Terrace v. Thompson and the Legacy of Manifest Destiny
Symposium: The Worst Supreme Court Case Ever

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**TERRACE V. THOMPSON AND THE LEGACY OF MANIFEST DESTINY**

Jean Stefancic*

The first of a number of state anti-alien land law cases to reach the U.S. Supreme Court,1 *Terrace v. Thompson*2 affirmed that Japanese farmers in the state of Washington could not own agricultural land because they could not “in good faith” declare “their intention to become citizens of the United States.”3

On a first reading, the *Terrace* case does not seem like one of manifest destiny.4 Yet, earlier in Washington’s history, a dispute had occurred over property rights of the indigenous people in the Washington Territory, which foreshadowed later antagonistic relations between white settlers and Japanese immigrants, which eventually led to *Terrace*.

I argue that both events illustrate the interplay of manifest destiny—the notion that newly discovered land belonged in the hands of white settlers—and its close cousin, nativism,5 which still plays a role in current discriminatory treatment of undocumented aliens. Part I examines the early development and role of manifest destiny in U.S. history. Part II describes the dispute over the Medicine Creek treaty between the Nisqually tribe and Washington territorial governor Isaac A. Stevens regarding land ownership. Part III reviews the background and facts of *Terrace*. Part IV addresses the current treatment of undocumented immigrant workers in Washington state today in light of its past

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1 See Keith Aoki, *No Right to Own?: The Early Twentieth-Century “Alien Land Laws” as a Prelude to Internment*, 40 B.C. L. REV. 37, 60 n.61; 19 B.C. THIRD WORLD L.J. 37, 60 n.61 (1998) (discussing role of alien land laws in paving the way for internment of Japanese Americans during World War II).


3 *Id.* at 212 n.1. These phrases applied to those who could not attain citizenship by naturalization because they were not “free white persons.” *Id.* at 220. See infra note 90 and accompanying text. For the various iterations of this law in the state of Washington, see Wash. Const., art. II, § 33 (repealed 1966); Act of Mar. 8, 1921, ch. 50, §§ 1–10, 1921 Wash. Laws 156 (repealed 1967); Act of Mar. 10, 1923, ch. 70, §§ 1–2, 1923 Wash. Laws 220 (repealed 1967); Act of Mar. 19, 1937, ch. 220, § 1, 1937 Wash. Laws 1092 (repealed 1967).


5 Nativism means “intense opposition to an internal minority on the grounds of its foreign (i.e. ‘un-American’) connections.” JOHN HIGHAM, *STRANGERS IN THE LAND: PATTERNS OF AMERICAN NATIVISM 1860–1925*, at 4 (2d ed. 1988); see also *IMMIGRANTS OUT!: THE NEW NATIVISM AND THE ANTI-IMMIGRANT IMPULSE IN THE UNITED STATES* 1 (Juan F. Perea ed., 1997) (observing that “[d]uring nativist times in the United States, democratic processes are turned against internal minorities . . . resulting in discriminatory legislation and immigration restrictions.”).

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relations with subordinated groups.\textsuperscript{6} As the reader will see, a recurrent sense of entitlement, fear, and resentment is the force that links society's mistreatment of Native people, the Japanese, and the undocumented.

\section*{I. Manifest Destiny}

The concept of manifest destiny seeped into the American consciousness during the early settlement of the United States. Even before British Captain James Cook explored the northwest coast of North America by sea in 1778, explorers had hoped to find a passage to the Pacific through the waterways of the American continent. If found, this would save them months of dangerous sailing around the southern tip of South America in order to reach the fabled markets of the Far East.\textsuperscript{7} Acting on a mandate from President Thomas Jefferson to find a "direct & practicable water communication across this continent, for the purposes of commerce"\textsuperscript{8} with Asia, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in 1805 reached the Pacific Ocean at the mouth of the Columbia River in Oregon at a fort later named Astoria.\textsuperscript{9}

During the debates over the Oregon Territory and the war with Mexico in the 1840s, America's destiny became even clearer to policy and opinion makers. The phrase, manifest destiny, first given voice in 1845,\textsuperscript{10} embraced achieving a new U.S. western boundary—the Pacific Ocean—and developing the land in between.\textsuperscript{11} Advocating a treaty with England to cede the Oregon Territory to the United States, newspaper editor John L. O'Sullivan wrote that America's claim to the land was "by the right of our manifest destiny to over-spread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self gov-


\textsuperscript{7} Richard Kluger, The Bitter Waters of Medicine Creek: A Tragic Clash Between White and Native America 19–20 (2011); Horsman, supra note 4, at 286–89 (describing how commerce would also bring the blessings of Western civilization and Christianity to the Far East).

