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The History and Immigration of Asian Americans

Edited with introductions by
Franklin Ng
California State University – Fresno



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Series Introduction

As the fastest growing segment of the U.S. population since the mid-1960s, Asian Americans encompass Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Asian Indians, Pakistanis, Sri Lankans, Bangladeshis, Vietnamese, Lao, Hmong, Cambodians, Iu-Mien, and others. Their remarkably diverse ethnic, social, historical, and religious backgrounds and experiences enrich the cultural fabric of the United States. The study of Asian Americans offers many insights on such issues as immigration, refugee policy, transnationalism, return migration, cultural citizenship, ethnic communities, community building, identity and group formation, panethnicity, race relations, gender and class, entrepreneurship, employment, representation, politics, adaptation, and acculturation.

This collection of articles presents contemporary research that examines such issues as the growing political power of Asian Americans, the empowerment of emigrant women, the rise of youth gangs, relations between ethnic groups, the migration of highly educated Asians, and other important subjects. The writings are drawn from a wide variety of disciplines to provide a broad but informative array of insights on this fascinating and diverse population. The volumes give in-depth exposure to important issues linked to the different communities and impart a greater understanding of Asian Americans in the United States.

This series consists of six volumes, and its coverage cuts across many disciplines. The first volume focuses on the history and immigration of Asian Americans. The second volume treats various themes relating to Asian American family life and community. The third volume is complementary and considers vital issues pertaining to Asian American women and gender. A fourth volume explores the processes of adaptation and acculturation, as well as the continuing significance of transnational ties for Asian Americans. The fifth volume addresses the complex subject of interethnic relations and Asian American politics. Finally, the last volume examines issues associated with labor, employment, entrepreneurship, enclave economies, and socioeconomic status.

In preparing this anthology, I have had help from many individuals. I would especially like to acknowledge assistance from Leo Balk, Paul Finkelman, and Carole Puccino. Their patience, encouragement, and guidance helped to ensure the success of this project.

Volume Introduction

Asians have long been a part of the American mosaic, but few people are aware of this history. Like other immigrants, Asians were attracted to America by the opportunities for employment in the continental United States and Hawaii. Economic and political conditions in their homelands also played a role in persuading them to emigrate. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Chinese came in large numbers to mine for gold in California. As time passed, many sought jobs working for the railroads, in agriculture and fishing, and in industry in general as they fanned out throughout the American West. The Chinese also established communities in the East, Midwest, and the South.

Their presence gave rise to a virulent anti-Chinese movement in the nineteenth century. Various regions enacted statutes and ordinances at the local, county, and state levels against the Chinese. In California, the Chinese were not permitted to testify in court and in San Francisco had to attend segregated schools. They faced discriminatory laws that tried to drive them out of laundries and other occupations. In 1882, the United States passed legislation that essentially excluded most Chinese immigration. This legislation was periodically renewed until 1904 when it was made permanent.

Although the Chinese were excluded, labor was still needed in the development of the American West. In a cycle of ethnic succession, Japanese, Filipinos, Asian Indians, and Koreans all arrived to work in the United States. All of them were similar to the Chinese in that they all encountered discrimination and exclusion. The Asian Indians were excluded in 1917, while the Japanese and Koreans were excluded in 1924. By the 1930s, only the Filipinos were allowed a small quota of immigrants to the United States. On the other hand, naturalization was denied to all of them because of a federal law of 1790 which restricted it to whites. Angel Island, the site of entry and detention for many from 1910 to 1940, symbolized well the contrast in America's attitude to the Asians. While Ellis Island and the Statue of Liberty beckoned to European immigrants, Asians were interrogated, detained, and sometimes turned back across the Pacific.

