

**THE HISTORIC CONTEXT FOR THE PROTECTION OF
ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN RESOURCES
IN WASHINGTON STATE**

by Gail Dubrow, Gail Nomura, D. Gregg Doyle, Rose Wong,
Connie So, Shawn Wong, Weiling Shi, and Lorraine Artura

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Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation
111 21st Avenue Southwest
Olympia, Washington 98504-8343

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INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A context document is a preservation planning tool used to facilitate the identification, evaluation, and protection of significant historic resources related by a specific idea or theme and delineated by geographical distribution and chronological limits. This method of coordinating historical information is central to the development of a resource-based planning process by which the significance of related historical properties and sites may be assessed.

The conceptual framework of a context document relates cultural or historical themes to historic resources. These themes are often recognized tangibly in a set of historic properties. However, if these artifacts are isolated from their larger historical context, they may convey limited meaning or their meaning may be “inconsistently perceived” by planners, preservationists, and the public. This may lead to premature or inadequately informed decisions about the preservation of a property or site, potentially jeopardizing an important element of history. Locating a historic property in its context provides a broader presentation of history and increases the possibility that historic properties will be understood in a more balanced and meaningful way, allowing preservationists, planners, and the public to make more informed preservation decisions. This approach also gives preservation planners the necessary tools to assess the significance of individual properties associated with the chosen theme.

Geographical boundaries and chronological limits are integral to the conceptual framework of a context document, linking the history and culture to the places where it occurred and to the time periods associated with particular events or themes. Considered as a whole, these elements define and establish the context within which a particular set of historic properties can be evaluated and managed. Additionally, the context document is intended to be an on-going planning tool that can be modified or redefined to accommodate new data as it becomes available.

The goal of this document is to establish a context for the protection of historically and architectural significant resources associated with Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington from their earliest settlement in the state to 1945. The document is divided into three sections. Part I is an Overview Component, Part II is an Identification and Evaluation Component, and Part III is a Protection Component.

Part I is an Overview Component that documents the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington State. This section identifies key themes, patterns, and events in the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington and the most significant sites of Asian/Pacific American settlement. The framework of this section, as well as the others, is structured by key themes including immigration, settlement patterns, the economic role of Asian/Pacific Americans in the state, exclusionary and restrictive legislation, and community development. Historic properties such as single room occupancy hotels (SROs), association halls, herbal shops, language schools and theaters are among the property types associated with these key themes in the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington. For example, Asian immigrants played a key role in the Washington salmon canning industry that depended on the seasonal labor of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino immigrants. The more than 800 Chinese who lived in Whatcom County in 1900 were employed principally in the salmon canneries. For that reason, historic properties associated with the canning industry in Whatcom County may have previously unrecognized significance in the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington. However, this section stops short of identifying specific properties and is intended to be an overview of the Asian/Pacific American experience in Washington including significant themes; important date and events; significant persons and organizations; and trends that are important to the broad patterns of Asian/Pacific heritage in Washington State.

Part II is the Identification and Evaluation Component. This section identifies key themes significant to the history of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans in Washington State. This information, organized chronologically, relates that history directly to known locations, property types, and specific landmarks associated with Asian/Pacific American heritage in Washington. This section also identifies all known properties associated with Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington State by county. It concludes with a section that categorizes property

types known to be associated with this heritage and highlights the architectural characteristics of these building types or key landscape elements. This section incorporates a review of the available literature on the built environment associated with Asian/Pacific American history, and data from preservation surveys. It includes recommendations for additional research that will help to eliminate gaps in the data. The historical and cultural data culled for this section emphasize both the presence and absence of discernible Asian/Pacific American influence on the built environment in Washington State.

Part III is the Protection Component that suggests measures, strategies, and mechanisms that can be implemented to enhance the protection of historic properties associated with Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington State, including surveys and inventories, local designation and design review, and public awareness programs. This section concludes with a comprehensive bibliography that points to additional sources of information.

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PART I

Overview Component

INTRODUCTION TO THE OVERVIEW COMPONENT

The Overview Component was written by Gail Nomura of the American Culture Program at the University of Michigan and is adapted from her essay that appeared in Peoples of Washington, Perspectives on Cultural Diversity. Gail Nomura reviewed the literature on the patterns of settlement, economic contributions, the history of exclusionary and restrictive legislation, and the history of resistance and community development for Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington State. She made a special effort to link these aspects of history to the places where they occurred and to begin to identify the types of properties that might be associated with their heritage. Although the original scope of work was limited to World War II, she has brought the history up to the present day so that preservation planners can begin to plan for the protection of properties that soon will be considered historically significant.

To produce this comprehensive overview, Gail Nomura has drawn on the growing scholarly literature on Asian/Pacific American communities, key works produced by community historians, as well as her knowledge of primary sources. The reader should be aware, however, that although there have been many works by community organizations and commemorative booklets, as well as growing scholarly literature on Asian/Pacific Americans, portions of their history remain undocumented and there is not yet a well developed body of scholarly literature that relates this history to the built environment. For that reason, the authors of this study met with community members who helped to fill gaps in the documentary sources.

ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICANS IN WASHINGTON: AN OVERVIEW

by Gail M. Nomura

Asian/Pacific Americans are a diverse group composed of people of many ethnicities, languages, religions, and cultures who have a shared history in the United States. They include Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Pacific Islander (e.g., native Hawaiian, Samoan, Chamorro, etc.), South Asian (e.g., Asian Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, etc.), and Southeast Asian (e.g., Vietnamese, Lao, Hmong, Kampuchean, Thai, Indonesian, Malaysian, Singaporean, etc.) Americans. The complexity of the term *Asian/Pacific American* is illustrated by noting the many ethnicities within the larger subcategories such as Southeast Asian American. Asian/Pacific Americans have been a part of the history and landscape of Washington from the European and American exploration period of the late eighteenth century. They have contributed much to the social, political, economic, and cultural development of Washington. This overview presents the broad patterns of Asian/Pacific American history in Washington and seeks to identify and place in historical context the main factors influencing and shaping this history.

OVERVIEW OF SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Asian/Pacific Americans numbered 210,958 in Washington State in 1990. Most of this population lives in the Puget Sound region in the urban area of Seattle-Tacoma, a settlement pattern which is not so different from the earliest period of Asian/Pacific American settlement in Washington State. In 1890 there were 3,260 Chinese living in Washington with King and Jefferson counties having the largest numbers and Spokane, Walla Walla, and Wahkiakum having significant numbers. By the turn of the century the Chinese population peaked at 3,629 and was concentrated in the urban areas of Seattle-Tacoma, Spokane, Walla Walla, and Port

Townsend, with King County having the heaviest concentration of Chinese. The 1920 census registered a decline in the Chinese population to 2,363 with more than half living in King County, which clearly shows the impact of exclusionary immigration restrictions. By 1960 more than three-fourths of the 5,491 Chinese in Washington lived in Seattle. Similarly, in 1900 there were 5,617 Japanese in Washington with almost three-fifths living in King County and another tenth in Pierce County. In 1920 there were 17,387 Japanese in Washington with 10,954 living in King County, 2,652 in Pierce County and significant numbers in Yakima, Kittitas, Spokane, Snohomish, and Lewis counties. After the World War II internment of Japanese Americans their population declined and in 1950 was almost half of its 1920 population with more than two-thirds living in King County and one-eighth in Spokane County. The greatest concentration of Filipinos was also in King County. There were 958 Filipinos in Washington in 1920, 3,480 in 1930, and 7,110 in 1960 with almost two-thirds living in King County and significant numbers in Pierce, Kitsap, and Yakima counties. After the relaxation of immigration restrictions in 1965 the numbers of immigrants and refugees from Asia increased dramatically. By 1980 there were more than 109,000 Asian Pacific Americans in Washington with 60 percent living in King County and another 15 percent living in Pierce County.¹

EARLY IMMIGRATION PATTERNS

The immigrants from Asia and the Pacific in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were predominantly young single men eager to make a better life for themselves in the new land of North America. Most came to work since there was a labor shortage in the rapidly developing Pacific Northwest.

Hawaiian Immigration

Hawaiians were the first of these immigrants to work in large numbers in Washington. Hawaii became an important station for the Pacific sea trade soon after its contact with the West in 1778. British and American ships on their way to and from the Pacific Northwest for furs

to trade in China would stop for rest and provisions in Hawaii. A system of contract labor was developed in which Hawaiians (variously called Kanakas, Owyhees, Blue Men, or Sandwich Islanders), known for their seamanship, were employed as sailors. Thus, Hawaiians first came to Washington as sailors and accompanied the early expeditions inland. Later they were recruited to provide some of the first skilled and unskilled laborers for the fur trade. With more than a thousand Hawaiians in the area during the first half of the nineteenth century, there were communities scattered throughout the Pacific Northwest including "Kanaka (Owhyhee) Village" adjoining Fort Vancouver, where most Hawaiians lived, and Fort Walla Walla. Many Hawaiians intermarried with Indians including the Chinook, Chehalis, and Cowlitz and many Hawaiians settled with their Indian wives in Kanaka Bay (False Bay), San Juan Island. The town of Kalama 40 miles north of Vancouver, Washington, was named after the Kalama River which bears the name of John Kalama, a Hawaiian who worked for the Hudson's Bay Company and married one of the daughters of the Chief of the Nisqually tribe. The Kalama family once owned the land on which Fort Lewis stands.²

Chinese Immigration

The Chinese were the first Asians to arrive in large numbers in the nineteenth century. The overpopulated regions of southeastern China had used immigration as a safety valve since the seventeenth century. Large numbers of emigrants went to Southeast Asia and later to the Caribbean. In the mid-nineteenth century a major out-migration occurred as China was weakened by the impact of Western imperialism and torn by the Taiping Rebellion and clan warfare which especially devastated Guangdong. Formal emigration to the United States was illegal until the 1868 Burlingame treaty which guaranteed free migration of Chinese, but people around the Guangzhou (Canton) region in Guangdong province already had access to the port of Hong Kong, which had been controlled by the British since 1842. Tens of thousands took passage from Hong Kong to countries all over the world, including Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations, and California to participate in the Gold Rush as well as to work on the railroads and in agriculture.

The earliest recorded Chinese in the Pacific Northwest were artisans from Canton who came to Nootka on Vancouver Island in 1788 aboard the British trading ship *Felice* captained by John Meares. These artisans built the first ship constructed on the Northwest coast, the *Northwest America*. Other trading ships brought more Chinese artisans and sailors and many may have settled in Washington, but the first significant numbers of Chinese in Washington came in the 1860s, drawn by news of the discovery of gold in eastern Washington. In the 1870s many more Chinese were recruited to work on railroad construction and in other growing industries. Few Chinese women came in the early years.

Japanese Immigration

The first recorded Japanese were three shipwrecked sailors from Owari, Japan, whose ship beached 15 miles south of Cape Flattery near the mouth of Puget Sound after drifting 14 months. Natural disasters in the central area of the main island of Honshu along with deflationary governmental policies, which adversely affected Japanese farmers, led many Japanese to contract to work on Hawaiian sugar plantations from the mid-1880s. Hawaii was annexed by the United States in 1898. After the passage of the Organic Act in 1900 officially organizing the Territory of Hawaii, many Japanese plantation workers took passage from Hawaii to California and the Pacific Northwest, attracted by high pay and plentiful job opportunities. Working initially as laborers in railroads, lumber, and agriculture, Japanese in Washington eventually sought self-employment by establishing farms, dairies, and small businesses.

Korean Immigration

About 7,000 Koreans were also recruited for the sugar plantations in Hawaii from 1903 to 1905. About 1,000 of them went on to work on the Pacific West Coast of the U.S. mainland. The main settlement of Koreans in Washington was in Seattle with a small number living in Yakima. They, too, worked mainly as laborers in Washington's industries. Korea became a protectorate of Japan in 1905 and was later annexed by Japan in 1910. Further immigration was

severely restricted by Japan after 1905. Greater numbers of Koreans would arrive after 1950. Korea's annexation by Japan in 1910 politicized the Korean community in America. For much of the period between 1910 and the liberation of Korea at the end of World War II in 1945, the Korean community in America became the main source of leadership and financial support of the nationalist movement to liberate Korea.

South Asian Immigration

Most of India had been colonized by the British by the mid-nineteenth century. South Asians, as citizens of the British Empire, had the right of migration to any territory within the British empire. Poor economic conditions at the turn of the century and increased rural indebtedness led to increased emigration to North America. The employment opportunities on the Pacific Coast of Canada proved especially attractive. Agents for the Canadian Pacific Railway were active in recruiting Sikhs in the Punjab; Canadian Pacific steamship companies also promoted migration. Yet, once in Canada, South Asians met much hostility. Eventually, the government of Canada developed a policy that effectively ended Indian migration. For example, according to the 1908 "continuous voyage" provision of Canadian immigration law, immigrants who did not travel in a single, direct voyage from their native country, which included most South Asians, could be excluded from Canada. The effect of this exclusionist policy was to deflect Asian Indian immigration to North America from Canada to the United States. Although most South Asians eventually settled in California, many initially worked on railroad construction and in lumber mills in Washington since Washington State was closest to Vancouver, where the majority of South Asians were concentrated in Canada.³ By the 1910 census there were 1,414 South Asians in Washington State.⁴

Filipino Immigration

In 1898 the United States annexed Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands became an American possession with the defeat of Spain in the Spanish-American War, though Filipino resistance to

U.S. takeover continued until 1902. Filipinos were not granted U.S. citizenship but were U.S. nationals with the right to freely migrate to any place within U.S. territories. Thus, around the turn of the century Filipinos began to migrate to Hawaii and the Pacific Coast states. Early arrivals included Filipina wives of American servicemen who had fought in the Spanish-American War. For example, Rufina Clemente Jenkins lived in Seattle from 1909 with her U.S. Army cavalry sergeant husband, Francis, and their four children. Many Filipinos came to Washington State for education and those subsidized by the Philippine territorial government were called pensionados/pensionadas. They studied at the University of Washington and Washington State University as well as at high schools. Broadway High in Seattle had such a high concentration of Filipinos that there were even special classes for Filipinos. Most of these students supported their studies by working in the fields and canneries, as well as in the cities as domestics ("schoolboys"), cooks and dishwashers in restaurants, and bellboys in hotels. Educated in the Philippines under an American educational system and often taught by American teachers, Filipinos believed in the American Dream and believed themselves to be part of that dream. They took passage to Washington to seize opportunities for further education and work. Here they provided much needed labor especially in agriculture and the canneries after 1920.⁵

ECONOMIC ROLE

Asian immigrants were generally young, ambitious, and full of hope as they departed the lands of their birth. Their labor helped build major segments of the Washington economy such as the fur trade, mining, railroads, agriculture, lumbering, canneries, fishing, small businesses, and domestic services.

Fur Trade

Hawaiians provided an indispensable source of labor for the early development of Washington, especially the fur trade. The swimming and diving skills of the Hawaiians were highly valued. They were also said to have great skill in fording rivers and handling boats.

Journals of the times declared that "they had never seen watermen equal to them, even among the voyageurs of the Northwest; and indeed, they are remarkable for their skill in managing their light craft, and can swim and dive like waterfowl."⁶ Fur traders attested to their importance: "The Owyhees however are such expert swimmers that little of our effects are lost beyond recovery which accident now and then consigns to the bottom of the water in our perilous navigation: and it is next to impossible for a person to get drowned if one or more of them are near at hand"⁷ Hawaiians were also employed in the sawmills, and worked as farmers, shepherds, and carpenters. Many place names in Washington State attest to the presence of Hawaiians working in this early period. Kanaka Bay (False Bay), San Juan Island is named for Hawaiian sheepherders who settled there with their Indian wives. Friday Harbor, San Juan Island, reportedly was named for the Hawaiian sheepherder Joe Friday (Joseph Poalie), although other legends about the place name persist.

The original name when established, was Bellevue or Bellevue Farm. An alternate name in the early days was Friday's Place, or Kanaka's Place, for an Hawaiian islander who herded sheep here for the Hudson's Bay Company and whose name was Joe Friday. In 1858, it was charted under the present name by Capt. Henry Richards, R.N. Legend has it that he hailed a sheepherder and asked "What bay is this?" Believing he had been asked "What day is it" he replied, "Friday."

Cox's Plain near Fort Vancouver was named for the Hawaiian swine herder Cox (Naukane) who lived on the plain.⁸

Mining

Mining was one of the first major industries to arise in Washington after the decline of the fur trade and Chinese immigrants were prominent here. In the 1860s Chinese miners were attracted by gold strikes along the Columbia River in Eastern Washington. By 1864, hundreds of Chinese miners could be found working claims purchased from whites along the upper Columbia River 150 miles upstream from Rock Island. Numbering as many as 1,500, by 1870 Chinese miners in Eastern Washington outnumbered white miners 2 to 1. Most of the Chinese

miners were contracted by San Francisco or Portland based Chinese companies. Large Chinese mining camps were located along the Columbia River from the Chelan Falls area to above Colville. A class of Chinese small businessmen arose to service the needs of the miners in these camps. Chinese began operating stores, laundries, and barber shops and growing vegetables and fruits for the miners. Typical of these Chinese camps was the Chinese village located one-half mile from Chelan Falls. This camp was established in the mid-1860s and was the first and largest Chinese camp in the Upper Columbia region. Houses there were built of cedar boards with log and brush roofs.⁹ It is estimated that by working abandoned claims, Chinese mined several million dollars worth of gold dust that would otherwise have been lost to Washington's economy.¹⁰

Chinese labor also was important in the coal mines of Washington. Chinese labor contractors supplied workers from the 1870s to mid-1880s to coal mines in Black Diamond, Coal Creek, Franklin, Newcastle, and Renton.

Railroads

Critical to the development of Washington's economy was a railroad transportation system that could move people and products efficiently. The railroads knit Washington together and connected Washington with the eastern half of the United States. Railroads opened new markets and facilitated the transporting of settlers to Washington. Asian labor was important in building and maintaining this vital network.

Chinese were recruited to help build the major railroad lines in Washington. In 1871 the Northern Pacific Railroad, using 2,000 Chinese contract laborers from San Francisco, began laying the western part of its line from Kalama, north of Vancouver, Washington, to Tacoma. More Chinese were recruited directly from China a decade later to complete the Northern Pacific. The Northern Pacific was completed through Portland when in 1883, some 17,000 Chinese laborers, comprising two-thirds of the workforce, had cleared and graded the land, built bridges, and laid tracks.

Chinese were instrumental in building every major railroad line in Washington. Examples include the Renton to Newcastle line that enabled Seattle to become the main coaling port on the West Coast, and the Stampede Pass tunnel through the Cascade Mountains connecting the Northern Pacific line in the Puget Sound to Spokane Falls and the states in the east. Chinese were responsible for practically all railroad grading in Spokane, Stevens, and Whitman Counties.¹¹

Japanese immigrants also were recruited to expand and maintain the railroad system in Washington. Railroad work on the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern was one of the first jobs for many Japanese. Seattle and Portland were the main centers supplying Japanese railroad workers in the Pacific Northwest. Japanese laborers built the Stevens Pass tunnel for the Great Northern and their presence was commemorated in the naming of a sawmill town, Nippon (later called Alpine). Japanese worked initially as section hands, but later had other jobs such as engine watchmen and foremen. Often they were housed in railroad boxcars and bunkhouse barracks. If their wives were present, they were able to add to the family income by cooking for the single men.¹²

The railroads continued to be a source of employment for other Asian immigrants. Filipinos principally worked on the Great Northern line, which employed them as cooks and porters as well as on work crews. Railroad work was also one of the first jobs for South Asians entering the United States. Though some found work as section hands, most found only temporary railroad construction work. South Asians did not remain in railroad construction for long, in part because they were paid less than Italian and Greek railroad workers. In addition, since South Asians had been extensively recruited to work on railroads in Tacoma to replace striking Italian railroad workers, they were not well received by other ethnic railroad workers.¹³

Fishing

The Chinese were Puget Sound's first non-Indian fishermen. Using huge seine nets measuring 900 feet long and 240 feet deep Chinese fished in Elliott Bay, at Port Madison on the

Kitsap Peninsula, and established a fishing colony locally called "Hong Kong" near Manzanita on the west side of Maury Island. Chinese fishermen caught, salted and dried a wide variety of fish. They also bought large quantities of fish from the Indians. The dried fish were at first shipped to San Francisco.¹⁴

Although Japanese were important in the fishing industry in California, they did not play a similar role in Washington because state laws did not allow them to obtain commercial fishing licenses after 1915. The 1915 law made it unlawful for Asian immigrants, who were prohibited from becoming naturalized citizens "... to take for sale or profit any salmon or other food or shellfish." However, Japanese did play an important role in establishing the state's oyster industry. Japanese are credited with introducing the large Japanese oyster into Puget Sound. Joe Miyagi and Emy Tsukimoto are said to be the first to successfully transplant the Japanese oyster into Samish Bay near Bellingham. From there it spread to other sheltered bays. Willapa Bay became an important oystering area. Japanese oysters now make up a large part of the seafood industry of the Northwest.¹⁵

Canning

Asian labor was important for the salmon canning industry. Salmon fishing and canning started in 1866 on the Columbia River, in 1874 on Puget Sound, and in 1878 in Alaska. Canneries were established in Kitsap, Whatcom, and Gray's Harbor counties. The canneries depended on the reliable Chinese labor force that could be provided by Chinese labor contractors on a seasonal basis. There were over 800 Chinese in Whatcom County in 1900 due in great part to seasonal Chinese workers in the salmon canneries. From the 1870s to the 1910s Chinese comprised the majority of cannery workers on the West Coast. Most were employed to cut off the heads, tails, and fins of the salmon, gut them, and wash out their cavities.¹⁶

By the mid-1890s the salmon runs in the Columbia River began to dwindle and fishing eventually shifted to the more plentiful Alaska fishing grounds. But Puget Sound remained the center of the fishing industry, and Seattle was the base for the main fleet and the dispatching

point for the Alaska canneries. Chinese workers played a major role in the Alaska canneries, reaching a numerical peak in 1902 when of a total of 13,822 cannery workers, 5,376 were Chinese. Japanese laborers became important in the Washington and Alaska canneries when the supply of Chinese declined in the early twentieth century due to the effects of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. By 1906, 20 percent of the cannery workers in Washington were Japanese. There were some 3,000 Japanese cannery workers in the Alaska canneries in 1912. Later, in the 1920s, the canneries were a source of summer jobs for the nisei or second generation Japanese Americans. From the late 1920s Filipinos became an important source of labor for the Alaska salmon canneries. These Alaskeros, Filipinos working in the Alaska salmon canneries, added to the growing population of Filipinos in Washington since Seattle was the dispatching point for the Alaska canneries. There were 4,000 Filipinos working in the canneries in 1930.¹⁷

Lumber Industry

Asians helped meet the critical demand for labor in the rapidly expanding lumber industry in Washington. Between 1857 and 1889, the early years of the lumber industry, Chinese helped to construct logging roads in Kitsap County and along the Hood Canal, and worked in lumber mills in Port Gamble, Port Ludlow, and Seattle. The Wa Chong Company of Seattle was the main labor contractor supplying Chinese workers for the lumber mills. Later, Japanese worked in lumber camps and sawmills at Mukilteo, Enumclaw, Eatonville, National, and Port Blakely. Japanese performed skilled and semiskilled labor including work as trimmers, edgermen, planing-mill feeders, lumber graders, lathe mill men, and carpenters. They also worked on the logging camp railroads, which paid more than the regular railroad lines. Some Japanese went on to run their own small sawmills such as the one in Kent run by Sentaro Tsuboi.¹⁸ Filipinos also worked in the lumber mills. In fact, historian Fred Cordova notes that the first recorded Filipino in the Territory of Washington was a Filipino sawmill worker in Port Blakely on Bainbridge Island in 1883.¹⁹ South Asians were employed in sawmills in areas such as Bellingham and Tacoma.

Agriculture

Farming was a chief occupation of many Asian immigrants. Chinese in mining camps raised produce for the miners. Chinese in Port Townsend farmed at the North Beach "Chinese Gardens" and supplied most of the vegetables for that town as well as marketing some of their vegetables in Seattle. Chinese vegetable farmers in Spokane peddled their produce door to door. Walla Walla became an early center for Chinese farming. At the turn of the century, Walla Walla had a Chinese population of about 400 to 500, most of whom were engaged in vegetable gardening on the outskirts of town. Called the "Chinese Gardens," Chinese farming colonies in the Walla Walla area rented productive agricultural land in the lowlands of the valley streams. At first they sold vegetables in the local market, but with the establishment of shipping houses in the early 1890s, Chinese gardeners began selling to the shippers for distribution to more distant markets. "Chinese greens" were sent to Seattle-area Chinese for years. Other areas of Washington were not as hospitable as Walla Walla: the potato pits of Chinese potato growers were dynamited by Oak Harbor residents in the mid-1880s. Chinese also worked as agricultural laborers, many working in the Yakima Valley and Puyallup hop fields in the late nineteenth century.²⁰

Japanese were especially prominent farmers in Washington. They supplied the major cities with most of their fresh vegetables, small fruits, greenhouse products and some dairy products. Japanese cleared uncultivated land and established farms east of the Cascades in the Yakima Valley around Wapato and in Spokane, and west of the Cascades in the White River Valley, Puyallup, South Park, Georgetown, Green Lake, Vashon Island, Bainbridge Island, and Bellevue. The White River Valley had by far the highest concentration of Japanese farmers. Many of the farmers sold their products at Seattle's Pike Place Public Market. By the start of World War I, 70 percent of the stalls there were occupied by Japanese. In the prewar years, Japanese supplied 75 percent of the region's vegetables and most of its berries and small fruits. In the 1920s, Japanese dairies produced half of Seattle's milk supply.²¹

Asian labor generally was important to agriculture in Washington. Some of the earliest Japanese to come to Washington were recruited to clear agricultural land in the Yakima Valley.

From the late 1920s, Filipinos were an important source of migrant labor for agriculture in Washington as a seasonal work force in spring during planting and in fall during harvest; summers were spent in the Alaska salmon canneries. They were important in the apple, strawberry, and hops harvest in areas including Vashon Island, Puyallup Valley, Wenatchee Valley, and Yakima Valley. There was always critical need for timely, reliable, seasonal laborers at harvest. Some Filipino migrant workers were able to become farmers, most notably in the Yakima Valley.

Business

In urban and rural areas, Asian immigrants opened small businesses that serviced both their own communities and the general public. Restaurants were and continue to be a successful enterprise for Asian immigrants. Every major city in Washington had a Chinese restaurant. The Canton Cafe in Aberdeen was opened by Japanese immigrants in 1912, taken over by a Mr. Lew and Mr. Locke in 1917 and then sold to Ben Locke and a Mr. Chin in 1926.²² Asians also operated restaurants such as the Philippine Cafe, owned in the 1930s by Bibiana Montante Laigo. In many cities such as Yakima, Wenatchee, and Spokane, restaurants have provided the main economic base for Chinese Americans, even to the present day. Restaurants and stores have often served as social gathering places for the Asian community.

Asians ran laundries, general merchandise and grocery stores, tailor shops, barber shops, hotels and boarding houses. In Seattle, the International District was a center for many of these businesses. Some of the largest businesses were the Wa Chong Company founded by Chin Chun Hock; the Quong-Tuck Company founded by the legendary Chin Gee Hee who returned in 1905 to China to construct China's first railway, the K. Hirada Company, and the M. Furuya Company, which had branches in Tacoma; Portland; Vancouver, B.C.; and Yokohama and Kobe, Japan, in addition to banking operations.

Trade with Asia has always been important to Washington, and Asian immigrants were important in international trade. In the late nineteenth century the Quong Tuck Company

imported Chinese products. The Wa Chong Company exported such Northwest products as lumber and flour to China, while the M. Furuya Company had branches in two cities in Japan. The Seattle-based Philippine & Eastern Trading Company was in operation in 1941.²³

EXCLUSIONARY AND RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION

Asian/Pacific Americans were instrumental in the economic growth of Washington, yet from the start they were subject to exclusion and discrimination. They arrived with great hopes, but soon discovered that the definition of "American" in the pre-World War II period was exclusive, not inclusive. Asian immigrants learned to expect, though not accept, discrimination in America. They fought for their human and civil rights through diplomatic channels, and through the courts, and when those avenues failed, through creative resistance. In the process they laid the foundations for the establishment and growth of their communities.

Hawaiian Exclusion

During the organization in 1849 of the Oregon territory, which included present day Washington State, Hawaiians were denied the right to become American citizens. In 1850 they were denied the right to claim land. The racist nature of this discrimination against Hawaiians was clearly revealed by the words of the first territorial delegate, Samuel R. Thurston, who characterized the Hawaiians as "a race of men as black as your negroes of the South, and a race, too, that we do not desire to settle in Oregon." Denied citizenship and the right to claim land, many Hawaiians returned to Hawaii or moved to California where they were still valued for their seamanship. Many others intermarried with Indians and remained.²⁴

Chinese Exclusion

The treatment of Chinese immigrants followed the same pattern as that of the Hawaiians and, in turn, set the pattern for later Asian immigrants. One of the first measures adopted by the newly created Washington Territorial legislature in 1853 was a law denying Chinese voting rights. Additional laws were adopted by the Territorial legislature in 1863 to bar Chinese from testifying in court cases involving whites and in 1864 to levy a poll tax on Chinese living in Washington Territory. This latter act's title clearly stated its racist intent: "An Act to Protect Free White Labor Against Competition with Chinese Coolie Labor and to Discourage the Immigration of Chinese in the Territory." Chinese were constantly subjected to regulations and prohibitions that sought to exclude them from Washington. Immigration exclusion acts were the most damaging of these legal constraints.

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was the first in a series of exclusionary acts passed by the U.S. Congress that stunted the growth of Asian groups in America and distorted their population composition, creating, in the case of the Chinese, an aging "bachelor" society. Passed in the midst of an economic recession in which Chinese became the scapegoat for exclusionists on the West Coast, the Chinese Exclusion Act set a dangerous precedent that would have far-reaching effects for subsequent Asian immigrants. There were two major provisions of the act. The first suspended the immigration of Chinese laborers, skilled, unskilled and those engaged in mining, for 10 years. The second provision denied the right of naturalization to Chinese. The Chinese Exclusion Act was extended twice with additional restrictions in 1892 and 1902 and in 1904 was extended indefinitely.

Since very few Chinese women had come before 1880 and Chinese laborers were not able to send for wives after 1882, there was little hope for having a settled family life in America after the Chinese Exclusion Act. By the 1900 census, Chinese males outnumbered Chinese females 26 to 1. In effect, the Chinese Exclusion Act prevented the formation of families in the Chinese community, condemning the Chinese in America to becoming an aging bachelor society. Since no new Chinese laborers were allowed into the United States after 1882, the population decreased dramatically with each census from 1890 to 1920.

The anti-Chinese movement intensified after the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act. With the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad via Portland in 1883 and Canadian Pacific in 1885 and the onset of an economic depression, the Chinese became an easy scapegoat for white frustrations in Washington. On September 5, 1885, three Chinese were killed in an attack on their camp at a hop farm in what is now Issaquah, a few miles east of Seattle. Later that month Chinese were driven out of coal mines in Black Diamond, south of Seattle; the Franklin mines, at Newcastle; and Renton. Chinese were driven out of the lumber mills on the San Juan Islands and at Port Townsend. In November, Tacoma residents took care of the "Chinese problem" by loading 700 Chinese into wagons that took them to trains headed for Portland, Oregon, and then burning the Chinese district in Tacoma, which had housed the largest numbers of Chinese in the territory. No new Chinese district was ever re-established in Tacoma. Seattle held anti-Chinese rallies in September and October calling for the ouster of Chinese from Seattle. In February 1886 most of the 350 Chinese in Seattle were hauled off in wagons to the docks to be loaded onto steamers leaving Seattle. Sporadic attacks against Chinese continued until the turn of the century, including attacks at Walla Walla, Pasco, and the massacre of 31 Chinese miners on the Snake River.²⁵

Japanese Exclusion

The Chinese Exclusion Act set a precedent for the exclusion of all Asian immigrants. In 1907-1908 under pressure by the United States, and hoping to halt anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States, the Japanese government agreed to prohibit the emigration of Japanese laborers to the United States. The Japanese government, however, continued to allow wives, children, and parents of Japanese in the United States to emigrate; the Japanese community in Washington continued to grow as Japanese sent for their wives in the years after 1908, and a generation of American-born Japanese Americans resulted. Exclusionists found fault with the Japanese government's desire to allow the formation of families in the Japanese American community. The Japanese government believed that a healthy, stable, family-oriented Japanese American community, committed to permanent settlement in America, would eliminate anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States. But to exclusionists the coming of Japanese wives

meant an increase in the population of the hated Japanese. Even more abhorrent to exclusionists was the resulting birth of a generation with U.S. citizenship since exclusionists could never accept the possibility that a person of Japanese ancestry could be an American. For exclusionists, race was the key ingredient in determining who could be an American.

Asiatic Barred Zone

Further immigration restrictions were imposed against Asians by the Immigration Act of 1917 which created an "Asiatic barred zone" including India, Siam, Indochina, parts of Siberia, Afghanistan, Arabia, and the islands of Java, Sumatra, Ceylon, Borneo, New Guinea, and Celebes, from which no immigrants could come. In 1924, Congress passed a major comprehensive immigration law prohibiting the immigration of "aliens ineligible to citizenship." The only "aliens ineligible to citizenship" were Asian. After 1924 no Asian immigration was permitted. This immigration law closed the doors of the United States to all Asian immigration except Filipinos.

Filipinos

The racist nature of discrimination against Asian immigrants is unmistakable when one looks at the treatment of Filipinos. Since the Philippine Islands were an American possession after the Spanish-American War in 1898, Filipinos were U.S. nationals possessing the right to migrate to any part of the United States. Since they were not aliens, the 1924 immigration act that prohibited the immigration of "aliens ineligible to citizenship" did not apply to them. Therefore, when exclusionary immigration laws had cut off the supply of Asian labor from China, Japan, and India, Filipinos could step in to fill the labor needs of Washington. Filipinos became an important and visible component in Washington's migrant work labor force in agriculture and in the canneries. But, since whites did not recognize their U.S. national status, Filipinos were considered by whites to be foreigners robbing them of economic opportunities.

Filipinos were often physically assaulted by exclusionists. Some of the earliest anti-Filipino riots in the United States occurred in Washington. In November 1927, white raiders drove some Filipinos in the Toppenish area of the Yakima Valley out of their houses, beat them, dumped their produce, and dragged many to freight trains leaving the Yakima Valley. A few days later a mob issued an ultimatum to Filipinos ordering them to leave the area by 6:00 or their homes would be destroyed. This 1927 riot set the pattern for later outbursts, such as the more widely reported incident in 1928 when Filipino apple workers were driven out from Cashmere and Wenatchee by a white mob. With the arrival of the Depression, economic rivalry increased racial tensions in the Yakima Valley leading to white vigilante activity. White unemployment made the situation more acute. In 1933, at a mass meeting in Wapato, some 250 white farmers and laborers voted to "request" farmers in the Yakima Valley to stop employing Filipinos. These white farmers and laborers objected to the hiring of Filipinos on the grounds that Filipinos posed an unfair competition to white laborers and "mingled" with white women. Notices were posted on Valley farmers' homes warning that the farms of those who persisted in employing Filipinos would be burned. There followed a rash of arson and dynamite bombings of Filipino-operated farms and of Japanese farms that employed Filipinos. In one incident, a leased tract was bombed, and buildings, crops, and equipment were destroyed.²⁶

Filipinos were U.S. nationals, but, to whites, Filipinos were all too often just another kind of Asian to be excluded. Moreover, some Filipinos posed an added threat to whites, by dating and marrying white women. In the Toppenish, Wenatchee Valley, and Wapato incidents, Filipinos were perceived as foreigners robbing whites of economic opportunities, and as "barbaric black natives" dating and marrying local white women. For local white males, Filipinos posed both an economic and sexual threat to their dominance. This perceived sexual threat led in part to the attempt by the Washington Legislature to pass an anti-miscegenation law in which even the sanctity of marriage would be violated by racial discrimination. Patterned on the California anti-miscegenation law, the 1937 Senate Bill 342 proposed to prohibit ". . . any person of the Caucasian or white race to intermarry with any person of the Ethiopian or black race, Malayan or brown race, or Mongolian or yellow race, within this state. . . ."