\textsuperscript{8} President Thomas Jefferson's Instructions to Captain Meriwether Lewis (June 20, 1803), http://www.library.csi.cuny.edu/dept/history/lavender/jefflet.html.


\textsuperscript{11} See Horsman, supra note 4, at 86–87.
government entrusted to us.” The slogan caught on during the Mexican War and became the subject of debate in newspapers and political venues for years afterward.

Manifest destiny incorporated two interrelated components: the expansionist mission to settle the land to the Pacific shore, eventually establishing commerce with Asia, and the belief in Anglo-Saxon racial superiority.

I. Westward Expansion and Trade with Asia

The opening of the North American continent by Lewis and Clark inspired writers and politicians, such as Senator Thomas Hart Benton, to champion the imposition of Western civilization on other nations. The belief in the superiority of European civilization and the mandate that it be carried westward around the globe had deep roots. German philologists theorized that their language derived from a gifted civilization (later named Aryan) in the Indus River valley of northern India. From there civilization had traveled westward through Central Asia, across the Caucasus Mountains to central Europe where it found full flower in the German Romantic movement in the eighteenth century. From Germany, this higher culture spread, according to the thinking of the time, to England, and from there to the shores of America.

Thus, in 1818, Benton was emboldened to write:

In a few years the Rocky Mountains will be passed, and ‘the children of Adam’ will have completed the circumambulation of the globe, by marching to the west until they arrive at the Pacific ocean, in sight of the eastern shore of that Asia in which their first parents were originally planted.

As for what would happen when the settlers arrived, he wrote: “The valley of the Columbia might become the granary of China and Japan, and an outlet to their imprisoned and exuberant population. The inhabitants of the oldest and the newest, the most despotic and the freest Governments, would become the neighbors, and . . . friends of each other.”

Benton’s remarks might have seemed prophetic, even inspiring. Yet, in the following two decades much was to happen that would incorporate a new element into the concept of destiny and change the way America’s leading thinkers conceived of westward development. Yet to come were Indian removal.

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12 Id. at 220. O’Sullivan published the article in his newspaper, The New York Morning News, December 27, 1845. Id. He had first used the phrase the previous summer in writing about the annexation of Texas as editor of the Democratic Review in the July-Aug issue. Id. at 219–20.
13 See id. at 219–28.
14 Id. at 32–36.
15 Id. at 25–27, 37.
16 Id. at 94–96, 227 (quoting speech of Daniel Webster, promoting the belief).
17 Id. at 90 (internal quotation marks omitted).
18 Id. at 91, 252 (arguing that the stalled civilization of the “Mongolian race” placed it far below the superior white race).
19 See Higham, supra note 5, at 9–11 (explaining that though early Anglo-Saxonism defined American nationalism positively, it provided a channel for the racial nativism that was to follow).
the Cherokee cases,\textsuperscript{21} the pioneers’ westward migration,\textsuperscript{22} the annexation of Texas,\textsuperscript{23} and the lust for Mexico’s land.\textsuperscript{24} With these events manifest destiny became entangled with the more sinister notion of racial superiority.