The immigration statutes and the discriminatory laws had important consequences for the Asian immigrants. Although the Asians tried to resist these measures, their communities were affected by these enactments. Partly because of

cultural practices, but also because of an awareness of the inhospitable climate in the U.S., Asian communities were primarily male in composition. The Chinese men, for example, often left their wives back in their home villages while they labored in this country. Antimiscegenation laws in some of the states, which forbade interracial marriage, also conspired to keep many men as bachelors. The Japanese, who had the practice of picture brides, had the most balanced male and female composition of all the Asian immigrant groups.

World War II and its aftermath marked the major watershed for the Asians in America. With China as a major wartime ally, the United States decided in 1943 to grant the Chinese a modest quota for immigration and to allow those of the first generation in this country to naturalize for citizenship. In 1946, immigration and naturalization for the first generation was also extended to the Filipinos and Asian Indians. In 1952, the McCarran-Walter Act tried to systematize immigration for Asians. Japanese and Korean immigrants were now given a quota for immigration and were permitted to naturalize as well. The War Brides Act of 1945, the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, and the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 also helped to allow women and refugees entry into this country.

More change was yet to come. The Immigration Act of 1965 offered opportunities for more Asians to enter. It was a way of redressing past discrimination and promoting family reunification. There were also provisions permitting different categories of immigrants and professionals to enter this country. The larger numbers of Asians then led to the rise of the Asian population in the United States. Because the numbers had been so small to begin with, most Asian groups now became primarily foreign-born in composition. Only the Japanese were mostly American-born. The end of the Vietnam War in 1975 also led to an influx of refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. These new arrivals, both immigrants and refugees, changed the cultural landscape of the United States as they settled in cities and suburbs.

Several articles in this volume provide insight on the history and immigration of Asians to the United States. Sucheng Chan gives a useful introduction to the literature about the Asian American experience, while Roger Daniels describes the changes in immigration legislation and nativism that took place after 1924. My essay discusses the practice of sojourning back to the homeland by the Chinese, an occurrence that can be found historically among many immigrant groups besides Asians. Two articles treat less known aspects of the Asian American experience. John Whitehead notes the curious omission of Hawaii from the history of the American West despite its important roles in the past and the present. Gary Hess sheds light on Asian Indians, a group that has sometimes been neglected in studies of the Asian American experience.

The Immigration Act of 1965 promoted family reunification and admitted skilled professionals. John M. Liu, Paul M. Ong, and Carolyn Rosenstein point out that its provisions led to dual chain immigration, which has had consequences for various Filipino communities. An interesting development recently has been the return of some Chinese immigrants to seek marriage partners in the Taishan area of Guangdong. Xingci Wu and Zhen Li probe the reasons why this is happening and analyze the composition of those who seek these transpacific marriages. As the economies of Asia have industrialized, there has been a global integration of higher education based on the

Western model. Paul M. Ong, Lucie Cheng, and Leslie Evans examine how this is connected to the migration of highly educated Asians in a global labor market.

Since the Vietnam war, new Southeast Asian populations have become a part of the American cultural mosaic. They include the Vietnamese, Cambodians, Lao, Hmong, and Iu-Mien. Astri Suhrke offers insights as to how refugee status is granted, while Jacqueline Desbarats analyzes the patterns of refugee distribution and resettlement in the United States. Finally, Morrison G. Wong offers a convenient overview of the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the post-1965 Asian immigrants and refugees.

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Asian American Historiography

Sucheng Chan

The author is a member of the Asian American studies department in the University of California, Santa Barbara.

Writings about Asians in America have appeared since the Chinese—the first group of Asians to enter the United States in sizable numbers—arrived in the middle of the nineteenth century. The Asian American historiographical tradition is thus one and a half centuries old. It may be divided into four periods. The first, characterized by partisanship, lasted from the 1870s to the early 1920s. The second, from the 1920s to the 1960s, was dominated by social scientists. The third, during which revisionist works appeared, extended from the 1960s to the early 1980s. Only in the fourth period, which began in the early 1980s, have professional historians played a leading role in creating historical knowledge about Asian Americans.