Exclusionists believed the 1924 immigration act that excluded all Asian immigration should have applied to Filipinos but that Filipinos had escaped exclusion due to the technicality that they were not aliens. This technicality was remedied in 1934. Congress passed the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, which made the Philippines a commonwealth and promised full independence 10 years later, but limited Filipino migration to the U.S. to a quota of 50 persons each year. The Tydings-McDuffie Act was in effect a Filipino exclusion act. As a result, there was little growth in the Filipino population from 1934 to 1946.

Effects of Exclusion

The exclusion acts created aging bachelor societies in the Chinese and Filipino communities. Because immigration exclusion laws prevented them from sending for wives and children and anti-miscegenation laws prevented intermarriage with whites, there was an absence of normal family life in the Chinese and Filipino communities. Physical manifestations of this bachelor society were taxi-dance halls and gambling houses in Chinatowns. Single room occupancy hotels like the Alps Hotel and Rainier Hotel in Seattle's International District were testimony to this bachelor existence.

Japanese, on the other hand, experienced steady growth in population since their government was politically strong enough to prevent the passage of total exclusion until 1924. There was enough time to establish a healthy second generation in America, though the numbers of Japanese were of course severely limited by restrictive immigration policies. In contrast to the Chinese and Filipinos, the Japanese had a more normal family life and developed a generation of American-born citizens.

Denial of Naturalization Rights

The 1924 immigration law used the category "aliens ineligible to citizenship" to exclude Asians. The ineligibility to become a naturalized American is the one key feature that

distinguishes the Asian immigrant experience from that of other immigrants to America. In 1790 Congress had originally set a racial condition for naturalization by restricting the right of naturalization to an alien who was a "free white person," but after the Civil War in 1870 Congress extended the right of naturalization to former slaves by making "aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent" also eligible. Naturalization laws did not specifically deny naturalization to Asian immigrants but the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act denied Chinese naturalization rights. Of course this act did not specify any other Asian group.

The question remained whether Asians could be classified within the definition of "free white." Some lower federal courts had issued naturalization papers to some Japanese, for the 1910 census indicates that there were 420 naturalized Japanese. But the U.S. Attorney General ordered federal courts in 1906 to stop issuing naturalization papers to Japanese. Japanese took their case to the U.S. Supreme Court in the test case of Takao Ozawa, an immigrant who met all of the nonracial requirements for naturalization. In November 1922, the U.S. Supreme Court heard Ozawa's case but ruled that Ozawa did not have the right of naturalization since he was of the Mongolian race and therefore was not judged to be either a free white person or an African by birth or descent. The court had affirmed a racial prerequisite for naturalization that excluded all Asians.

It is interesting to note how the court handled the question of naturalization rights of South Asians who by the racial classifications of that time were considered to be Aryan. Between 1914 and 1923, some 70 South Asians had become U.S. citizens based on the criterion that they were "high caste Hindus of Aryan race" and were thus Caucasian and entitled to be considered "white persons" eligible for citizenship. Although in the 1922 Ozawa decision the court had based its ruling on the racial definition that white person meant Caucasian, in 1923 in the Bhagat Singh Thind decision, the U.S. Supreme Court further refined its exclusionary definition for naturalization by relying on the "understanding of the common man" rather than on a basis of racial classification. The court argued that Congress never meant to include South Asians in the definition of white persons since in 1790 Congress associated the term white persons with immigrants from northern and western Europe and in 1870 Congress assumed it meant Europeans. The court further reasoned that in denying South Asians immigration privileges in

1917 Congress was opposing their naturalization, too. The court concluded that neither the public nor Congress ever intended that South Asians be granted naturalization rights.²⁷

Thus the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the legality of the useful category of "alien ineligible to citizenship." In making Asians ineligible to citizenship, the Ozawa and Thind decisions greatly facilitated the total exclusion of all Asian immigration, and the 1924 Congressional Act used the category "alien ineligible to citizenship" in prohibiting all Asian immigration.

The denial of their naturalization rights led to the political weakness of the Asian immigrant communities in the pre-World War II period. Asian immigrants were permanently disenfranchised in America. No politician sought their political support nor cared for their needs. In fact, politicians found it popular among their voters to call for further restrictions against Asians.

Anti-Alien Land Laws

The permanent status of Asian immigrants as "aliens ineligible to citizenship" also served as the basis for further discriminatory laws such as the anti-alien land laws passed in various West Coast states, which greatly restricted their economic opportunities. Section 33 of Article II of the Constitution of Washington State prohibited the ownership of land "by aliens other than those who in good faith have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States." In 1921 and 1923 the Washington State Legislature passed further anti-alien land laws that prohibited not only land ownership by aliens who had not declared their intent to become U.S. citizens, but also prohibited their leasing, renting, and sharecropping of land. Lands held by such aliens were to be escheated to the State. Forbidden by U.S. naturalization laws from becoming naturalized U.S. citizens, Asian immigrants could not own, lease, rent, or sharecrop land in Washington since they could not "in good faith" declare their intention to become citizens of the United States. This law severely restricted the economic opportunities of Asian immigrants in Washington. Washington State's anti-alien land laws were not repealed until 1966.

Furthermore, despite the fact that Filipinos were U.S. nationals and not aliens, Washington anti-alien land laws were generally interpreted to apply to them. Filipinos were considered to be "noncitizens" who could not "in good faith" file their intention to become citizens since they were considered to be Asian and not eligible for citizenship. To counter Filipino contentions that the anti-alien land laws did not apply to them since they were not aliens, the State Legislature amended the 1921 alien land law in March 1937 to include in the definition of alien "all persons who are noncitizens of the United States and who are ineligible to citizenship by naturalization." Cropping contracts with such aliens also were prohibited. Filipinos thus were prevented from setting up farms of their own and condemned to migrant labor status.

The impact of these anti-alien land laws was significant. Many Japanese farmers left Washington for other states that had no anti-alien land laws. Oregon provided a brief haven until it, too, passed an anti-alien land law in 1923. Other Japanese farmers continued to farm through subleases and labor agreements with white farmers and later through their children, nisei, who as U.S.-born citizens could legally buy, lease, and rent land for their parents. Some Filipinos were able to farm by following the Japanese tactic of establishing labor agreements with white nominal farmers to remain within the law. The anti-alien land laws influenced the kinds of crops that Japanese farmers grew in the Yakima Valley. The increased land costs associated with subleasing led Japanese farmers to choose labor intensive crops that generated high yields on small parcels.

Forever Foreign

While Asian immigrants systematically were denied every avenue of legally becoming American, they were faulted for being foreign. Exclusionist forces perceived Asian immigrants as being incapable of becoming an American. In the eyes of exclusionists, somehow the highly touted melting pot of America could never be hot enough to melt Asian immigrants into the pot of America. A case in point is the editorial statement of Bellingham's The Reveille after the September 1907 Bellingham anti-"Hindu" riot. On September 6, 1907, The Reveille stated "From every standpoint it is most undesirable that these Asians should be permitted to remain

in the United States. They are repulsive in appearance and disgusting in their manners . . . their actions and customs are so different from ours that there can never be tolerance of them. They contribute nothing to the growth and upbuilding of the city as the result of their labors."

The immigrants were not ignorant of the impossible position in which they were placed by the irrationality of the exclusionists who denied them naturalization, socially discriminated against them, economically restricted them and yet demanded that Asians assimilate or be excluded. Yet these groups did survive and managed to build stable communities through supportive organizations.

RESISTANCE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Chinese American Community

Adversity forged community organization. In the Chinese American community, support was provided by family associations, district associations composed of members who came from the same districts in China, and secret societies which often espoused nationalist causes. Many of these organizations were called tongs, literally halls, parlors, or meeting places. The word was used in the names of trade guilds. The tongs were fraternal orders like the more familiar Elks Lodge, Masonic Lodge, or Moose Lodge, but in America the media and exclusionists portrayed Chinese tongs as a group of criminals involved in prostitution, gambling, and opium smuggling. District associations and family associations were organized to provide for the needs of their members and promote their interests. These community organizations provided protection, shelter, employment, and loans. The Gee How Oak Tin Benevolent Association was the largest family association in Seattle. Its members consisted of families with the surnames Chin, Woo, Chan, and Yuen. Most Seattle Chinese belonged to organizations whose members came from the same districts in China. Most belonged to the Sam Yap, Sze Yap, or Ning Yung District Associations, of which the Ning Yung was the largest. The Hip Sing, Hop Sing, Suey Sing, and Bing Kung tongs were the four secret societies in Seattle. In 1910 the Chong Wa Benevolent Association was established as a confederation of associations to govern the affairs

of Chinatown. Such a confederation was needed since there was no other local voice to protect the rights of Chinese in Washington. The Chong Wa office was on the top floor of the Quong Yick Investment Building on Eighth and King Street. In Walla Walla the Bing Kong Bow Leong Association was prominent. The associations worked to stop anti-Chinese exclusion laws and helped to promote and support Chinese language schools, religion, Chinese opera, and other cultural and social activities.²⁸

The Chinese community in Washington became more urbanized in the late nineteenth century and had its highest concentration in the Seattle area. Although the 1886 Seattle Chinese expulsion had virtually depopulated the once thriving Seattle Chinatown, a few businessmen like Chin Gee Hee and Ah King managed to stay in business and became labor contractors who brought renewed immigration of Chinese laborers as Seattle continued to expand. Chinese merchants dominated the Chinatown community. Merchants were exempt from the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and could petition to bring their families to the U.S. Many Chinese were able to obtain this coveted "merchant status" by becoming stockholders in a small merchant shop like the Yet Wo Company in Port Townsend.²⁹ Chinese women worked with their husbands in small businesses while raising a family like Lew Fung Hai (Mrs. Luke Lung Sing) who worked long hours in the family laundry business in Seattle while raising six children.³⁰

Seattle's Chinatown started in the 1860s with shops along the waterfront at Western Avenue, gradually moving to Washington Street between Second and Fourth Avenues near the Columbia train station and eventually, after the 1889 Seattle fire, the 1908 Jackson-Dearborn regrade, and the mid-1920s Second Avenue Extension, centered on lower King Street from Eighth Avenue to Maynard Avenue and Jackson Street to Weller Street. Chin Gee Hee built one of the first brick buildings in Seattle after the 1889 fire, with his Quong Tuck Company on the street level. Next to the Canton Building was the headquarters of the Hop Sing Tong. The various Chinese associations constructed buildings with recessed balconies reminiscent of buildings in southeast China. Storefronts occupied the street levels of these buildings with small hotel rooms and the association hall on the upper levels. Chinatown consisted mainly of restaurants and multi-functional merchant stores that served as social gathering places for the

community. Chinatown hotels like the Milwaukee Hotel on King and Seventh Avenue built by Goon Dip provided housing for much of the Chinese community.³¹

Spokane, Port Townsend, and Walla Walla also had small Chinatowns. In 1911 the Chinese in Walla Walla united to build a two-story brick building on Fifth Avenue and Rose Street to accommodate Chinese businesses as well as provide residential quarters for Chinese. The building was the focal point for the Walla Walla Chinatown until it was torn down in the 1960s.³²

Japanese American Community

Japanese Americans had their own community support organizations. Kenjinkai were associations whose members came from the same prefecture in Japan. The largest were the Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, and Kumamoto kenjinkai. The kenjinkai provided mutual aid by helping immigrants find employment and providing financial aid to those in need and held socials such as annual picnics and dinner meetings. In the Yakima Valley, the Kumamoto kenjinkai could field their own baseball team at Japanese community socials.

By far the most important community organization for Japanese were the local branches of the Japanese Association. The Japanese Association of Washington was organized in 1900 in Seattle with Tatsuya Arai as its first president. It later became the Japanese Association of North America, which consisted of representatives from more than 30 community groups and clubs. The chief function of the association, which continued until World War II, was to protect the interests of the Japanese community; its main efforts were directed toward fighting the numerous discriminatory and restrictive laws and regulations passed against the Japanese. The association in Washington supported several court cases argued in the State Supreme Court and the U.S. Supreme Court. Association leaders in each community helped to promote better relations between the Japanese and white communities. The associations also supported activities to promote the education of the second generation, the nisei.

Later, the American-born generation, the nisei, established the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) in Seattle, which fostered nisei leadership. James Sakamoto, the editor and publisher of the English language newspaper, Japanese American Courier, was a leading figure in the prewar JACL in Washington.

Japanese Buddhist as well as Christian churches were important in the religious and social life of the Japanese American community. Church activity enlarged the social contacts and leadership roles of Japanese women with the numerous bazaars and social gatherings organized largely by the women's group, the fujinkai. The churches became the social center for the young nisei with church-organized sports as well as socials, movies, and theater. While separate religious observances were held, the local Buddhist church would often cooperate with the local Japanese American Christian church in organizing joint social activities.

Christian churches actively proselytized the Japanese immigrants by providing necessary services such as English language classes, employment help, and social aid, in addition to Christian teachings. The First Baptist Church of Seattle started English language and Bible study classes for Japanese immigrants in 1891 and, in 1893, the American Baptist Mission society organized a Japanese Mission in a 27-room house on Jefferson Street in Seattle. This mission served as the first home for many young Japanese immigrant men. Other missions were established in Orillia, Auburn, Green River, O'Brian, Port Blakely, and Tacoma. In 1899, the Japanese Baptist Church was established with Reverend Fukumatsu Okazaki as pastor. Okazaki had been among the first Japanese at the 1891 English language and Bible classes and had been ordained a minister in 1894. The present church building on East Spruce Street was built in 1922. The Japanese Baptist Church provided many needed social services such as establishing a mission for Japanese women, the Fujin Home, in 1904 and later organizing the Japanese Baptist Church Nursery. At one point, the church had the largest Sunday School among all Japanese ethnic churches in the United States with over 500 nisei enrolled. The church met not only the religious but also the social and recreational needs of the increasing number of nisei. Various nisei clubs met at the church and the church gymnasium was an active community center.

Other Japanese Christian Mission churches included Highland Park United Methodist Church, which was organized as the Japanese Methodist Church in 1902 by Reverend Tsuruta; Blaine Memorial United Methodist Church, which was organized in Seattle in 1904 as the Japanese Methodist Church; the Japanese Presbyterian Church of Seattle, which was established in 1907; St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Seattle, which started as St. Peter's Japanese Mission in 1912; Whitney Memorial United Methodist Church, which was established in 1907 as the Tacoma Japanese Methodist Episcopal Church; and the Wapato United Methodist Church, which first held services in 1927 and dedicated its church building in 1935.

The Buddhist churches were important social as well as religious organizations in the Japanese American community. Buddhist churches were established in all the major Japanese American settlements in Washington. The Seattle Buddhist Church, Betsuin, had its beginnings on November 15, 1901, when the Seattle Young Men's Buddhist Association was organized and a dedication ceremony-service was observed in a rented two-story wooden building located on Main Street in Seattle. The first resident minister was Reverend Gendo Nakai who arrived in May 1902. Because Reverend Nakai was the only Buddhist minister in the area, he ministered to areas as far away as the Columbia River and the Canadian border including Bellevue, Green Lake, South Park, and White River Valley in the Seattle area; Vashon Island and Bainbridge Island in Puget Sound; Tacoma; Yakima; and Port Blakely; as well as Portland, Oregon. Reverend Nakai established the first Buddhist service center, Howakai, in the White River Valley in 1902. By 1906, the membership had outgrown its first location and a new temple was built and dedicated in 1908. On October 5, 1941, the present church was dedicated.

The Buddhist church served religious as well as other functions. The Seattle Buddhist Church organized English language classes for Japanese immigrants in the city to help them bridge the language barrier. The church served as a surrogate family to Buddhists who had no families by annually conducting on its founding day a memorial service unique to this church, Muen Hoyo, for those of the faith who had died with no immediate relatives in the area to hold memorial services for them. The Seattle Bukkyo Fujinkai (Buddhist Women's Association) was started in 1908. The church took a leadership role in organizing youth groups with the establishment of the Sunday School Department in 1912, the Lotus Young Buddhist Association

(YBA) in 1922, the formation of Boy Scout Troop #52 in 1932 and a Camp Fire Girls unit in 1934. The annual Obon Festival-Bazaar in July has become one of the featured summer events in Seattle with over 100,000 people participating in the Betsuin Bon Dance.

Other Buddhist churches include the White River Buddhist Church in Auburn established by Reverend Kozen Morita in October 1912, the Tacoma Buddhist Church started in 1915 in a small rented room in the Hiroshima Hotel, the Yakima Buddhist Church dedicated in 1930 in Wapato, and the Spokane Buddhist Church established in 1946.³³

The cultural focal point for the state's Japanese community was the Nippon Kan in the International District of Seattle at Yesler and Seventh Avenue. Constructed in 1909, the Nippon Kan functioned as a center for the Japanese community with the upper floors used as a hotel, other areas for offices and meeting rooms, and the main area as a theater. The Nippon Kan hosted plays, dances, puppet shows, musical performances, martial arts, and other forms of entertainment by local performers as well as performers from Japan. The hall was also used for public meetings to discuss community issues and for religious education.

Baseball seems to have been one of the most important recreational activities of the Japanese. Japanese immigrants organized their own teams. In Seattle these teams played in both their own ethnic league and with the city leagues. The mutual love of baseball was one element that bound the immigrant generation and the American-born generation, as immigrant fathers could coach and publicly cheer their sons playing on the baseball diamond. On the baseball diamond, Japanese Americans could at last compete equally without discriminatory restrictions. For many Japanese families, Sundays were devoted to watching Japanese American baseball teams play. In fact, the biggest social gathering of the year for the Japanese American community of the Pacific Northwest was its annual Japanese Northwest Fourth of July Baseball Tournament. Thousands gathered each year from all over Washington, Oregon, and Idaho.

Filipino American Community

For Filipino Americans, discrimination and oppression led to organization and community growth. Though condemned to largely bachelor's lives, members of the Filipino community created an extended family system wherein single Filipino men were adopted as "uncles" into existing families presided over by Filipino women who functioned as surrogate mothers, sisters, and aunts to those men. As "uncles," the single men could share in the warmth of family life with children and share in the family celebrations. During the Depression and other hard times, Filipinos survived because of a willingness of other Filipinos to share their lodging and food with another countryman.³⁴

Organization is the key word characterizing Filipino community development. Realizing that more could be accomplished through collective action, Filipinos organized a union to improve cannery working conditions and community organizations to promote their interests in Washington. Exploitative conditions in the cannery system led Filipino cannery workers to organize the Cannery Workers' and Farm Laborers' Union Local 18257 on June 19, 1933, in Seattle. Its headquarters was at Fifth Avenue and Main Street in Seattle. Chartered by the American Federation of Labor, the union brought an end to the labor contractor system. Seattle remains the general headquarters of the union, now known as Local 37 of the ILWU, and located (at 2800 First Avenue) in Seattle. The pioneer Alaskeros, Filipino laborers in the Alaska salmon canneries, were characterized by Filipino American scholar Peter Bacho as proud, defiant, and tough.³⁵

Filipino community organizations often were successful in fighting off exclusionary legislation. One of the most successful undertakings was the Seattle Filipino community's efforts to establish their right to own land in Washington. In 1939, Pio DeCano, a Filipino immigrant, challenged the 1937 amendment to the anti-alien land law that had sought to include Filipinos within the definition of alien. He purchased a tract of land in Seattle to be used as the future site of a Filipino clubhouse, but his purchase was immediately contested by the State Attorney General. Through the united efforts of Filipinos across Washington, DeCano was able to successfully fight his case to the State Supreme Court, which ruled in his favor in 1941. But

it was not until October 1, 1965, after long years of fundraising and planning that the Filipino Community of Seattle, Inc., was able to realize its dream of a establishing a community center with the purchase of a building on Empire Way South.³⁶

Similar efforts were made by the Filipino community in the Yakima Valley to secure leasing rights on the Yakima Indian Reservation. Though Filipinos were not allowed to directly lease reservation land before World War II, they were able to farm through labor agreements with Indian allottees. Farming was seen by Filipinos as a means of creating jobs for themselves in the poor economy of the Depression. But as Filipinos began to leave their migrant labor status and become independent reservation farmers, they came into direct competition with white farmers who sought to exclude Filipinos from leasing rights on the reservation. After the passage of the 1937 amended alien land law there was a crackdown on Filipino reservation farmers. In response, 100 Filipinos organized as the Filipino Community of Yakima Valley, Inc., in Wapato, and conducted a 1937 campaign to settle the issue of their legal status and rights. They circulated petitions, sought the support of labor unions and civic groups, wrote to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, to the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, to President Quezon of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, to the Resident Commissioner of the Philippines and other officials, and worked out an agreement with the Yakima Tribal Council. Finally in 1942, due to their determined efforts, the Yakima Valley Filipinos secured leasing rights on the reservation and assured themselves a permanent home in the Yakima Valley.

Filipino farmers in the Yakima Valley gradually increased their acres of cultivated land and by 1952 were farming over four thousand acres with an annual income of \$750,000. A new cooperative, the Philippine Produce Co., Inc., was formed in the fall of 1943 to improve the economic stability of farmers through proper marketing of their goods. Committed to making their homes in the Yakima Valley, the Filipino community spent 10 years building a permanent community center in the city of Wapato. The Yakima Filipino Community Center, which opened in 1952, stands as a proud "symbol of the cooperation, the loyalty and the determination of a community which has refused to quit in the face of adversity."³⁷

Historian Fred Cordova has noted that Filipino organizations "served as surrogate families for many of their members who had no immediate families at all."³⁸ These organizations unified the Filipino community. One of the chief functions of these organizations was to organize community celebrations such as Rizal Day, which was an important commemoration of the 1896 execution by Spain of Jose Rizal, a Philippine national hero-martyr. The Filipino Community of Seattle, Incorporated, which serves as an umbrella organization of various Filipino groups in Seattle, had its origins in 1927 when a committee was formed to organize Rizal Day activities for the Filipino community. In 1935 the Philippine Commonwealth Council of Seattle coordinated the celebration of the inauguration of Philippine Commonwealth government on November 15, 1935.³⁹ These celebrations continued annually until independence on July 4, 1946. Such celebrations brought the Filipino community together and promoted unity. Other social activities sponsored by the various Filipino community organizations included benefit dances, banquets and balls, and beauty queen contests. Fundraising was often the most important feature of all these activities. Through such events funds were raised, not only to sponsor social activities, but also to purchase or build community centers and establish scholarships for the Filipino American youth.

Most Filipinos were Catholics and the Our Lady Queen of Martyrs Church in Seattle was established by the Maryknoll order specifically to minister to Filipino Catholics. In 1938 the Filipino Catholic cleric Monsignor Pedro Monleon was assigned to Seattle's Maryknoll parish as an associate. The church served a social as well as religious function through its role in weddings, baptisms, and funerals.⁴⁰

Seattle

By the 1930s the bulk of the Asian American community in Seattle lived in the area now called the International District, though some Asians had begun to move into the Yesler Hill and Beacon Hill areas after 1920. Chinatown centered on King Street and the Japanese section, Nihonmachi, centered on South Main Street and Sixth Avenue. Landlords would not rent to Asian Americans outside the district and restrictive covenant practices, which were legal until

1948, further limited the residential mobility of Asian Americans. Most Seattle real estate agreements specified that the owners in districts such as Ballard, Lake Washington, Magnolia, and Broadmoor could not sell their property to nonwhites. First Hill and Beacon Hill were not covered by such restrictive covenants and became the first areas in Seattle where Asian Americans were able to buy homes outside of the International District. Movement out of the International District accelerated after World War II.⁴¹

The Arts

The cultural life of these communities was stimulated by significant writers and artists who were able to express the collective experience of these groups. In particular, the writings of Sui Sin Far, Carlos Bulosan, and Monica Sone give glimpses into the lives of their ethnic communities in the years before World War II. The art world of Washington State was greatly enriched by Asian American artists. Dr. Kyo Koike, Frank Kunishige, and other photographers of Japanese ancestry of the Seattle Camera Club received international recognition for their work in the 1920s and 1930s. Japanese American painters in the 1930s such as Kakuichi Fujii, Kenjiro Nomura, and Kamekichi Tokita, and members of the Chinese Art Club like Fay Chong and Andrew Chinn contributed their aesthetic sense to the art world of Washington. Asian American artists like George Tsutakawa, internationally known for his fountain sculptures, Paul Horiuchi, known for his collages made of Japanese handmade papers with Japanese calligraphy, Roger Shimomura, who is especially known for his mock ukiyoe style graphic paintings, and Val Laigo, known for his strongly religious-influenced paintings, continue this Asian American art tradition today.⁴² Internationally renown architect Minoru Yamasaki designed the Federal Science Pavilion for the Seattle Century Twenty-One Exposition and the World Trade Center in New York City. Music, too, was important to the cultural life of the community, from traditional Chinese opera to Japanese koto and shamisen, to the Filipino group the "Moonlight Serenaders" of Seattle in the 1930s, to the modern jazz pianist Deems Tsutakawa of Seattle.

On the eve of World War II there seemed to be great hope that perhaps these communities had achieved some level of permanence. The U.S.-born children of the early immigrants grew

up as Americans in Washington State and their parents took special pride in the achievements of their children, whose success rectified past and present injustices. The hopes and aspirations of the immigrants rested in the future of their American children.

WORLD WAR II

World War II proved to be a turning point for Asian American communities in Washington. For Japanese Americans, World War II was a time of incarceration and near destruction of their ethnic community; for other Asian groups it was a time of improving legal status.

With the outbreak of World War II on December 7, 1941, Japanese immigrants in Washington, who had been denied the right of naturalization, became enemy aliens. After the outbreak of war with Japan they were viewed with great suspicion. They and their citizen children were subject to a myriad of restrictions and with the issuing of Executive Order 9066 by President Roosevelt on February 19, 1942, they were all forcibly rounded up, removed from their homes and interned in inland concentration camps in California, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and Arkansas. In Washington State, the removal order affected Japanese Americans living west of the Columbia River. Those Japanese Americans who lived east of the Columbia River such as in Pasco, Spokane, Walla Walla or Pullman were not removed though they were subject to other restrictions.

The removal started with Bainbridge Island Japanese Americans on March 30, 1942. They were sent to Manzanar in California. The other Japanese Americans in Washington State subject to the removal orders were at first sent to assembly centers at Puyallup Fairgrounds (Camp Harmony), Portland, and Camp Pinedale near Fresno, California. A sculpture by George Tsutakawa in the Puyallup Fairground parking lot commemorates this episode. Most Seattle Japanese Americans were then sent to the inland concentration camp Minidoka in Idaho, though some were sent at first to Tule Lake in northern California. Yakima Valley Japanese Americans were sent to Heart Mountain, Wyoming. Two-thirds of those interned were U.S. citizens.

Though the United States was also at war with Germany and Italy, German Americans and Italian Americans were not rounded up and interned en masse, nor were German and Italian aliens who were also enemy aliens subject to incarceration. Clearly the difference in treatment was based on race. The internment of Japanese Americans in World War II marked the culmination of a century of a racist policy of discrimination and exclusion of Asians in Washington. Always considered foreign because of their race, even the American-born, second-generation Japanese American, the nisei, were interned in inland concentration camps during the war along with the immigrant first generation, the issei.

It has been argued that Japanese Americans were interned for their own protection, but there were few if any acts of violence against Japanese Americans even in the immediate months after Pearl Harbor when war hysteria was highest. Others claim that internment was a military necessity, that there was no time to determine who were loyal and who were not. Gordon Hirabayashi, a University of Washington student who contested the curfew and evacuation orders, was convicted of resisting internment. His conviction was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court based on the government's claim of military necessity. (There was apparently time to determine the loyalty of German and Italian aliens who were never interned en masse even if there was not for Japanese Americans.) Japanese Americans were never charged with a crime. There are no documented cases of sabotage attributed to Japanese Americans. Moreover, Japanese Americans fought with distinction in the U.S. armed forces in World War II in both the European and Pacific theaters. The 100th Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat team were the most decorated units of their size in American military history. Furthermore, government documents uncovered in 1981 through the Freedom of Information Act revealed that the initial recommendations for mass internment of Japanese Americans were based on racial considerations, and that in later cases argued before the U.S. Supreme Court the government knowingly suppressed, altered, and destroyed evidence proving that there existed no military necessity for the removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast.

On the basis of this uncovered evidence of government duplicity, Gordon Hirabayashi's conviction was overturned in 1987 by the U.S. Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit. Although this case and the other test cases of Korematsu and Yasui were finally overturned, the U.S. Supreme

Court has not moved to rewrite its World War II decisions. On Halloween Day, October 31, 1988, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the class action suit for reparations in *Hohri v. United States*, the last case in which it could reconsider its wartime decision. However, due to the vigorous educational campaign by the Japanese American redress movement, the legislative and executive branches of the U.S. government moved to correct this injustice. In 1988 Congress passed and the President signed legislation to apologize and financially compensate Japanese Americans to redress their relocation and internment during World War II.

The Japanese American community suffered incalculable economic loss as a direct result of wartime internment. They lost property, businesses, jobs, and savings. The economic gains of a half a century of work by the immigrant generation was wiped out. After the war the Japanese American community had to start up the economic ladder from the bottom rung again. The immigrant generation already nearing retirement age in 1945 had to begin their lives over again. Many ended their working lives just as they had begun, as day laborers. The psychological losses were perhaps greater than the economic losses, particularly for the second generation Japanese Americans who as citizens believed in the American democratic system. Internment essentially subverted their faith in the system. After the war's end many Japanese Americans returning to Washington were met with hostility. However, the Japanese American community in Washington did survive this ordeal and slowly rebuilt their community.

In contrast, World War II brought some improvements in the lives of other Asian groups. The United States began to change its racist policies against other Asians in the U.S. in response to pressures by the Chinese Nationalist government to repeal the Chinese Exclusion Act and in response to Japan's wartime propaganda that pointed out the hypocrisy of America's claims to be fighting for liberty and democracy for Asians abroad while discriminating against Asians in America. After all, Chinese, Filipinos, and South Asians were allies in arms in Asia. In December 1943, Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act establishing a token quota of 105 per year for China and granting naturalization rights to Chinese already residing in the United States. Despite the great symbolic end to a formal policy of total Chinese exclusion, this new law was intricately designed to achieve the same effect. Not only was the inadequate quota of 105 for all of China ridiculous, even insulting, especially in comparison to the quota of 67,721

for whites from Great Britain, but there were other restrictions attached that further limited even this low quota of Chinese immigration. Any person of one-half or more Chinese ancestry was charged to the Chinese quota regardless of place of birth. Thus a British citizen who was by descent half Chinese was counted in the quota for China. Furthermore, Chinese wives and children of U.S. citizens were charged to the 105-person quota for China even though European wives and children of U.S. citizens were considered nonquota immigrants. While the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act represented more of a symbolic than real victory on the legal front, Chinese Americans made economic progress during the war as more job opportunities opened up for them outside of Chinatown, particularly in the aircraft and shipbuilding industries.

The start of World War II dramatically changed the general public's attitudes toward Filipinos. News of the defense of the Philippines by Filipino and American troops fighting side-by-side against the Japanese enemy in the Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor in Manila Bay changed American perceptions of Filipinos. Against the enemy Japanese, Filipinos were viewed as allies in arms. Most young Filipino men joined the armed forces, serving especially in the First and Second Filipino Infantry Regiments. As a result of their courageous and loyal service, they were granted the opportunity to become naturalized citizens. On the home front they were able to get jobs previously closed to them. Of major importance, Filipinos finally acquired the right to possess land in Washington. In February 1941, in the Pio DeCano case, the Washington State Supreme Court had ruled unconstitutional the 1937 amendment to the alien land law that extended the definition of alien to include Filipinos as noncitizens. Just before war broke out, the legislature was poised to quickly pass a bill to amend the title of the 1937 Act since the court had merely ruled that the technicality of an incorrect titling had nullified the law, not the intent and effect of the law. Given the wartime change in American attitudes toward Filipino brothers in arms, no legislation to correct the title of the 1937 Act was passed and the alien land law was thus not applicable to Filipinos. Furthermore, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs finally issued a ruling in January 1942, allowing Filipinos to lease land on the Yakima Indian Reservation.

POSTWAR ERA

The postwar era has brought further changes. Changes in immigration and naturalization laws and the legacy of the Vietnam War have greatly increased the numbers and changed the composition of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington.

In the immediate aftermath of World War II, Congress passed several more pieces of legislation that further helped to end Asian exclusion. In 1946 Congress sought to remedy some of the inequities of the 1943 act to repeal Chinese exclusion by allowing Chinese wives of American citizens to enter on a nonquota basis. Congress also granted Filipinos the right of naturalization. South Asians were granted naturalization rights and natives of India were given a quota of 100 per year with husbands, wives, and children of American citizens entering on a nonquota basis. Thus, Congress finally legislatively reversed the 1923 Thind decision and removed India from the barred zone.

Starting in December 1945, Congress also passed measures to accommodate the immigration of wives of American servicemen serving abroad. In particular, the Act of August 19, 1950, made spouses and minor children of members of the American armed forces, regardless of their race, eligible for immigration on a nonquota basis if marriage occurred prior to March 19, 1952. Then, from 1948 to 1959, Congress passed several emergency and temporary laws to permit certain numbers and types of displaced persons, refugees, escapees, orphans, and relatives to be admitted to the United States and allowed an adjustment in status to that of permanent resident for students, visitors, and skilled aliens who were not able to return to their own country for fear of persecution. As a result of these measures, Asian war brides and particularly Chinese refugees and displaced persons were able to have their status adjusted to permanent resident or were allowed to enter the United States.

In 1952, Congress passed the Immigration and Nationality Act, which eliminated race as a bar to immigration and naturalization. Known as the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, this law ended the total exclusion of Asian immigration to the United States by giving every country a quota and making all races eligible for naturalization. However, this act still perpetuated a

discriminatory barrier to Asian immigration by giving only a token quota to Asian countries. China still had a quota of 105. Japan had a quota of 185 and most Asian countries had a quota of 100. Moreover, aliens with at least 50 percent Asian ancestry were still charged to the country of ancestry regardless of where they were born or lived. Yet, despite these severe limitations, 1952 marked an end to the era of total Asian exclusion. With the granting of nonquota immigrant status to wives and close relatives of U.S. citizens, there was a slow growth in Asian population as Asian Americans sent for relatives.

Korean students comprised most of the Korean community in Seattle in the 1950s, although there were also increasing numbers of Korean wives of Americans and Korean adopted children entering Washington after the Korean Conflict ended in 1953. A great increase in numbers of Koreans immigrating to Washington came after 1965.

There was a steady increase in numbers of Pacific Islanders from Guam and American Samoa with the granting of full citizenship rights to Guam in 1951 and the moving of the U.S. naval base from Pago Pago in Samoa to Hawaii in 1951. Subsequently, many Guamanians and Samoans sought better paying jobs in the mainland United States. Enlistment in the U.S. armed forces was the easiest route for many to obtain better economic opportunities. Particularly in Samoa, the loss of the military base and its attendant jobs along with a severe drought led many Samoans to come to Washington State looking for a better education or as enlistees in the armed forces. Most Samoans in Seattle are U.S. nationals from American Samoa, which is a U.S. trust territory. Christian churches and a council of chiefs have played an important role in the Samoan community. Washington State has the nation's third largest concentration of Samoans after California and Hawaii.

The most dramatic changes in Asian American population growth and composition came with the passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, which gave equal quotas to all countries and favored immigration from the professional classes. From July 1, 1968, when the law took effect, each independent country outside of the Western Hemisphere was granted a quota of up to 20,000 per year, with an alien's quota chargeable to the country of his birth. The law exempted from the quota immediate relatives of American citizens including

minor children, spouses, and parents. Within the limits of the quota, preference was given to other relatives of American citizens and to workers with skills deemed necessary to the American economy.

As a result of the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act, there was a sharp increase in Asian immigration leading to a rapid increase in the Asian American population. Asian Americans are the fastest-growing ethnic population in the United States. The Asian/Pacific American population doubled from 1970 to 1980 and again from 1980 to 1990. The largest numbers of Asians immigrating to the United States now are Filipinos and Koreans. To these can be added growing immigration of Chinese and South Asians. This newest wave of immigration is composed of relatives of U.S. citizens and a high percentage of the educated, professionals and businessmen since immigration laws give preference to this class. Because of the years of exclusion and low immigration quotas, there is a tremendously long waiting list of Asian immigrants wanting to enter the United States. The backlog of Asian applicants for immigration increases with each passing year.