2. Anglo-Saxonism and Racial Superiority

Sixteenth century exploration brought Europeans face to face with people quite unlike themselves. Enlightenment philosophers and scientists, such as Linnaeus\textsuperscript{25} and Blumenbach,\textsuperscript{26} devised classification schemes to distinguish species and groups by their differences. By the nineteenth century, European and English scientists were busy measuring various parts of the human anatomy, hoping to establish a justification for their new racial-scientific theories about the origin and hierarchy of races.\textsuperscript{27}

In another kind of exploration, the English Reformation generated an enthusiastic interest in the country’s Anglo-Saxon racial origins in early Teutonic tribes of Germany.\textsuperscript{28} The English admired the Teutons for their political institutions such as tribal councils and trial by jury,\textsuperscript{29} as well for their love of freedom, ferocity in battle, and racial purity.\textsuperscript{30} That Anglo Saxons were a superior race gained a foothold in English political philosophy, particularly in the different factions of the Whig party, and became a strand in the political philosophy of early American colonists, most notably Thomas Jefferson.\textsuperscript{31}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{21} Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, 30 U.S. 1 (1831); Worcester v. Georgia, 31 U.S. 515 (1832) (considering various forms of federal intervention into Indian affairs).
\bibitem{22} \textit{See generally} John D. Unruh, Jr., \textit{The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West}, 1840–60 (unab. ed. 1993) (describing, among other things, how government negotiations and treaty making made relations between emigrants and Indians more difficult).
\bibitem{24} \textit{See generally} Howard Zinn, \textit{A People’s History of the United States} 147–51 (2d ed., 1995); Acuña, supra note 23, at 13.
\bibitem{25} Horman, supra note 4, at 46–47. Swedish botanist Carolus Linnaeus categorized humankind by color into four unchangeable groups: European (albus), American (rubescus), Asiatic (fuscus), African (niger) in his \textit{Systema Naturae} (1735). \textit{Id}.
\bibitem{26} \textit{Id} at 47. Johann Blumenbach divided the human species into five groups, which he named Caucasian, Mongolian, American, Ethiopian, and Malay. \textit{Id}. Blumenbach’s classification scheme justified a California court in denying naturalization to a Chinese man, reasoning that the citizenship requirement of being a “white person” would exclude a person of the “Mongolian race.” \textit{In re} Ah Yup, 1 Fed. Cas. 223 (C.C.D. Cal. 1878) (No. 104).
\bibitem{27} Horman, supra note 4, at 52–61.
\bibitem{28} \textit{Id} at 10–11; \textit{see also} Peter Hunter Blair, \textit{An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England} 6–9 (1956) (describing how Germanic tribes of Angles and Saxons had invaded and settled pre-Norman Britain).
\bibitem{29} Horman, supra note 4, at 14.
\bibitem{30} \textit{Id} at 12; \textit{see also} Cullen Murphy, \textit{Birth of a Nation}, N.Y. Times, June 12, 2011, at B.R. 10 (reviewing Christopher B. Krebs, \textit{A Most Dangerous Book: Tacitus’s “Germania”: From the Roman Empire to the Third Reich} (2011)). Tacitus, historian-anthropologist of the early Teutons who had defeated the Romans in A.D. 19, described their military prowess and upright, incorruptible behavior, observing that they were “not tainted by intermarriage with any other nations” but rather were a “distinct unadulterated people that resembles only itself.” \textit{Id}.
\bibitem{31} Horman, supra note 4, at 15–24.
\end{thebibliography}
During the first half of the nineteenth century, the intellectual community in the United States was intrigued with the same racial theories that had taken hold in Western Europe.\textsuperscript{32} To Southern slave owners, American expansionist-minded politicians, and journalists who strove to inflame public opinion, those theories provided the evidence needed to justify the enslavement of blacks,\textsuperscript{33} the extinction of Indians,\textsuperscript{34} and the degradation of Mexicans.\textsuperscript{35}

Senator John C. Calhoun, speaking to Congress on the eve of the war with Mexico, expressed the feelings of many of his countrymen:

\begin{quote}
We have conquered many of the . . . tribes of Indians, but we never thought of . . . incorporating them into our Union. They have either been left as an independent people amongst us, or been driven into the forests. . . . [W]e have never dreamt of incorporating into our Union any but the Caucasian race—the free white race. To incorporate Mexico, would be . . . incorporating an Indian race; for more than half of the Mexicans are Indians, and the other is composed chiefly of mixed tribes. I protest against such a union as that! Ours . . . is the Government of a white race. The greatest misfortunes of Spanish America are to be traced to the fatal error of placing these colored races on an equality with the white race. That error destroyed the social arrangement which formed the basis of society.\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