Though virtually none of the studies published during the first three periods were written by historians, they nevertheless are of historical interest because they reflect the temper of the times in which they were produced. Authored by missionaries, diplomats, politicians, labor leaders, journalists, propagandists, and scholars trained in sociology, economics, social psychology, and political science, this literature is quite voluminous. I shall identify its salient features before turning my attention to books published in the last fifteen years.¹

1. Earlier historiographical assessments include Roger Daniels, "Westerners from the East: Oriental Immigrants Appraised," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXV (1966),

The first books about Asians in the United States were highly partisan because the immigration of Chinese and Japanese was enormously controversial. Missionaries William Speer and Otis Gibson and diplomat George F. Seward, who had all worked in China, were the most vocal defenders of Chinese immigration.² They tried to calm American fears about the growing Chinese presence in the United States by discussing various facets of Chinese civilization and by depicting the Chinese as a hard-working, harmless people. A number of Chinese diplomats and community leaders in the United States also published writings (in English) to promote a positive image of the Chinese.³ Arrayed against them were such anti-Chinese writers as M. B. Starr, Pierton W. Dooner, and Robert Wolton, whose sensationalist accounts kindled anxieties about a potential Yellow Peril invasion.⁴ Anti-Chinese feelings were so strong that it was impossible to discuss Chinese immigration without betraying where one stood. Even the first scholarly work in Asian American history, *Chinese Immigration* by sociologist Mary Roberts Coolidge, published in 1909, was openly partisan (Coolidge was pro-Chinese).⁵

No sooner had exclusionary laws begun to reduce the number of Chinese in the United States than Japanese immigration became an issue and a second set of partisan authors appeared. Sidney L. Gulick, a former missionary in Japan and an activist in the peace movement during the World War I era, defended the Japanese influx in numerous books, articles, and pamphlets.⁶

373–383; Daniels, “American Historians and East Asian Immigrants,” *ibid.*, XLIII (1974), 449–472; and Shirley Hune, *Pacific Migration to the United States: Trends and Themes in Historical and Sociological Literature* (Washington, D.C., 1977).

2. William Speer, *The Oldest and Newest Empire* (Cincinnati, 1870); Otis Gibson, *The Chinese in America* (Cincinnati, 1877); and George F. Seward, *Chinese Immigration in Its Social and Economic Aspects* (New York, 1881).

3. K. Scott Wong, “Cultural Defenders and Brokers: Chinese Responses to the Anti-Chinese Movement,” in K. Scott Wong and Sucheng Chan, eds., *Claiming America: Constructing Chinese American Identities during the Exclusion Era* (forthcoming).

4. M.B. Starr, *The Coming Struggle* (San Francisco, 1873); Pierton W. Dooner, *Last Days of the Republic* (San Francisco, 1880); and Robert Wolton, *A Short and Truthful History of the Taking of Oregon and California by the Chinese in the Year A.D. 1899* (San Francisco, 1882).

5. Mary Roberts Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York, 1909).

6. The most important of these works were Sidney L. Gulick, *The American*

He was joined in his efforts by Japanese writers fluent in English.⁷ The most scholarly among them was Yamato Ichihashi of Stanford University, who marshalled an impressive amount of information to persuade the American public that the Japanese were assimilating (contrary to popular assumptions) and were not causing any problems.⁸ In countering the charges against their countrymen, these well-educated Japanese writers revealed a strong class bias. They tried to placate Euro-Americans by insisting that while Japanese immigrant laborers might indeed behave objectionably, higher-class Japanese like themselves were just as refined as Euro-Americans and should therefore be welcomed.

Works pitted against continued Japanese immigration came in the form of sociological studies, novels, and propaganda tracts by writers as diverse as Homer Lea, Montaville Flowers, Jesse F. Steiner, Lothrop Stoddard, Wallace Irwin, Peter B. Kyne, and V.S. McClatchy. Each articulated a great fear—images of an America overrun by Japanese, whom the authors recognized were not an inferior race.⁹ Precisely because these

Japanese Problem (New York, 1914); and Gulick, *American Democracy and Asiatic Citizenship* (New York, 1918).