The Asian/Pacific American population also was greatly affected by the Vietnam War. The Vietnam War generated a new wave of immigrants from Southeast Asia who entered the United States as refugees. This has led to great numbers of Southeast Asians settling in Washington. A massive evacuation of Vietnamese took place in the last weeks before the war ended in 1975 with the collapse of the Saigon regime. Washington State officially sponsored the first group of Vietnamese from their evacuation holding station in Guam and this group formed the core Vietnamese community in Washington, which includes a mixture of Vietnamese; Hoa, who are ethnic Chinese from Vietnam; and Cham, who are Moslems from Vietnam and Cambodia. Cambodians who had close ties to the United States as former government officials and civilian and military employees of the United States also began to settle in Washington in 1975 with the fall of Phnom Penh to the Khmer Rouge. Numbers of Laotians also began to arrive in 1975 including the Hmong, Lao and other tribal groups from this ethnically diverse country. This was followed by further waves of Southeast Asian refugees created by the new government policies in their countries. The crackdown on ethnic Chinese in Vietnam after 1975 led to an outpouring of Hoa "boat people" in 1979 and 1980. Because of their past close military

association with the United States, Laotians had to flee the increasing dominance of the North Vietnamese. By 1980, Cambodians fled in increasing numbers from the atrocities of the Pol Pot regime.

Each Southeast Asian refugee has a compelling story of immigration and settlement in Washington. Their uprooting and flight was filled with death and suffering. They frequently grieve for the deaths of loved ones and constantly worry about relatives and friends left back in their war-torn countries. The traumas of war have been exacerbated by loss of country, family, culture, language, job, status and respect. Many find it difficult to find employment, security and identity in America. Most of the problems of resettlement are intensified by language differences. Dropped suddenly into a new culture requiring communication in a new language, older immigrants find it difficult to acquire quickly the necessary language skills to pass job interviews successfully and even more difficult to maintain good working relations with coworkers after obtaining a job. More adaptable young children often become intermediaries for adults as the young more quickly learn the English language at school.

Southeast Asians have inherited the legacy of anti-Asian exclusion history. Instead of peace and freedom they find themselves targets of physical violence, hate, and discrimination. Entering the United States in a time of economic recession, they are perceived by some as foreigners competing for American jobs or as easy scapegoats on which the frustrations of thwarted hopes and aspirations can be vented. However, Southeast Asians are building a valued place for themselves in Washington's multicultural community through hard work and perseverance.

ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN COMMUNITY

From the early 1970s, as a matter of political expedience, a political coalition of Asian/Pacific Americans has emerged who realize that they must be united to have their voices heard and to have their needs and perspectives addressed. In this period, these community activists and organizations began to call themselves Asian/Pacific Americans (APAs).

Asian/Pacific American political caucuses have been organized to gain recognition of and action on issues of concern to the Asian/Pacific American community. This community worked for the establishment of the Commission on Asian American Affairs in the governor's office and has worked to elect local, state, and national candidates for political office sensitive to these issues. Qualified Asian/Pacific American candidates have been identified and backed for elected and appointed offices. In particular the Seattle area has produced bright Asian/Pacific American candidates that have widespread support within the diverse Asian/Pacific American community as well as in the larger community. From the early Asian/Pacific American candidates such as Wing Luke, elected to the Seattle City Council in 1960, to Ruby Chow who served on the Seattle City Council from 1973 to 1985, there was an increase in Asian American politicians from 1979 to include Dolores Sibonga and Cheryl Chow on the Seattle City Council, Lloyd Hara, Seattle City Treasurer, and Gary Locke and Art Wang in the State Legislature.

Political empowerment is not the only reason for a growing awareness of Asian/Pacific American identity in Washington. There is also the recognition of the commonality of discriminatory treatment that binds their histories in America. Out of the civil rights movement and social activism of the 1960s and 1970s and the domestic and international turmoil resulting from the Vietnam War emerged a movement to recognize and promote Asian/Pacific American history and culture. Asian American studies was recognized as an academic field in universities across the nation as there arose an awareness of the importance of studying and valuing the diversity of America in order to understand fully the multicultural nature of America. The University of Washington Asian American Studies Program and the Washington State University Asian/Pacific American Studies Program were established in the 1970s through pressure from the Asian/Pacific American community. Finally, American history became inclusive rather than exclusive and American literature studies have been enriched by the voices of the likes of Sui Sin Far, John Okada, and Carlos Bulosan. The canon of American literature continues to be enriched by the voices of Washington Asian American writers and poets like Laureen Mar, Alan Chong Lau, Mitsuye Yamada, James Mitsui, Alex Kuo, Lonny Kaneko, and Shawn Wong.

The Asian/Pacific American community continues to grow with the state of Washington and its diversity increases each day. The community is not cohesive and deep schisms divide

groups. There are splits along political lines between Chinese Americans supporting Taiwan versus the Peoples Republic of China, between Filipinos supporting Marcos versus Aquino, and Koreans supporting the current regime versus reform elements. The numbers of new immigrants from Asia since 1968 have changed the composition from two-thirds native-born population in 1960 to a majority foreign-born in 1990. Immigration legislation and the English Only movement are issues of vital concern to the Asian/Pacific American community due to this change in composition. Tensions exist between the American-born and the new immigrants, who often have differing world views.

Yet out of these differences a new and vital Asian/Pacific American community is being forged in Washington State. Symbolic of this new unity and vitality is the rejuvenation of the International District in Seattle. Unlike other major West Coast cities, Seattle does not have a separate Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Little Manila, Koreatown, or Little Saigon. Through interethnic cooperation the International District has been saved from destruction and revitalized itself as the focal point of ethnic identity for Asian/Pacific Americans. Besides ethnic restaurants and stores like Uwajimaya, the International District houses the culturally important Nippon Kan, Wing Luke Asian Museum, and the Northwest Asian American Theatre.⁴³ The future of these peoples is rooted in a deeper understanding of their past.

This historical overview was based on a previous study by Gail M. Nomura, "Washington's Asian/Pacific American Communities," in Sid White and S.E. Solberg, Peoples of Washington, Perspectives on Cultural Diversity (Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press, 1989), 113-155.

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PART II

Identification and Evaluation Components

INTRODUCTION TO THE IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION COMPONENT

The Identification and Evaluation Component consists of three matrixes on the history and built environment associated with Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans in Washington. Although data was gathered on Korean Americans, Asian Indians and other Asian groups in the process of preparing this study, there was insufficient information on the built environment associated with these groups to produce a reliable matrix linking historic themes to specific properties. The three charts that have been included in this study are organized chronologically and subdivided into four columns that link *major themes* significant in the history of these groups, *locations* associated with the historical themes, and *property types* associated with that history, to particular *properties*. The matrixes include properties that have been listed or which have been determined to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, properties known to exist, but which have not been designated, as well as references to sites found in the literature, whose current status is unclear because they have not been surveyed.

These matrixes can be used to identify gaps in the knowledge base available to preservation planners, and point to the need for future surveys in some key areas. For example, it is known that Chinese American labor helped to build the major railroads, but particular railroad camps or dump sites associated with Asian/Pacific American participation in the construction of the tracks, trestles, and tunnels have not yet been identified. Still, it is important to remember that not every historical theme can be closely linked to a specific element of the historic built environment; for that reason, these assessments need to be carefully rendered. Some themes may be ill-suited to interpretation through the built environment, or at best only a few properties may have been associated with them. In the case of other themes, the problem is not the absence of related properties but rather their ubiquitous character. The pervasive presence of small businesses and restaurants owned and managed by Chinese and Japanese Americans makes it impossible to identify and list all of them, and it may not be desirable to do so. But it may be appropriate to identify representative examples of these property types for the purposes of

designation and preservation. Moreover, the designation of special districts with a large concentration of historic properties associated with Asian American settlement, such as Seattle's International District, may be the most appropriate way to commemorate, protect, and preserve those types of resources.

A well-developed scholarly literature makes it possible to identify the major periods and themes associated with the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington State. However, in the absence of state or local surveys of properties significant in Asian/Pacific American heritage, the list of properties in the matrixes cannot be considered comprehensive. For that reason, it is best to view this matrix as an ongoing preservation planning tool rather than as a completed document.

The information found under the subheading of Property Types should be viewed as tentative, as this is one of the first efforts to identify and define the property types significant in Asian/Pacific American heritage generally, much less in Washington. The list of significant property types is derived from limited evidence, and additional research is needed in many cases. The historical literature, for example, mentions the presence of Chinese cooks in logging camps, so it can be deduced that logging camp ruins would be significant property types. Although these historic sites are not exclusively associated with Asian Americans, their presence should be included in the interpretation of these types of properties. In the absence of well-developed archaeological or historical data on the built environment associated with Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington, the reader should remember that this is a tentative categorization that needs to be the subject of additional research. It should also be noted that most Asian/Pacific American properties are likely to be significant not on account of architectural merit, but rather for historic associations with Asian/Pacific American communities.

The subheading in the matrixes on Properties incorporates inventoried and designated properties, such as the United States Quarantine Station in Sequim, which is associated with the regulation of immigration. However, this category also includes references to places that were found in local histories or scholarship that have not been inventoried, but which might provide clues to the identification of additional landmarks. Additional research needs to be done to

assess the current status of these historic properties and to evaluate their suitability for listing on the National Register.

The category of Properties links the historical themes that Gail Nomura identified to sites associated with Asian/Pacific Americans found in the records in state and local preservation offices, as well as references to particular properties found in other historical sources, such as city directories. In general, this data is strongest and most reliable for King County, specifically for Seattle, and in Pierce County, for Tacoma. The status of each historic property listed in the Properties column is indicated using the key found below, which is based on information found in the Extant Historic Properties Matrix. The letters (a-g) correspond to the following designations and sources of information. In cases where no letter is listed, the current status of the property is unknown.

- a. National/State Register
 - a-1. Chinatown Historic District/International District
 - a-2. Pioneer Square Historic District
- b. State Register
- c. City Landmark
 - c-1. City of Seattle Landmark
- d. Historic Inventory
- e. Archaeological Inventory
- f. Determination of Eligibility
- g. Personal Communication

The Extant Historical Properties matrix is the research work of Rose Wong and D. Greg Doyle, who systematically reviewed the records of the Washington State Historic and Archaeological Inventory files, National and State Register of Historic Places files, and the listing of properties determined to be eligible for the National Register. The aforementioned resources were used to review the 23 counties in Washington State with the most significant heritage of Asian/Pacific American settlement. In addition, the researchers contacted local preservation officials throughout Washington to find out if there were any properties associated with Asian/Pacific Americans in the files of local preservation offices. These counties were identified by the researchers, in consultation with staff in the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, as the primary locations for Asian/Pacific American settlement. Sites associated

with specific ethnic groups are listed by county, along with available information that reveals the site's significance, date of construction or demolition, and the current status of each property, where it is known. For example, a site in Grant County associated with Chinese miners, dating to the 1890s, was listed on an archaeological inventory that noted its location south of the Wanapum Dam. The researchers commented on the site's status and significance, noting that cobble piles remained as of the date of inventory in April 1981, and that maps but no photos were known to exist for that property.

The researchers also have identified cases where a link with Asian/Pacific American heritage is possible, but it has not been adequately documented, or where structures once existed but have since been torn down, such as in Cowlitz County, where an inventory form identifies the site of Kanaka Village, a Hudson Bay Trading area, but also indicates that the structures were torn down in 1860. The potential archaeological significance of the site, however, has been recognized. Many properties are associated with a number of Asian American groups, such as Seattle's Pike Place Market, dating to the turn of the century, which included Chinese, Japanese and Filipino merchants and farmers.

The most comprehensive data is available for King County, generally, and specifically for Seattle, as a result of research for the nomination of the International District to the National Register, which included approximately 50 properties. A great deal of information about Tacoma stems from a multiple property listing for a cluster of houses that were "part of the cohesive unit of homes occupied by Japanese immigrants before and after World War II," which were inventoried in 1980.

A significant number of properties were identified throughout the state, reflecting both rural and urban settlement patterns. Although there are far fewer rural examples than urban ones, with a scattering of sites over many counties, the publication of this document is likely to increase public awareness of the Asian/Pacific American presence in Washington beyond the known areas. Themes significant to Asian/Pacific American heritage then can be incorporated into future surveys and inventories. Since this is a working document, it might be amended as new properties are inventoried and nominated to the National Register.

One of the limitations of the Extant Historical Properties matrix is that State Historic Preservation offices and local preservation officials typically lack up-to-date information on the status of properties once they have been surveyed. For that reason, this section cannot be considered a reliable guide to the current status of properties associated with Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington. In Clallam County, for example, a Chinese house with a wooden gabled structure, used by a potato farmer, was listed on the historic inventory and recognized as one of the few remaining sites of Chinese settlement in this area when inventoried in 1979. It was not clear to the researchers, however, if the structure is extant and it was beyond the scope of this project to survey historic properties. In that regard, the researchers recommend that the OAHP query local preservation officials to check on the status of the properties in their jurisdiction.

This section concludes with a review the literature on the built environment associated with Asian/Pacific American heritage as well as an overview of property types associated with Asian/Pacific settlement in Washington, which was prepared by Gail Dubrow. This overview indicates that although there is some literature that identifies and analyzes the built environment associated with Asian/Pacific American settlement, the largest body of scholarly work to date is about Chinese Americans, and great gaps remain in our understanding of the built environment associated with other Asian/Pacific American groups. Because there have been no studies of the built environment associated with Asian/Pacific Americans specifically in Washington, this review of the literature looks to other studies done on the West Coast, particularly in Hawaii, California, and Nevada, for clues about the architectural heritage of Washington. Philip Choy's research on the architecture of San Francisco's Chinatown and David Lai's studies on the architectural features of North American Chinatowns, such as those found in San Francisco, Seattle, Vancouver, and Montreal, figure among the relevant works reviewed in this section. While this literature focuses on defining distinctively Asian architectural styles, some recent preservation plans, such as Nevada's, have begun to identify the types of buildings and historic landscape features associated with Asian American heritage. The work done in Nevada has helped researchers to identify and define the property types associated with Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington. However, as the quantity and quality of research that specifically

focuses on Washington grows, comparisons may become possible that will allow researchers to identify significant variations within general property types that are the result of local influences.

In the absence of sufficient examples of particular property types, it becomes impossible to generalize. For that reason, this portion of the document remains tentative. The development of a reliable typology for elements of the built environment and landscape features associated with Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington awaits the completion of systematic surveys, so that a sufficient number of examples of particular property types can be compared and reliable generalizations made. When three, four, or five Chinese herbalists' shops have been identified in Washington, it will become possible to define the characteristic features of an herbal shop and develop relevant criteria for assessing the physical integrity of particular examples nominated to the National Register.

In only a few cases, sufficient examples of property types remain to permit generalizations to be made about their architectural features. Single room occupancy hotels, which were a significant source of housing in urban Asian/Pacific communities, such as Seattle, have survived to the present day in substantial numbers. To a lesser degree, some generalizations reliably can be made about association halls and language schools. In the near future, research in progress may allow for more conclusive generalizations to be made about other property types, such as Japanese American *furos* or bathhouses. But for the bulk of property types, it would be premature to generalize in the absence of comparative examples. Such an effort should logically follow, not precede, a statewide survey of Asian/Pacific American resources.

It is evident that preservation officials face significant dilemmas in assessing the merit of these properties for designation, in part because there has been a long history of neglect of Asian/Pacific American heritage. In many cases, the physical integrity of structures has deteriorated significantly over time, such as the Japanese language school in Tacoma. This process of physical decline, combined with limited community support for preservation, needs to be understood at least in part within the context of the internment of Japanese Americans on the West Coast during the Second World War. Internment dislocated Tacoma's Japanese American community and created ambivalence among survivors about any government action

that even remotely might be construed as a "taking" of resources away from community members. Thus, little support could be found within the Japanese American community for protecting the Tacoma language school from the Japanese American owners' efforts to de-designate it, despite its significance as one of only two known examples of this property type in the state. Community attitudes toward preservation need to be understood with the broader context of the history of racial relations.

Assessing the integrity and significance of a property also is complicated as a result of this history. For many years, Asian Americans literally were written out of Washington history or marginalized within it. Recent efforts that have accorded greater recognition to the myriad roles Asian/Pacific Americans have played in the development of the state cannot necessarily compensate for the deterioration and destruction of Asian/Pacific American resources during the years when their significance was unrecognized or undervalued. Furthermore, effects of racial hostility and exclusion have resulted in the dislocation of Asian/Pacific American groups from many places where they once had settled, leaving behind significant historic properties without a natural constituency to advocate for their preservation. This legacy suggests that ordinary preservation practices, which rely on local constituencies to advocate for the preservation of cultural resources, and which enforce uniform standards of historical significance and integrity, are problematic and unlikely to prove effective in relation to the protection of Asian/Pacific American resources. Some of the fundamental principles that guide the identification, evaluation, designation, and preservation of historic properties may need to be adapted to achieve the goal of preserving Washington's rich multicultural heritage.

Preservation agencies may need to play a more active role than they have in the past in the process of identifying properties in areas that were once significant sites of Asian/Pacific American settlement, but which subsequently were vacated. The past neglect of Asian/Pacific American resources may make more liberal interpretations of historical significance and physical integrity appropriate, in order to preserve the few remaining examples of related property types. In some cases there is not yet adequate comparative data to assess the significance of particular examples. The Panama Hotel, for example, contains the only known urban example of a *furo*, or Japanese American bathhouse, in Washington, and few documentary sources remain,

complicating the process of assessing its relative significance. It therefore may be advisable to protect the few known examples of significant property types, and suspend judgment, until new surveys identify better ones. Current preservation practices tend to devalue properties for which no comparative context can be established. The long history of neglect of Asian/Pacific American heritage suggests that special efforts should be made to protect the few known examples until gaps can be filled in scholarly literature and a more complete inventory of remaining tangible resources can be secured.

HISTORICAL THEMES AND HISTORIC PROPERTIES ASSOCIATED WITH CHINESE SETTLEMENT IN WASHINGTON STATE, BY PERIOD

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
1860-1882 Economic Contributions Mining Chinese work as miners. Miners set up work camps that evolved into small towns with barbershops, laundries, and gambling houses.	Chelan County: a "Chinese village" was built at the confluence of the Chelan and Columbia Rivers. Garfield County: Rich Bar (abandoned before 1868). Lincoln County: near the mouth of the San Poil River (1864), Hawk Creek (abandoned ca. 1883), and Chinese Bar (abandoned 1885). Okanogan County: Chesaw (on the Columbia River) and Hells Canyon (along the Snake River). Stevens County: Colville area (1860s), Charley Francois Bar (18 miles downstream from Kettle Falls) (1860s), Fort Sheppard Bar (straddling the border, just below the Oreille River), China Bend (upstream from Marcus), near Hunters (west bank of the river).	Mining claims. Miner's camps and villages. Houses built of cedar boards and roofed with logs and brush. ¹ Placer mining ditches. Sluiceways. Chinese place names.	Gold panning site, marked by depressions in Cobble Area at Columbia River bank near the Chelan Airport. ⁶ Irrigation ditch in Malaga, dug by gold miners (ca. 1850s). ^d Town of Chesaw in North Okanogan County was named after a Chinese immigrant. ²
Railroads/Construction (1852-75) Walla Walla and Columbia Railroad would not have been built without Chinese labor.	From Walla Walla to Wallula, and along Columbia River and Portland trade route. ³ Kalama-Tacoma; Ft. Colville, Columbia and Oreille rivers; Cascade Mountains.	Towns, camps, and dump sites. Railroad grading, tracks, and trestles. Bridges and tunnels. ⁴	

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - CHINESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
Railroad grading.	Lines linking Portland to Puget Sound area and Seattle and Tacoma to Eastern Washington through Stampede Pass and over the Cascades. Renton-Newcastle branch of Seattle-Walla Walla Railroad. ⁵	Tracks, trestles, tunnels.	
Canal construction.	Spokane, Stevens and Whitman counties. Dug the first canal connecting Lake Union with Lake Washington.	Rail beds. Ship canal.	Montlake cut, Lake Washington Ship Canal.
<i>Canneries/Seafood Processing</i> Workers in fishing and canning industry.	Columbia River 150 miles upstream from Rock Island. Fort Sheppard Bar, Hawk Creek, Chelan Falls, Colville, in Eastern Washington; Columbia River and Puget Sound in Western Washington. <i>W. J. H. V. 11/10/1913</i> Elliott Bay at Port Madison.	Canneries.	Northern Fisheries Co. of Anacortes; Alaska Packers Association cannery in Blaine; "China House," Pacific American Fisheries, Bellingham. ⁶ China House, Cathlamet, Wahkiakum County (n.d.), associated with the Hume Salmon Cannery (1866). ^d
(Before 1875) Fishermen.		Docks, ships, settlements.	Fishing colony called "Hong Kong," near Maury Island. ⁷
Canning.	Columbia River, Puget Sound; Kitsap, Wahkiakum and Grays Harbor counties; Kitsap County, Hood Canal, Yesler Way; Port Gamble, Port Ludlow, Seattle.	Canneries.	
<i>Timber</i> (Late 1850s-1880s) Constructed early logging roads and worked in lumber mills. Wa Chong Company of Seattle was main labor contractor supplying Chinese workers for mills. ⁸	Columbia River, Puget Sound. Kitsap, Wahkiakum and Grays Harbor, Kitsap counties. Hood Canal, Port Blakely, Port Gamble, Port Ludlow and Seattle.	Lumber mills, roads.	

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - CHINESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<p><i>Agriculture</i></p> <p>(1860s) Sod-busters, draymen in local farm lands.</p> <p>Agriculture.</p> <p>Market gardening.</p> <p><i>Small Businesses/Restaurants</i></p> <p>Restaurants, tailor shops laundries, and other commercial ventures.</p> <p>(1868) Prominent businessman Chin Chun Hock opened Wa Chong Co.</p> <p>Restaurants, domestic service, tailor shops, hotels, and boarding houses.</p> <p>Discrimination and Restriction</p> <p><i>Legislation and Exclusion</i></p> <p>(1850-73) Foreign Miner's Tax in the West Coast took 50% of the revenue generated by Chinese miners from 1850-57, then 98% from 1857-73. Upon arrival in Washington, Chinese miners were greeted with this particularly severe tax.</p> <p>(1863) Chinese barred from testifying in court cases.</p> <p>(1864) Poll tax on Chinese living in Washington.¹²</p> <p>(1875) Law prohibiting the entry of prostitutes into the U.S. is enforced against Chinese women.</p>	<p>Walla Walla.</p> <p>Kalama-Tacoma; Ft. Colville, Columbia and Oreille Rivers; near mills—Tacoma and Seattle; Black Diamond, Coal Creek, Franklin, New Castle and Renton.</p> <p>Near what is now Seattle Center.⁹</p> <p>Seattle.¹⁰</p> <p>Seattle.¹¹</p> <p>Walla Walla, Seattle.</p>	<p>Garden sites.</p> <p>Commercial buildings.</p>	<p>Seattle Chinatown, 3rd and Washington streets.^{a-1}</p>

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - CHINESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
Community Building, Resistance, and Political Activity			
Seattle's early Chinatown.	Seattle. ¹³	District.	3rd and Washington streets. ^a
First Walla Walla Chinatown included business sites, housing, laundries. Fire destroyed this town on March 7, 1887.	Walla Walla.	Hotels.	The "Oriental Hotel," located on Main Street, was destroyed by fire in 1872. Fire again destroyed Chinatown in 1887, after which the community relocated to Alder (from 2nd to 4th avenues). ¹⁴
Cultural Contributions			
(1876) A large variety of Chinese landscape paintings and pictures illustrating the growth of the Wa Chong Co.	Seattle.	Commercial buildings.	Wa Chong Co., 406 Main Street. ¹⁵
1882-1900			
Economic Contributions			
<i>Mining</i>			
Gold mining.	Grant County near Wanapum Dam (ca. 1890), Pine Creek (1894).	Pits with cobble piles associated with panning for gold.	Mining site south of Wanapum Dam (ca. 1890), Grant County, where cobble piles remain. ^e
(1880s) Coal mining.	Black Diamond, Coal Creek, Franklin, Newcastle, and Renton.	Mines, settlements.	Possibly Roslyn Historic District, Kittitas County (ca. 1880). ^a
<i>Railroads</i>			
Railroad construction.	Kalama-Tacoma; Ft. Colville, Columbia, and Pend-Oreille rivers.	Bridges and tunnels. ¹⁶	
<i>Timber</i>			
(1880s) Constructed early logging roads and worked in lumber mills; Wa Chong Co. of Seattle was main labor contractor of Chinese workers for mills. ¹⁷	Kitsap County, Hood Canal, Skagit Valley, Port Gamble, Port Ludlow, Port Townsend and Seattle.	Logging roads, mills.	
Chinese cooks worked in logging camps.	Roy, Bordeaux, Yelm vicinity.	Logging camp ruins.	

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - CHINESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<i>Agriculture</i> Chinese built fences, busted sod for farmland, herded sheep, grew produce for market and subsistence. <i>Small Businesses/Restaurants</i> Shopkeepers, cooks, domestic servants, restaurant owners, physicians and pharmacists, laundrymen and proprietors of common trade stores. Small businesses such as stores and barber-shops near mills and fishing areas; farming; railroad grading, fishing and canning.	Walla Walla. ¹⁸ Seattle, Walla Walla. ¹⁹ Tacoma and Seattle; Spokane, Stevens and Whitman counties; Elliott Bay near Port Madison; Columbia River, Puget Sound, Kitsap, Wahkiakum and Grays Harbor counties.	Fences, farmland, markets. Low scale retail and commercial buildings with small storefront shops. Commercial buildings.	Fishing colony called "Hong Kong." ²⁰
Merchants.	Seattle. ²¹	District, commercial buildings.	Wa Chong and Co. China Tea store, corner of Washington and 3rd St.; Quong Chong and Co., 514 Washington Street; Sing Chong and Co., Yesler Avenue and Washington Street. ^{a-1}
Chinatown merchants, Wa Chong Co. of Seattle was first prominent Chinese business enterprise in Seattle. ²²	Seattle.		Man Hop Chong Wah, Sun Wah, Quong Tai, Wing Kwe, Wah Hing Saloon, Quong Tuck Co., Wah Chong Co. (406 Main St.), Ah King, Man-Wah, King Cheung, (between 3rd and 4th), located at 2nd and 4th streets. ²³
Restaurants, tailor shops, laundries and other commercial ventures. Restaurants, domestic service, tailor shops, hotels, and boarding houses owned by family associations.	Chinatown; Yesler area. ²⁴ Walla Walla; International District, Seattle.		Seattle Chinatown Historic District. ^{a-1} Wa Chong Co. and Quong Tuck Co. were two of them. ²⁵

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - CHINESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
Discrimination and Restriction Acts of Violence (1885) Chinese hop-pickers are attacked. (1885) Chinese at Newcastle driven out of the mines. At Coal Creek, the Chinese quarter is set on fire. ²⁷ Coal Creek as a community dates from about 1894 after the fire and explosion that rocked Newcastle. (1885) Tacoma drives out the Chinese and sets Chinatown on fire. ²⁹ (1886) Attacks on Chinese also initiated in Seattle; however, the effort to drive out the Chinese fails there when Judge Burke intervenes. However, many Chinese left after this. Anti-Chinese rallies. ³⁰ Westshore Riot. ³¹	Squak Valley (now Issaquah), east of Seattle, ²⁶ Puyallup. Black Diamond; Franklin mines, Newcastle and Renton mines, as well as mines in Sumner, Carbondale, and Snohomish. ²⁸ Tacoma. Seattle.	Hops yards. Mine sites.	Chinatown site.
Legislation and Exclusion (1885) Anti-Chinese Congress convened. Resolved to expel Chinese from western Washington and condemned their employment in industry and private homes. (1885) Chinese forced to pay special tax. ³³ (1885) Cubic Air Ordinance passed by Seattle; Tacoma had passed one earlier. (1886) Washington State passed the Alien Land Law. (1888) Scott Law prohibited reentry of Chinese laborers who left the U.S. to visit families and homeland. Chinese limited in use of cemeteries.	Seattle, Tacoma. ³² Seattle, by Seattle City Council, and Tacoma. ³⁴ Detection facilities. Seattle.	Cemeteries.	U.S. Quarantine Station Sequim vicinity, Clallam County (1893). Pt. Hudson Quarantine Station. ^a Queen Anne, Lake View and a lot adjacent to Washelli Cemetery. ³⁵

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - CHINESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<p>Community Building, Resistance, and Political Activity</p> <p>Chinatown sustains the early Chinese community in Seattle.</p> <p>Among the key institutions in Chinese American communities were family associations, district associations, and secret societies. Many of these organizations were called Tongs, literally halls or meeting places. These organizations provided mutual protection, shelter, employment, and loans. Gee How Oak Tin Benevolent Association, the largest family association in Seattle, is comprised of the Chinn, Woo and Yuen families.</p> <p>Secret societies, such as Hip Sing, Suey Sing, Hop Sing, and Bing Kung, form in Seattle for those who can't belong to the other associations.</p> <p>Chinese formed Chinatown near lumber camps.</p> <p>Chinese community formed in Olympia.</p> <p>First Walla Walla Chinatown is destroyed by fire on 7 March 1887.</p>	<p>Seattle.³⁶</p> <p>Port Townsend.³⁷</p> <p>Olympia.</p> <p>Walla Walla.</p>	<p>District, association halls, residential and commercial buildings.</p> <p>Association halls, apartments.</p> <p>Settlement.</p>	<p>At Washington Street between 2nd and 4th avenues.^{a-1}</p> <p>Gee How Oak Tin Hotel, 513-519 7th Avenue South, Seattle (1907).^{a-1}</p> <p>Seattle: Hip Sing Association Building, 418-422 8th Avenue South (1910), Bing Kung Association Apartments, 418-424 7th Avenue South/704-710 South King Street (1916).</p> <p>Three buildings on the west side of Water Street served as living quarters for thirty bachelors and two families.</p> <p>The "Oriental Hotel," located on Main Street, was destroyed by fire in 1872. Fire again destroyed Chinatown in 1887, after which the community relocated to Alder (from 2nd to 4th avenues).³⁸</p>

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - CHINESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
Cultural Contributions The Chong Wa or CCBA protected the rights of Chinese in Washington and supported Chinese language schools, religion, and heritage and Chinese opera.	Seattle. ³⁹	Association hall.	Seattle: Chong Wa Benevolent Association, 522 7th Avenue South (1929).
1900-1920			
Economic Contributions			
<i>Mining</i> Mining.	Ft. Colville, Columbia, and Pend-Oreille rivers. ⁴⁰	Mine sites, ditches.	
<i>Railroads/Construction</i> Built bridges, Lake Washington Ship Canal.	Lake Washington. ⁴¹	Bridges, Ship Canal.	
<i>Canneries/Seafood Processing</i> Canning.	Columbia River, Puget Sound, Kitsap, Wahkiakum and Grays Harbor counties; Kitsap County and Hood Canal.	Canneries, workers' housing, oyster beds.	China House, South Bend (ca. 1905), occupied by Chinese workers and possibly by their families. Associated with nearby canneries and oyster harvesting.
Fishing.	Port Madison, Bainbridge Island.		Fishing colony called "Hong Kong," near Maury Island. ⁴²
<i>Timber</i> Construction projects.	Kitsap, Wahkiakum and Grays Harbor counties.	Early logging roads. ⁴³	
<i>Agriculture</i> Farming.	Walla Walla. ⁴⁴	Farmland.	

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - CHINESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<p>Discrimination and Restriction</p> <p><i>Legislation and Exclusion</i></p> <p>(1906) Alien Land Acts were passed depriving noncitizen Chinese from holding land.⁴⁵</p> <p>"Restrictive covenants" in real estate determined where Chinese lived.</p>	Especially in the Seattle area.	Districts.	First Hill and Beacon Hill became the first areas in Seattle where Chinese could buy homes outside of the International District. ⁴⁶ "Little Chinatown" emerged at 15th and Beacon. ⁴⁷
<p>Chinese limited in use of cemeteries.</p> <p>(1904) Chinese Exclusion Act extended indefinitely.⁴⁹</p>	Seattle.	Cemeteries. Detention facility.	Queen Anne, Lake View, a lot adjacent to Washelli Cemetery. ⁴⁸ U.S. Quarantine Station Sequim vicinity, Clallam County (1893). ^a Pt. Hudson Quarantine Station. ^a U.S. Immigration Building (1915), Seattle. ^a
<p>Community Building, Resistance, and Political Activity</p> <p>Seattle's second Chinatown is located between Main and Weller streets, 5th and 8th avenues (1907-).</p> <p>By the late 1920s, the first Chinatown was virtually gone.⁵⁰</p>		District, residential, and commercial buildings. District.	The first building in the second Seattle Chinatown was the Goon Dip Building/Milwaukee Hotel, 664-676 South King Street/415-419 7th Avenue South (1909). ^{a-1} Old Canton Building at 2nd Avenue and South Washington Street, which housed Chin Gee Hee's Quong Tuck Company on the lower floor, is last remnant of Seattle's first Chinatown. ⁵¹ Quong Tuck moved from first Chinatown to 721 King St. Ah King moved to 707 King St. Wa Chong moved to 719 King Street.

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - CHINESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
Hong Chong built in Seattle (Locke Family association and headquarters).	Seattle.	Association hall.	417 8th Avenue South.
Elements found in Chinese community in Seattle: hotels, Chinese language school, meat markets, poultry shops, grocery stores, herbal shops, gift shops, restaurants, churches, association buildings. ⁵²	Seattle.	Low-scale retail and commercial buildings with small storefront shops, association halls, apartments, single room occupancy worker's hotels, boarding houses, schools and churches.	Among the many extant buildings in Seattle's International District that date to this period are: Sing Keong Family Association, 512-516 Maynard Avenue South (1906); Kong Yick Apartments, 701-711 South King Street (1910); Don Hee Apartments, 410-416 8th Avenue South (1910); Alps Hotel, 615-625 South King Street (1910); Hip Sing Association Building, 418-422 8th Avenue South (1910); Eastern Hotel, 506-510 Maynard (1911). ^{a-1}
Chinese Nationalist League.	Seattle.		114½ 12th South.
Seattle Laundryman's Club.	Seattle.		521 Central Building.
Walla Walla Chinatown was rebuilt in the early 1900s. It centered on the "Chinese Building" after 1911. Financed by the Bing Kong Bow Society, this building is representative of structures in larger Chinatowns such as Seattle and reflective of multiple functions, serving as headquarters, hostelry and immigrant aid society for newcomers, providing food, shelter, jobs, protection, and guidance.	Walla Walla, from 2nd to 4th avenues on Alder Street, extending across Main to Rose Street.	Residential and commercial building.	The Walla Walla "Chinese Building," built in 1911 at 5th and Rose streets, was made of brick with storefronts on the main level and had a second storey of living quarters accessible from an interior mezzanine. "All main level apartments had access to the mezzanine, its public toilets and staircases leading upstairs." Mezzanine also had communal kitchen area for residents and a gambling room. The building was torn down in 1962. ⁵³

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - CHINESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<p>Cultural Contributions</p> <p>Chinese artist John Woo did a mural of Seattle's International District.⁵⁴</p> <p>(1900-1910) Eurasian writer Edith Maud Eaton, a.k.a. Sui Sin Far, wrote of Chinese in America with empathy and understanding. She challenged prevailing stereotypes of the Chinese in America, and outlined the contributions of Chinese-Americans in her works.⁵⁵</p>	Seattle.	<p>Mural.</p> <p>Residential buildings.</p>	<p>Locations where she boarded: (1900) 519 Yesler Way, (1901) 1026 Marion, (1902) 1003 Yesler Way, (1903) 318 James, (1904) 807 Madison, (1906) 319 Boren, (1908) 412 Terry Ave.⁵⁶</p>
<p>1920-1940</p> <p>Economic Contributions</p> <p><i>Agriculture</i></p> <p>Chinese Farms (40 acres) owned by the Huie family.</p> <p><i>Small Businesses/Restaurants</i></p> <p>Restaurants.</p>	<p>Walla Walla.</p> <p>Seattle.⁵⁷</p> <p>Olympia.</p>	<p>Restaurants.</p>	<p>Hankow Cafe, Jackson, between Maynard Street and 7th Avenue. Don Ting, (where Sea Garden Restaurant is now located). Twin Dragons Cafe, upstairs, between King and Jackson streets, east side. King Fur, upstairs, south side of King Street, between 7th and 8th avenues. Kiang Nam, upstairs, NW corner of 7th Avenue and King Street. China Inn, 1023 3rd Avenue. Chinese Temple, 1916 1/2 4th Avenue.^{a-1} China Pheasant, Marginal Way and Highway 99.</p> <p>Nanking Cafe, 4th Avenue (1/2 block west of Capital Way). Shanghai Cafe, 5th Avenue (1/2 block west of Capital Way).^d</p>

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - CHINESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
Other businesses.	Aberdeen.		Shanghai Cafe (Art Chin's father's restaurant).
	Yakima.		New York Cafe. Red Apple Cafe (Locke family).
	Ellensburg.		Golden Wheel.
	Seattle. ⁵⁸	Commercial buildings.	Merry Meat Market, King Street (north side), between Maynard and 7th. China Garage, currently the location of the Wing Luke Museum. ⁵⁹⁻¹ Chinese Mutual Trading Co., 121 3rd Avenue. Ching Chong Co., 508 7th South. Kuong Hing Lung Kee Co., 510 16th Avenue. Chinese Import and Export Co., 212 5th Avenue South. Chinese Star Publishing Co., 711 King Street.
Laundries.	Seattle. ⁵⁹		
National Dollars Store.	Spokane and Bremerton. ⁶⁰		
Garment factories, store owners, service industry, shopkeepers.	International District, Seattle. ⁶¹		
Sam Wing was Seattle's first Chinese architect.	Seattle. ⁶²		
Discrimination and Restriction			
<i>Legislation and Exclusion</i>			
Chinese limited in use of cemeteries.	Seattle.	Cemeteries.	Queen Anne, Lake View, a lot adjacent to Washelli Cemetery ⁶³
"Restrictive Covenants" in real estate continue to determine where Chinese lived.	Especially in Seattle area. ⁶⁴		
(1924) Immigration and Naturalization Act precluded Chinese men from bringing wives into America.			U.S. Immigration Building (1915), Seattle.