The nation's leaders heeded Calhoun's sentiment. After crushing the out-manned Mexican army and dictating peace terms, the United States took only the upper, thinly populated half of Mexico, which included the land which is now California, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, and parts of Utah and Colo-

\textsuperscript{32} Id. at 3; see also Higham, supra note 5, at 136–49, 165–75 (discussing the continuing influence of Anglo-Saxonism into the twentieth century regarding the racial composition of the nation).

\textsuperscript{33} Horsman, supra note 4, at 209 (quoting Sen. Benjamin Leigh's address to Congress: "It is peculiar to the character of this Anglo-Saxon race of men to which we belong, that it has never been contented to live in the same country with any other distinct race, upon terms of equality; it has, invariably, when placed in that situation, proceeded to exterminate or enslave the other race in some form or other.” (24 Reg. Deb. 201 (1836)); see also Horsman, supra note 4, at 273–76.

\textsuperscript{34} Id. at 197–98 (quoting President John Quincy Adams' recollection of a cabinet meeting in 1825 at which Secretary of State Henry Clay addressed Secretary of War James Barbour. Adams recounted what Clay had said to Barbour: “It was impossible to civilize Indians; that there never was a full-blooded Indian who took to civilization. It was not in their nature. He believed they were destined to extinction, and, although he would never use or countenance inhumanity towards them, he did not think them, as a race, worth preserving. He considered them as essentially inferior to the Anglo-Saxon race, which were now taking their place on this continent. They were not an improvable breed, and their disappearance from the human family will be no great loss to the world. In point of fact they were rapidly disappearing, and he did not believe that in fifty years from this time there would be any of them left.”); see also id. at 278–79 (describing California's brutal policy to exterminate the Indians).

\textsuperscript{35} See, e.g., Juan F. Perea, A Brief History of Race and the U.S.-Mexican Border: Tracing the Trajectories of Conquest, 51 UCLA L. REV. 283, 292 (2003) ("There are no people on the continent of America, whether civilized or uncivilized . . . more miserable in condition or despicable in morals than the mongrel race inhabiting New Mexico . . . To manage them successfully, they must needs be held in continual restraint, and kept in their place by force. As servants they are excellent, when properly trained, but are worse than useless if left to themselves.” (quoting 2. Rufus B. Sage, His Letters and Papers, 1836–1847, at 82–87 (LeRoy R. Hafen & Ann W. Haven eds., 1956))).

\textsuperscript{36} Cong. Globe, 30th Cong., 1st Sess. 96–98 (1848).
rado. It acquired, in short, much prized real estate without having to absorb too many dark-skinned mestizos.\textsuperscript{37}

By the end of the century the frontier had closed.\textsuperscript{38} The United States had prevailed in the Spanish-American war, taking the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico and establishing the U.S. as a world military and colonial power.\textsuperscript{39} Ironically, large-scale world migration, this time from China and Japan, reversed direction as Asians sought refuge from war, economic depression, and Western colonialism. The Chinese came east to the United States, and the Japanese soon followed.\textsuperscript{40}

II. \textbf{GOVERNOR ISAAC STEVENS, THE NISQUALLY PEOPLE, AND THE MEDICINE CREEK TREATY}

\textit{This land is your land, this land is my land}
\textit{This land was made for you and me.}\textsuperscript{41}

Washington Territory, formerly governed by the British as part of the Oregon Country, split off from the Oregon Territory in 1853 with the new governorship awarded to Isaac A. Stevens.