7. These include Kiyoshi Karl Kawakami, *Asia at the Door: A Study of the Japanese Question in Continental United States, Hawaii and Canada* (New York, 1914); Kawakami, *The Real Japanese Question* (New York, 1921); Kiichi Kanzaki, *California and the Japanese* (San Francisco, 1921); T. Iyenaga and Kenoske Sato, *Japan and the California Problem* (New York, 1921); Iichiro Tokutomi, *Japanese-American Relations* (New York, 1922); and Kiyo Sue Inui, *The Unsolved Problem of the Pacific: A Survey of International Contacts, Especially in Frontier Communities, with Special Emphasis upon California* (Tokyo, 1925). Kawakami was a prolific writer and propagandist; Kanzaki was general secretary of the Japanese Association of America; Iyenaga and Sato were political scientists who had taught and studied, respectively, at the University of Chicago; Tokutomi was a member of Japan's House of Peers and editor-in-chief of the newspaper, *Kokumin Shimbun*; while Inui had taught international relations at Occidental College, the University of Southern California, and Tokyo University and had served as one of Japan's delegates to the League of Nations.

8. Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese Immigration: Its Status in California* (San Francisco, 1915); and Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States* (Stanford, Calif., 1932).

9. Homer Lea, *The Valor of Ignorance* (New York, 1909); Montaville Flowers, *The Japanese Conquest of American Opinion* (New York, 1917); Jesse F. Steiner, *The Japanese Invasion: A Study in the Psychology of Inter-Racial Contacts* (Chicago, 1917); Lothrop Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color against White World-Supremacy* (New York, 1920); Wallace Irwin, *Seed of the Sun* (New York, 1920); Peter B. Kyne, *The Pride of Palomar* (New York, 1921); and V.S. McClatchy, "Japanese Immigration and Colonization: Skeleton Brief," 67 Cong., 1 sess., *Sen. Doc. 55* (1921).

anti-Japanese spokespersons could not be certain whether Euro-Americans or Japanese would win in a "race war," they wanted to make sure that the racial frontier along the Pacific Coast would remain impregnable. In their view, Japanese immigrants, however small their numbers, could not be allowed to establish even the tiniest foothold along the American and Canadian shores of the Pacific.

Books published during the second historiographical period were less impassioned. Written mainly by social scientists, they concentrated on three topics: the assimilation of Asian Americans, the social organization of Asian communities in America, and the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II.

The most notable studies on assimilation were done by sociologists affiliated with the University of Chicago. Robert E. Park, the leading light in the sociology department at Chicago, hypothesized that all immigrants passed through a race relations cycle consisting of four stages of interaction with the host society: contact, competition, accommodation, and assimilation. Only two groups did not fit this paradigm—African Americans and Asian Americans. Park and his colleagues thus were intrigued by the "Negro problem" and the "Oriental problem." Their chance to investigate the latter came in late 1923, when Park was appointed the director of research for the Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast—a project initiated by the Institute of Social and Religious Research to improve race relations by gathering "objective" data. The project never achieved its goal due to a shortage of funds and opposition from anti-Asian groups. However, several books based on the information collected were published by sociologists William C. Smith, Roderic D. McKenzie, Emory Bogardus, and Eliot Grinnell Mears, who understood quite well the dilemma faced by the "Orientals" they studied.¹⁰ As Romanzo Adams put it in a pref-