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - CHINESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<p>(1922) Cable Act causes American women to lose citizenship when marrying first generation immigrants ineligible for citizenship.</p> <p>Community Building, Resistance, and Political Activity</p> <p>Civic, social and religious institutions flourished.</p>	Seattle.	Churches, temples, schools, association halls.	<p>Chinese Baptist Church, 625 Washington Street.⁶⁵ Chinese Baptist Church, 925 King Street.⁶⁶ Chinese Baptist Church, SW corner of King Street and 10th Avenue South.⁶⁷ Chinese Masonic Temple, 706 King Street.⁶⁸ Chinese Mission, 514 9th Avenue.⁶⁹ China Club of Seattle, 309 Burke Building; Chinese National League, 1114½ 10th South.⁷⁰ China Club of Seattle, 5131 Arcade Building.⁷¹ Ishii Chu Sho School, 1039½ Main; Seattle Chinese School, 522 7th Avenue South.⁷² China Club of Seattle, White-Henry-Stuart Building; Chinese School the Mar Gen Yee, 114 12th Avenue South.⁷³ Chinese Benevolent Association.⁷⁴</p>
<p>Cultural Contributions</p> <p>Basketball and baseball teams, Boy Scout troops.⁷⁵</p> <p>Chinese Art Club (1933-40). Lawrence Chinn, Shen Eng, Ted Lew and Yipp Eng are members. Fay Chong and Andrew Chinn contributed to the art of Washington with watercolors of Northwest scenes and Chinese calligraphy on mulberry paper.⁷⁶</p> <p>Sui Sin Far (1867-1914); other Chinese Art Club members.⁷⁷</p>			8th Avenue and Jackson St.

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - CHINESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
World War II (1940-1945)			
Economic Contributions			
<i>Industrial Labor</i>			
Some Chinese Americans employed in defense industries during WWII. ⁷⁸	Boeing, Lockheed Shipyard, Bethlehem Steel, Naval Shipyard in Bremerton.		
Discrimination and Restriction			
<i>Legislation</i>			
Chinese Expulsion Act repealed December 1943. ⁷⁹			
1945-1960			
Economic Contributions			
<i>Agriculture</i>			
(1950)The last Chinese garden in Walla Walla, the "Hop Sing" Garden, came to an end. It signified the last of the Chinese farmers in Walla Walla area. ⁸⁰	Walla Walla.	Garden sites.	
By 1960, the number of Chinese American farmers, farm managers, and farm laborers had decreased significantly throughout Washington. ⁸¹			
<i>Small Businesses/Restaurants</i>			
Laundries.	Seattle. ⁸²	Laundry buildings.	
Restaurants (1940-80)	Olympia.	Restaurants.	Kay's Cafe, 111 North Capital Way; China Clipper, 4th Avenue.

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - CHINESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<p>Discrimination and Restriction</p> <p><i>Legislation</i></p> <p>"Restrictive Covenant" in real estate determined where Chinese lived.⁸³</p> <p>(1947) War Brides Act allows Chinese wives of Chinese Americans to join their husbands.</p> <p>Community Building, Resistance, and Political Activity</p>	<p>Especially in Seattle area.</p> <p>Seattle.</p>	<p>Association halls, schools.</p>	<p>First location (1945-60) of American Legion Cathay Post #186 on 8th Avenue (currently Seattle Chinese Post) Second location (1950-60) on Maynard, above Atlas Cafe. Chinese Baptist Kindergarten, 925 King Street.⁸⁴ Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomin Tang), 711 King; Chinese school, 522 7th Avenue.⁸⁵ Chong Wa Benevolent Association, 522 7th Avenue South.⁸⁶ Chinese Benevolent Association.^{87 a-1}</p>
<p>Cultural Contributions</p> <p>Fay Chong's work exhibited widely at Seattle Art museum.⁸⁸</p>		<p>Museum.</p> <p>Churches and temples.</p>	<p>Seattle Art Museum, Volunteer Park.</p> <p>Chinese Masonic Temple, 706 King; Chinese Temple and Observatory, 35th Floor Smith Tower.⁸⁹ Chinese Little Chapel, 661 Jackson.⁹⁰</p>

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HISTORICAL THEMES AND HISTORIC PROPERTIES ASSOCIATED WITH JAPANESE SETTLEMENT IN WASHINGTON STATE, BY PERIOD

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
1834-1924			
Immigration and Settlement			
(1834) Three Japanese fishermen wash ashore after drifting across the Pacific.	Cape Flattery. ¹	Landing Site.	
(1900) Two-thirds of Washington's Japanese population were living in Seattle, Spokane, or Tacoma.	Seattle, Spokane, Tacoma.	District.	International District, Seattle; ^{a,1} Reddington Historic District, Auburn (1913). (Undesignated)
Economic Contributions			
(1900-1910) Japanese immigrants worked as domestic servants.			
Mining			
Japanese immigrants worked as miners.		Mining site.	Possibly associated with the Roslyn Historic District (ca. 1880). ^a
Railroads			
(1900-1910) Japanese immigrants worked in railroad construction. ²		Towns, camps, dump sites. Railroad tracks, grading, and bridges.	Rock Island Railroad Bridge, four miles upstream from the Rock Island Dam (1893). McCormick Logging Railroad Tunnel (1910), built by Japanese laborers, the last physical remnant of the extensive logging and milling operation in the Pe Ell area. Upper Fairfax Historic District, Carbonado (ca. 1907), a community of Japanese American laborers employed by the Manley-Moore Mill Lumber Company. ^b

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - JAPANESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<p>Lumber Industry</p> <p>Japanese worked in lumber camps and sawmills. They performed skilled and semi-skilled labor including work as trimmers, edgermen, planing-mill feeders, lumber graders, lath millmen, and carpenters. Some Japanese went on to run their own small sawmills.</p> <p>Seafood Industry</p> <p>(1900-1910) Japanese immigrants worked in salmon canneries.³</p> <p>(1906) 20% of employees in canneries in Washington were Japanese.⁴</p> <p>(1915) Asian immigrants were barred from obtaining fishing licenses, but Japanese settlers introduced the oyster to Puget Sound.⁵</p> <p>Agriculture</p> <p>(1900-1910) Japanese immigrants worked as farm laborers, tenant farmers, in flower growing, and sugar beet production.</p>	<p>Mukilteo, Enumclaw, Eatonville, National, Port Blakely, Kent.</p> <p>Puget Sound.</p> <p>East of the Cascades in the Yakima Valley around Wapato, and in Spokane, and west of the Cascades in the White River Valley, Puyallup, South Park, Georgetown, Green Lake, Vashon Island, Bainbridge Island, and Bellevue.⁶</p>	<p>Lumber camps, sawmills.</p> <p>Canneries.</p> <p>Oyster beds.</p> <p>Residences, barns, greenhouses, fields.</p>	<p>Small sawmill in Kent owned by Japanese American Sentaro Tsuboi.</p> <p>Bainbridge Island: Hayashida Barn (1910) and Koura Barn (1910-1940), associated with the strawberry farming industry; the Furuya Resort House (1905), home of Masajiro Furuya, greenhouse/business owner.</p>

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - JAPANESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<p><i>Small Businesses/Restaurants</i></p> <p>Many individual Japanese immigrants owned or worked in small shops and stores, such as bathhouses, barbershops, boarding houses, hotels, laundries, restaurants, and retail shops selling merchandise, art, and crafts.⁷ By 1900 60-80% of the farmers in the core building of the Pike Place Public Market were Japanese Americans.</p>		<p>Boarding houses, hotels, restaurants, retail stores, laundries, public markets.</p>	<p>California Hotel/Palace rooming house, Yakima (ca. 1890).^d Miike Maru Arrival Site, Seattle (1896).^a Pike Place Public Market (ca. 1900).^a U.S. Hotel/International Apartments, Seattle (1910).^{a-l} Japanese workingman's hotel. Hotel Grand, Tacoma (1911).^d hotel and cafe run by Japanese Americans until World War II.^d Natsuhara's general merchandise store, and the Columbia Box and Veneer Company, near Puyallup (1914). Nippon Kan/Astor Hotel, Seattle (1909).^a Hotel Goodwin, Tacoma (1912), originally the Salvation Army Hotel, was operated during the 1920s by Japanese Americans, with a ground floor laundry.^d</p>
<p>(1909) Several Japanese immigrants owned or operated laundries.⁸</p> <p>Discrimination and Restriction</p> <p><i>Legislation and Court Decisions</i></p> <p>(1908) The "Gentlemen's Agreement" between the U.S. and Japan restricted labor immigration but not the immigration of wives and families of those already on American soil, engendered the "picture bride" system, wherein a marriage by proxy in Japan allowed many women to enter the U.S. in order to be with husbands they had never met.⁹</p>	<p>Seattle, Tacoma.</p>	<p>Laundry.</p>	<p>Fifteenth Street Hand Laundry, Tacoma (1912).^d</p>

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - JAPANESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<p>(1911) The Treaty of Commerce and Navigation allowed Japanese immigrants to own land for nonagricultural uses. For example, in <u>Asakura v. Seattle</u>, an ordinance preventing the granting of a business license to a pawnbroker was struck down.¹⁰</p> <p>(1913) Alien Land Law aimed toward Japanese Americans, who circumvent restrictions against owning property by placing it in their children's names.</p> <p>(1920) Congressional hearings held in Washington by the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, at the behest of anti-Japanese Senator James Phelan of San Francisco.¹¹</p> <p>(1921) Washington enacts the Alien Land Act, preventing noncitizens (and those ineligible for citizenship) from owning or leasing land. Those farmers who were unable to obtain land in the name of friends or American-born children were forced to abandon agriculture for jobs in urban areas.¹²</p> <p>(1922) The case of a picture bride was decided in <u>Ex parte Hosaye Sakaguchi</u>. Sakaguchi arrived in Seattle in 1919, the proxy wife of Kuinobuemon Sakaguchi. However, he had learned of her previous proxy marriage in Victoria, B.C., and therefore refused to accept her upon her arrival. The immigration inspector had ordered her excludable, because she was not the wife of a resident alien and was likely to become "a public charge." However, the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that she was legally married and that due to her education and abilities, she would be likely to find employment; she was therefore admitted to the U.S.¹³</p>			

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - JAPANESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<p>(1923) In <i>Terrace v. Thompson</i>, the plaintiff wished to lease land to Nakatsuka, and was suing the state attorney general in order to prevent the Alien Land Law from being enforced. The U.S. Supreme Court unanimously upheld the exclusionary legislation.¹⁴</p> <p>Community Building, Resistance, and Political Activity</p>	King County.		
<p>(1902) Seattle's Japanese language school (Nihon Go Gakko) is established. It is the oldest functioning language school in the U.S.</p>	Seattle.	Language school.	Nihon Go Gakko, Seattle (1913). ^a
<p>(1921) With the encouragement of local Issei leaders Henry H. Okuda and Chusaburo Ito, the Seattle Progressive Citizens' League was formed by local Nisei, including officers Mr. Shigeru Ozawa, George Ishihara, and Ms. Yuki Higashi.¹⁵</p>	Seattle.	Headquarters, meeting places.	
<p>(1922) Japanese language school (Nihon Go Gakko) was constructed, which served some 200 students who attended classes daily. During World War II, it was used as a Civil Control Center for registering Japanese Americans during the evacuation, relocation, and internment process.</p>	Tacoma.	Language school.	Nihon Go Gakko, 1715 S. Tacoma Ave. (1922). ^a

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - JAPANESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
1924-1940			
<p>Economic Contributions</p> <p>Agriculture</p> <p>(early 1930s) Farmers organized cooperative growers' associations, which shipped lettuce, peas, and cauliflower to Eastern Markets.¹⁶ (1935) Many Nisei were employed by the 76 Japanese-owned wholesale produce houses in Seattle, and elsewhere in the state.¹⁷</p> <p>Small Businesses/Restaurants</p> <p>(1930) 65% of the employees of 901 Japanese-owned businesses in Seattle were Japanese Americans.¹⁸</p> <p>(1939) About 75% of Japanese Americans in Seattle worked in "small businesses."¹⁹</p> <p>Discrimination and Restriction</p> <p>Legislation and Court Decisions</p> <p>(1924) The Oriental Exclusion Act aimed for Japanese American exclusion/restriction.</p> <p>(1925/1926) In <u>State vs. Kosai and State v. Ishikawa</u>, the Washington State Supreme Court ruled that noncitizen parents could purchase land as a gift for an American-born child without violating the Alien Land Law. Many Issei utilized this method to continue as farmers.²⁰</p> <p>(1937) Washington State Senate Bill 342 prohibited intermarriage of races.</p>	<p>Auburn, Seattle, and Vashon Island.</p> <p>Seattle.</p>	<p>Commercial buildings, warehouses.</p>	<p>Washington Vegetable Growers Association (1930s), 4th and B Street, S.W., Auburn. Mukai Cold Process Fruit Barrelling Plant, Vashon Island (1927). Washington</p>

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - JAPANESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<p>Community Building, Resistance, and Political Activity</p> <p>(1928) James Yoshinori "Jimmie" Sakamoto returned to Seattle after becoming the first Nisei to box in New York's Madison Square Garden. He established the Japanese American <u>Courier</u>, the first all-English daily for Japanese Americans. He immediately called for strengthening of the Seattle Progressive Citizens' League. He lived with his new wife, Misao, in "a rickety old house on an unstable hillside overlooking Seattle's Japanese community ...until it was condemned as unsafe." ²¹</p> <p>(1928) The Seattle Progressive Citizens League was reorganized, after prodding from the Japanese American <u>Courier</u>, with Clarence T. Arai, George Ishihara, Ms. Kimi Takayoshi, and Ms. Yuki Higashi as officers. Some Issei saw the League as a means to win citizenship for aliens. ²²</p> <p>(1930) The first Japanese-American Citizens League (JACL) conference was held in Seattle after the organization was formed the previous year by West Coast Nisei. Attorney Clarence T. Arai chaired the conference, which dealt with political issues and resulted in Ms. Sama Sugi's travelling to Washington, D.C. as the JACL's first lobbyist.</p>	<p>Seattle.</p> <p>Seattle.</p>	<p>Commercial building, residential building.</p> <p>Hotels, meeting facilities.</p>	<p><u>Courier</u> offices/press. Sakamoto home or site.</p> <p>Japanese Chamber of Commerce Hall, Seattle Yacht Club. ²³</p>

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - JAPANESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
Other officers included George Ishihara, Jimmie Sakamoto, Tomeo Takayoshi, Toshio Hoshide, Shiro Hashiguchi, Tsurue Nakamura, Kimiko Takayoshi, and Kenko Nogaki. Individual Issei helped as well, including Henry H. Okuda and Bob Okazaki. Participants from Washington came from Bellevue, Foster, Yakima, Wapato, Auburn, Spokane, Vashon, Fife, Tacoma, Winslow, and Seattle. ²⁴	Seattle.	Hotels, meeting facilities.	Japanese Chamber of Commerce Hall, Seattle Yacht Club. ²⁵
(1934) Clarence Arai ran unsuccessfully for the Washington State Legislature, but managed to receive votes in each of the 54 precincts in his district. He was the first Nisei on the mainland to run for such a high office. ²⁶			
(1936) The JACL returned to Seattle for its fourth biennial convention.	Seattle.	Hotels, meeting halls.	
(1937) A union of Japanese cannery workers was incorporated into the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). ²⁷		Headquarters.	
World War II (1940-1945)			
Economic Contributions			
<i>Agriculture</i>			
Prior to World War II, on Bainbridge Island alone, Japanese Americans either leased or owned 43 farms specializing in growing strawberries, rhubarb, peas, truck vegetables, and other berries.	Large concentrations of Japanese farms also were located on Bainbridge Island, in Bellevue, the Bothell area, the Kingstons district, Port Orchard and Poulsbo District, the Puyallup Valley, the White River Valley and Yakima. ²⁸	Farms, agricultural storage sheds, berry fields, rhubarb hothouses. (Washington was one of three places in North America where rhubarb was raised in hothouses.)	Bainbridge Island: Hayashida Barn (1910) and Koura Barn (1910-1940), associated with the strawberry farming industry; the Furuya Resort House (1905), home of Masajiro Furuya, greenhouse/businessowner. ^d Rhubarb hothouses largely were located in the Auburn, Thomas, and Kent area, i.e., Yasumura of Auburn, who had 90,000 square feet of hothouse rhubarb in production. ²⁹

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - JAPANESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<p><i>Lumber Industry</i></p> <p>Prior to World War II, Japanese Americans comprised approximately 9% of all workers in Washington's lumber industry.³⁰</p>	<p>Japanese Americans were employed at the following lumber companies prior to WWII. Longview: Long Bell L.C. and Weyerhaeuser L.C.; Enumclaw: White River L.C.; Snoqualmie: Snoqualmie Falls L.C.; National: National L.C.; Eatonville: Eatonville L.C.; Onalaska: Carlisle L.C.; Callam Bay: Bodell-Donovan L.C.; Forks: Forks L.C.; Tacoma: St. Paul L.C., Defiance L.C., Dickman L.C., Tacoma Harbor L.C.; Seattle: Nettleson L.C. and Hartung and Hansen Lumber Yards.³¹</p>	<p>Lumber mill, workers' housing, makeshift shanties.</p>	<p>An early example of a lumber company town with a significant Japanese American workforce was the Selleck Historic District, a company town associated with the Pacific States Lumber Company (1908-1939).</p>
<p><i>Seafood Industry</i></p> <p>Japanese Americans predominated in the state's oyster industry. Six out of eight of the main oyster houses in the state employed Japanese Americans almost exclusively in the fresh and cold packed oyster industry.³²</p>	<p>Nahcotta: Eagle Oyster Packing Co., Stackpole Oyster Co.; South Bend: New Washington Oyster Sales; Bay Center: Main Oyster Co.; Poulsbo: Shintani; Silverdale: Yamashita; Blanchard: Western Oyster Co.; Shelton: West Coast Oyster Co., Yoshihara.</p>	<p>Canneries and packing plants, oyster beds.</p>	
<p><i>Small Businesses/Restaurants</i></p> <p>Before World War II, Japanese Americans in Seattle operated 206 hotels, 140 groceries, 94 cleaning establishments, 64 market stands, 50 greenhouses, and 57 wholesale produce houses. Following evacuation and return, only a few of these businesses continued to operate, and usually catered only to Japanese.³³</p>	<p>Seattle.</p>		

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - JAPANESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<p>Discrimination and Restriction</p> <p><i>Acts of Discrimination</i></p> <p>(1942) Under pressure from some PTA mothers, a group of Nisei women working for the Seattle school system tendered their resignation as a show of support for the American war effort.³⁴</p> <p><i>Legislation</i></p> <p>(1942) A Congressional delegation headed by John Tolan of California held hearings in Portland, San Francisco, and Seattle on the topic of "problems of evacuation of enemy aliens and others from prohibited military zones."³⁵ It was too late, however, as President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, authorizing the establishment of military areas and the exclusion of any or all people from them.</p> <p>(1942) Military Zone 1 is declared, including western Washington, and all persons of Japanese ancestry are assembled at the Puyallup fairgrounds or forced to move to Spokane and Eastern Washington, or completely out of state.³⁶</p> <p>(1942) Military Zone 2 is established, encompassing the remainder of the state, and those Japanese Americans remaining in the state are sent to the Assembly Center in Puyallup.³⁷</p> <p>(30 March 1942) Relocation began when 54 families were forcibly removed from Bainbridge Island and sent to the Manzanar relocation center in California.³⁸</p>	<p>Seattle.</p> <p>Seattle.</p> <p>Puyallup.</p> <p>International District, others.</p> <p>Bainbridge Island.</p>	<p>Hearing chambers.</p> <p>Detention facility.</p>	<p>Western Washington Fairgrounds, Puyallup, became the internment area known as "Camp Harmony."^b</p>

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - JAPANESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<p>(1942) Gordon Hirabayashi, a Nisei at the University of Washington, violated the military curfew and had himself arrested in order to challenge federal evacuation orders.³⁹</p> <p>(1943) The U.S. Supreme Court heard the case of Hirabayashi, and rules that he violated the curfew order. Since the original sentences were to be served concurrently, the Court avoided a decision on the constitutionality of the evacuation order.⁴⁰</p> <p>(2 January 1945) With few exceptions, Japanese Americans were allowed by the Western Defense Command to return to their homes and businesses.⁴¹ As a group, they were unable to resettle in the areas in which they had previously been concentrated.⁴²</p> <p>(1945) <i>Endo v. US</i> establishes that the US Government cannot detain Japanese Americans without good reason. This decision allows some Japanese Americans to move to the Midwest or East as laborers and students.</p>	Seattle.		
<p>1945-1960</p> <p>Immigration and Settlement</p> <p>(1950) 72.8% of the Japanese Americans in Washington lived in Seattle, Spokane, or Tacoma.⁴³</p> <p>Economic Contributions</p> <p>(1950s) The Columbia Basin Reclamation Project was opened in Grant County, and many Japanese Americans settled there.⁴⁴</p>	<p>Seattle, Spokane, Tacoma.</p> <p>Grant County.</p>	Major urban settlements.	

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - JAPANESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<p><i>Agriculture</i></p> <p>Many Japanese American farmers were unable to regain the land which they had farmed prior to relocation.</p> <p><i>Small Businesses/Restaurants</i></p> <p>Creation of Uwajimaya, largest West Coast Asian store.</p> <p>(1952) The majority of Nisei worked for Japanese American-owned businesses.⁴⁵ 26% of Nisei in Seattle were self-employed.</p> <p>Discrimination and Restriction</p> <p><i>Legislation</i></p> <p>(1948) The Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act was passed by Congress.⁴⁶</p> <p>(1952) The JACL successfully lobbied Congress to pass the Immigration and Nationality (McCarren) Act, which again allowed immigration from Asian nations, and for the first time allowed the naturalization of Japanese-born Americans (Issei).⁴⁷</p> <p>(1953) State laws declaring aliens ineligible to own or lease land are ruled unconstitutional.⁴⁸</p>	<p>Bainbridge Island, Bellevue, Bothell, Kingston, Port Orchard, Poulsbo, Puyallup Valley.</p> <p>Seattle.</p> <p>Seattle.</p>	<p>Farms and other agricultural properties.</p> <p>Retail establishments.</p> <p>Retail establishments.</p>	
<p>1960-1980</p> <p>Immigration and Settlement</p> <p>(1960) 66.7% of Japanese Americans in Washington lived in Seattle, Spokane, or Tacoma. They were also the most highly educated ethnic group in the state.⁴⁹</p>	<p>Seattle, Spokane, Tacoma.</p>	<p>Major urban settlements.</p>	

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - JAPANESE (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
Discrimination and Restriction <i>Legislation</i> (1964) The final case under the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act is adjudicated. ⁵⁰			
1980-1991 Economic Contributions <i>Small Businesses/Restaurants</i> (1980) Of Pacific Coast Japanese Americans, those in Washington were more likely to be proprietors and managers of businesses than in California or Oregon. ⁵¹		Retail establishments.	
Discrimination and Restriction <i>Legislation and Court Decisions</i> (1987) The verdict in the <u>Hirabayashi</u> case was overturned by the Ninth Court of Appeals. ⁵² (1988) The U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear <u>Hohri v. United States</u> , a class-action suit for reparations to Japanese Americans who had been relocated during World War II. Soon thereafter, Congress passed the Reparations Act, providing \$1.25 billion for payments to those relocated. ⁵³			

NOTES

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HISTORICAL THEMES AND HISTORIC PROPERTIES ASSOCIATED WITH FILIPINO SETTLEMENT IN WASHINGTON STATE, BY PERIOD

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
1880-1900			
Economic Contributions			
<i>Timber</i>			
(1883) The first known Filipino in Washington was listed as "Manilla" on the roster of the sawmill where he worked. ¹	Port Blakely, Bainbridge Island.	Mill buildings, bunkhouses.	
1900-1920			
Immigration and Settlement			
(1903) 40 Filipino men were contracted to come to North America to lay telephone cable from Seattle to Alaska. Most remained in Seattle.	Seattle, Alaska.	Ships, docks.	Arrived on the Steamship Burnside. Ship docked in Seattle at Pier 5, located at the foot of University Street.
(1909) The first family of Filipino descent in Washington was the Jenkins family, the father of which was a Black-Mexican cavalry officer and the mother of which was a Filipina. ²	Fort Lawton.	Institutional properties (military base).	Noncommissioned officers' quarters, Fort Lawton. ³
(1910) A census revealed 17 Filipinos in Washington. ³			
Economic Contributions			
Filipinos worked in hotels, private homes, and on ships. ⁴			
<i>Railroads</i>			
The Great Northern Railroad utilized mostly Filipino crews, while the Northern Pacific utilized Chinese crews. ⁵	Great Northern route.		

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - FILIPINO (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<i>Canneries/Seafood Processing</i> Filipinos worked in canneries and on boats. ⁶	Bellingham canneries, Anacortes fishing vessel.	Institutional properties, canneries, fishing vessels.	Four-masted schooner, La Merced, Anacortes on Fidalgo Island shore, used as Alaskan fishing vessel for 50 Filipinos (built 1917, recorded use by Filipinos 1947). ^a
<i>Timber</i> Filipinos worked in sawmills. ⁷		Mills.	
<i>Agriculture</i> Filipinos worked in agriculture. ⁸		Farms and other agricultural properties.	
<i>Discrimination and Restriction</i> (1904) First Filipinos exhibited as part of World's Fair in St. Louis, followed by other exhibits as "dog-eaters" and "head-hunters." (1909) Filipinos exhibited as part of Seattle's Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exhibition. Community Building, Resistance, and Political Activity (1920) Filipino Community of Bremerton was established. ⁹	Igoratte Village, site of University of Washington campus. Bremerton.	 Community centers, meeting hall.	 Pacific Avenue near 15th Avenue (front lawn of Health Sciences).
1920-1940			
<i>Immigration and Settlement</i> (1924) The "Jeffersonian 16," pensionados (government-financed students) from the Philippines, arrived on the S.S. Thomas Jefferson. ¹⁰ (1930) 3,480 Filipinos in Washington State.	Seattle.	Docks, dormitories, schools.	Colman Dock, located at the foot of Marion Street.

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - FILIPINO (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
Economic Contributions			
Filipino-Americans (Pinoy) enlisted in the U.S. Navy. ¹¹	Bremerton.	Institutional facility, naval base, housing.	Bremerton Naval Base.
(1920s-1930s) Several Pinoy big bands, including the "Moonlight Serenaders" and the "Manila Swingsters," were formed in Seattle and played across the U.S.	Seattle, other cities.	Dance clubs, restaurants, music halls.	Pig and Whistle, 1009-15 2nd Avenue; Mardong, 660 King Street; Chinese Tea Garden, 516 7th Avenue South. ¹²
Labor Organization			
(19 June 1933) Cannery Workers and Farm Laborers Union was founded, and it received a charter from the AFL in 1934. ¹³	Seattle.	Union headquarters, meeting places.	U.S. Immigration Building (1915), Seattle, was used as headquarters of Cannery Workers and Farm Laborers Union. 84 Union Street (building still exists). ^a
(11 April 1939) Alaskeros struck at the Atlas Packing and Rubber Company. ¹⁴	Seattle.		Pier 40.
(1 December 1936) A hired Filipino assassin killed two Filipino union leaders at a Japanese restaurant and was also killed. ¹⁵	Seattle.	Retail establishment: restaurant.	Gyokko Ken, 508 1/2 Main Street (no longer standing).
(1937) The AFL charter of the Union is re-nounced in favor of joining the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America, as Local #7, headquartered in Seattle. ¹⁶			
(1939) Pinoy picket at Lake Union Dry Dock.	Lake Union, Seattle.	Dock and waterfront buildings.	Lake Union Dry Dock, 1515 Fairview Avenue East. ¹⁷
Canneries/Seafood Processing			
"Alaskeros," who went to Alaska to work in salmon canneries. ¹⁸	Seattle was the dispatch point for them.	Pier.	Pier 69, located at the foot of Clay Street.
Timber			
(1920s) Lumbermills employed Filipinos.	Cosmopolis, Montesano and Aberdeen. ¹⁹	Mills.	

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - FILIPINO (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<p><i>Agriculture</i></p> <p>(1930s) Pinoys worked on truck farms in the Green River Valley, Bainbridge Island, leased farms in Wapato.</p> <p><i>Small Businesses/Restaurants</i></p> <p>(1930s) Bibiana Montante Laigo owned the Philippine Cafe in Seattle.</p> <p>(1930s) Filipinos owned/ran various businesses in Seattle.</p>	<p>Green (White) River Valley, Kent/Auburn, Bainbridge Island, Des Moines and Wapato.</p> <p>International District, Seattle.</p> <p>International District, Seattle.</p>	<p>Farms.²⁰</p> <p>Retail establishment.</p> <p>Retail establishments: cafes, grocery store, pool halls, employment agencies, dance hall, one hotel, barbershops and gambling halls.</p>	<p>Philippine Cafe, 414 6th Avenue.²¹</p> <p>Most located Jackson Street, and Maynard Avenue and King Street between 5th and 7th avenues. Leyte Hotel, 7th Avenue South and South Jackson Street. Ente Dance Hall, South King Street and 6th Avenue. Liberty Barbershop, 506 Maynard Street, Filipino Social and Improvement Club, 515½ Maynard Avenue South.</p> <p>1006 3rd Avenue.²²</p>
<p>(Pre-WW2) The Philippine and Eastern Trading Company had a store in Seattle.</p> <p>Discrimination and Restriction</p> <p><i>Acts of Violence</i></p> <p>(1926) White River Valley Riots.</p> <p>(17 November 1927) A white mob in Toppenish ordered all Filipinos to leave.</p> <p>(1928) Vigilante committee formed in Yakima Valley because white farmworkers feared being displaced by Filipinos. September 28, 1928, white workers forced Filipinos to leave the valley. September 21, 1928, 200 white men descended upon a camp of 20 Filipino workers and forced them out.</p>	<p>Seattle.</p> <p>White River.</p> <p>Toppenish.</p> <p>Yakima Valley.</p>	<p>Retail establishment.</p> <p>Farm.</p>	

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - FILIPINO (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
<p>Legislation</p> <p>(1934) Tydings-McDuffie Act provide for Philippine independence, but changes the status of foreign-born Pinoys to that of aliens.²³</p> <p>Community Building, Resistance, and Political Activity</p> <p>(23-28 December 1928) The First Biennial Convention of the Caballeros de Dimas Alang was held.</p> <p>(ca. 1930) The Filipino Growers Association establishes a Filipino Community Hall on Bainbridge Island. (1935) The Filipino Community of Seattle, which had been informally in existence since 1926, was formally established.²⁵</p> <p>(1937) 100 charter members founded the Filipino Community of Yakima Valley.</p> <p>(1930s) Our Lady Queen of Martyrs (Maryknoll) Catholic Church was attended by both Japanese and Filipinos.²⁷</p> <p>(late 1920s-early 1930s) University of Washington Filipino Student Clubhouse housed many students.</p> <p>(1930s) Filipino Methodists form their own church.</p> <p>(1930s-1950s) Washington and Finnish Halls were sites for weekly Filipino community dances and banquets.</p> <p>Cultural Contributions</p> <p>(1937) Filipino Press Club.²⁸</p>	<p>Seattle.²⁴</p> <p>Bainbridge Island, Seattle.</p> <p>Wapato.²⁶</p> <p>Seattle.</p> <p>Seattle—UW.</p> <p>Seattle.</p> <p>Seattle.</p> <p>Seattle.</p>	<p>Hotels, meeting halls.</p> <p>Community center.</p> <p>Meeting halls.</p> <p>Church.</p> <p>Community center, meeting hall.</p> <p>Church.</p> <p>Meeting halls/dance halls.</p>	<p>First convention held at Alps Hotel. Headquarters in the 600 block of King Street.</p> <p>Filipino Community Hall, Bainbridge Island (ca. 1930). Ten acres on Strawberry Hill, including a community hall and berry shed.</p> <p>17th Avenue and East Jefferson Street.</p> <p>4238 12th Avenue N.E.</p> <p>11th and East Terrace Street.</p> <p>Washington Hall—14th and East Fir (extant). Finnish Hall—1239 S. Washington (demolished).</p>

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - FILIPINO (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
1940-1960			
Economic Contributions			
(1930s-1950s) Pinoys worked as dishwashers, kitchen help, waiters, and eventually chefs in many hotels and restaurants. ²⁹	Seattle.	Hotels and retail establishments.	Hungerford Hotel, Ivars, New Washington, Washington Athletic Club, Roosevelt Hotel, Olympic Hotel.
(1940s-1950s) Pinoys worked on boats of the U.S. Military Sea Transportation Service. ³⁰	Seattle.	Docks, boats, military transport facilities.	Seattle Port of Embarkation (south of Yesler).
Labor Organization			
(1947) The "Alaskero" union became the Food, Tobacco, and Allied Workers of America, Local #7, of the CIO. ³¹	Seattle.	Union headquarters, meeting halls.	213 South Main Street.
(1950) A rival member of the AFL-CIO, the Alaska Fish Cannery Workers Union of the Pacific, Seamen's International Union (SIU), was formed in Seattle by Pinoys. ³²	Seattle.		
Agriculture			
(1940s) Filipino farmers form Philippines produce companies.	Wapato.	Warehouse.	Wapato.
Small Businesses/Restaurants			
(Mid-1940s) The first Filipina pharmacist in Seattle was Ms. M.A.L. Azores. ³³	Seattle.	Retail establishment: pharmacy.	12th Avenue between Jefferson Street and Remington Court.
Community Building, Resistance, and Political Activity			
(1947) The Philippine Consulate in Seattle sets up first office.	Seattle.	Office building.	Smith Tower. ^{a-2}
The <u>Filipino Forum</u> began to be printed monthly in 1940s (it began in the mid-1930s). ³⁴	Seattle.		
(1948) The Filipino Women's Club was formed.	Seattle. ³⁵		

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - FILIPINO (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
(1952) Filipino Community Hall of Wapato opened. ³⁶	Wapato.		
(1953) Wapato Youth Club provided Filipino youth with social contact. ³⁷	Wapato.		
(ca. 1945) Legionarios del Trabajo chapter was formed. ³⁸	Seattle.		
(1947) Filipino Catholic Youth formed.	Seattle.	Church.	Maryknoll Church.
(1957) Filipino Youth Activities was formed.	Seattle.	Various sites.	St. Peter Claver Center, 17th and E. Jefferson (first activities).
(1940s to 1960s) Pinoy Hill was so nicknamed because of regular 4th of July gatherings held by Filipinos in Seward Park.	Seattle.	Park.	Seward Park.
(1940s to 1960s) Immaculate Conception Parish becomes the primary parish for Filipino Catholics.	Seattle.	Church and school.	18th Avenue between East Main and East Columbia.
Cultural Contributions			
(1956) Carlos Bulosan, famous author dies and is buried in Seattle.	Seattle.	Cemetery.	Mt. Pleasant Cemetery, 700 West Raye Street, Queen Anne.
1960-1980			
Community Building, Resistance, and Political Activity			
(1965) Filipino Community Center in Seattle purchased.	Seattle.	Community center.	5740 Martin Luther King Jr. Way South.
(1967) Val Laigo Mural, "Creation of Man," by the first Filipino professor to teach in a major northwest university.	Seattle.	Mural.	Seattle University, Lemieux Library Reading Room.
(1971) Filipino Youth Activities first office.	Seattle.		11th Avenue between James and Jefferson streets.

