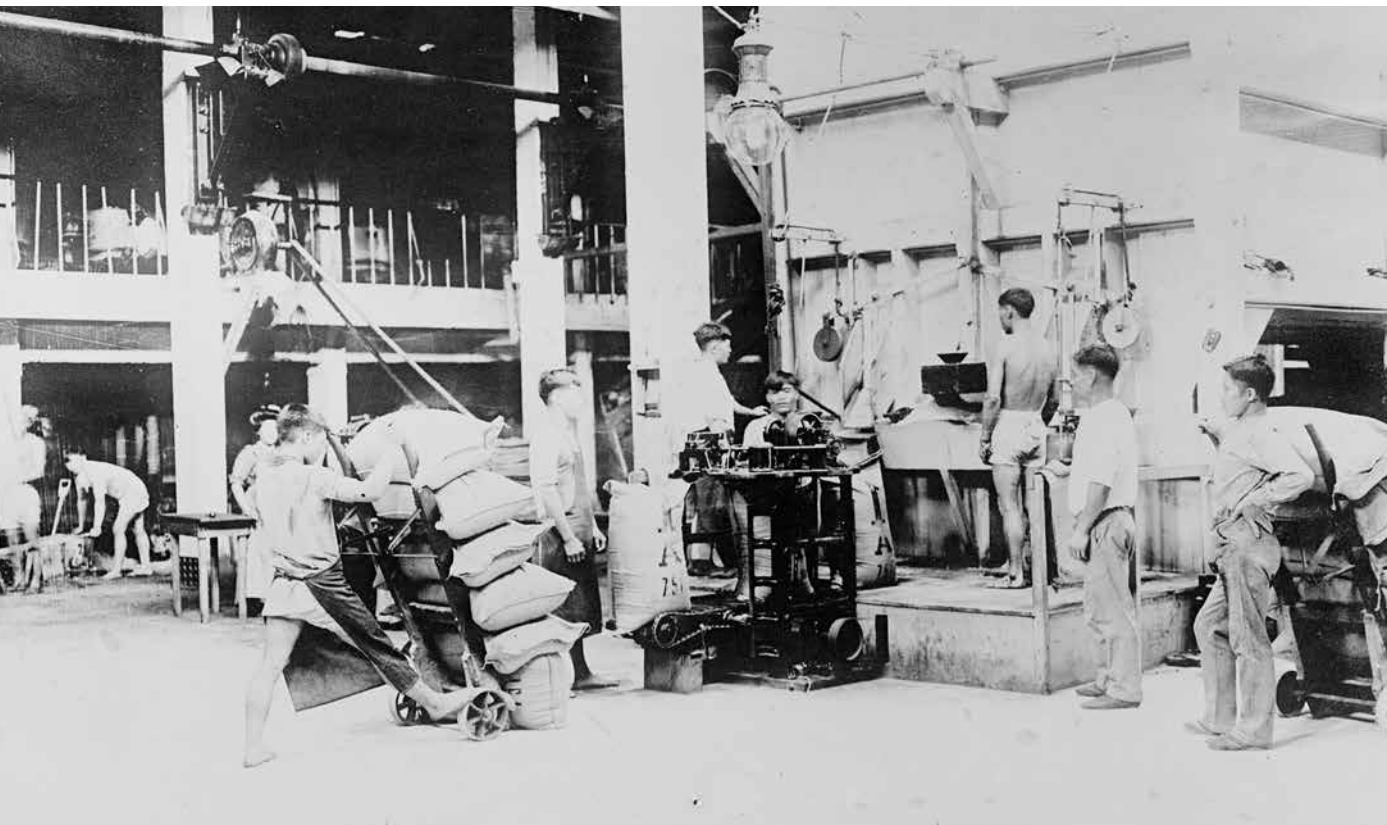
American Indians, Chinese, Filipinos, and mestizos. From New Spain, some Filipinos and possibly Mexicans sailed into the Gulf and fished Louisiana's southeastern coast as early as 1765, before the United States declared its independence from England.

### 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 Hawai'i's sugar plantations; and traffickers captured Melanesians and



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. Illustration published in Boston, July 29, 1871; courtesy of the Library of Congress

Polynesians and sold them to planters in Australia and Peru.

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 through 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.

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.<sup>2</sup>

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.



**“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.



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.