10. William C. Smith, *The Second Generation-Oriental in America* (Honolulu, 1927); Roderic D. McKenzie, *Oriental Exclusion: The Effect of American Immigration Laws, Regulations, and Judicial Decisions upon the Chinese and Japanese on the American Pacific Coast* (Chicago, 1928); Emory S. Bogardus, *Immigration and Race Attitudes* (Boston, 1928); William C. Smith, *Americans in Process: A Study of Our Citizens of Oriental Ancestry* (Ann Arbor, 1937); and Eliot Grinnell Mears, *Resident Orientals on the*

ace he wrote for one of Smith's books, "The real question is not one of the capacity of the Orientals, but of our ability to give them a fair opportunity. . . . America should understand the young men and women of Oriental ancestry . . . have been born in our own country. . . . These young people are American citizens. . . . [They] are a part of us. . . . Whether they shall make their due contribution to American life or whether they shall be an irritant depends largely on the way Americans of the older stock meet them."¹¹

The Chicago School's immense intellectual influence can also be seen in more than a dozen M.A. theses and Ph.D. dissertations on Filipino immigrant life written by graduate students under the mentorship of Emory Bogardus at the University of Southern California, in two books on Filipinos by Bruno Lasker and Paul G. Cressey, in several studies done in Hawaii by Romanzo Adams, Andrew W. Lind, and Clarence E. Glick; and in a sociology dissertation on Chicago's Chinese laundrymen by Paul C.P. Siu.¹² These sociological studies are pertinent to Asian American historiography because they have themselves become valuable historical documents.

Educational psychologists at Stanford University also produced several important studies about the adaptation of Asian Americans in the 1930s. Edward K. Strong, Jr., and Reginald Bell reported that the general abilities of Asian students were not inferior to those of Euro-American students.¹³ However,

American Pacific Coast: Their Legal and Economic Status (New York, 1928). The Survey of Race Relations collected several hundred life histories and reams of miscellaneous information. These materials are housed at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace located at Stanford University.

11. Romanzo Adams, "Introduction," in Smith, *Americans in Process*, xii-xiv.

12. Bruno Lasker, *Filipino Immigration to Continental United States and to Hawaii* (Chicago, 1931); Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi Dance Hall: A Sociological Study in Commercialized Recreation and City Life* (Chicago, 1932); Romanzo C. Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii* (New York, 1937); Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii* (Chicago, 1938); Clarence E. Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers: Chinese Migrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1980); and Paul C.P. Siu, *The Chinese Laundryman: A Study of Social Isolation* (New York, 1987). Though not published until the 1980s, Glick's dissertation was completed in 1938, while Siu, who had begun his research in 1938, submitted his dissertation in 1953.

13. Edward K. Strong, Jr., and Reginald Bell, *Vocational Aptitudes of Second-Generation Japanese in the United States* (Stanford, Calif., 1933); Edward K. Strong, Jr., *Japanese in California* (Stanford, Calif., 1933); Reginald Bell, *Public School Education*

given the prevalence of racial prejudice, Strong and Bell advised their "Oriental" students to be realistic in their career choices and to refrain from applying for jobs for which they would not be considered.

A second topic that fascinated social scientists, as well as journalists, from the 1930s through the 1960s was the social organization (more derisively called the "social pathology") of Asian ghetto communities in America.¹⁴ These studies include the earliest book-length publications by Asian American sociologists such as Rose Hum Lee and S. Frank Miyamoto who were trained at the University of Chicago.

During World War II, several teams of social scientists seized the opportunity provided by the incarceration of 112,000 persons of Japanese ancestry in so-called relocation camps to investigate how people function in confined situations. Sociologists, demographers, political scientists, and anthropologists dutifully recorded the minutiae of life behind barbed wire. The publications on this topic are voluminous but easily available. Since Roger Daniels has reviewed many of them in his 1974 essay (see note 1), they will not be discussed here.¹⁵

14. Books on this topic that are still of considerable interest include Leong Gor Yun, *Chinatown Inside Out* (New York, 1936); Charles C. Dobie, *San Francisco's Chinatown* (New York, 1936); S. Frank Miyamoto, *Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle* (Seattle, 1939); Rose Hum Lee, *The Growth and Decline of Chinese Communities in the Rocky Mountain Region* (New York, 1978); and Lee, *The Chinese in the U.S.A.* (Hong Kong, 1960). One book on Chinese American communities that does not fit into the Chicago school's intellectual mold is S.W. Kung, *Chinese in American Life: Some Aspects of Their History, Status, Problems, and Contributions* (Seattle, 1962).