HISTORICAL THEMES AND PROPERTIES - FILIPINO (cont.)

Periods and Themes	Locations	Property Types	Properties
1980-1991			
Community Building, Resistance, and Political Activity			
Filipino Methodist Church becomes Beacon Hill Methodist Church.		Church.	

NOTES

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9. Cordova, Filipinos, 197.
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11. Cordova, Filipinos, 84.
12. Cordova, Filipinos, 89.
13. Cordova, Filipinos, 66.
14. Cordova, Filipinos, 76 (photo).
15. Cordova, Filipinos, 78.
16. Cordova, Filipinos, 79.
17. Cordova, Filipinos, 79.
18. Cordova, Filipinos, 66.
19. Cordova, Filipinos, 107.
20. Cordova, Filipinos, 149.
21. Cordova, Filipinos, 110.

22. Cordova, Filipinos, 111.
23. Cordova, Filipinos, 19.
24. Cordova, Filipinos, 177.
25. Cordova, Filipinos, 177.
26. Cordova, Filipinos, 137.
27. Cordova, Filipinos, 172.
28. Cordova, Filipinos, 185 (photo).
29. Cordova, Filipinos, 100-101.
30. Cordova, Filipinos, 99-100.
31. Cordova, Filipinos, 79.
32. Cordova, Filipinos, 79.
33. Cordova, Filipinos, 108.
34. Cordova, Filipinos, 101.
35. Cordova, Filipinos, 181.
36. Cordova, Filipinos, 178.
37. Cordova, Filipinos, 165.
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**EXTANT HISTORIC PROPERTIES ASSOCIATED WITH
ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN SETTLEMENT IN
WASHINGTON STATE, BY COUNTY**

County	Ethnic Group	Historic Property	Status	Comments/Significance
Asotin	Chinese	Housing remains south of Anatone (n.d.).	Archaeological Inventory	No photos available.
	Chinese	Building Ruins (n.d.).	Archaeological Inventory	No photos available.
Chelan		Gold panning site (n.d.), Columbia River bank near Chelan Airport. Depressions in cobble area.	Archaeological Inventory	Locational map in file. Inventoried 8/81.
		Irrigation ditch in Malaga (ca. 1850s), dug by gold miners.	Historic Inventory	Locational map in file. Inventoried 8/84.
Clallam	Japanese	Rock Island railroad bridge (1893), four miles from Rock Island Dam.	National/State Register	Contributed to engineering design.
	Unidentified	Steven's Pass Historic District (1893-1929), Berne vicinity. The area is the original Great Northern route across the Cascades, including a number of tunnels and sheds in good to fair condition. At least two stone ovens are evident.	National/State Register	No specific mention of Asian groups.
	Chinese	Chinese house (n.d.). Wooden gabled roof structure.	Historic Inventory	Structure used by a potato farmer. One of few sites remaining of Chinese settlement in the Dungeness area. Inventoried 1979.
	Japanese	Masonic Temple (1921), Port Angeles. Neoclassical.	National/State Register	Used for temporary billeting of soldiers during World War II. Unclear whether site is related to Asian community.
Cowlitz	Chinese/Japanese/Filipino	U.S. Quarantine Station (1893), Sequim vicinity. Brick/wood construction.	National/State Register	Remains of Station complex include surgeon's residence, two cottages, dock, storage shed and cemetery.
	Hawaiian	Kanaka Village/Vancouver Barracks (1825), Vancouver. Archaeological site. Was a Hudson Bay Company trading area.	DOE	Structures torn down by 1860. Inventory not dated.
Douglas	Chinese	China Store (n.d.), left bank of the Columbia River, near river mile 574.	Archaeological Inventory	Reportedly run by Chinese merchants. Some remains of concrete bldg foundation. Location map available. Inventoried 3/76.

EXTANT HISTORIC PROPERTIES - ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN (cont.)

County	Ethnic Group	Historic Property	Status	Comments/Significance
Douglas (cont.)	Chinese (cont.)	Historic trading post (1875), near Chelan Falls.	Archaeological Inventory	No cultural remains left. First commercial enterprise in Central Washington to supply goods to miners and settlers. Prior to 1875, Chinese activity was at the Bebe Bridge Park site. Inventoried 5/81.
Franklin	Chinese	Chinatown, Pasco. Site and immediate vicinity of Wong How's general store, 122 North Tacoma Street (Block 3, Lot 5). Burned in 1937 fire, but may have archaeological significance.	Historic Inventory	The site could contain some artifacts relating to Chinese history, although this has not yet been investigated.
Grant	Chinese	Mining site (ca. 1890), south of Wanapum Dam.	Archaeological Inventory	Cobble piles remain. Map, no photos. Inventoried 4/81.
	Japanese (?)	Carp ponds (ca. 1912), Moses Lake. Concrete walls built on bottom of shallow lake inlet.	Historic Inventory	No specific mention of Asian groups, but OAHF identified the site with Japanese. Further investigation needed to confirm. Inventoried 10/74.
Jefferson	Chinese	Tree of Heaven (ca. 1860), Port Townsend. Tree has been moved from original site.	State Register	Ineligible for National Register because of transplant. Originally bound for San Francisco as gift of Emperor.
	Chinese/ Japanese/ Filipino	Port Townsend Historic District: Federal Building (1889), Post Office Customs House (1854). Structures in good condition.	National/State Register	No specific mention of Asians in nomination, but brief mention of Quarantine Station at Pt. Hudson. Recommend an addendum to district nomination to include details.
King	Chinese	Chinese Baptist Church (n.d.), Seattle. Beacon Avenue South.	Historic Inventory	Socially important, but not architecturally significant. Inventoried 5/79.
		Chinese Baptist Church (1924), King Street, Seattle. Gothic Revival.	National/State Register	No mention in nomination of ornamentation.
	Japanese	Mukai Cold Process Fruit Barrelling Plant, a.k.a. Vashon Island Packing Company (1927), Vashon Island. Wood frame warehouse with 95% of exterior intact as of 10/90.	Historic Inventory	Built by Masahiro Mukai. Employed 450 people. Economically significant to community.
		Miike Maru Arrival Site (1896), Seattle. Japanese steamer.	National/State Register	First regularly scheduled steamer service for goods transport between Seattle and the Orient.

EXTANT HISTORIC PROPERTIES - ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN (cont.)

County	Ethnic Group	Historic Property	Status	Comments/Significance
King (cont.)	Japanese (cont.)	Redington Historic District (undesignated 1913), Auburn. Japanese-built homes. Properties now demolished, though recorded as intact in 1977 inventory. Photos indicate structures were salt box--no identifiable Asian elements. Families also had built a workshop.	Historic and Archaeological Inventory	Japanese farmers settled on the Redington farm property. Families recorded: Nakai, Nishimoto, Suzuki and Furukawa, who worked for Northern Pacific Railroad. Other families were truck farmers, but considered hired hands of the Redington's. All were relocated during World War II.
		Selleck Historic District (1908), Selleck. Town site consists of 17 dwellings. Japanese housing in adjacent Lavendertown has been demolished or removed.	National/State Register	A mill town established by the Pacific States Lumber Company. Japanese housing site may be considered for historical archaeological investigation.
		Natsuhara's general merchandise store (1914), Auburn area. November 1990 inventory indicates "vertical board and heavy dark beams, emphasizing Japanese influence" from a 1950s-60s remodeling. No photos attached.	Historic Inventory/ Survey	Charles Natsuhara opened the store and the Columbia Box and Veneer Company near Puyallup, still in operation. Family living quarters on east side of building. Rental units for Japanese farm workers were connected to this building.
		Nippon Kan/Astor Hotel (1909), Seattle. Three story brick bldg. Theater in building is decorated with curtain with Japanese characters dating to 1912. Interior stage runway is adaptation of traditional Japanese theater.	National/State Register	Temporary residence for Japanese immigrants also used for social gatherings, festivals, political meetings.
		Nippon-Alpine (1910), east of Skykomish. No structures standing but possible site of settlement. Domestic artifacts and wooden remains.	Archaeological Inventory	Inventoried 9/88.
		Nihon Go Gakko (1902), Seattle.	National/State Register	Oldest functioning language school in continental U.S.
		Seattle Buddhist Church (1941), Seattle. Contemporary construction employing some Japanese architectural elements such as upturned corners, ornamental gables and bracketing. Interior has traditional altar and shrine.	Seattle Landmark	May want to investigate the authenticity of exterior elements. Interior is probably the most significant and true to tradition.
		Seattle Buddhist Church Park (n.d.), Seattle.	Historic Inventory	Japanese rock garden in the park may be significant.

EXTANT HISTORIC PROPERTIES - ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN (cont.)

County	Ethnic Group	Historic Property	Status	Comments/Significance
King (cont.)	Japanese (cont.)	Seattle Neighborhood List; House and Asian mural in Beacon Hill neighborhood, Koyasun Church in Central neighborhood, house in Madison Park (n.d.).	Historic Inventory	No dates or other information available except for Koyasun Church. Description of curved roof and timber supports at entry way and wooden details as "Oriental" features. Inventoried 2/86.
		Shrine and Kobe Bell (1962), Seattle Center. Temple structure with pagoda-shaped roof.	Historic Inventory	Bell presented by people of Kobe. Inventoried 6/79.
		Nisei War Memorial (1949), Seattle.	Historic Inventory	No photo available. Dedicated to World War II soldiers of Japanese ancestry. Inventoried 1/75.
	Chinese/ Japanese/ Filipino	Kubota Gardens (1929), Seattle.	Seattle Landmark	Never intended as an authentic Japanese garden, it features an original use of Japanese plant material and other landscape elements.
		St. James of Thomas School, Kent. No information on the condition of the school.	Personal communication	Half of the students were Japanese. Significant Japanese population in Kent/Auburn/Renton area ca. 1925.
		International Fountain (1959), Seattle.	Historic Inventory	Designed by winners of 1959 International Design Competition, Kazuyuki Matsushita and Hideki Shimizu. Inventoried 6/79.
		U.S. Immigration Building (1915), Seattle	National/State Register	Used as headquarters of Cannery Workers and Farm Laborers Union; Immigration Station/Examination Center.
		Pike Place Public Market (ca. 1900), Seattle.	National/State Register	60-80% of farmers in the core market building (prior to 1942) were Japanese.
		Chinatown Historic District/International District (ca. 1879), Seattle. The following sites/structures are in the District:	National/State Register	
		1. Governor Apartments (1926).		Retail/residential.
		2. Main St. School Annex (1924).		School.
		3. Russell Building (1924). Asian detailing on upper floor window openings.		Hotel/office/retail.

EXTANT HISTORIC PROPERTIES - ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN (cont.)

County	Ethnic Group	Historic Property	Status	Comments/Significance
King (cont.)	Chinese/ Japanese/ Filipino (cont.)	4. Panama Hotel (1910). Associated with Japanese occupancy.		Workingman's hotel (94-room single room occupancy [SRO]).
		5. N.P. Hotel (1914).		Hotel (130 SRO), 2 storefronts.
		6. Jackson Building (1932).		Two-story office/retail, 9 storefronts.
		7. Havana Hotel (1900). Addition of Asian motif balcony railings is recent.		Hotel, 6 storefronts.
		8. U.S. Hotel/International Apartments (1910).		Japanese workingman's hotel (54 SRO). Original structure had storefront.
		9. Rainier Heat and Power Co. Building (1917). Japanese Chamber of Commerce was located in this building in the 1930s.		Office/retail.
		10. Jackson Hotel (1917).		Workingman's hotel (40 SRO).
		11. Buty Building (1901).		Three-story hotel.
		12. Depot Garage/Fiore d'Italia Cafe (1927).	Noncontributing	One-story commercial building.
		13. 418-422 5th Avenue South/500-512 South King Street (1926).		One-story commercial building.
		14. American Hotel (1925).		Hotel (103 SRO), 6 storefronts.
		15. Seattle First National Bank (1958).	Noncontributing	"Multi-colored Oriental motif grillwork above entrance portal."
		16. United Savings and Loan (1972).	Noncontributing	Asian motifs including second floor balconies, gold tile curving roof elements, metal grill balustrades. Was established in 1960 as the first Asian/Pacific American-owned savings and loan institution in the U.S.
		17. U.S. Postal Station (1956).	Noncontributing	
		18. Bush Hotel (1915).		Originally 255-room hotel, 6 storefronts.
		19. Tokiwa Hotel (1916).		Hotel (62 SRO), 6 storefronts.

EXTANT HISTORIC PROPERTIES - ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN (cont.)

County	Ethnic Group	Historic Property	Status	Comments/Significance
King (cont.)	Chinese/ Japanese/ Filipino (cont.)	20. Atlas Theater (1918)/Kokusai Theater.		Originally garage. Culturally significant to community as only Asian film house in the District.
		21. Atlas Hotel (1920).		Workingman's hotel (88 SRO), 10 storefronts.
		22. Goon Dip Building (1911).		Hotel (150 SRO), 9 storefronts. Goon Dip, the Chinese Consul for WA, MT, AK, built hotel for his businesses and offices. Originally built to house visitors for the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition.
		23. China Garage (1915).		Automobile garage.
		24. T and C Building (1915).		Hotel (31 SRO), 6 storefronts.
		25. Seventh Avenue Auto Service (1927).		
		26. Republic Hotel (Lyn Yuen Apts) (1920). Oval medallion at entrance is embellished with Chinese characters. Second floor windows are capped with canopy of "Oriental design."		Hotel built by Chinese Family Association.
		27. Norway Hotel/New American/Bin Kung Association Apartments (1916). Ornate recessed balcony, lion head ornament at eaves.		Chinese Family Association Building with hotel (91 SRO) and Masons' Hall.
		28. Four Seas Restaurant (1962).	Noncontributing	
		29. House of Hong (1941).	Noncontributing	
		30. Hip Sing Association Building (1910). Mezzanine level with recessed balconies.		Workingman's hotel (25 SRO).
		31. Don Hee Apartments (1910).		Ten unit apartment building. Was home of Wing Luke Asian Museum.
		32. Hotel Publix (1927).		Workingman's Hotel (211 SRO), 12 storefronts.
		33. 605-613 South King/500-506 6th Avenue South (1925).		Two-story commercial building.
		34. 514-522 Maynard Avenue South (1909).	Noncontributing	

EXTANT HISTORIC PROPERTIES - ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN (cont.)

County	Ethnic Group	Historic Property	Status	Comments/Significance
King (cont.)	Chinese/ Japanese/ Filipino (cont.)	<p>35. Ohio Hotel (1909).</p> <p>36. Freedman Building (1910).</p> <p>37. Mar Hotel (1928).</p> <p>38. Alps Hotel (1910).</p> <p>39. Rex Hotel (1909).</p> <p>40. Sing Keong Family Association (1906).</p> <p>41. Eastern Hotel (1911).</p> <p>42. Eclipse Hotel (1908).</p> <p>43. Gee How Oak Tin Hotel (1907). Third floor is Family Association with recessed balcony, tiled roof with flared edges.</p> <p>44. Louisa Hotel (1909) and Chinese Bulletin Board (1960).</p> <p>45. Kong Yick Apartments (1910). Mezzanine level contains recessed balconies.</p> <p>46. Chinese Garden/China Gate (1924).</p> <p>47. Chong Wa Benevolent Association (1929). Some "Oriental motifs" employed. The building is freestanding, unlike others in the International District.</p> <p>48. Freeman Hotel (1910). "Recessed balconies at the mezzanine levels—almost identical to the adjoining Kong Yick Apartments."</p>	<p>Board is Noncontributing</p> <p>Noncontributing</p>	<p>Workingman's hotel (43 SRO), 4 storefronts. Hotel (80 SRO), 2 storefronts.</p> <p>Hotel (72 SRO) and commercial building.</p> <p>Workingman's hotel.</p> <p>Workingman's hotel.</p> <p>Oldest of the low-rise commercial buildings in the District.</p> <p>Hotel and commercial building; built for the Wa Chong Co.</p> <p>Workingman's hotel (70 SRO), 6 storefronts.</p> <p>Owned and operated by Chinese Family Association for immigrants and seasonal laborers. Hotel (60 SRO).</p> <p>Hotel, 8 storefront bays. Also several storefronts facing Maynard Alley [important pedestrian corridor].</p> <p>Built to provide housing for Chinese immigrants and seasonal workers. Hotel (158 SRO) and 9 street level storefronts, with storefronts on Canton Alley [important pedestrian corridor].</p> <p>Originally built as an opera house by a Chinese opera company. Original design by Andrew Willatsen.</p> <p>Functioned as a meeting place and school.</p> <p>Hotel (155 SRO) and 9 storefronts. Those facing Canton Alley "further emphasize the alley's importance to commerce."</p>

EXTANT HISTORIC PROPERTIES - ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN (cont.)

County	Ethnic Group	Historic Property	Status	Comments/Significance
King (cont.)	Chinese/ Japanese/ Filipino (cont.)	49. 801-811 South King Street (1925). 50. New Central Hotel (1909).		One-story commercial building, 6 storefronts. Workingman's hotel (126 SRO), 6 storefront bays.
Kitsap	Japanese	Hayashida Barn (1910), Bainbridge Island. Log and wood shed. Koura Barn (1910-1940), Bainbridge Island. Wood clapboard barn. Furuya Resort House (1905), Bainbridge Island. At one time had eight hothouses, trees shipped from Japan. Famous singers from Japan stopped to see the 60 acre garden. Filipino Community Hall (ca. 1930), Bainbridge Island. Boarded-up building. Ellensburg Chinese Site (ca. 1900), Ellensburg. Chinese artifacts (fragments of ceramics, bottles for opium) found. Roslyn Historic District (ca. 1880), Roslyn.	Historic Inventory Historic Inventory Historic Inventory Historic Inventory Archaeological Inventory National/State Register	Japanese strawberry farming industry. Inventoried 3/87. Strawberry farming barn. Inventoried 3/87. Home of Masajiro Furuya; greenhouse/business owner. Inventory not dated. Filipino Growers Association purchased ten acres on Strawberry Hill, constructing this building and the berry shed. Inventoried 3/87; no inventory sheet on the latter structure. Inventoried 7/89. No mention has been made of specific Asian group, but this Nat Reg District was noted by OAHF for inclusion. Mention in form has included cemeteries and the variety of ethnic groups living there. Railroad and coal mining activities may have attracted Asians. Inventoried 12/74.
Kititas	Chinese			
Lewis	Japanese	McCormick Logging Railroad Tunnel (1910). "Tunnel is the last physical remnant of the extensive logging and milling operation in the Pe Ell area."	State Register	Built by Japanese laborers who lived in the Japantown District of the company town.

EXTANT HISTORIC PROPERTIES - ASIAN/PACIFIC-AMERICAN (cont.)

County	Ethnic Group	Historic Property	Status	Comments/Significance
Pacific	Chinese	China House (ca. 1905), South Bend.	Historic Inventory	Occupied by Chinese laborers, possibly families. They worked in nearby canneries or oyster harvesting. Inventoried 1/75. [Inventory also mentions that in 1902, Lum You was hanged inside the old courthouse in south Bend for killing Oscar Bloom. The only recorded execution in the County.]
Pacific (cont.)		Columbia River Quarantine Station (ca. 1899), vicinity of Knappton. Five frame buildings are on the property site, built between 1899-1926. Condition was altered/deteriorated as of 1978. National Register form. The fully equipped Quarantine Station no longer stands. This site was an old cannery site, purchased by the government.	National/State Register	Hospital/Quarantine Station for immigrant Chinese and Europeans.
Pierce	Japanese	Upper Fairfax Historic District (ca. 1907), Carbonado. Nineteen-acre district. No Japantown dwellings remain. School, company office, post office, foremen's homes (Collins House, Gurley House, Moore Residence) still stand.	State Register	Sawmill laborers dwelled in community SE of the sawmill site. Japanese children attended same school as other workers' children. Manley-Moore Mill Lumber Company built four tennis courts for recreational facilities for workers, one for Japanese use.
		Fifteenth Street Hand Laundry (1912), Tacoma.	Historic Inventory	Japanese laundry. Only commercially owned property in group of residences. Inventoried 3/80.
		Hotel Grand (1911), Tacoma.	Historic Inventory	Two-story brick building. Grand Cafe on ground floor and hotel upstairs. Both run by Japanese until World War II. Inventoried 3/81.
		Nihon Go Gakko (1922), Tacoma. Pacific Northwest vernacular.	National/State Register	School and site of evacuation/registration during World War II.
		Hotel Goodwin (1912), Tacoma. Building vacant since 1969.	Historic Inventory	Originally the Salvation Army Hotel. During 1920s Japanese operated hotel with laundry on ground floor, vacating in the 1930s. Inventoried 3/81.

EXTANT HISTORIC PROPERTIES - ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN (cont.)

County	Ethnic Group	Historic Property	Status	Comments/Significance
Pierce (cont.)	Japanese (cont.)	<p>Houses in Tacoma.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. 1339 South Fawcett (1892).2. 1343 South Fawcett (1912).3. 1345 South Fawcett (1912).4. 1345½ South Fawcett (ca. 1912).5. 1347 South Fawcett (ca. 1912).6. 1347½ South Fawcett (ca. 1912).7. 1351 South Fawcett (n.d.), Building A.8. 1351 South Fawcett (1912), Building B.9. 1351 South Fawcett (1912), Building C.10. 1343½ South Fawcett (1912). <p>Japanese Baptist Center (ca. 1892), Tacoma. Wooden eclectic. 1505 South Fawcett.</p> <p>Japanese Buddhist Church (ca. 1930), 1717 South Fawcett, Tacoma. Gabled brick structure. Pair of Japanese lanterns at entry still standing as of 5/80.</p> <p>Tacoma Japanese Methodist Church (1929), 1901 South Fawcett, Tacoma. Brick Colonial style.</p> <p>Western Washington Fairgrounds (1942), Puyallup. Some buildings used by Wartime Civil Control Administration. Memorial sculpture by George Tsutakawa. Dedicated 1983.</p>	<p>Houses are "part of a cohesive unit of homes occupied by Japanese immigrants before and after World War II. Group of buildings has interior courtyards." Inventoried 2/80.</p> <p>Between 1939 and 1941, a fruit and produce business was located at this address.</p> <p>May have been a workshop at alley level.</p> <p>One of four major Japanese religious centers before World War II. Emotional support for Issei adjusting to American life. Inventoried 5/80.</p> <p>Prior to construction of church, congregation met at Hirishimaya Hotel at 17th and Market. Used after World War II as a hostel for returning Japanese.</p> <p>Built by Japanese Methodist community. After World War II as a hostel for returning Japanese. Left in care of Caucasians during World War II. Inventoried 5/80.</p> <p>Internment area during World War II, also known as "Camp Harmony."</p>	

EXTANT HISTORIC PROPERTIES - ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN (cont.)

County	Ethnic Group	Historic Property	Status	Comments/Significance
San Juan	Chinese	China Rock (ca. 1880), San Juan. Channel between San Juan and Lopez Islands on reef.	Historic Inventory	A smuggler of Chinese people dropped off a boatload of illegal immigrant Chinese to avoid customs officials. Later the abandoned Chinese were picked up by Reverend Weekes.
	Hawaiian	Kanaka Settlement Site (ca. 1870), False Bay, southwest shore of San Juan Island. No information as to remains of settlement.	Historic Inventory	Originally brought to the island as sheepherds by Hudson's Bay Company. Some stayed in a shack town around the site then known as Kanaka Bay, south of present Kanaka Bay location.
Skagit	Chinese	Seid Chi House (ca. 1912), Anacortes. Residential vernacular. Vacant and in good condition as of 4/87. Demolished as of 1990.	Historic Inventory	"As of 1987, this was the only known resource in Skagit county directly associated with Chinese." Unlike boarding houses used to house cannery workers, this house was owned by a Chinese couple. This house was on the same block as a Chinese boarding house, according to 1914 Sanborn Map.
Spokane	Filipino	La Merced, four-masted schooner (built 1917), Anacortes on Fidalgo Island shore.	National Historic Landmark	Used as Alaskan fishing vessel for 50 Filipinos in 1947.
	Chinese	Woodward Building (ca. 1890), Spokane. Condition unknown.	Historic Inventory	Building served as a Chinese social club. No date given for this use.
Stevens	Chinese	Marcus Island (ca. 1864), north side. Nine dugout areas, believed to have been occupied by Chinese miners.	Archaeological Inventory	Considered worthy of National Register status. Only two other dugouts of this type are known located north of Evans. Inventoried 9/86.
		House Pit Site/possible "Chinese Oven" (n.d.), west of Deep Creek. A concave heap of boulders.	Archaeological Inventory	Surveyed 1986.
		Settlement Ruins (n.d.), five miles north of Marcus. Structures have been connected to placer mining. Chinese rumored to be employed in this activity.	Historic Inventory	Inventoried 9/86.
		Sino Apex Settlement Site (n.d.), 7.5 miles north of Bossburg. Some artifact recovery. Possibly a Chinese site.	Historic Inventory	Determined ineligible for National Register. Inventoried 12/86.

EXTANT HISTORIC PROPERTIES - ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN (cont.)

County	Ethnic Group	Historic Property	Status	Comments/Significance
Thurston	Chinese	Shanghai Cafe (1904), Olympia. Concrete vernacular.	Historic Inventory	Built and owned by Sam Locke family. Locke known as Mayor of Chinatown. Chinatown ran along Water St., adjacent to this structure. Use continues under same name. Inventoried 5/89.
Wahkiakum	Chinese	China House (n.d.), Cathlamet (Historic District Survey). No information on date/condition or description of property or inventory.	Historic Inventory	Chinese who worked in cannery lived here. Could date at 1866 using Hume Salmon Cannery as guide.
		Hume Salmon Cannery (1866), eight miles east of Cathlamet. First commercial salmon cannery. Ruins on site as of 5/70.	Historic Inventory	Tin cans made by Chinese. First salmon cannery on Columbia River.
Walla Walla	Chinese	Chinese Burial Marker (ca. 1865), Walla Walla. Brick structure 7' x 4'. This part of the cemetery has approximately 50 Chinese markers bearing inscriptions entirely or partially in Chinese. The main memorial may be an individual or family marker.	Historic Inventory	The number of graves indicate that Walla Walla had large population of Chinese. Inventoried 11/74.
Whatcom	Chinese	Lily Point (ca. 1870s), Point Roberts. Fishing/cannery site. Some remnants of the cannery water tank remain. "There is potential for locating some structural remains." Burial remains have not been ethnically identified as of 5/90.	Archaeological Inventory	Alaska Packers Association purchased this cannery in 1894 and operated it until 1917. Chinese were laborers along with Native Americans and possibly Filipinos. This report was written to comply with the archaeological requirements associated with the Seaclyffe development project.
		Pacific American Fisheries (PAF) Warehouses #7, #10, Bellingham. The 1934 office building is still standing. The China House was part of the PAF complex, housing Chinese temporary employees. Report indicates that the China House is no longer standing.	Determination of Eligibility	Determined ineligible for National Register listing.

EXTANT HISTORIC PROPERTIES - ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN (cont.)

County	Ethnic Group	Historic Property	Status	Comments/Significance
Whatcom (cont.)	?	Fairhaven Historic District (ca. 1888), Bellingham. Sixteen structures standing in this district. No specific mention has been made of Asian contribution/occupancy. The Hudson Bay Company had a subsidiary location there that employed Chinese on nearby Vancouver Island. This was a cannery and railroad location. Buildings identified are eclectic, Italianate, Romanesque.	National/State Register	
Yakima	Japanese	California Hotel/Palace rooming House (ca. 1890), Yakima. Vernacular. Japanese business: Yamaguchi Tamezo's Washington Laundry and Cleaning Works recorded there in 1931.	Historic Inventory	Within oldest commercial district. Remodeled, "probably not eligible for National Register." Inventoried 8/85.
		La Frontera Tavern (ca. 1890), Yakima. Vernacular. Japanese business by 1931. Yasuo Yamoto's Eagle Laundry.	Historic Inventory	One of Yakima's oldest commercial buildings. "Probably not eligible for National Register." Inventoried 8/85.
		Joshi and Yoshi Kimura House (ca. 1903), Yakima. Vernacular. Occupied by the Kimura family in 1920.	Historic Inventory	Kimura was proprietor of Togo Loan Company. Family never occupied home again after their internment at Heart Mountain, WY. "May not be eligible for National Register due to addition." Inventoried 8/85.
	Chinese/ Japanese	El Sombrero Tavern (ca. 1890), Yakima. No historic name given. Vernacular. Asian occupancy recorded in 1931.	Historic Inventory	A number of Asian businesses including the Sumi Cafe and Chong Sam's Cigar Store. Inventoried 8/85.

PROPERTY TYPES ASSOCIATED WITH ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN SETTLEMENT IN WASHINGTON STATE

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the scholarly literature on Asian/Pacific American history has become increasingly detailed yet there is still a paucity of work that directly addresses the built form and visual character of Asian/Pacific American settlement. The greatest concentration of work has focused on the built form of Chinese American urban settlements, with great gaps remaining in research on the built environment of other Asian/Pacific American groups, as well as in the rural landscape associated with their past. Because of the lack of existing research on property types associated with the Asian/Pacific American historical experience in Washington State, it is necessary to turn to the limited existing literature that has focused on California, Hawaii, and Nevada for clues about the architectural styles, methods of construction, forms, and functions of building types associated with particular Asian/Pacific American groups. Additional research is needed before it will be possible to make meaningful generalizations about the architectural heritage of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington State, or to clearly understand the continuities among and differences between the built environment associated with their settlement Americans in Washington and other places.


A Review of the Literature

One of the earliest and most general overviews of the architectural heritage of Asian/Pacific American settlement appeared in essays by Christopher L. Yip on Chinese Americans and Ronald K.K. Lee on Japanese Americans in the National Trust for Historic Preservation's guide to America's Architectural Roots: Ethnic Groups that Built America, edited by Dell Upton.¹ Yip's profile of the architectural character of Chinese American settlements drew on the existing

base of knowledge about sites in California, including the complex urban community of San Francisco's Chinatown, the rural gold rush town of Weaverville, and the agricultural settlement of Locke. In contrast with Yip's focus on communities, Lee's profile of Japanese Americans reflected a greater concern for the Japanese influence on American architectural style, noting their contributions to the character of modern architecture. Drawing largely on Hawaiian examples, however, Lee observed some distinctively Japanese American visual features and construction details in Shinto shrines and domestic architecture, particularly the pitched roofs, wood frame construction, movable screens, and traditional methods of wood joinery employed in such buildings. Despite the existence of distinctively Asian elements in some American buildings, both authors noted that for the most part, Chinese and Japanese American immigrants occupied and modified standard American building types.

The architectural form and visual character of Chinatowns has emerged in recent years as a specialized field of research. In a detailed study of "The Architecture of San Francisco Chinatown," Phillip P. Choy has noted the overall lack of differentiation between the architecture of Chinatown and the rest of the downtown commercial core in the period before the 1906 earthquake, with the exception of decorative details such as large porcelain flower pots, huge silk-and-bamboo lanterns suspended from overhanging balconies, Chinese store signs at street level, and roof-top flags signifying the rank of Chinese merchants and government officials.² Otherwise, Choy has concluded, "the Chinese in San Francisco, from the beginning of their arrival to the time of the earthquake, apparently had accepted American architectural fashions and made no radical changes."³ In the period after 1906, Chinese merchants in San Francisco fended off city efforts to relocate Chinatown by initiating a rebuilding program of their own. The American architects hired by Chinese merchants to design these new buildings drew on their limited images "of pagodas and temples with turned-up eaves and massive curved roofs" in the effort to develop a self-consciously Oriental style for Chinatown architecture.⁴ In the process, what formerly were structural elements in traditional Chinese construction, such as the complex block and bracket sets (*tou-kung*), often were transformed into nonfunctional decorative features. Later, in the 1920s, many benevolent associations added top floor meeting halls with recessed balconies to their buildings.

David Chuen-yan Lai, who has systematically studied the architectural features of North American Chinatowns, such as those in San Francisco, Seattle, Vancouver, and Montreal, has found a somewhat wider range of important architectural elements and decorative details that contribute to their distinctive visual character. According to Lai,

Although a single homogeneous style of Chinatown architecture has never developed, Chinatown structures usually contain several architectural features rarely found in other downtown buildings. The most common structural elements are (a) Recessed or projecting balcony (front or rear); (b) Cheater stories; (c) Upturned eaves and roof corners; (d) Sloping tiled roofs; (f) Smooth or carved columns topped with cantilevered cluster of beams (Tou Kung); (g) Flagpole; (h) Parapet walls bearing Chinese inscriptions. Green, yellow, and other brightly colored tiles are the common roofing material of Chinatown buildings. The upturned eaves made of moulded metal are usually added onto sloping roof corners and cornices. In addition, "cheater floors" and recessed or projected balconies are reflected in the exterior articulation of building facades. A "cheater floor" similar to a low-ceiled mezzanine, is an intermediate story between the ground floor and the second floor. In the early days in British Columbia, taxes were assessed on the height and not the total floor area of a building. Thus a builder or owner could "cheat" or save on taxes, by creating an extra floor, which was not assessed for taxation. Above the cheater floors are recessed balconies which dominate the upper stories of many Chinatown buildings. This structural element  may be a duplication of the practices in . . . cities in South China, where the facade of a building is moved back at every story behind the building line defined by the wrought iron balcony. In South China, recessed balconies are common because they help to cool building interiors in the hot summer and help warm them in the winter. During the rainy days, the residents will dry their clothing on bamboo poles hung in the recessed balcony. Furthermore, a recessed balcony provides an open space not only for children but also for worshipping the heavens in the Chinese New Year and other festivals. This practice was probably brought to North America by the Chinese immigrants. Most Chinese association buildings in Chinatown have recessed balconies [They] are a unique Chinatown architectural feature and found only in Chinatowns.⁵

Lai's work is useful, as well, for identifying the decorative details that distinguish the buildings of Chinatown from other inner city neighborhoods.

The major decorative elements include: (a) Color schemes of gold, red, green, yellow and other brilliant colors; (b) Animal motifs of dragons, phoenixes, or lions; (c) Plant motifs of pine, bamboo, plum, and crimson;

(d) Other decorative motifs such as pagodas, lanterns, bowls and chopsticks; (e) Inscriptions of stylish Chinese characters such as Fu (Happiness or Blessings), Lu (Wealth), and Shou (Longevity); (f) Chinese fittings such as vertical or horizontal signboards bearing Chinese characters, hanging lanterns (Ba-gua, the Eight Trigrams); (g) Doors, windows or archways that are circular, moon-shaped, and overlain with ornate lattice work; (h) Decorative balustrades adorned with frets. In traditional Chinese architecture the type of colors and animal motifs are believed to be able to influence the fortune and destiny of a building's occupants. Red signifies happiness, gold is linked with prosperity, and yellow is the imperial color, while blue and green are associated with peace and fertility. Thus, mandarin red, golden yellow, emerald green and other brilliant colors are used to highlight the decorative details of Chinatown buildings. Certain mystic animals such as dragons and phoenixes are believed to be auspicious and are commonly carved or painted on columns, walls and shop signs. Chinese fittings such as pagodas, lanterns, and other Oriental objects are ornamented components of many Chinese restaurants and gift shops in Chinatown.⁶

While these architectural and decorative elements readily can be identified on individual buildings, Lai offers a reminder that the distinctive character of North America Chinatowns has been formed by a combination of elements at the levels of the building, block, and district. Yet Chinatowns are only partially defined by built form; the concentration of Chinese residents contributes greatly to their social life and distinctive visual character.