A West Point man,\textsuperscript{42} Stevens had fought in the war with Mexico (1846–48) as field commander of the Corps of Engineers where his duties included mapping the way through jungles and mountains from Veracruz to Mexico City for the advancing American army.\textsuperscript{43} Victory in that war had expanded the United States westward from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific coastline and northward from the Río Grande to the 49th parallel.\textsuperscript{44} After the war Stevens’s taste for battle remained even as he reentered civilian life and became assistant director of the U.S. Coastal Survey.\textsuperscript{45} Eventually his success at mapping the Pacific coastline, his political maneuvering, and his ambition led to his appointment as Governor of Washington Territory.\textsuperscript{46} Stevens advocated for a stronger standing army that would support the westward migration

\textsuperscript{37} \textsc{Juan Perea et al.}, \textit{Race and Races: Cases and Resources for a Diverse America} 296 (2d ed. 2007) (describing the territories annexed through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo).

\textsuperscript{38} See \textsc{Frederick Jackson Turner}, \textit{The Frontier in American History} 22–26 (1920) (paper delivered to the American Historical Association in 1893) (describing how settlement of “free land” in the West redefined American democracy). \textit{But see generally} \textsc{Patricia Nelson Limerick}, \textit{The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West} (1987) (discussing banishment, conquest, and subordination of nonwhite groups in the West and noting that westward expansion was far from an unmixed blessing).

\textsuperscript{39} \textsc{Natsu Taylor Saito}, \textit{Meeting the Enemy: American Exceptionalism and International Law} 146–60 (2010).

\textsuperscript{40} See \textsc{James C. Thomson, Jr. et al.}, \textit{Sentimental Imperialists: The American Experience in East Asia} 143 (1981) (discussing Japanese belief that civilization was destined to proceed both westward and eastward).

\textsuperscript{41} \textsc{Woody Guthrie}, \textit{This Land Is Your Land} (ca. 1936), \textit{available at} http://www.woodyguthrie.org/Lyrics/This_Land.htm (emphasis added).

\textsuperscript{42} \textsc{Kluger}, \textit{supra} note 7, at 7.

\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Id.} at 10–11.

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Id.} at 12.

\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Id.}

\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Id.} at 13–16.
of white settlers into the newly acquired land where they would encounter “murderous Indian tribes.”

Racial rhetoric during the war with Mexico undoubtedly affected Isaac Stevens as well as other army men who later participated in the settlement of the West. Addressing his constituents upon his arrival to the territory in November 1853, Stevens proclaimed his vision of manifest destiny: “From your hands an imperial domain will descend to your children . . . in the cause of humanity and freedom.” With backing from Congressional Democrats, Stevens and a surveying party had trekked overland from St. Paul, Minnesota, surveying a northern route through the mountains for a transcontinental railroad that would, in time, bring settlers and commerce to the Northwest. By wagon trains, white settlers had been migrating to Oregon; the railroad would bring them to Washington Territory. Along the way passing through Indian country, Stevens had encountered many Indian tribes in his capacity as newly-appointed superintendent of relations with the natives.

In his new post, Stevens found a small band of hardy settlers clustered in the fertile territory west of the Cascade Mountains and south of Puget Sound. Some were engaged in logging, but most were homesteaders drawn by the lure of free land. One of Stevens’s first tasks was to deal with the indigenous tribes on whose homeland the settlers were making their farms. The Nisqually, the largest tribe, were fishers and hunters and lived along the lower and upper reaches of the river that came to bear their name.

In a February 1854 address, Stevens assured the new territorial legislature that the verdant countryside would become “the highway of the trade of nations.” In order for this to happen, Indian title to the land had to be expunged so that the settlers’ Donation Act claims could be certified. Stevens asked his legislature to petition Congress to authorize land surveys and treaty negotiations. The Nisqually were to be subject to the first treaty. But, of course, they held no land title and knew nothing of surveys.