15. Three groups of social scientists did research on the incarcerated Japanese Americans: one group employed by the War Relocation Authority; another associated with the Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study (JERS) directed by Dorothy Swaine Thomas of the University of California, Berkeley; and a third group called the Bureau of Sociological Research led by Alexander H. Leighton. Of the early works, Carey McWilliams, *Prejudice: Japanese Americans, Symbol of Racial Intolerance* (Boston, 1944) and Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation* (Chicago, 1949) were the most critical of the government's actions, while Dorothy S. Thomas and Richard S. Nishimoto, *The Spoilage: Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement during World War II* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946); Dorothy S. Thomas, *The Salvage* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952); and Jacobus ten Broek, Edward N. Barnhart, and Floyd W. Matson, *Prejudice, War and the Constitution: Causes and Consequences of the Evacuation of Japanese Americans in World War II* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1954) were apologists

Several books published during the second period do not fit into any of the above three categories. The *Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, by Elmer C. Sandmeyer, has the distinction of being the first major study in Asian American history written by a professional historian. It was published in 1939—nine decades after Chinese began to settle along the Pacific Coast. Seven years later, Milton R. Konvitz produced the first study in Asian American legal history. Next, Fred W. Riggs examined the political maneuvers leading to the repeal, in 1943, of the Chinese exclusion laws. Hilary Conroy followed with a book about how the Japanese government, the Hawaiian government, and American sugar planters negotiated the terms under which tens of thousands of Japanese came to work in Hawaii's sugar plantations.¹⁶

During both the first and second historiographical periods, regardless of what topic was under investigation, the Asian presence in the United States was almost invariably framed as a "problem." Because Asian Americans allegedly failed to assimilate, they were considered deficient or deviant. It was not until the early 1970s that young Asian American activists on college and university campuses rebelled against such negative portrayals of their forebears and themselves. They rejected the as-

Retrospective assessments of JERS may be found in Yuji Ichioka, ed., *Views from Within: The Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study* (Los Angeles, 1989). Other books published in the years immediately after World War II include Alexander H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men: General Principles and Recommendations Based on Experience at a Japanese Relocation Camp* (Princeton, N.J., 1945); Leonard Broom and Ruth Riemer, *Removal and Return: The Socio-Economic Effects of the War on Japanese Americans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949); and Leonard Broom and John I. Kitsuse, *The Managed Casualty: The Japanese-American Family in World War II* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956). Dillon Myer, the director of the WRA, has told his version of the story in *Uprooted Americans: The Japanese Americans and the War Relocation Authority during World War II* (Tucson, 1971). Roger Daniels's writings are especially authoritative: *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York, 1971); *The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans* (New York, 1975); and *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York, 1993). Recent revisionist analyses will be discussed below.

16. Elmer C. Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana, Ill., 1939); Milton R. Konvitz, *The Alien and the Asiatic in American Law* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1946); Fred W. Riggs, *Pressure on Congress: A Study of the Repeal of Chinese Exclusion* (New York, 1950); and Hilary Conroy, *The Japanese Frontier in Hawaii, 1868-1898* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1953).

simulationist paradigm and proposed several alternatives. One was classical Marxism, which enabled them to see Asian Americans as workers exploited by a capitalist system. A second was the internal colonialism model, which allowed them to think of Asian ethnic communities as internal colonies. A third perspective depicted Asian Americans as brothers and sisters of people in Asian nations who had suffered under Western imperialism. The second and third models addressed the same phenomenon at different geographic sites—the European and American colonization of Africa, Latin America, and Asia and their peoples, including those who had been transported to North America as immigrants, indentured migrant laborers, or slaves. According to this view, racial minorities in the United States were a “Third World within,” whose members shared a common history of oppression with people living in the “Third World without.” In their own eyes, the Asian American activists who sought to “decolonize” research and to establish ethnic studies programs during the late 1960s and 1970s were engaged in a struggle that was simultaneously anticapitalist, antiracist, and anti-imperialist.