The wave of modernization that has steadily undermined the historic character of San Francisco's Chinatown, also has threatened the integrity of Chinese American properties in the urban areas of Washington. As Choy has observed,

Old marbled entrances with their classic details have been stripped; wood, iron, and bronze-sashed storefronts with wooden doors have been torn down, replaced by glaring anodized aluminum. Metal canopies have been replaced with ballooning canvas awnings that obscure the finer details of the building below and above. Time-worn natural brick and window details have been plastered over with monotonous stucco or faced with garish, glazed tile of bright red, yellow, and orange, and even stainless steel. Gold-leaf signs on the windows have been removed and replaced with huge back-lighted plastic signs that overpower the storefronts and violate the streetscape.⁷

These changes have compromised Chinese Americans' sense of connection with their past.

While systematic research has yet to be done specifically on the architectural form of Japanese American settlements in the United States, there are a growing number of community histories that offer valuable clues about the relative significance of remaining Japanese American cultural resources. S. Frank Miyamoto's pathbreaking 1939 study of Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle⁸ detailed the major social, political, economic, educational, religious, and recreational institutions central to Seattle's Japanese American community and has paved the way for the recent generation of historians engaged in detailed studies of urban and rural Japanese American communities.

Historian Valerie Matsumoto's dissertation on the California "Cortez Colony: Family Farm and Community among Japanese Americans, 1919-1982,"⁹ for example, has illuminated the shared experience of the majority of first- and second-generation Japanese Americans who had some experience of rural agricultural life. The Cortez Colony, according to Matsumoto,

is both representative and unusual as a Japanese-American rural community, with regard to work, institutions, and gender roles. While the experiences of the Cortez people are in many ways shared by a large portion of the Japanese-American population, Cortez is also unusual in being one of three planned Japanese colonies founded in the San Joaquin Valley by Kyutaro Abiko. Although the first two colonies remained predominantly Christian, Cortez hosted both Presbyterian and Buddhist congregations, reflecting a split common to Japanese-American enclaves. Cortez has also sustained other institutions prevalent in prewar Japanese-American communities—a Japanese-American language school, a young people's club, and an agricultural cooperative association. [These institutions] played a crucial role in the preservation of community cohesion during wartime and have continued to provide services to a growing membership from the 1950s through the 1980s.¹⁰

The continuity of three to four generations living on family land in Cortez increases its significance in the history of Japanese-Americans in the United States. Widespread dislocation followed World War II evacuation and internment for most Japanese Americans. While "many individuals and families journeyed back to the areas they called 'home,' . . . the available evidence indicates that Cortez, Cressey, and Livingston are the only communities that returned *as communities*, in an organized fashion."¹¹ The tangible remains of the Japanese American communities that survived World War II evacuation and internment, such as Cortez, California,

as well as the many that were permanently transformed, have yet to be systematically identified in historic preservation surveys. Local histories of rural communities by academic historians such as Matsumoto, or by community groups, such as Japanese American Citizens League, which published the Pictorial Album of the History of the Japanese of the White River Valley,¹² in Washington, provide a valuable knowledge base for those seeking a deeper understanding of Japanese Americans' imprint on the historic built environment and cultural landscape. To date, the most extensive documentation of property types associated with aspects of the Japanese-American experience in Washington stems from surveys of properties in Seattle's International District, Tacoma, and Yakima. A clearer picture of the impact of other Asian/Pacific American groups awaits the development of a more solid base of historical research, and future surveys of the historic built environment and cultural landscape associated with Filipinos, Koreans, Hawaiians, and others.

A clearer understanding of the various building types associated with Chinese American and Japanese American history has only begun to emerge as a result of statewide preservation planning efforts. California and Nevada have been at the forefront of such activities. Beginning in 1979, the California Office of Historic Preservation assumed leadership in improving the representation of ethnic minority properties in cultural resources surveys with a study of one hundred sites associated with the five largest ethnic minorities in the state's history, the results of which are reported in Five Views: An Ethnic Sites Survey for California.¹³ The overview essays by Nancy Wey on "Chinese Americans in California," and the team of Isami Arifuku Waugh, Alex Yamato, and Raymond Y. Okamura on "Japanese Americans in California," provide valuable models for the preparation of historic context documents for other states. Properties associated with Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans in California were well represented in the survey, providing a useful indication of building types likely to be extant in Washington where Chinese and Japanese settled in both urban and rural areas in significant numbers. Among the property types associated with Chinese Americans in the California survey were temples, encampments, mining towns, herb shops, stores, restaurants, cemeteries, canning companies, and massacre sites. The property types associated with Japanese Americans in the California survey included fishing villages, agricultural colonies, language institutes, labor

camp, churches, midwiferies and hospitals, theaters, segregated schools, internment camps, and properties associated with challenges to restrictive legislation.

The Nevada Preservation Plan provides another useful overview of major patterns in the settlement of Asian Americans in the west.¹⁴ Beyond the historical overview, it offers a useful review of traditional Chinese building practices, brief assessments of the extent of utilization of traditional practices in urban and rural settings in Nevada, the impact of the Chinese on Nevada's historic resources, and a useful list of property types and historic landscape features associated with Chinese American settlement in the state. Among the property types identified in the study are: association halls (tongs), boarding houses, brothels, business establishments, farm/garden buildings, gaming/lottery shops, joss houses, opium dens, residences, railroad construction camps, servant's quarters/workplaces, and woodcutter's/charcoal production camps.¹⁵ Among the landscape features identified are: farm/truck gardens, *fengshui* (wind and water), ditches and flumes, railroads, placer mines, and work camps.¹⁶ However, the study noted the limited number of distinctive Chinese structures identified in Nevada historic building surveys. This finding is attributed to five major factors:

The exodus of Chinese from the state in the 1870s and 1880s, impermanence of Chinese structures, Chinese adoption of local vernacular styles, Chinese occupation of EuroAmerican constructed buildings, and EuroAmerican modifications of structures used by Chinese.¹⁷

As a result, the analysis of Chinese structures in Nevada draws heavily on archaeological sources. Unlike California's survey, which provides a useful model for those seeking to identify property types associated with both Chinese and Japanese Americans in Washington State, the Nevada Preservation Plan is of more limited value since that state lacked the distinctive Japanese neighborhoods or Japan towns present in the history of California and Washington.

Property Types in Washington State

The little that is known about property types associated with the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington must be gleaned from the general historical scholarship and from particular examples of inventoried landmarks. While the former source typically lacks necessary detail about built form and visual character (i.e., What precisely is meant by references to tents and shacks?), the latter group of records generally constitute too limited a pool of resources to make meaningful generalizations (i.e., Were all association halls similar to the few that have been inventoried?). Still, with these limitations in mind, an examination of inventoried properties in Washington provides some indications of the variety of known building types and landscape elements historically associated with Chinese-, and, to a lesser extent, Japanese-Americans in the state.

PROPERTY TYPES

The following list of property types is drawn principally from documented examples in historic inventories, which are the most valuable source of information on the architectural character of historic buildings and landscape features. The property types are grouped here into several broad categories. A definition of each category, based on National Register resource classifications, is followed by descriptions of the specific property types included within the category. In cases of certain property types known to be associated with Asian/Pacific American settlement in Washington, but for which there was negligible information available, known examples from other states have been included for reference purposes as well as no-longer-extant examples from Washington. This list of property types is limited to those that either illustrate key themes in the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in the state, or which reflect their distinctive imprint on built form or the landscape through culturally distinctive patterns of activity, modification of the physical environment, or use.

PROPERTY TYPES

Districts

- Major Urban Settlements/Districts
- Towns with Identifiable Districts

Residential and Commercial Buildings

- Single Room Occupancy Hotels
- Boarding Houses and Hostels
- Detached Housing
- Retail Establishments
 - Public Markets
 - General Stores
 - Restaurants
 - Laundries and Dye Shops
 - Herbal Shops

Social and Cultural Properties

- Language Schools
- Temples and Churches
- Association Halls and Community Centers
- Bathhouses
- Theaters
- Cemeteries

Institutional Properties

- Immigration and Detention Facilities

Industrial Properties

- Mining Sites and Lumber Camps
- Canneries, Packing Plants, and Mills
- Warehouses and Workshops
- Oyster Station Houses

Rural Properties

- Farms and Other Agricultural Properties

Landscapes

- Gardens and Nurseries
- Designed Landscape Features

DISTRICTS

For the purposes of the National Register, a district has been defined as "a geographically definable area, urban or rural, possessing a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, or objects united by past events or aesthetically by plan or physical development."¹⁸ A district often is composed of a wide variety of resources, and may include many of the property types listed below. Its identity derives from the interrelationships of these properties and resources. A district is not merely an identifiable entity; it also conveys historical, architectural, archeological, or cultural significance.¹⁹ The term settlement is used in this document to identify areas associated with Asian/Pacific American habitation, but which may not contain enough extant properties to be distinguished as districts.

- **Major Urban Settlements/Districts**

Asian/Pacific immigrants established major settlements in places such as Seattle, Tacoma, and Walla Walla. There a diversified economic base was reflected in the variety of resource types they constructed, leased, and utilized. The variety of commercial and residential building types associated with Chinese and Japanese Americans in major urban settlements, for the most part, is consistent with those found throughout the downtown core; yet they tended to combine these forms in mixed commercial and residential buildings, made minor modifications in architectural and decorative detail that created a distinctive visual character, and adapted the forms to uses which were consistent with Asian/Pacific American cultural practices.

- **Towns with Identifiable Settlements**

Formal and informal patterns of racial segregation and exclusion, as well as significant cultural differences, led to the establishment of concentrated settlements of Chinese and Japanese American workers on the periphery of fishing, milling, railroad, and lumber mill towns. Within these quarters or districts, there were concentrations of dwellings along with retail stores, services, and other indicators of extended settlement such as schools and graveyards.

Examples: In Kalama, a boomtown created by its selection as the terminus of the Northern Pacific railroad in 1870, 1,300 Chinese workers established a neighborhood known as China Garden. At the Snoqualmie Falls Lumber Company, the sites of housing for Japanese American workers were clustered apart from the others, south of the millpond. Selleck, created by the Pacific States Lumber Company and the best preserved example of a lumber company town in western Washington, contained a cohesive settlement of Japanese workers and their families on the periphery, on a site that was cleared for them by the company. Reportedly, the remaining Kanasket Beer Tavern was a Japanese school building.²⁰



AA-121 Barnaston, WA. 1911. Many Western Washington sawmills, such as this one near Selleck, employed Japanese Americans prior to World War II. [S. Nakanishi. Courtesy of the Wing Luke Asian Museum]

Two small Japanese villages, called Nagaya and Yama, were established in the lumber mill town of Port Blakely before the turn of the century. Nagaya, "camp of the sawmill," was

located on the lower slope of the hill, southwest of the log pond. A small stream flowed through it, the resident's water source, and that was bridged by a pathway that continued between the little shacks of the village. It was home for the first bachelor immigrants from Japan. Yama wasn't more than a quarter of a mile from the busy sawmill, but it seemed far removed and always had a ambiance more Japanese than American. Among the significant structures in Yama were Kono's place, which became the community's two-and-a-half story Washington Hotel. It offered accommodations, meals and Japanese communal baths to visiting salesmen, teachers, doctors and preachers. A grocery store and ice cream parlor was opened a few feet upstream by Tamegoro and Tamao Takayoshi. The store had Yama's first telephone and included a photography studio, a watch repair shop, and served as an agency for a Seattle laundry company. Next to the Takayoshi's was the Buddhist Temple, 'a spacious building of two stories,' which also served as a school. Below Yama on a flat land near the head of the millpond, was a vegetable and flower garden run by the Tsunehara family. It was a neatly tended place that provided abundantly for the greater community.

These villages were torn down in the late 1920s, after the mill's decline.²¹

RESIDENTIAL AND COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS

The National Register defines a building as "a structure created to shelter any form of human activity, such as a house, barn, church, hotel, or similar structure."²² Residential and commercial buildings are grouped together to form one category because the two functions often are found mixed within one structure in major urban settlements. For example, it is common for a building defined as a single room occupancy hotel to contain retail store fronts on the ground floor, and residential units on the upper floors. It is also common for a property defined as a laundry to provide living quarters for the launderer's family in addition to the work space.

- **Single Room Occupancy Hotels**

There are a large group of properties associated with this building type in Washington, particularly associated with Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans in Seattle's International District. The mixed uses characteristic of these buildings complicates their classification into the traditional categories of commercial and residential buildings. These structures typically are three- to six-story brick buildings with residential units in upper floors and ground-floor storefronts, usually containing restaurants, shoe repair shops, and retail stores; or offices and meeting rooms. Sometimes a community center or theater is located in the hotel. The facade is relatively plain with ground floor display windows. Between the ground floor and the upper floors there is often a continuous decorative sheet of metal or a cast stone band of shallow or medium projection visually distinguishing the commercial from the residential sections. Originally wooden or masonry structures, later they were constructed as steel frame buildings. [Also see, *Association Halls*]

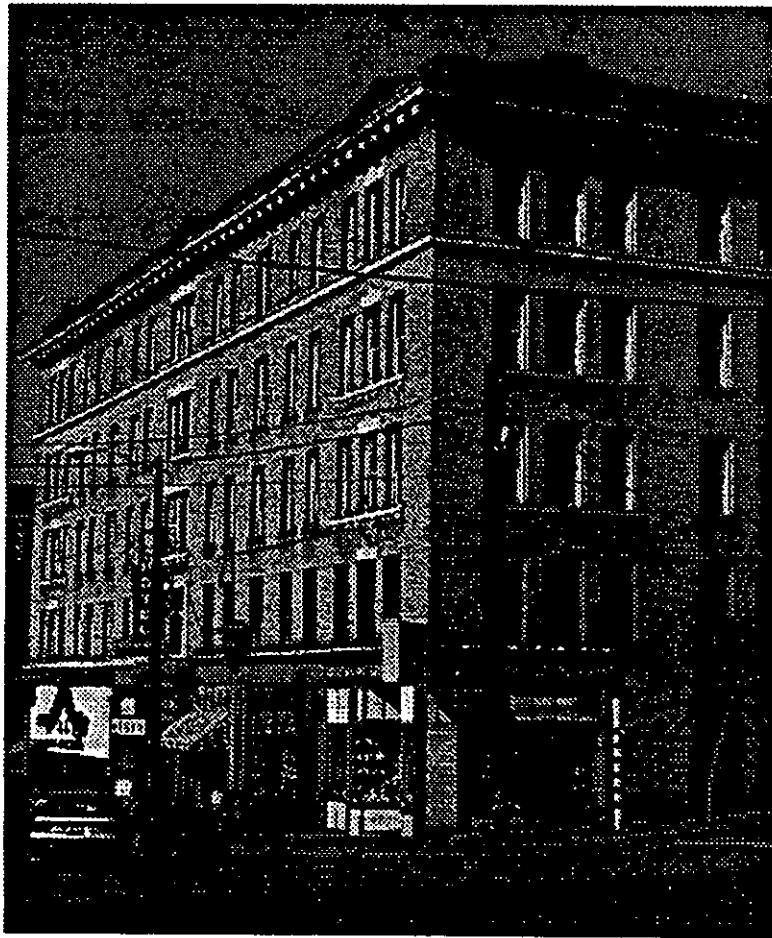
Examples: The Panama Hotel was built in 1910 as a five-story workingman's hotel, containing 94 single rooms, in the heart of Japantown. The presence of this building helped to define the commercial hub of Japanese settlement in Seattle. It contained retail stores at the ground level. The Goon Dip Building/Milwaukee Hotel, built in 1911, is a five-story hotel with 150 single rooms and a central hotel entrance. Built to house the offices of Goon Dip, the contractor who supplied Chinese labor to Alaska's salmon canneries, it features an elaborate terra cotta hotel entrance with substantial decorative facade detail.

- **Boarding Houses and Hostels**

Single family dwellings often were minimally modified to serve as boarding houses and hostels. Sometimes the tenants were served meals or shared a communal kitchen; otherwise, they took their meals elsewhere. When located in a multi-family dwelling, sometimes they contained stone stoves with multiple metal openings for metal cooking pots (*woks*), or lower-floor restaurants.



AA-108 Seattle, WA. 1992. Alps Hotel. 615-625 South King Street.
[Weilin Shi]



AA-115. Seattle, WA. 1992. Goon Dip Building/Milwaukee Hotel. 415-419 7th Avenue South. [Weilin Shi]

Example: The hostel could originate by someone renting out a few rooms in any building, then rerenting them to tenants, as one Japanese man did in Tacoma. He rented a few rooms from his friend's house and rerented them to his tenants and purchased food to serve them.²³

- **Detached Housing**

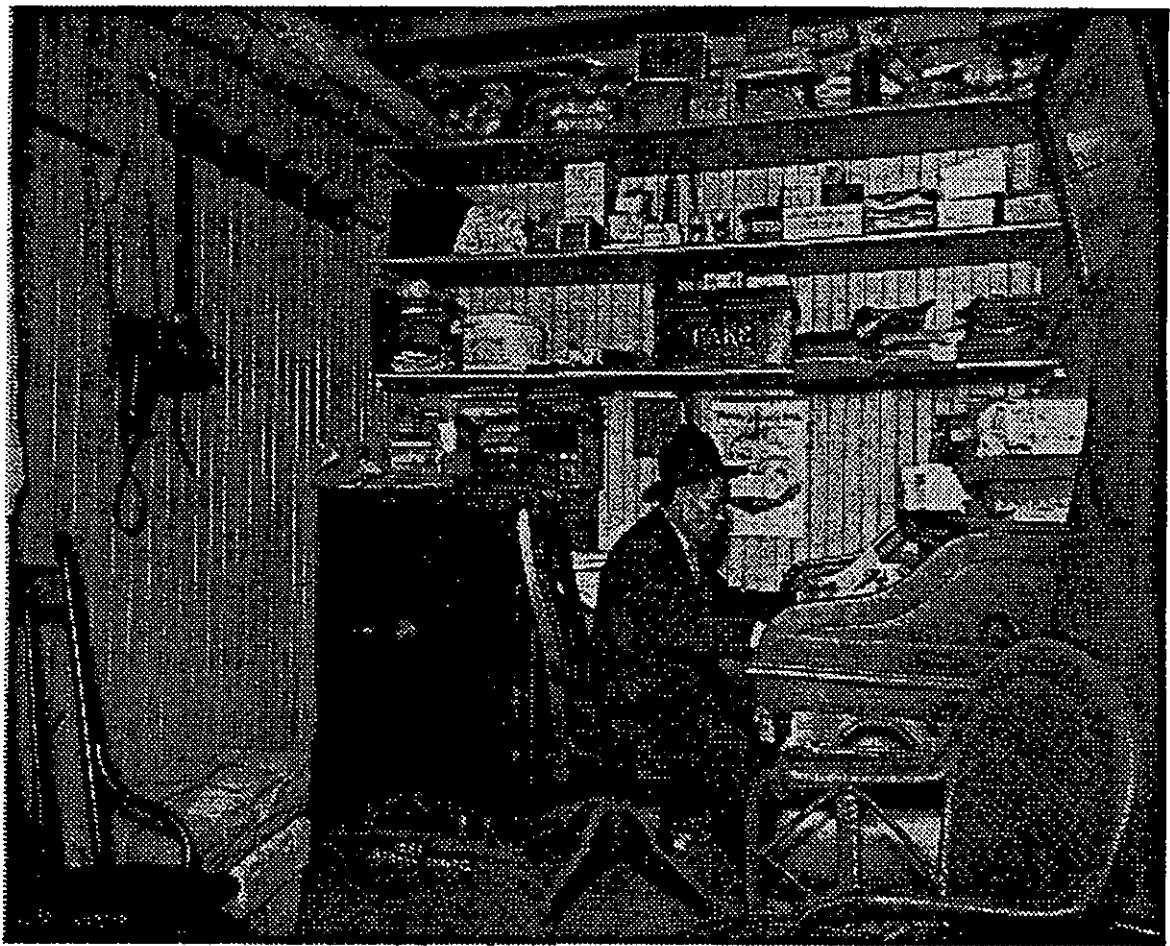
Detached housing ranges in type from the extravagant Furuya Resort House located on Bainbridge Island, and associated with a prominent member of the Japanese community, to simple, vernacular buildings in Tacoma which are part of a cohesive unit of homes occupied by Japanese immigrants before and after World War II.

Examples: The Furuya Resort House is located at Crystal Spring, Bainbridge Island, at the site of the Furuya Company's greenhouse and gardens. The site contained "eight hothouses on 60 acres of land stretching 300 feet along the Coast. The Furuya Resort House was famous in the Japanese community. All the trees were shipped from Japan, including mainly paulownia and maple, and wisteria with white and purple flowers. And there were two lanterns, a pond and a bridge. Thus the landscape was beautiful. Every Sunday students of the University of Washington and prefectural association people held picnics, but the Furuya employees most enjoyed the advantage of using it."²⁴

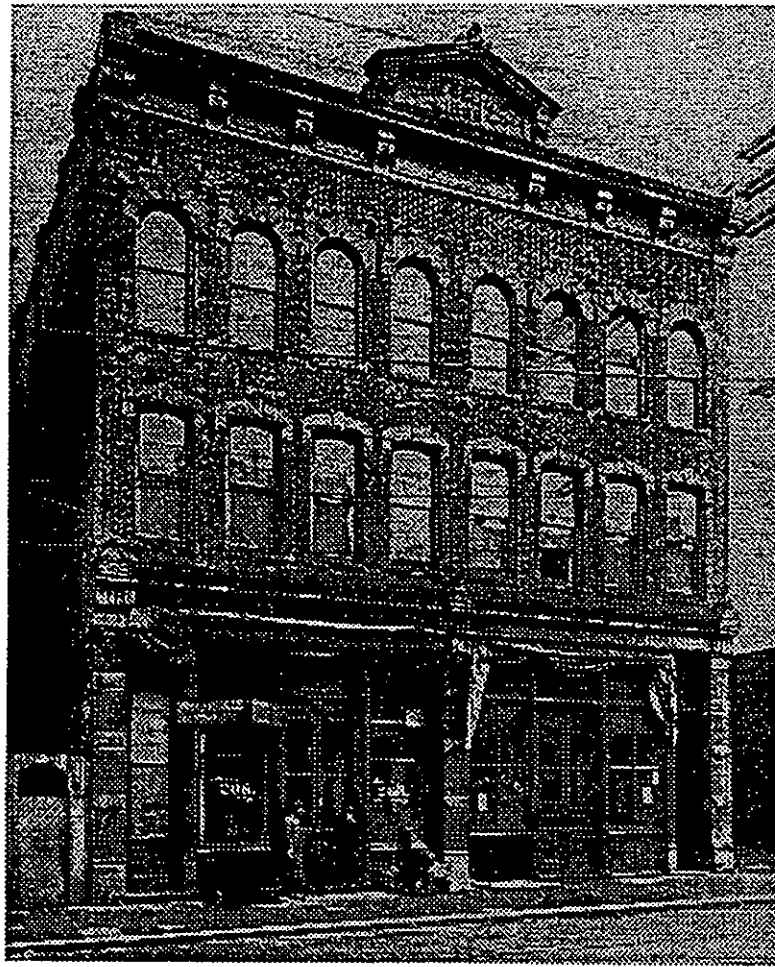
No longer extant, the houses built by immigrants in the Japanese village established in the lumber mill town of Port Blakely were "simple, small, usually unpainted and weathered looking, and almost on top of each other. In time, thick, second-growth fir and alder shielded them from the sight of the sawmill and muffled its sound."²⁵

- **Retail Establishments**

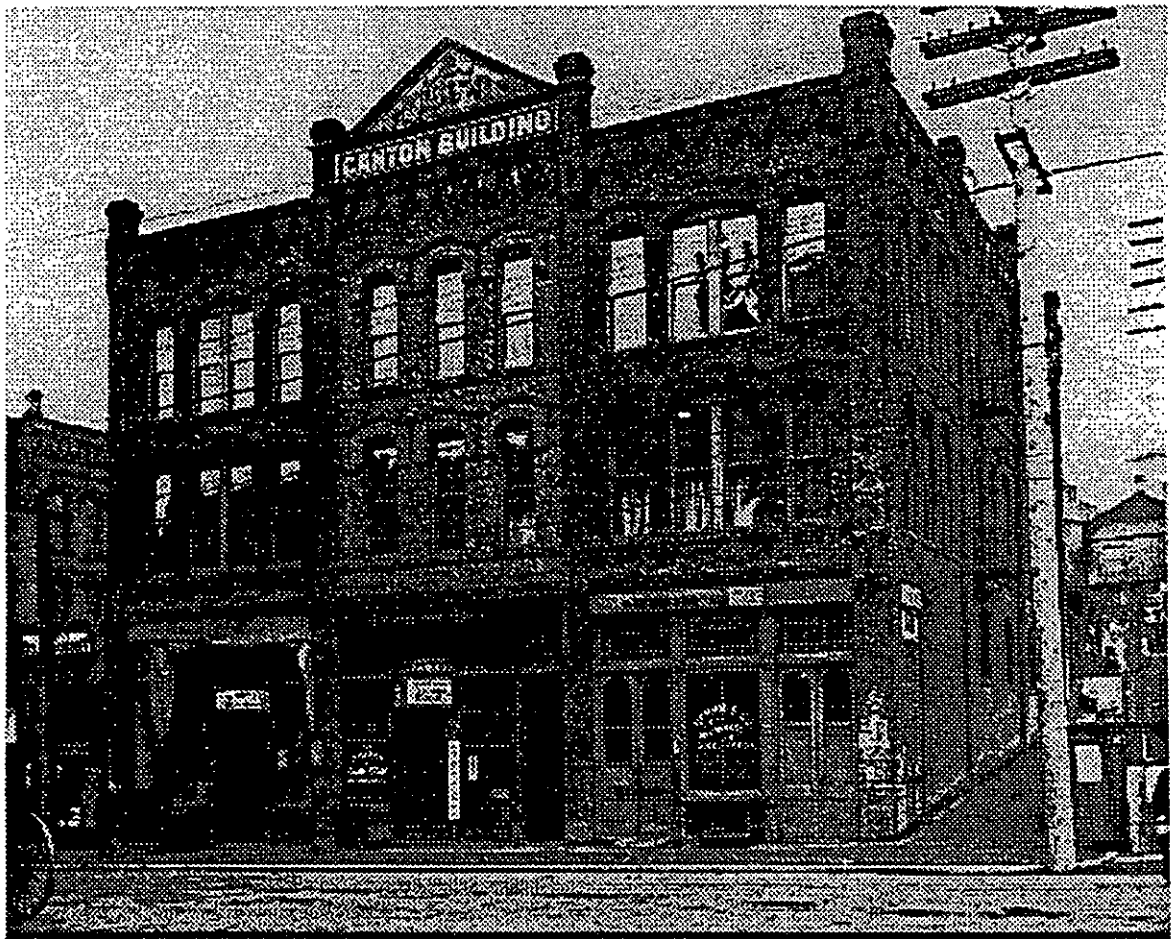
Retail establishments encompass a wide variety of building types, from complex markets and free-standing general stores to a single room of a house or one of a few bays in the first



AA-90 Seattle, WA. Chin Gee Hee, Quong Tuck Company. Chin Gee Hee was one of the contractors on the construction of several of the earlier railroads and a key importer of Asian goods. [Courtesy of the University of Washington, Special Collections]



AA-92 Seattle, WA. 1889. Chin Gee Hee Building. Washington between 2nd and 3rd Avenues. [Courtesy of the University of Washington, Special Collections]



AA-91 Seattle, WA. 1884. Canton Building. Washington between 2nd and 3rd Avenues. [Courtesy of the University of Washington, Special Collections]



AA-11 Seattle, WA. Kwong Wa Chong Company. 114 2nd Avenue South. [Courtesy of the University of Washington, Special Collections]

floor of a large building. The facades of Chinese American stores are often colorful and decorated by the characters that mean happiness, blessing, wealth and longevity. The store's sign hangs outside the building, marked in two languages. Circular moon-shaped entrances are also used in some stores. Animal motifs such as dragons and phoenixes are commonly carved or painted on walls, windows, doors, columns, and shop signs. Two banners (*dui-lian*) flank the door frame, particularly in Chinese retail stores. The panels are symbolic and made of three pieces of paper or wooden strips that contain blessings for good fortune and good health. Some retail stores included postal and banking services for their customers' convenience.²⁶

- *Public Markets*

Example: The Pike Place Public Market in downtown Seattle is a commercial property which has been associated with Asian/Pacific Americans from its opening in 1907. In fact, prior to 1942, 60–80 percent of the farmers in the core market were Japanese Americans. “The original physical appearance of the Pike Place marketing district in August 1907, was a boarded roadway extending from Pike Street north to Virginia Street lined with farmers’ wagons loaded with fresh vegetables and produce. The district was mixed residential, commercial, and home industry. Open stalls and grocery stores were built around the “farmers market” on Pike Place and the district was quickly transformed into a marketing area.”²⁷ Victor Steinbrueck described the market core buildings as “the most intriguing series of passageways and openings with varied spaces, shops, stalls, ramps, stairways and openings which could hardly be designed but had to grow with the market. The materials are common and ordinary but the spaces, lighting and character are rich and unique in variety.”²⁸

- *General Stores*

Example: Natsuhara’s General Store in Auburn, served as a social as well as retail center for immigrant valley farmers. A western or false-fronted commercial structure, it was connected to residential units for Japanese American farmworkers.

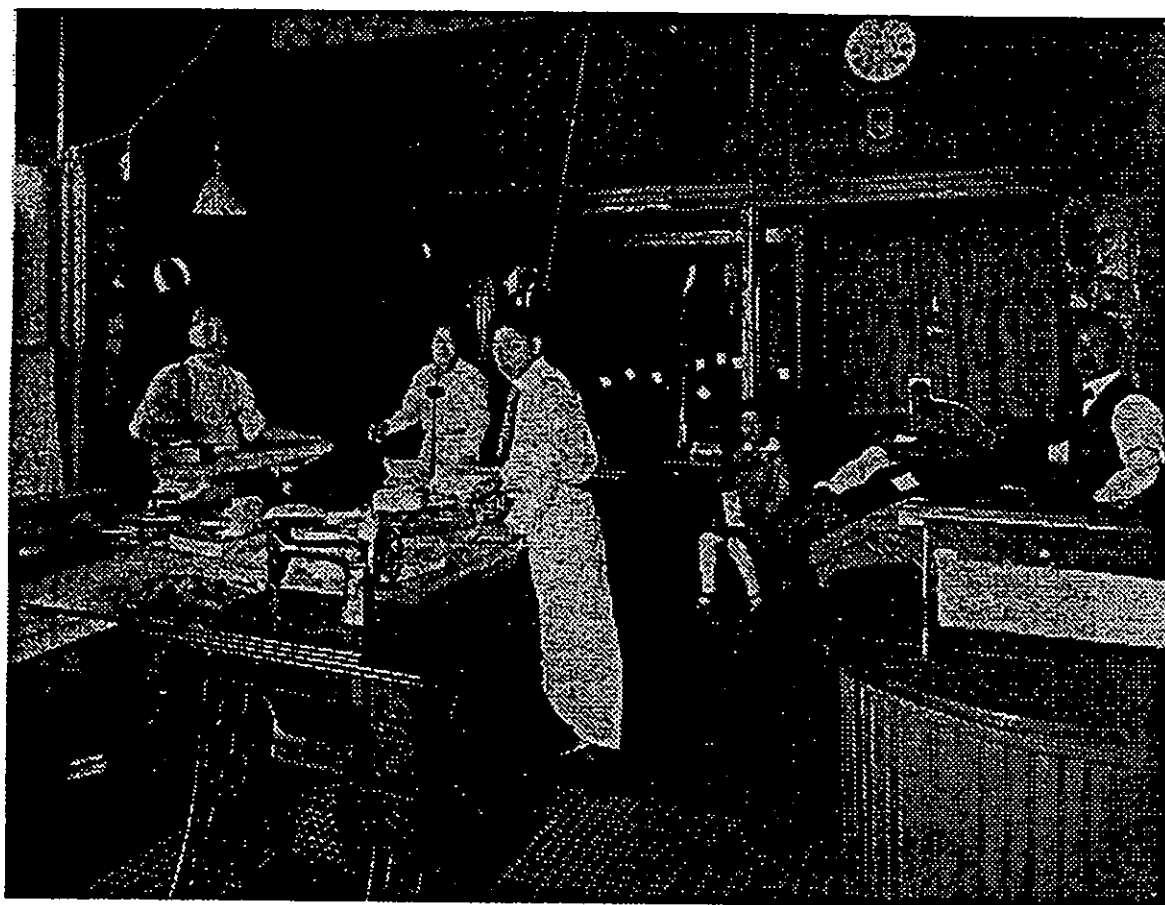
- *Restaurants*

Like retail stores, restaurants' signs are also marked in two languages and the store's facade is often colorful. Circular moon-shaped entrances are also used in some restaurants. Banners, drawings and Chinese-style lanterns are important decorations in Chinese restaurants. Behind the dining area is a large kitchen, traditionally fired by a coal stove. The interior may contain a cheater story.

Example: The Shanghai Cafe Building is located at 117, 119, and 123 West 5th Street in Olympia. "The building was built in 1904 and has been owned by the Locke family since its construction. Sam Locke was known as the "Mayor of Chinatown" in Olympia and guided that small ethnic group in Olympia. His restaurant, the "Shanghai," was located here and the business continues under that name in the building. Olympia's Chinatown was adjacent to this building along Water Street which was once the boundary of downtown before fill was placed extending the shoreline. A 1913 directory of Chinese businesses lists the majority of them in this building."²⁹

- *Laundries*

Laundry shops historically were not only workplaces, but also the laundryman's residence.³⁰ Early coal-fired laundries typically had a plain lettered wooden sign hanging above the doorway. The same type of lettering also may have been seen across the front window of the shop. The interior traditionally was organized into four distinct spaces. The largest section, in the front of the building, was the office-workshop. An ironing board, laundry shelves and counter were arranged in this area. The second part, screened from the first by a curtained doorway, contained the laundryman's living quarters. These typically were small spaces, just large enough to contain a narrow couch or cots for the laundrymen, their partners, or employees. The third part of the laundry was a drying room, which generally was located in the center or rear part of the building. The drying room typically was sheathed with tin wainscoting. In the center of this room stood a coal stove to dry the clothes. The fourth part, containing the laundry machines, often was located



AA-82 Laundry. [Courtesy of the University of Washington, Special Collections]

to the rear of the building. Steam-powered plants replaced coal-fired operations and typically did not contain living quarters.

Examples: In Walla Walla, the most significant Chinese settlement in Washington east of the Cascades, nine Chinese laundries were recorded in the 1880 census.³¹ The Fifteenth Street Hand Laundry in Tacoma (ca. 1912), is the only commercially used building in a single family residential area that was occupied by Japanese Americans both before and after World War II. It is considered likely that the owners lived in the rear of the store. A simple one-story cottage with a gable roof, later additions included a rear garage and a front addition made of cement block.³² This laundry still is in operation. On a grander scale, in 1913, Shoichi Okamura founded the Grand Union Laundry in Seattle, "which became one of the largest employers in the community with 70 workers, including deliverymen, washers, and dry cleaners."³³

- *Herbal Shops*

Although herbal shops in urban Chinatowns often were located in ordinary commercial buildings, their unique interior features distinguished them from other retail shops. The traditional practice of herbal medicine meant that these shops served, in a sense, both as a doctor's office and pharmacy for the Chinese American community. The most prominent interior features of herbal shops were long stretches of wooden cabinets lining the wall, subdivided into many small drawers. Each drawer was then subdivided into multiple parts to separate the various herbs. Often the doctor's desk would be located in front of a long counter that separated the customer's space from his work area.³⁴

Example: No properties have been identified in Washington. At least two examples have been inventoried in California: the Old Chinese Herb Shop in Truckee, dating from 1878; and the L.T. Sue Herb Company, located in China Alley, a short street in Hanford that was the center for Chinese Americans employed in railroad construction and agricultural production in the San Joaquin Valley.