47 Id. at 13.
48 Id. at 46.
50 To encourage settlement, Congress passed the Oregon Donation Land Act (1850) which granted to white men who would farm a claim for four years, 320 additional free acres of land; 640 if he had a wife. KLUGER, supra note 7, at 31.
51 Id. at 39–42, 47.
52 See id. at 46.
53 Id. at 31, 35, 46, 47–48, 70–71. James W. Wiley, publisher of the Olympia newspaper Pioneer and Democrat, helped shape public opinion in the area by his loyal support of Stevens’s anti-Indian policies. See id. at 47.
54 Id. at 57–61, 76.
55 Id. at 67.
56 Id.
57 Id.
58 Id. at 58.
59 See id. at 60.
60 See id. at 82, 84 (explaining that tribal chiefs were asked to draw maps of their homelands but Leschi, sensing deception, refused to finish his). During this same period, as a
Before the year ended, Stevens had his treaty with the Nisqually and two other smaller tribes.61 It was never clear whether the Nisqually leader, Leschi, understood the import of what took place,62 much less the nuances of the treaty language translated from English into Chinook Jargon.63 Nevertheless, he was said to have made his mark with a cross,64 signing away rights to 4,000 square miles of ancestral land in exchange for three reservations of two square miles each.65 The Nisqually were to be ushered out of the fertile river valleys, which provided them with abundant fish and game, to live on a thickly forested, stony bluff high above the Puget Sound.66 Stevens was highly gratified with this result; the Nisqually were not.67 Stevens’s loyal enforcer, Frank Shaw, also the treaty team’s interpreter, had no sympathy for the Indians.68 In later years, he said:

[T]here was a great deal of humbug about making any treaties with the Indians. . . . The question was, shall a great country with many resources be turned over to a few Indians to roam over . . . making no use of the soil for timber or other resources, or should it be turned over to the civilized man who could develop it . . . and make it the abiding place of millions of white people.69

result of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that ended the war with Mexico, land grant adjudication was taking place in the Southwest. See PEREA ET AL., supra note 37, at 297. Article 10 of the treaty, as drafted, would have validated land grants recognized by the Mexican government before the war. Id. However, the Senate deferred to President James K. Polk and struck that provision from the treaty. Id. Consequently, the legitimacy of those grants came into question; ownership was to be governed by U.S. law and practice rather than Mexican title and custom. Id. See, e.g., the California Land Claims Commission, which placed the burden on the land grant owner to file a claim with the land board by 1853 or have his or her property declared public domain of the United States. This burden of initiating and proving a claim required the claimant to hire an attorney and to gather all the documents and testimony needed to support that claim.

MALCOLM EBRIGHT, LAND GRANTS AND LAWSUITS IN NORTHERN NEW MEXICO 34 (1994); see also PEREA ET AL., supra note 37, at 305. Regarding the Surveyor General of New Mexico:

[For] Hispanics, possession was indeed nine-tenths of the law. Their use of the land was more important in establishing their ownership than were any documents. . . . Most Hispanics never conceived of the possibility that the common lands of their community grants were in jeopardy because under their laws and customs, the common lands could never be sold.

EBRIGHT, supra at 38–39; see also PEREA ET AL., supra note 37, at 305–06.

61 Treaty with Nisquallys, Dec. 26, 1854, 10 Stat. 1132; see also KLUGER, supra note 7, at 74–106 (Chapter 5: Christmas at Medicine Creek for a full discussion on the making of the treaty).

62 KLUGER, supra note 7, at 90–91.

63 Id. at 78–79, 82–84 (Chinook Jargon, a language of about 300 to 500 words, made of English, French, and “fractured native tongues,” was used for trading in the Northwest Territory. Leschi spoke a Salish dialect).

64 Id. at 90. But accounts vary; some say Leschi did not sign the treaty. See id. at 91–99.

65 Id. at 84.

66 Id. at 84, 94.

67 Id. at 105–06 (explaining how a successful treaty would enhance Stevens’s political ambitions); id. at 84–85, 87–88 (describing conditions of the treaty for the Indians).

68 Id. at 70 (reporting that “Frank Shaw, then twenty five [was] well acquainted with—though not overly fond of—Indians.”); id. at 83 (reminiscing about the demise of the Indians).