The campus activists produced few book-length studies. The best repositories for their radical perspectives are three anthologies published by the Asian American Studies Center at UCLA and an edited volume produced by UCLA scholars.¹⁷ By emphasizing structural oppression and systemic victimization, these often polemical writings unwittingly depicted Asian Americans as mere cogs in a capitalist, racist system.

During this same period, several general histories with more moderate perspectives and emphasizing the contributions made by Asians to American history and society also appeared. Betty Lee Sung, Thomas W. Chinn, Him Mark Lai, Philip Choy, Bill Hosokawa, Harry H.L. Kitano, Francis L.K. Hsu, the editorial board of the United Japanese Society of

17. Amy Tachiki *et al.*, eds., *Roots: An Asian American Reader* (Los Angeles, 1971); Jesse Quinsaat *et al.*, eds., *Letters in Exile: An Introductory Reader on the History of Filipinos in America* (Los Angeles, 1976); Emma Gee, ed., *Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America* (Los Angeles, 1976); and Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich, eds., *Labor Immigration under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States before World War II* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984).

Hawaii, and Robert A. Wilson all pleaded for inclusiveness.¹⁸ Their books sold well as the ethnic consciousness movement spread among Asian Americans and newly established college courses in Asian American studies created a need for textbooks. However, their contributionist stance helped to keep old assimilationist assumptions alive.

The assimilation model continued to hold sway even during a time of profound and pervasive social upheaval because it resonates so deeply with the American sense of nationhood. As Philip Gleason has pointed out, America's national identity has been based not so much on such primordial sentiments as a shared ancestry, language, or religion as on a set of political values and practices. It is a peoplehood constructed primarily upon an ideological foundation.¹⁹ Since ideology can be learned and is mutable, native-born Americans assume that immigrants should be able—indeed, are morally obligated—to shed the political beliefs and cultural baggage they bring with them and to adopt the values and behavior befitting Americans.

The facile assumption that all immigrants can and should transform themselves overlooks the fact that people of color have encountered enormous hurdles—legal, political, social, and economic—whenever they have tried to enter mainstream

18. Betty Lee Sung, *Mountain of Gold: The Story of the Chinese in America* (New York, 1967); Thomas W. Chinn, Him Mark Lai, and Philip P. Choy, *A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus* (San Francisco, 1969); Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York, 1969); Harry H.L. Kitano, *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969); Francis L.K. Hsu, *The Challenge of the American Dream: The Chinese in the United States* (Belmont, Calif., 1971); United Japanese Society of Hawaii, *A History of Japanese in Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1971); and Robert A. Wilson and Bill Hosokawa, *East to America: A History of the Japanese in the United States* (New York, 1980). A number of books published a few years later also proved useful as textbooks, especially since they extended coverage to other Asian groups. These include H. Brett Melendy, *Asians in America: Filipinos, Koreans, and East Indians* (Boston, 1977); Hyung-chan Kim, *The Korean Diaspora: Historical and Sociological Studies of Korean Immigration and Assimilation in North America* (Santa Barbara, 1977); Bong-Youn Choy, *Koreans in America* (Chicago, 1979); Tricia Knoll, *Becoming Americans: Asian Sojourners, Immigrants, and Refugees in the Western United States* (Portland, Ore., 1982); and Fred Cordova, *Filipinos: Forgotten Asian Americans, a Pictorial Essay, 1763–circa 1963* (Seattle, 1983).

19. Philip Gleason, "American Identity and Americanization," in Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 31–58.