AA-120 Seattle, WA. March 1920. Welcome Dyeworks. Laundries and dyeworks were a significant source of employment within the Japanese American community prior to World War II. Pictured are Mr. Koshiyama, Mr. Kanaseki, and Mr. Yoshi. [North American Post, Shoichi Koshiyama Collection. Courtesy of the Wing Luke Asian Museum]

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PROPERTIES

This category includes buildings and sites in which "significance is derived from the role the property plays in a community's historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices."³⁵ All of the property types grouped in this category are associated with cultural practices important in maintaining the historical identity of Asian/Pacific American communities. Several building types are listed, including language schools, churches, theaters and bathhouses. It should be noted that similar to commercial and residential buildings, some of the building types listed here may incorporate more than one use. Association halls, for example, often contained ground floor retail and residential units. However, in such cases, the space designated for the association hall was clearly distinguished from the other uses in the building. For this reason, and in light of the social and cultural importance of these gathering places, they are included in this category. In rural settings, social gatherings and meetings commonly took place in community centers, which usually were free-standing structures.

- **Language Schools**

The floor plan may include classrooms, offices and an assembly hall as well as storage rooms and restrooms. The interior of the classroom may contain Asian decorative details.

Examples: The Nihon Go Gakko, established in Seattle in 1902 and operating in the extant historic building beginning in 1913, is the oldest functioning language school in the U.S. Tacoma's Japanese Language School was established in January 1911. It first opened in a small residence, moved to another dwelling from 1915 to 1922, and then in 1922 the permanent building was constructed at 1715 South Tacoma Avenue. The building is "a simply detailed wood frame structure covered by clapboard siding," which stands three stories at its highest point. The building includes a main floor assembly hall with a raised stage, a residence and office area, as well as six classrooms, with many of the original furnishings, including slate blackboards, fixed bookcases and cabinets, and one classroom with the original

fixed cast iron desks in place. The school "served some 200 students who attended class daily for one and three-quarter hours after public school and two to three hours on Saturday."³⁶ During World War II, however, it also was used as a Civil Control Center for registering Japanese Americans during the evacuation, relocation, and internment process.

- **Temples and Churches** *(Less Houses)*

Sizes and forms vary according to the traditions associated with particular religious denominations and local conditions. They can occupy a single room or a small house and can be also constructed specifically for the purpose of worship. The degree to which they can be identified as a distinctively Asian/Pacific American property varies, from the distinctive shrines and altars associated with Japanese American Buddhist temples to the more mainstream appearance of Chinese and Japanese American Baptist and Methodist churches. *What is a Joss House and how does it differ (if at all) from a temple or church?*

Examples: The Seattle Buddhist Church (1941-) incorporates some structural elements reminiscent of those traditionally found in Japanese temples, such as upturned roof ends and ornamental brackets. The interior shrine and altar area suggest a contemporary interpretation of traditional temple design and display only a decorative use of Japanese post and beam construction methods. In contrast, the Japanese Baptist Center and Methodist Church, both located in Tacoma, exhibit no documented Asian architectural or decorative details. Nevertheless, these properties are historically significant as major Japanese American religious centers prior to World War II, which fostered assimilation through teaching reading, writing and household skills.

- **Association Halls and Community Centers**

Social, commercial, and residential functions often were combined in Chinese association halls. The ground floor often, though not always, was occupied by several retail stores or services. Upstairs were single rooms that served as residences for workingmen. A



AA-75 Seattle, WA. Japanese Methodist Episcopal Kindergarten.
[Courtesy of the University of Washington, Special Collections]



ÅA-110 Seattle, WA 1992. Chinese Buddhist Temple. 1007 South Weller. Interior view. [Weilin Shi]

prominent feature of the uppermost floor was the association hall, which could be identified from the street by a recessed or projecting balcony with metal railings, overhung by a tiled roof with flared edges. Since these buildings were associated with Chinese family, district, and business organizations, their size and architectural character, at least in part, were dependent on the owner's wealth and social status. While some known examples are simple, others are quite elaborate. The facades are usually symmetrical and often incorporate some Asian decorative details. The colors gold, red, green, or yellow, are common choices, as are animal or plant motifs. Rounded, moon-shaped entrances and window openings are often used. This property type also includes community centers, such as those established by the Filipino community at several locations in Washington, as well as rented facilities that served as organizational headquarters and meeting halls.

Examples: "The Oak Tin Family Association initially occupied two offices on the third floor of the Wa Chong Building at 408 Main Street, space which was donated by Chin Chun Hock, an association member and the first Chinese settler in Washington State. In 1910, the association moved to a larger space on the third floor at 719 King Street to accommodate the increasing number of Chinese immigrants coming to Seattle. Plans were made and a funding drive started by Oak Tin members to raise \$50,000 to acquire their own building. In 1921, Oak Tin purchased their present association building at 513-519 Seventh Avenue South for \$48,000. Originally constructed in 1907, the Oak Tin Building was one of the earliest workingmen's hotels in the area. The ground level was used for retail businesses and the upper floors were single room occupancy units. A portion of the third floor was converted into an assembly hall. In 1990, the building was completely renovated. The housing portion was transformed into a brand new security structure offering 21 units of housing (studios, one bedroom, two bedroom, and three bedroom units). The assembly hall was upgraded and a new commercial kitchen was added."³⁷

The Chong Wa Benevolent Association, located at 522 Seventh Avenue South, in Seattle's International District, is a rectangular, two-story benevolent association

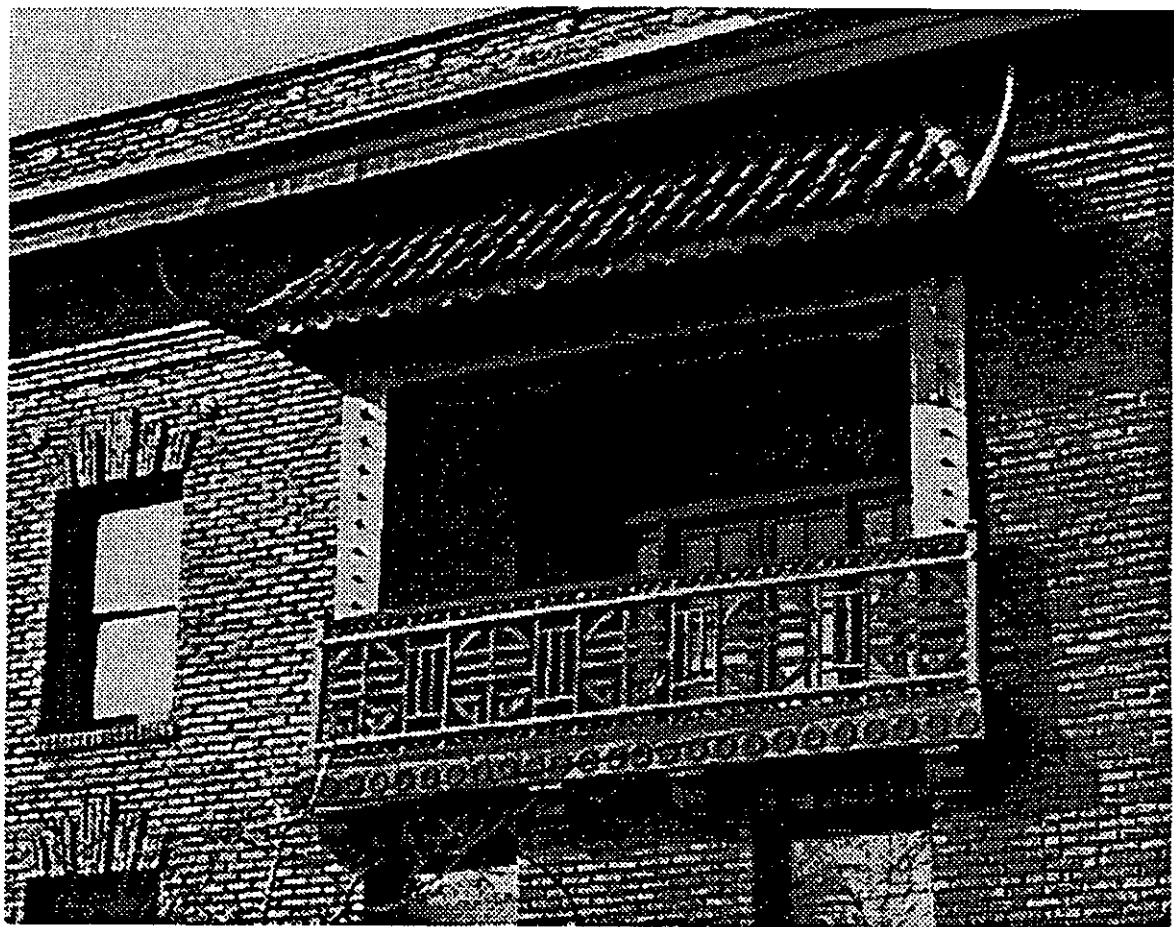
hall and school. Built in 1929, it is constructed of masonry and wood frame construction on a concrete foundation. Characteristic decorative details include four cantoned concrete pillars supporting a balcony with wrought iron railings and an arched doorway, as well as the combination of classic formality and elaborate Chinese motifs.³⁸

The Filipino Community Hall dates from approximately 1930, and is located on Bainbridge Island. It is "one of the few structures on the island that represents the important role that the island's Filipino residents have played. On Bainbridge Island they worked as farmers particularly in the Japanese-owned berry farms. During the interment of World War II, which forced Japanese from the island, many of their farms were managed by Filipino families. The Filipino Growers Association purchased 10 acres on Strawberry Hill in the 1930s and constructed two buildings—a community hall and berry shed. The hall served as the center for social and community activities."³⁹

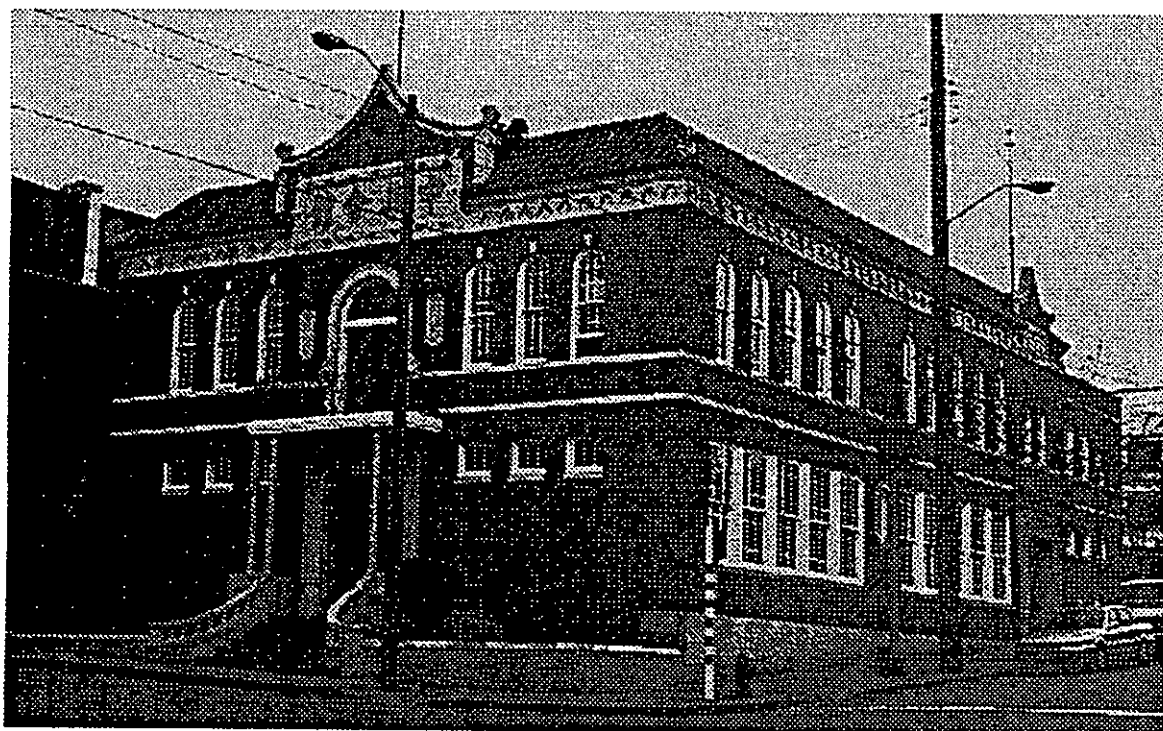
- Bathhouses

(Disavow / Descriptive?)
Examples: At one time there reportedly were a dozen public baths in Seattle's Nihonmachi (Japan town). One source mentions that public bathhouses typically were located on the lower floor of a building (likely for structural and mechanical reasons, given the quantity of water).⁴⁰ They often were located in conjunction with SRO hotels, laundries, or barber shops. The Japanese village in the mill town of Port Blakely reportedly had a bathhouse as of 1903.⁴¹ Ruins from the tub's firebox reportedly still remain. Wood-fired baths also reportedly were built on Japanese American rural properties, either within the habitation or as a separate structure (i.e., on Bainbridge Island).

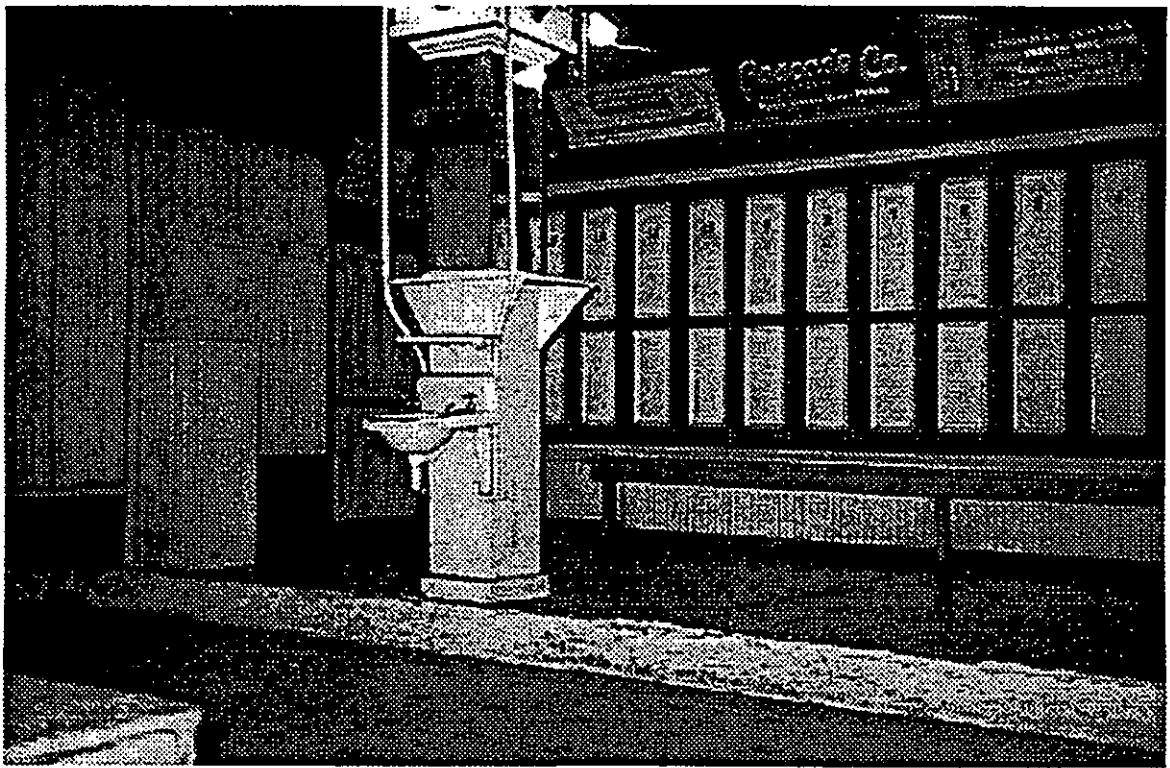
The basement of Seattle's Panama Hotel contains an intact example of the "furos" or community baths that once existed in significant numbers in Japanese American communities in the pre-World War II period. This steam-powered operation



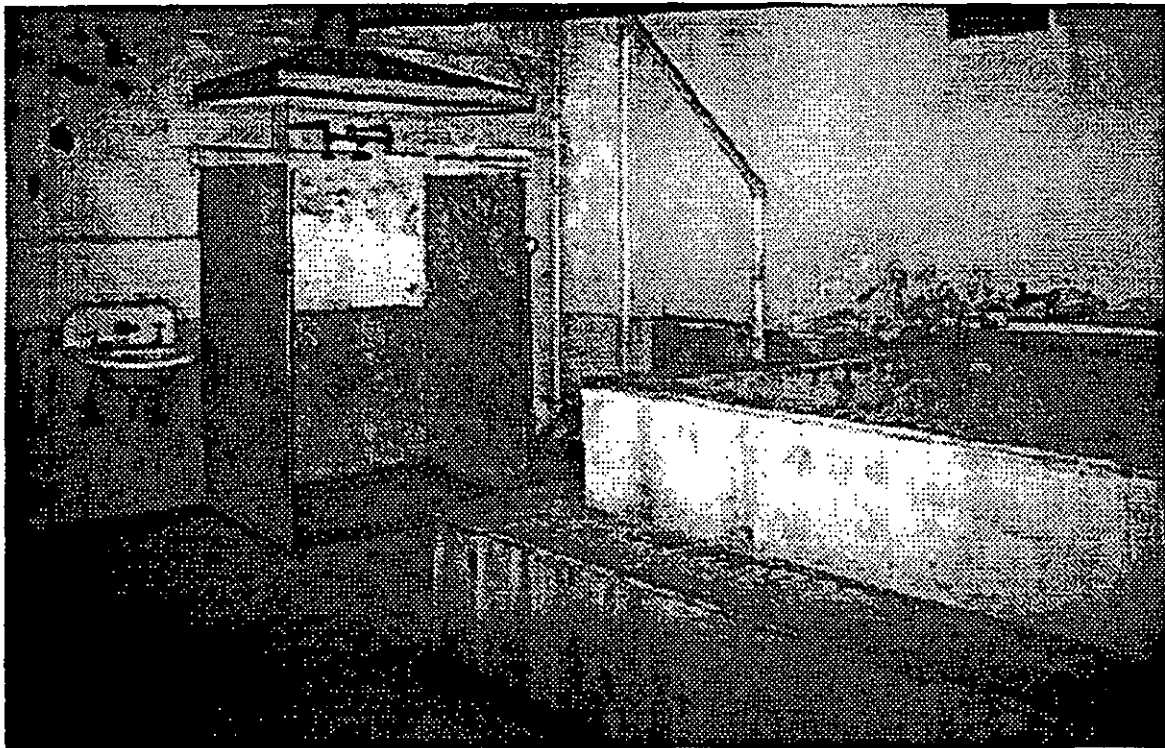
AA-117 Seattle, WA. 1992. Gee How Oak Tin Hotel. 513-519 7th Avenue South. Recessed balcony indicates the presence of an association hall within the building. [Weilin Shi]



AA-104 Seattle, WA Chong Wa Benevolent Association. 522 7th Avenue South. [Weilin Shi]



AA-98 Seattle, WA. 1992. Panama Hotel. The hotel's basement contains an intact example of the *furos* or Japanese American community bathhouses that existed in significant numbers before World War II. Pictured are the lockers and and one of the sinks in the men's bath.
[Gail Dubrow]



AA-99 Seattle, WA. 1992. Panama Hotel. Bathhouse. Pictured are the shower, one of the sinks, and soaking tub in the men's bath. [Gail Dubrow]

consisted of a small entry to a partitioned space that divided the men's from the women's facilities. Although a marble soaking tub was located in each section, the men's tub was approximately twice the size of the women's tub, the room was more spacious, and it contained more amenities, including a bank of lockers and a bench (as opposed to cubbyholes in the women's section), a shower, a sink that drained onto a tiled floor, and advertising signage. Guide wires strung above the back room boiler served as drying racks for towels.

- **Theaters**

The size of theaters varied. In early examples, the theaters were small and informal, with just a small stage minimally elevated above floor level. Later, in the larger communities, theaters emerged as a distinctive building type. "Most theaters had a seating capacity of several hundred and reserved one of the galleries for women, the stage had no flies, shifting scenes, or drop curtain, but was simply an elevated platform, with two doors at the rear, through which the actors made their entrances and exits."⁴² In the audience hall there is usually a balcony. Some of these theaters also were used as movie houses.

Example: An example is the Nippon Kan, a large three-and-a-half story brick building combined with a single room occupancy hotel. The theater occupies the main floor with rooms on the upper floors for single workingmen. The hall is a rectangular space of 60×80 feet with a 20-foot ceiling. A stepped balcony 20 feet deep is in the rear. The north and east facades of the bare masonry walls are articulated. A major feature is the large round-arched window at the theater level. The upper stairs' window openings are rectangular and flat arched. The roof is flat.

- **Cemeteries**

Cemeteries are sites that often serve as expressions of collective ethnic and/or religious identity, and may also serve as an individual's primary means of recognition of family history.⁴³ Despite the presence of Chinese graves in cemeteries, it was a common

Chinese American community practice at the turn of the century to exhume the interred body after several years and ship it back to China for final burial.

Example: One section of a cemetery in Walla Walla contains approximately 50 Chinese markers bearing inscriptions entirely or partially in Chinese. A brick structure measuring 7 feet tall by 4 feet square has been identified as a Chinese memorial edifice dating from around 1865. The large number of graves indicates that Walla Walla had a significant Chinese population.

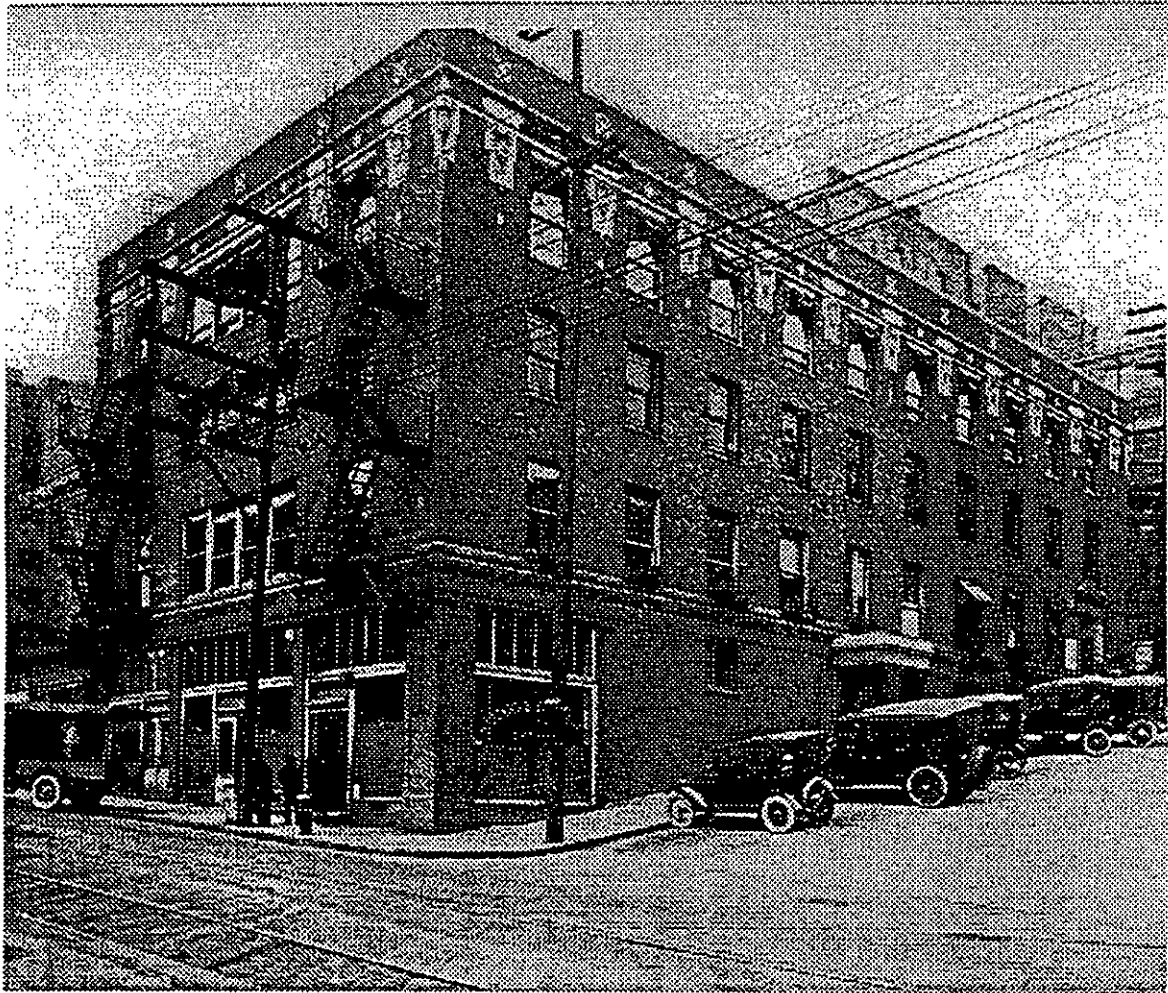
INSTITUTIONAL PROPERTIES

The properties listed in this category are those which are or were publicly owned and managed by federal, state, or local governments. They had a significant impact on the history of Asian/Pacific American communities. Included in this category are Immigration and Detention Facilities. The U.S. Immigration Building, for example, is significant as a place through which thousands of Asian/Pacific Americans entered the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is also the property that best marks the role immigration restrictions played in shaping the composition of Asian/Pacific American communities. Detention facilities also played a significant role in the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington State. During World War II, Japanese immigrants who had been denied the right of naturalization were detained and interred in specially constructed concentration camps in California, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and Arkansas. In several cases, fairgrounds and stables were converted to temporary detainment facilities. For example, the Western Washington Fairgrounds in Puyallup became the internment area known as "Camp Harmony," where Japanese Americans were held before being sent to more permanent inland camps. In addition to the institutional properties discussed above, other public facilities such as schools and courthouses are included in this category.

- Immigration and Detention Facilities

Examples: The Diamond Point Quarantine Station in Clallam County is a complex of buildings constructed of brick and wood on a bluff above the Strait of Juan De Fuca. It dates from 1893. Remains of the station complex include a surgeon's residence, two cottages, dock, storage shed, and cemetery. "The Surgeon's Residence is the last well preserved structure significantly associated with the United States Quarantine Station at Diamond Point. The residence, which is distinguished by its massive hip roof and great verandah, served as the home for the administrator of the complex that once included nearly 30 buildings on over 150 acres of land. From his residence, the station superintendent oversaw the inspection of countless vessels, and the detention of contaminated persons or cargo, in order to keep infectious disease from entering the Puget Sound. Groups of detained passengers could spend as long as two weeks at the station. In 1929, for example, almost 300 steerage passengers arriving from the Philippines were taken from steamships and kept at Diamond Point during a meningitis scare."⁴⁴

The U.S. Immigration Building in downtown Seattle was designed by the architectural firm Bebb and Gould. In the years since its construction in 1915, the building played an important role in the history of immigration in the Pacific Northwest. From 1916 until 1931, the building was the regional headquarters of the federal immigration service. The four story building is a wood framed masonry structure clad in red brick with cream-colored terra cotta decorative trim. The building retains its exterior character despite serious interior modifications. According to Seattle Landmarks Preservation Board's Report on Designation, "the headquarters of the immigration service occupied the fourth floor, with lower floors housing detained aliens, doctors' offices, kitchens, and general office space. Besides Commissioner Henry M. White and his assistants, there were 68 employees working at 84 Union, including 17 guards, 20 stenographers, 4 matrons, 16 inspectors, 5 interpreters, and 6 others. Duties for these people included the examination of aliens applying for admission, the investigation of aliens for possible



AA-89 Seattle, WA. U.S. Immigration Service Building. 84 Union Street. Some properties have multiple significance in the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington. This Seattle building housed the U.S. Immigration Service from 1916 to 1931, which through the regulation of immigration profoundly shaped the composition of the Asian/Pacific American community. It later served as headquarters for the Filipino-dominated Cannery Workers' and Farm Laborers' Union. [Courtesy of the University of Washington, Special Collections]



AA-111 Seattle, WA. U.S. Immigration Service Building. 84 Union Street. Contemporary view.



AA-68 Puyallup, WA. April 1942. The Puyallup Assembly Center, site of the annual Western Washington State Fair, was converted for use as "Camp Harmony," an internment center for Japanese Americans, from April 28 to September 23, 1942. Crude barracks were constructed under the grandstands, in parking lots, and in converted livestock stalls.
[Courtesy of the University of Washington, Special Collections]

deportation, and the prosecution of those violating immigration laws."⁴⁵ Like many buildings, it has had many uses over time. From the late 1930s until 1943, the building served as the headquarters of the Filipino-dominated Cannery Workers and Farm Laborers Union.⁴⁶

Camp Harmony was the local name for the Puyallup Assembly Center located at the Western Washington Fairgrounds. The assembly center was operated by the U.S. Wartime Civil Control Administration for several months in 1942 following the outbreak of World War II. "In all, 7,548 persons of Japanese ancestry were evacuated from their homes to the center before being transported to Relocation Centers outside the U.S. West Coast. This was done as a war-time security measure and included all persons of Japanese ancestry, citizens and non-citizens alike."⁴⁷ David Takami has offered a compelling account of the transformation of the site of the Annual Western Washington State Fair into a detention facility.

Against a surreal backdrop of a roller coaster and other rides, barracks had been constructed in converted livestock stalls, under grandstands, and on parking lots. Boards were laid flat on the ground for floors so that grass grew between the cracks. Some mattresses were issued, but many internees had to stuff straw into canvas bags. There were wood stoves, chairs, and tables made out of boxes and scrap lumber, army cots, and blankets. Frequent complaints were registered about leaking roofs and the lack of hot water.⁴⁸

INDUSTRIAL PROPERTIES

Industrial and engineering structures are distinguished from buildings whose functional constructions were made for the purpose of creating human shelter.⁴⁹ This definition of industrial structures includes mills, kilns, quarries, warehouses, processing plants, as well as structures associated with transportation, including railroads, canals, tunnels, and bridges.⁵⁰ For the purposes of this document, the industrial properties category is broadened to include

other property types significantly associated with industrial activities. These properties include employee housing and support facilities that were integral components of industrial operations.

- **Mining Sites and Lumber Camps**

The Chinese set up camps alongside river beds where they were engaged in placermining. Turn of the century sites along the Columbia River bar reportedly consisted of dugout homes in the hillside, with a fireplace at one end, bunks on the sides, and a roof piled with grass and dirt. The Chinese miners also were responsible for the design and construction of substantial engineering works associated with placermining; namely, systems of ditches and flumes that provided a gravity-fed water source for sluiceboxes, long sloping troughs made of whipsawed lumber (known as "long toms") with riffles or grooves, which when washed with water captured gold dust. After placermining faded out, these ditches and troughs are known to have been reused by farmers and orchardists as primary irrigation systems. Chinese and Japanese laborers working on railroad construction crews such as those employed by the Great Northern were housed in temporary encampments (i.e., grading camps), which have been described variously as makeshift barracks and clustered (likely canvas) tent shelters. Similarly crude resources were associated with remote logging camps: rough log and shake bunkhouses, cookhouses, dumpsites, along with railroad spurs, logging roads and widespread cutting of old growth timber stands.

Example: Along the Methow River, Chinese placerminers built a three mile system of ditches and flumes that was known as China Ditch to carry water to gold-bearing sandbars on the west side of the Columbia River. Although a 1948 flood destroyed the headworks, flumes, and canal, some traces of the of the original system are evident from a small section of the abandoned canal. In Cortez, Nevada, artifacts uncovered through archaeological investigation have revealed evidence of Chinese-occupied dugouts and stone structures arranged around a compound. Common artifacts that are reliable indicators of Chinese settlement in such encampments include certain types of porcelain, brownware storage and shipping jars, brass opium tins, opium pipe bowls, bronze cash pieces, chopsticks, square L-headed wrought iron nails, and the dominance of pork remains.⁵¹



AA-14 Among the property types associated with Japanese American involvement in the oyster industry are oyster houses, built in the tidal flats, and packing plants; as well as imprints on the landscape in the form of oyster beds and shell shoals. [Courtesy of the University of Washington, Special Collections]

- **Canneries, Packing Plants and Mills**

These facilities range in scale from larger canneries and mills that contain multiple resources on the site, including the actual factory space, numerous warehouses, and loading facilities often including railroad spurs, to smaller packing plants that consist of a single building. The ruins of the Hume Salmon Cannery and the remaining historic buildings associated with the Pacific American fisheries are examples of larger canneries, while the Makai Cold Process Fruit Barreling Plant is an extant example of a small-scale packing plant.

Examples: The Hume Salmon Cannery established in 1866, was the first salmon cannery on the Columbia River. Today only ruins remain of the once large cannery. "Only moss-grown pilings can be seen at high tide, but much tin can be seen at low tide. (Tin was used in the manufacture of cans which were made at the cannery by the Chinese laborers)." ⁵²

The Pacific American Fisheries, located in Bellingham, was founded in 1899. "In the 1930s, Pacific American Fisheries, Inc. was considered one of the major salmon packing companies in the world. Its annual output averaged over 32 million pounds of salmon between 1930 and 1935. Although the majority of the volume came from its Alaskan canneries, the company's headquarters were located in Bellingham." ⁵³ The Bellingham plant was among the first to employ the "Iron Chink," a vacuum sealing machine used in the salmon canning process that did the work of 50 men, thus replacing many Asian/Pacific American laborers.

Major canneries such as the Pacific American Fisheries often provided living quarters for their laborers. Chinese workers commonly lived in segregated bunk houses called "China Houses." An example of this building type, which dates from around 1905, is found in the town of South Bend, in Pacific County. It was inhabited primarily by single Chinese men, although a few had families. "Chinese laborers first came to Pacific County with the building of the Northern Pacific

Railroad. Pacific County had a sizable Chinese population at the turn of the century. They provided much of the manual labor for fishing, in the oyster beds and cranberry hogs, in the canneries, and on the farms."⁵⁴

The Mukai Cold Process Fruit Barreling Plant is an example of a small-scale packing plant. Located on Vashon Island, in King County, it was built in 1927 by prominent Japanese American Masahiro Mukai. "The building was the centerpiece of a berry packing operation which employed roughly 450 people, and served as one of the central economic centers of the community for over half a century."⁵⁵ The building is a long, one story wood frame shed-like structure with a shallow, asymmetrical pitched roof. At the peak of the roof, a large wooden sign bearing the name of the plant runs the entire length of the building. The entire front of the building consists of a covered, elevated loading dock.