69 Id. at 74–75, 309 (quoting from a speech that Shaw delivered to the Oregon Historical Society on Oct. 20, 1903, and published in its Proceedings 1906, appendix C, at 24–32).
I further confess that I was one of the men who believed in allowing the Anglo-Saxon race to take up the burdens that the Indians were incapable of carrying . . . . We who have been in this country from the first inception of the new order of things . . . pray that this American civilization may not stop until it penetrates every nook and corner of this continent. 70

Wars ensued. 71 To the territorial legislature Stevens vowed that “the war shall be prosecuted until the last hostile Indian is exterminated.” 72 Leschi was eventually captured, tried for murder, and hanged. 73

Unlike the British, who had come to the northern sector of the Oregon Territory mainly to trade with the Indians, 74 the Americans had come to settle the land and develop its resources. Assimilation of the native northwest tribes was unthinkable. Extermination or settlement on reservations was to be the final solution. 75 Not until Congress unilaterally imposed it in 1924, were Indians offered citizenship. 76

III. TERRACE V. THOMPSON

From sea to shining sea. 77

In 1853, the same year that Governor Stevens arrived in Washington Territory determined to rid it of the native population, Commander Matthew Perry, fulfilling the ultimate goal of manifest destiny, landed in Japan seeking to open up trade and establish markets for American goods. 78 Here we may see how the doctrine overreached, producing an unintended effect on the west coast of the United States. 79

While still a territory, Washington had passed an alien land law to encourage development by white settlers and investment by foreign corpora-

70 Id. at 105, 309 (continuing to quote from the Oregon Historical Society’s proceedings).
71 See, e.g., id. at 120–21 (describing Leschi’s realization that additional talking would go nowhere and that armed resistance might be necessary); id. at 134–36 (describing hostilities in the White River Valley).
72 Id. at 150. In 1858, as a member of the U.S. Congress, Stevens addressed the body, defending his Indian policies in Washington Territory saying he was protecting the settlers who were carrying with them the “laws and institutions of their country [where] they planted empire and civilization.” See id. at 243–44.
73 Id. at 199–243.
74 Id. at 23.
75 Id. at 150, 310 (bibliographic notes to chapter 8). The Pioneer and Democrat reported that Stevens declaimed, in his address to the territorial legislature on Jan. 25, 1856, that “the war shall be prosecuted until the last hostile Indian is exterminated. . . . [N]othing but death is a mete punishment for their perfidy . . . . The guilty ones shall suffer, and the remainder placed on reservations under the eye of the military.” Arrival of Gov. Stevens, Pioneer & Democrat, Jan. 25, 1856. The newspaper was firmly, by then, in Stevens’s corner. See supra note 53.
76 Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, ch. 233, § 1, 43 Stat. 253 (June 2, 1924). In 1884 a petition for citizenship by John Elk, born on a reservation, had been denied on the grounds that he belonged to an “alien nation.” See Elk v. Wilkins, 112 U.S. 94 (1884).
78 Aoki, supra note 1, at 44.
79 Id. at 44 n.25 (noting that Japan imported goods; that its citizens were under-industrialized, overtaxed, and could not compete; and that its trade deficit drove prices up and forced farmers to look for more income in other countries).
Fishing, mining, and logging industries needed brute strength and capital to realize their potential. Fertile land awaited plowing and tilling, and harvesting of crops. But the Territory was remote, difficult to get to, and even then suffered a bad reputation for its inclement weather.

Meanwhile Chinese laborers, having learned of these opportunities in the new land, had immigrated to the west coast of the United States. Many came to the Washington Territory, first to mine gold, and later to build the Northern Pacific transcontinental railroad. Known for their willingness to work long hours for low pay, they soon earned the hostility of white settlers. They were a “yellow peril,” treacherous and subversive, traits that Washingtonians would soon transfer to the Japanese.