### United States

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

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 flourished 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 indentured servants 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. Indentured, 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

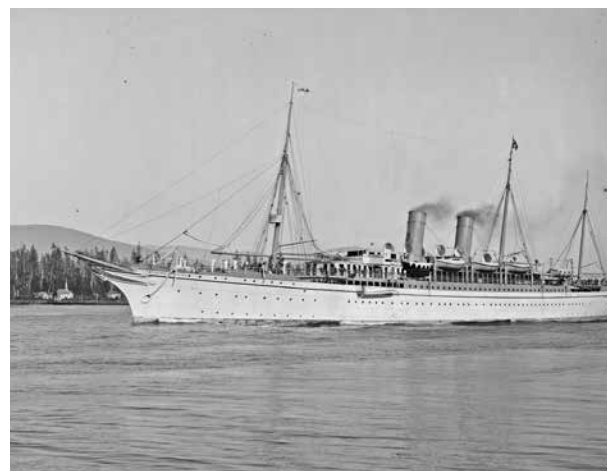
The new nation-state declared its independence on July 4, 1776 and promptly sought its destiny not only in westward conquests of Indian country but also in Asia across the seas, tracing the footsteps of Spain and the British East India Company.

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 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,



The steamship *Empress of China* was originally built as a privateer, and was refitted as a merchant vessel after the Treaty of Paris. Its maiden voyage in 1784 marked the beginning of American-Chinese trade relations. Photograph published by the Detroit Publishing Co., c.1900; courtesy of the Library of Congress.

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 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.

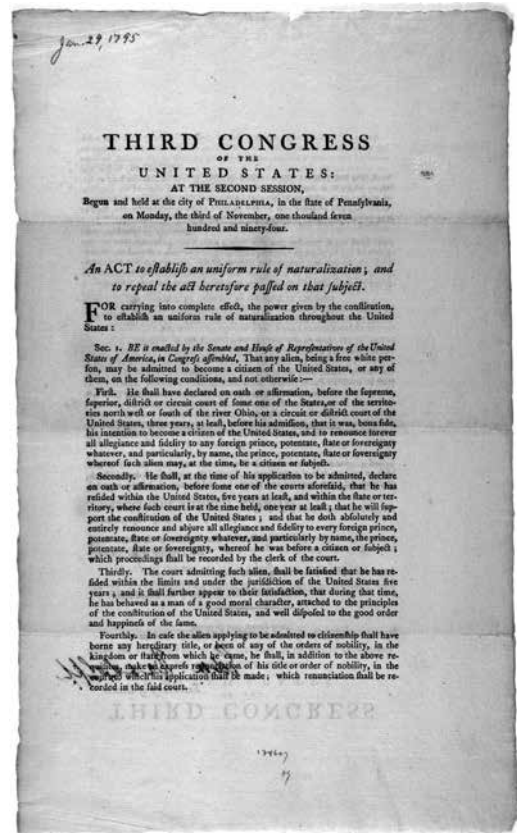
In the 1790s, South Asians with given English names—John Ballay, Joseph Green, George Jimor, and Thomas Robinson—arrived in Boston, Salem, and Philadelphia. Some served their indentures; others were sold and bought as slaves. Upon attaining their freedom, the men perhaps married African American women 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 Consti-



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.

tution, “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 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, California’s supreme court 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



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.

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.

### 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."<sup>3</sup> 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. Various estimates range from 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



"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; photo courtesy of the Library of Congress.



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: 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."<sup>4</sup>

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



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.

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 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. On 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.”<sup>5</sup> 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,



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.

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 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, Alfred Thayer Mahan argued in his widely read *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890), reveal 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’?”<sup>6</sup>

### 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."<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup> 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...desecrate their church property...looted everything in sight, burning,

robbing the graves.”

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 words of a chief justice of the Supreme

Court. 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 near 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, their Oceania, and as an imagined immanent 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 many in Congress.

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

Kaplan, Amy. *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Reddy, Sujani K. *Nursing & Empire: Gendered Labor and Migration From India to the United States*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015.

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

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

Stratton, Clif. *Education for Empire: American Schools, Race, and the Paths of Good Citizenship*. Berkeley: University of California Press 2016.

Strong, Josiah. *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis*. New York: Baker & Taylor, 1885.

Sturdevant, Sandra Pollock and Brenda Stoltzfus (eds.) *Let the Good Times Roll: Prostitution and the U.S. Military in Asia*. New York: New Press, 1992.

Yun, Lisa. *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indentured Laborers and African Slaves of Cuba*.

Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008.

## Bibliography

Bederman, Gail. *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Bender, Daniel E. and Jana K. Lipman (eds.) *Making the Empire Work: Labor and United States Imperialism*. New York: New York University Press, 2015.

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

Daws, Gavan. *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986.

Hoganson, Kristin L. *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.

Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2000.



National Park Service  
U.S. Department of the Interior

Cultural Resources, Partnerships, and Science Directorate  
1849 C Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20240

[www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/index.htm](http://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/index.htm)



EXPERIENCE YOUR AMERICA™