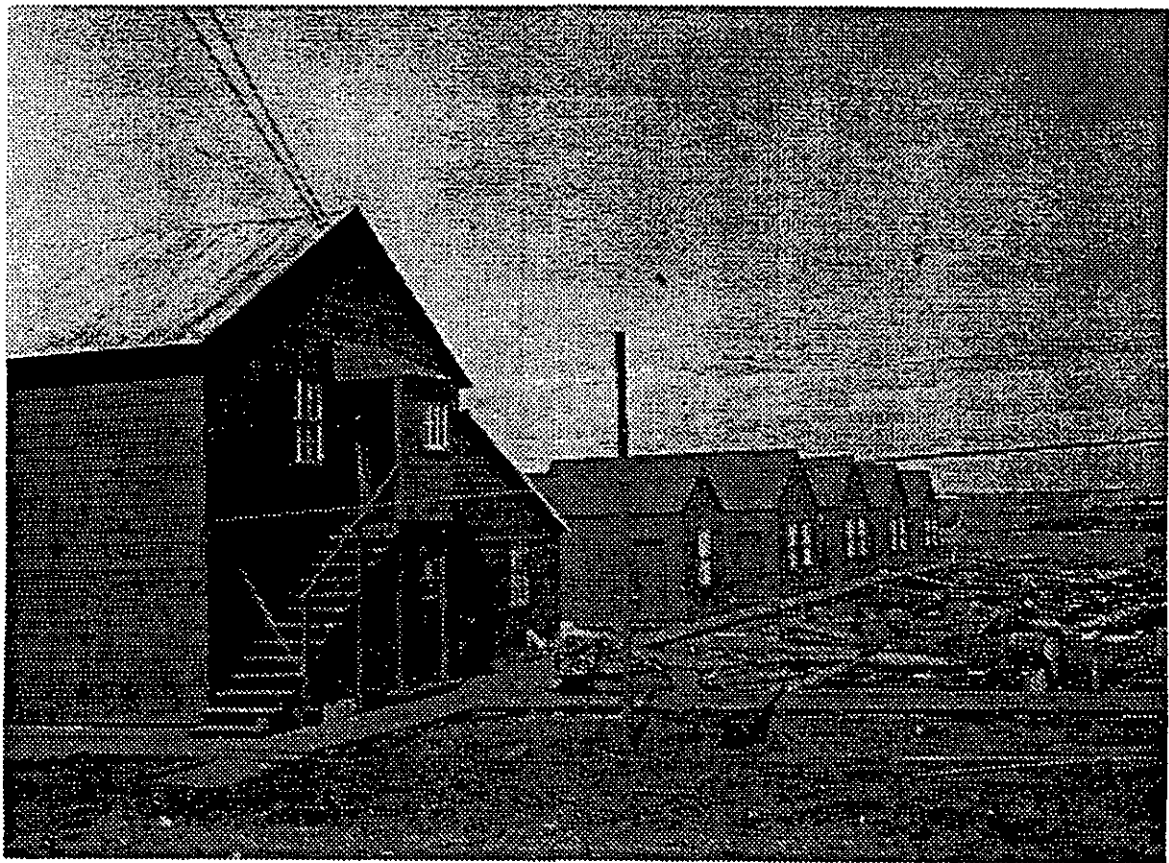
- **Warehouses and Workshops**

They typically were wood frame, brick, or steel buildings that housed equipment and facilities to work with such products as salmon, salt and wood. Characteristically, warehouses and workshops were large, minimally decorated structures, the interiors of which usually were only crudely subdivided.

Examples: An extant example of a warehouse associated with Chinese American labor is the cannery located in Whatcom County, owned by Pacific American Fisheries.⁵⁶ It is a huge, flat-roofed structure supported by a post and beam system with brick walls and relatively small windows. Another extant example of a workshop is located in Snoqualmie.

- **Oyster Station Houses**

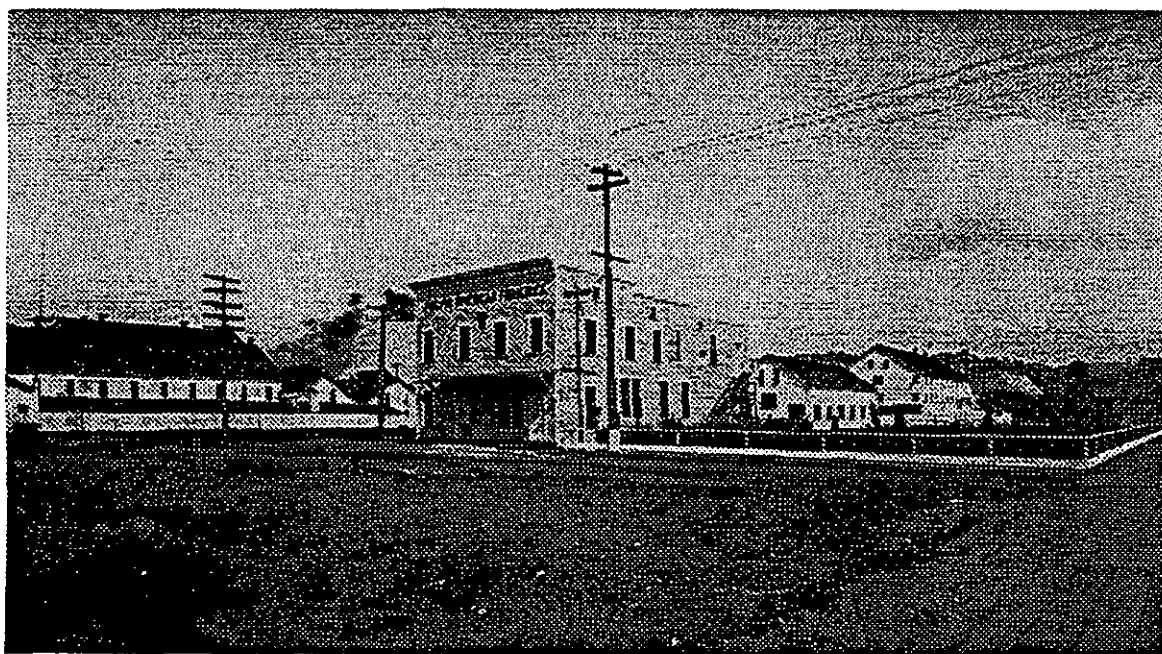
Some Japanese American families who worked in the oyster industry were known for bringing a large so-called Japanese oyster to Willapa Bay. They lived in small stilt or station houses built on pilings above the tidal mud flats.



AA-31 China House and small row of segregated housing occupied by Asian/Pacific American workers in an unidentified industrial town, probably in Washington. [Courtesy of the University of Washington, Special Collections]



AA-38 Bellingham, WA. In addition to sites, structures, buildings, and districts, some historic objects are associated with the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington. Pictured here is the so-called "Iron Chink" machine, which was designed to displace Asian/Pacific American labor in the canneries. Pacific American Fisheries was one of the first to employ this machine. [Courtesy of the University of Washington. Special Collections]



AA-27 Bellingham, WA. Pacific American Fisheries. Office. Pacific Canneries already have been recognized as a significant property type in the context of the state's industrial history. Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino immigrants provided significant sources of labor that contributed to the development of this industry. [Courtesy of the University of Washington. Special Collections]



AA-69 Tacoma, WA. 1910. Issei sawmill workers repairing a section of railroad for hauling logs. [From the report of the Japanese American Research Project, UCLA (July 1962-66). Courtesy of the University of Washington, Special Collections]



AA-97. Seattle, WA. 1992. For the duration of internment, Japanese Americans stored some household furniture and trunks filled with personal possessions at trusted locations within the community, including the basements of the Japanese language schools; selected businesses, such as Sagamiya, the sweet shop in the heart of Seattle's Nihonmachi; and single room occupancy hotels. Still, the losses were staggering. Pictured here are some remaining trunks in the basement of the Panama hotel in Seattle. [Gail Dubrow]



AA-43 Sierra Nevadas. Chinese labor was vital to the construction of the transcontinental railroad. [Courtesy of the University of Washington, Special Collections]

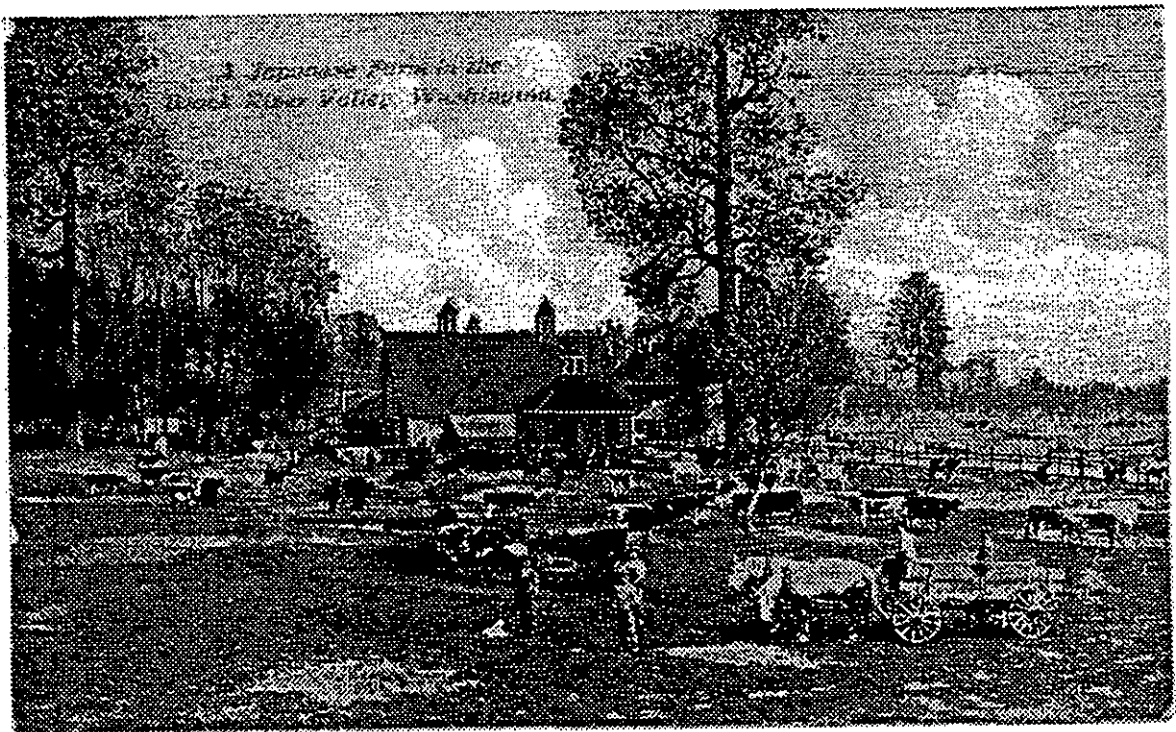
Example: At one time, approximately 20 oyster station houses were scattered across the Willapa Bay. Only one known example, in Nahcotta, still remains, a simple one-story house set on a deck supported by a 3×4 rectangular grid of piers in the tidal flats. Residents would pole to shore in a bateau to get fresh water and groceries.

RURAL PROPERTIES

A rural landscape has been defined, for the purposes of the National Register, as “a geographic area that historically has been used by people, or shaped or modified by human activity, occupancy, or intervention, and that possesses a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of areas of land use, vegetation, buildings and structures, roads and waterways, and natural features.”⁵⁷ Rural properties often reflect the beliefs, attitudes, traditions, and values of the people who occupied, developed, used and shaped the land to serve their needs.

- **Farms and Other Agricultural Properties**

Farms associated with market production included a variety of related property types, depending on the particular livestock or crops being raised.⁵⁸ The Japanese commercial dairy farms in Kent, for example, which reportedly supplied half of Seattle’s milk during the 1920s, likely were comprised of homesteads, dairy barns, milk houses, silos, houses, corrals, fences, milk cooling tanks, refrigeration equipment, and open sheds. The degree to which the physical facilities or dairying practices were shaped by distinctively Japanese cultural practices has not yet been documented. Horticultural operations, such as those associated with Japanese American involvement in the strawberry industry, for example on Bainbridge Island, typically included farmsteads, houses, berry fields, barns, machine sheds, storage buildings, icehouses, irrigation works, and refrigeration facilities. Packing plants and growers cooperatives (facilitating distribution) could be located nearby. Some distinctive uses of vernacular building types have been noted, such as the cultivation of hothouse rhubarb as winter crops in what were known as rhubarb sheds on Japanese American farms in the White River Valley. Still other agricultural property types are



AA-70 Black River Valley, WA. Postcard depicting a Japanese American dairy farm. [Courtesy of the University of Washington. Special Collections]



AA-119 Kent, WA. 1917. Mr. Tamada's dairy farm is one of many that Japanese Americans established in the rural areas around Seattle and Tacoma. [Koji Norikane Collection. Courtesy of the Wing Luke Asian Museum]



AA-48 Kent, WA. 1910. Berry picking. [Courtesy of the University of Washington, Special Collections]



AA-116 Bainbridge Island, WA. 1972. Prior to World War II, Japanese Americans maintained a significant involvement in berry farming, especially on Bainbridge island. After the war, few Japanese Americans returned to farming and it began to die out as a profession. Pictured is Akio Suyematsu, who in 1972 was the only remaining Japanese American strawberry farmer on Bainbridge Island. [Rod Skemmons, Bainbridge Sun. Courtesy of the Wing Luke Asian Museum]

associated less with Asian/Pacific American ownership or leasing and more with an Asian/Pacific American labor force, such as Chinese Americans in hop production in the Puyallup and White River valleys. There, hop kilns, machine sheds, irrigation systems, and outbuildings constituted the significant resources. The migrant camps occupied by Filipino laborers, who worked in the apple and peach orchards of eastern Washington, included crude cabins and outbuildings. Additionally, some significant engineering features, such as irrigation canals used by orchard owners in the vicinity of the Methow River, originally were constructed by Chinese placerminers as gravity-fed water channels for the operation of sluiceboxes.

Examples: The residences of four Japanese families who settled and built homes on the Redington farm in Auburn (1913-) survived until recent years. Though they were considered hired hands, they were also truck farmers. The Hayashida and Koura Barns on Bainbridge Island were associated with Japanese Americans in strawberry farming. The warehouses of the Washington Vegetable Growers Association served as a cooperative for lettuce, pea, and cauliflower farmers in the Auburn and Thomas area during the 1930s, and as a point of distribution for Eastern markets. A hop curing shed near Fall City was associated with Chinese American and Indian laborers.

LANDSCAPES

This category includes cultural, vernacular, and designed landscapes. Cultural and vernacular landscapes are defined as landscapes "developed for the most part without benefit of professional planning or design, that were not consciously designed as works of art. These landscapes represent the work of distinct cultural groups."⁵⁹ A designed landscape is defined as one that "has significance as a design or work of art; was consciously designed and laid out by a master gardener, landscape architect, architect, or horticulturist to a design principle, or an owner or other amateur using a recognized style or tradition in response or reaction to a recognized style or tradition."⁶⁰ Individual landscape features, such as garden gates and

pavilions, often exhibit design characteristics or cultural associations with a particular community, and contribute to the overall identity and character of the landscape.

- **Gardens and Nurseries**

Asian/Pacific immigrants to the Pacific Northwest brought with them aesthetic preferences, horticultural techniques, and dietary traditions that combined to create distinctive gardens. They range in type from subsistence gardens of Chinese Americans, found in Walla Walla, to Japanese American influence on the design of formal gardens, such as the Kubota Gardens in Seattle.

Examples: Although the Kubota Gardens in Seattle, which date from 1929, were never intended as authentic Japanese gardens, they feature an original use of Japanese plant materials and landscape elements. The site consists of a formal exhibition garden and a working garden used for ongoing projects. Pedestrian paths circulate through the gardens. The structures on the site include one two-story residence, and two smaller residences, and outbuildings adjacent to the large residence. Designed landscape features found in the gardens include several memorial stones, waterfalls, bridges, water basins, lanterns, shelters, and benches.⁶¹

Another example of an urban garden that exhibits Japanese influences is a rock garden located at the Seattle Buddhist Church Park. This garden, commonly called Wisteria Plaza, was designed as a traditional Japanese rock garden, and contains curving pedestrian paths and a contemporary bridge structure that spans a shallow unfilled pool.⁶²

The Gilbert Greenhouse and Sawmill located on South Star Lake Road in King County dates from the turn of the century. The primary commercial crops raised in the hothouses were leaf lettuce, cucumbers and tomatoes. The original owners, the Gilberts, added a sawmill adjacent to the site, originally for the purpose of building boxes to ship the produce. The sawmill ultimately was expanded and run



AA-112 Seattle, WA. The Oriental Gardens. Morningside - Meadowbrook neighborhood. 98th Street Northeast, between Ravenna Avenue and Lake City Way. [Courtesy of Martha Nishitani]



AA-118 Bainbridge Island, WA. 1936. Zenhichi Harui, the founder of Bainbridge Gardens, developed a process for growing bigger chrysanthemums. Pictured are his wife, Shiki Harui, and Mrs. Hatsuno Seko with the enormous blossoms for which Harui's Gardens were known. [BIJAC Archives. Courtesy of the Wing Luke Asian Museum]



AA-107 Seattle, WA. Pavilion in Seattle's International District..
Maynard Avenue South and South King Street. [Courtesy of Weilin Shi]

as an independent business. "In 1922 a partnership of two Japanese families, the Iwasaki's and the Komatsu's, acquired the property. At that time Asians were not allowed to own property, therefore, the land had to be purchased in the name of the eldest American-born Komatsu daughter and held in guardianship by a bank until she was of age to come into ownership. During World War II the Iwasakis and Komatsus were interred. They were banned from their home on Star Lake from 1942 until 1946. During that time their neighbors, the Hannemans, ran the greenhouse operation. The Iwasakis were able to retain ownership during this time and returned to Star Lake after their release. The Komatsus split off to develop another business in 1950. The Iwasakis' daughter Jean and her husband, George Sakita, now run the business. Production increasingly switched from vegetables to seedlings and flowering bedding plants." All of the original greenhouses gradually have been replaced.⁶³

- **Designed Landscape Features**

There are other structures that include garden gates, gateways, and wayside pavilions. They may draw on characteristically Asian forms and decorative details with tiled roofs and bright colors. Garden gates and gateways usually are divided into three bays. The size of the middle bay usually is taller and wider than the side bays. Wayside pavilions characteristically are designed in square, hexagonal, or octagonal shapes.

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INTRODUCTION TO PROTECTION COMPONENT

The goal of this section is to find appropriate yet practical steps to protect properties associated with Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington. It includes conventional tools of preservation planning such as covenants and easements or local designation/design review. It also makes some recommendations for strategies that may be particularly effective in Asian/Pacific American communities such as educational programs aimed at mobilizing awareness of and involvement in the preservation planning process.

STRATEGIES FOR ENHANCING THE PROTECTION OF HISTORIC PROPERTIES ASSOCIATED WITH ASIAN/PACIFIC AMERICAN SETTLEMENT IN WASHINGTON STATE

The U.S. Department of the Interior defines this component of the context as preservation concerns or protection questions that relate only to historic properties which have been evaluated as important. "Protection focuses on the appropriate, yet practical, disposition or treatment steps to preserve the aspects of these properties that give them importance." Therefore, this component will identify various strategies which enhance the protection of significant properties associated with the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington.

The protection component is intended to identify appropriate strategies for preserving threatened properties. These strategies are supplemented by more specific goals that OAHP can set to enhance its ability to protect resources associated with the history of Asian/Pacific American settlement in the state.

The following protective goals and priorities establish an agenda for action that will enhance the state Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation's ability to protect Asian/Pacific American properties. The sections which follow identify some of the strategies available for protecting properties significant in the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECOVERY

Many historic properties associated with Chinese and Japanese Americans in Washington lack above-ground remains as a result of hostile activity (i.e., the burning of Chinatowns by exclusionists), as well as the usual processes of neglect, deterioration, or subsequent building activity. Urban, small town, and rural settlements, as well as the more transitory encampments, are likely to yield artifacts that offer insights into Asian/Pacific American history, and as such,

the archaeological recovery of information from significant sites should be encouraged whenever possible. Recovery of information should occur when such sites are discovered as a result of unrelated activity. Exceptionally promising sites should be the object of more aggressive planning for archaeological investigation by OAHP, in coordination with appropriate state and federal agencies (i.e., U.S. Forest Service) and research institutions.

DOCUMENTATION

In the event preservation of a significant property is not possible, the structure should be documented to the standards of the Historic American Building Survey and/or Historic American Engineering Record. Special efforts to secure HABS/HAER program involvement in a summer project to document exceptionally significant structures associated with the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington may be warranted.

INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT

The federal 20 percent Investment Tax Credit (ITC) on costs for certified rehabilitation may aid in the preservation of properties associated with the history of Asian/Pacific American settlement that are converted to income producing properties and listed on the National Register.

COVENANTS/EASEMENTS

A covenant or easement is a legal document wherein a property owner retains ownership while agreeing to release certain interests in the use of the property to another party. For protection purposes, a covenant or easement on a historic property can be sold or donated to an appropriate organization such as the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation. In exchange, the property owner agrees to preserve the property for the duration of the covenant or easement. Donation of an easement to a qualified party may result in tax advantages to the

donor. Historic Preservation covenants or easements may be targeted to protect specific elements of a historic property such as the facades, interior features, or landscaping.

LOCAL DESIGNATION/DESIGN REVIEW

In many communities, local preservation mechanisms have been established that may have significant impact on the protection of historic properties. Enacted by local legislative bodies, these design review boards or commissions are involved in the comment and review process for proposed alterations of designated structures and changes of use, plus ongoing survey of local historic properties. The local review process is important in promoting historic preservation and enforcing local preservation policies and legislation, as in Seattle's International District. Large and small communities have created such commissions throughout the state. Designation and review may apply to rural areas when counties institute such mechanisms. The Certified Local Government (CLG) is a program administered by OAHP. CLG designation allows qualified local preservation programs to participate in review of local National Register nominations and apply for matching grants to implement specific preservation projects. OAHP should identify approaches likely to be effective in motivating CLGs to enhance the protection of Asian/Pacific American cultural resources within their jurisdiction.

COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING WITHIN THE GROWTH MANAGEMENT ACT

Although "historic preservation" is 1 of the 13 goals that local governments must address in their comprehensive plan as part of their compliance with the Growth Management Act, it is presently an optional element. To effectively plan for the preservation of Asian/Pacific American heritage within the context of the Growth Management Act, OAHP should advocate the amendment of the Growth Management Act to include conservation of historical and cultural resources as a mandated element within the comprehensive planning process for local jurisdictions. A process for the designation of state-wide historical and cultural resources needs to be developed within the Growth Management Act, similar to the process required for designating

natural resources, in order to effectively plan for the preservation of Asian/Pacific American resources. Mandated review of the impact of the required comprehensive planning elements, such as land use and transportation, on the conservation of historic or cultural resources of state-wide significance also is recommended. Such a review would assess the potential impact of policy changes in such areas as land use, housing, capital facilities, and transportation on the conservation of historic and cultural resources. Finally, there is a need for clear policies at the state and local level mandating that new development will not conflict with the preservation of historic and cultural resources.

LOCAL PLANNING/ZONING

Local planning and zoning can be obstacles to, as well as effective tools of, preservation planning. There is a need to integrate preservation more fully into the process of planning for the needs of Asian/Pacific American communities. Where there is a need to preserve Asian/Pacific American resources both for their historical significance and current functions (i.e., preserving single room occupancy hotels as part of a larger goal of preserving affordable housing), these goals need to be articulated within the context of broader planning and zoning policies. Public development authorities such as the International District Preservation and Development Authority are chartered to preserve and redevelop key properties relating to the history of the local Asian/Pacific American community.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

The National Register of Historic Places is the federal government's official list of properties that are significant to the cultural heritage of the United States. The State Register of Historic Places is similar to the National Register, although criteria for designation is not as stringent. Both National and State Register listings are honorary designations. Designation is intended to encourage preservation of designated properties through recognition of these sites as of national, state, or local significance. To this end, the historic registers are seen as planning tools useful for identifying properties of particular significance in the history of

Asian/Pacific Americans and therefore of importance to protect. Neither register places restrictions on property owners, although Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 requires federal agencies to consider the impact of their projects upon National Register listed properties. A significant number of properties associated with the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington potentially merit nomination for listing on the State and National Registers, based on their historical significance. However, in most cases surveys are needed to more thoroughly document their built form and assess their integrity.

SURVEY/INVENTORY

The identification of properties significant to the history of Asian/Pacific Americans is an important first step in the protection process, since it provides a sound basis for OAHP decision-making. However, the limited pool of inventoried and designated properties associated with the Asian/Pacific American context presently leaves OAHP without a reliable knowledge base for evaluating the relative significance of any particular resource. This study has identified many potentially significant properties that need to be surveyed to more thoroughly document their built form and assess their physical integrity. As the agency responsible in part for identifying historic properties throughout the state, and the one best able to offer technical assistance to local survey efforts, OAHP should initiate a systematic survey of remaining properties associated with the Asian/Pacific American context. The agency also should alert local governments to opportunities for integrating a concern for Asian/Pacific American history into other seemingly unrelated surveys that in fact are likely to reveal significant properties.

PROPERTY TAX VALUATION

The state legislated property tax valuation program may aid the preservation of properties related to this context, excluding publicly owned structures. This program is implemented at local option and provides for a property tax valuation reduction when approved rehabilitation is undertaken on National Register properties. The program is also applicable to designated properties located in communities participating in the Certified Local Government (CLG)

program. When implemented, the property tax valuation defers property tax increases for ten years after completion of approved rehabilitation. The Property Tax Valuation program may also be applied in combination with other preservation strategies.

OPEN SPACE TAXATION

The significant number of rural historic properties associated with Asian/Pacific American settlement in Washington heightens the significance of strategies effective for preserving open space. Designed to encourage the preservation of qualified lands (such as agricultural or wetlands), the open space taxation program uses the application of the current use tax assessment concept as an incentive to maintain open space. Like the special property tax valuation for historic properties, open space taxation is exercised at local option. Where the program has been implemented, historic properties are usually eligible to benefit from the law. County tax, IRS, or planning offices should be contacted for more information on open space taxation and whether the program has been adopted locally.

ADAPTIVE REUSE

Throughout Washington, adaptive reuse has fueled the rehabilitation and preservation of many historic properties by introducing renewed vitality through new uses. Adaptive reuse can be an important preservation strategy when a property, despite its significance, has outlived its original function and faces an uncertain future. Although new functions are introduced, an effort is made to retain character-defining features of the structure so that past uses and the integrity of historical feeling and association are readily apparent in the revitalized property. While some properties associated with Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington can be characterized as having current uses consistent with their historic functions, many others have undergone more or less sensitive forms of adaptive reuse, particularly as a result of dislocations associated with economic change (i.e., the completion of the railroads or closing of mills), shifting public policy (i.e., immigration laws), racial intolerance, and violence (i.e., the burning of Chinese quarters in mining towns and Japanese American internment). OAHP should provide guidance to those

engaged in the adaptive reuse of Asian/Pacific American resources not only on the significant features of the built form that merit preservation, but also on the historical themes associated with the property that merit ongoing public interpretation.

RELOCATION

In the event that preservation in place of a significant property is not possible, relocation of the structure should be investigated. Since the historical significance of many individual properties often stems from their particular location (i.e., in a Japanese settlement at the periphery of a company town), and their integration in the social and economic life of a larger Asian/Pacific American community, particular care should be exercised and expert counsel should be sought in the process of selecting the site to which a historic property will be relocated. The use of principles of feng shui in the location of some Chinese sites also needed to be considered in evaluating places for relocating properties.

RESEARCH/ACQUISITION/DEVELOPMENT

Protection strategies may include fundraising to enhance the ability of appropriate agencies, such as the Department of Parks and Recreation, historic preservation societies, and other land owning or managing agencies, to identify, document, interpret, acquire, and manage properties associated with the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington. Research should be conducted to target potential funding sources, including, but not limited to publicly funded neighborhood improvement programs; public arts and humanities programs; corporate foundations; individuals, family associations and foundations; neighborhood and community groups, and educational institutions, particularly those with a long-term commitment to the Asian/Pacific American community. In some instances contributors may choose to offer products or services in lieu of a cash match, grant or loan. Other organizations may offer low interest loan programs for acquisition and development project financing. Those individuals pursuing sources of preservation funding should be aware that granting or financing programs and policies are constantly changing. Therefore, sources should be contacted for current

information regarding existence of funding programs, availability of funds, and recipient obligations.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Technical assistance for a wide range of historic preservation issues is available from consulting firms, public agencies, and private non-profit organizations specializing in historic preservation. Examples of technical assistance include: aid in preparation of National Register nominations; development of fund raising strategies; structural analysis and rehabilitation design of historic buildings; development of interpretative programs. The OAHP should pursue strategies for promoting the development of technical expertise in historic preservation within the Asian/Pacific American community through the establishment of special training programs. It is recommended that the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation develop workshops for community historians to expose them to the fundamental tools and methods of preservation planning. Such an approach would help to build leadership and skill in historic preservation within Asian/Pacific American communities.

PUBLIC AWARENESS/EDUCATION/INTERPRETATION

Public awareness efforts are effective in building recognition of historic properties. Awareness efforts may include but not be limited to tours, conferences, festivals, publications, exhibits, audiovisual presentations, and planning efforts. Presentations should be developed that emphasize the unique property types associated with the state's diverse Asian/Pacific American community, both to educate non-Asian/Pacific audiences about the rich variety of historic resources associated with the state's ethnic heritage, and to promote more effectively the benefits of historic preservation within the Asian/Pacific American community. Further, OAHP should work with public, private and nonprofit groups in the Asian/Pacific American community to develop projects of mutual interest that are likely to seed future interest in the preservation of Asian/Pacific American cultural resources. Programs can be developed in cooperation with colleges and universities that provide students with an opportunity to document these historic

properties. This linkage has the added benefit of promoting a continuing commitment to Asian/Pacific American heritage in a younger generation.

Although outreach by OAHP staff to the Asian/Pacific American community is critical to opening a dialogue about heritage preservation, perhaps the highest priority should be given to promoting leadership in heritage preservation from within Asian/Pacific American communities. This can be accomplished in a number of ways: 1) preservation agencies can be encouraged to develop internship programs that help students of Asian/Pacific American descent or those with an interest in Asian/Pacific American studies to gain exposure to the daily practice of preservation planning and to consider it as a viable career option; or 2) the state can increase efforts to involve community historians in setting a direction for OAHP activities and reviewing agency policies with an eye to the development of inclusionary practices. OAHP resources might most effectively be dedicated to building knowledge of and skill in preservation within the Asian/Pacific American community by identifying potential leaders and involving them in the development of public education programs.

PROTECTIVE GOALS AND PRIORITIES

The preceding discussion identifies some of the strategies available for protecting properties significant in the history of Asian/Pacific American settlement in Washington. The following goals establish an agenda for action that will enhance OAHP's ability to protect Asian/Pacific American properties.

Goal 1: Survey Properties Associated with the History of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington

Knowledge of properties associated with the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington generally has been drawn from district nominations, such as Seattle's International District that has a large number of resources, or from those properties encompassed in broader studies, such as city-wide surveys undertaken throughout the

state. To date, however, no systematic survey has been conducted to identify properties associated with Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington. Yet such a study is the key to assessing the quantity and quality of remaining sites, structures, buildings, districts, and objects associated with Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington. It is recommended that these surveys be undertaken in localities that have had significant levels of Asian/Pacific American settlement and where there is a high probability of finding a concentration of tangible remains.

Goal 2: *Nominate Significant Properties for Listing on the National Register of Historic Places*

The Extant Historic Properties table, included in this document, reveals that many properties related to Asian/Pacific American settlement have been identified, but are merely listed as having been inventoried. This suggests that some properties may have the potential to be considered for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. The difficulty with the inventoried data is that little is known about the current status of these properties and accurate information on the physical integrity of many of these properties is not available. Although it can be argued that some properties related to Asian/Pacific American settlement in Washington have outstanding potential for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, others require additional surveying and evaluation before a determination can be made about their historical significance or physical integrity. Additional research will be needed to gather accurate and complete information about these properties for the purpose of preparing National Register nominations.

Representatives from Asian/Pacific American communities who have expertise in community history should be convened to participate in the process of selecting significant properties for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. This would accomplish two goals: it would guarantee that the selected properties have ongoing significance for contemporary communities and it would advance the effort to build participation in state-wide preservation planning within Asian/Pacific American communities.

Goal 3: *Update Nomination Forms for Designated Historic Properties with New Significance in Asian/Pacific American History*

In the course of preparing this study, it became obvious that some properties listed on the National Register of Historic Places may have significant connections with aspects of Asian/Pacific American history previously unrecognized. For example, the Panama Hotel in Seattle's International District was recognized for its significance as a single room occupancy hotel but also contains a historic resource that was not encompassed in the statement of significance for the National Register. The presence of a "furo," or Japanese American community bathhouse, in the basement of the Panama Hotel has been identified and should be recognized as a significant feature of this property by amending the National Register nomination.

While identifying additional historic elements in properties that already have been listed on the National Register of Historic Places has relatively lower priority than the nomination of new properties, it is important because alterations could be made to building elements that possess significance, but whose presence was not acknowledged on existing National Register forms. Nomination forms also should be updated for properties designated for other reasons but now known to have significant associations with Asian/Pacific American heritage such as canneries, mills, and lumber camps. Updating nomination forms for these properties will provide a more accurate and complete picture of Asian/Pacific American contributions to the history of Washington.

Goal 4: *Promote the Integration of Ethnic History into all Relevant OAHP Historic Context Documents and Require Evidence of Subject Area Expertise from OAHP Contractors*

As part of the Resource Protection Planning Process undertaken by the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, a number of thematic studies have been completed on such subjects as *Transportation, Government, Politics and Law in Washington State*, and *Agriculture*. Now that a broader context has been established

for appreciating the contributions of Asian/Pacific Americans to many areas of Washington history, it is important to integrate a knowledge of their contributions, and an understanding of the property types associated with these contributions, into all of the thematic studies issued by the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation. The *Transportation* unit, for example, examined properties such as forts, settlements, boarding houses, bridges and tunnels in ways that recognize their contribution to the development of transportation in the state, but which overlook the role of ethnic labor in their construction or settlement. Similarly, the study on *Politics, Government, and Law* overlooks the role of restrictive or exclusionary legislation in regulating Asian immigration and community settlement patterns in Washington State, and the property types associated with it.

All studies need to be informed by a greater awareness of ethnic history, not only the ones that address specific ethnic groups. Implementing this goal may require employing consultants with a knowledge of ethnic history to advise OAHP staff preparing Historic Context Documents and Multiple Property Nominations. Alternately, the coverage of ethnic history could be improved by requiring evidence of subject area expertise in areas of ethnic history relevant to the thematic studies under OAHP contract.

Goal 5: *Develop Expertise in Ethnic History Among OAHP Staff and Seek Diversity and Subject Area Expertise in Future Staff Appointments*

In order to carry out the daily practice of preservation planning in a state that was built with significant contributions by a wide range of ethnic groups, staff in the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation need to have a broader awareness of the state's diverse ethnic heritage. The bibliographic resources available to staff need to be expanded and financial support needs to be provided to allow staff to attend state and regional conferences that address the contributions of ethnic groups to the history of the Northwest. Additionally, many organizations have found it helpful to bring in specialists in the area of cultural diversity to help staff to develop a greater sensitivity

to issues of race, class, and gender that arise in the course of efforts to develop more inclusionary programs.

A significant obstacle to the participation of Asian/Pacific Americans in historic preservation activity is the absence of ethnic people of color on the staff of the state Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation. This, in turn, fosters the perception that preservation planning may not necessarily be responsive to the needs of diverse communities. It is recommended that the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation make it a priority in future staff appointments to seek ethnic diversity as well as ethnic studies expertise. This will help to strengthen relations with ethnic groups of color and facilitate the process of planning for the preservation of cultural resources associated with ethnic minorities in Washington State.

Goal 6: *Encourage Local Governments to Protect Properties Associated with Asian/Pacific American History*

While this context document is intended to give a state-wide perspective on the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington, the effective preservation of these cultural resources depends in large part on the actions of local governments. It is recommended that the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation encourage local governments to undertake surveys to identify properties associated with the history of Asian/Pacific Americans in their jurisdiction, to involve Asian/Pacific American communities in that process, and to develop plans for the protection of those resources.

To promote the protection of Asian/Pacific American cultural resources at the local level, the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation needs to establish this issue as a priority in the disbursement of funds to Certified Local Governments. Another strategy is to lend technical assistance to local governments and make available a list of expert and community resources for those interested in pursuing these issues.

Goal 7: *Develop and Implement a Plan for Fostering Leadership and Involvement in Preservation within the Asian/Pacific American Community*

This study recognizes that a significant appreciation of and commitment to preserving cultural resources exists within the Asian/Pacific American community, but that there are relatively few formal or informal connections between these communities and the state Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation or local preservation agencies. It is recommended that the state OAHF develop and implement a plan for fostering leadership and involvement in Historic Preservation within the Asian/Pacific American community. This may take the form of developing slide shows that would help to provide outreach to Asian/Pacific American communities and develop public appreciation of the cultural heritage of Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington. Educational seminars with interested community historians would potentially generate new levels of interest and skill in preservation within Asian/Pacific American communities. Connections with university-based Asian American studies programs would provide interested students with greater exposure to cultural resources and preservation issues. The preservation of Asian/Pacific American resources should also be made a priority within state-wide heritage conferences.

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