Eventually labor competition, as well as longstanding prejudice, resulted in a congressional act in 1882, lasting until 1943, which barred Chinese immigration to the United States. On achieving statehood, Washington incorporated an alien land law into its 1889 constitution that barred those aliens who could not, “in good faith,”
declare their intentions of becoming citizens of the United States, from land
ownership.91

The Chinese had been excluded, but Japanese immigration eastward soon
began to increase. Recession in Japan had driven many of its agricultural work-
ers to Hawaii. Upon hearing of opportunities in California, Oregon, and Wash-
ington, they began to immigrate to the mainland.92 All went well for a while. But by 1905 Japan had become a force to be reckoned with, especially when, to
the astonishment of onlookers, it defeated Russia, a world power, in the Russo-
Japanese war. Military batteries and gun emplacements sprang up along the
west coast.93 Newspapers inflamed public opinion.94

In order to smooth relations with Japan, the United States began to put
agreements and treaties into place. To regulate immigration, the Gentlemen’s
Agreement agreed to screen out laborers, but allowed wives of “settled agricul-
turalists” to join their husbands, a provision that inadvertently enhanced the
possibility for the creation and establishment of families.95 In 1911 a trade

The ownership of lands by aliens, other than those who in good faith have declared their inten-
tion to become citizens of the United States, is prohibited in this state, except where acquired by
inheritance, under mortgage or in good faith in the ordinary course of justice in the collection of
debts; and all conveyances of lands hereafter made to any aliens directly, or in trust for such
alien, shall be void . . . .

Id. (emphasis omitted).

91 Until 1952, United States citizenship was governed by the 1790 Naturalization Act, ch. 3,
§ 2169, 1 Stat. 103-04 (March 26, 1790), Revised Statutes Title XXX (U.S. Comp. Stat. §4358); U.S. CONST. amend. XIV; and the Civil Rights Act of 1870, ch. 254, § 7, 16 Stat.
254-56 (July 14, 1870). Congress retained plenary power to confer citizenship, U.S. CONST.
art. I, § 8. It did so, first to “free white persons” and, after the Civil War, to “aliens of
African nativity and to persons of African descent.” (July 14, 1870). Federal citizenship had
been offered to Mexicans living in territories ceded to the U.S. in Articles VIII and IX of the
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 after the war with Mexico. See PEREA ET AL., supra
note 37, at 298–99. Consequently Mexicans could be classified as white, though they were,
for the most part, not treated as such at the local level. Indians were ineligible for citizenship.
Therefore, Asians not being white, black, or Mexican fell into the category of aliens ineligi-
bale for citizenship.

92 See Aoki, supra note 1, at 44-45.

93 See Puget Sound Coastal Military Museum at Fort Worden State Park, Port Townsend,
Washington, http://www.parks.wa.gov/fortworden/interpretive.aspx, (dedicated to preserva-
tion and interpretation of coast artillery history, with special emphasis on harbor defenses of
Puget Sound). Among other things, a signboard explains how three forts located a few miles
apart trained giant cannons on a narrow stretch of water—named the “triangle of death”—in
the Strait of Juan de Fuca that leads from the Pacific Ocean to the Puget Sound and port of
Seattle.

94 See Aoki, supra note 1, at 47 n.33 (citing ROGER DANIELS, THE POLITICS OF PREJUDICE:
THE ANTI-JAPANESE MOVEMENT IN CALIFORNIA AND THE STRUGGLE FOR JAPANESE EXCLU-
SION 25 (2d ed. 1977) (quoting from The Japanese Invasion, the Problem of the Hour, S.F.
CHRON., Feb. 23, 1905, at 1, (“at least 100,000 of the ‘little brown men’ were here already,
that they were ‘no more assimilable than the Chinese,’ and that they undercut white labor . . .
[warning that] ‘once the war with Russia is over, the brown stream of Japanese immigration’
will become a ‘raging torrent.’”)); see also HIGHAM, supra note 5, at 172–73 (describing
roles of military adventurer Homer Lea and reporter-novelist Jack London in promoting anti-
Japanese racial nativism).

95 SIDNEY L. GULICK, SHOULD CONGRESS ENACT SPECIAL LAWS AFFECTING JAPANESE?: A
CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE “HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION” HELD IN CALIFORNIA, JULY 1920, at 7 (1922); see PEREA ET AL., supra
agreement between Japan and the U.S. allowed citizens of both nations to enter, reside, and travel in each other’s countries to carry on commerce and own real property, but it made no mention of the right to own agricultural land.96

California, where nativism ran high, seized on the opportunity to pass an alien land law in 1913 prohibiting certain individuals and corporations from purchasing agricultural land and restricting the leasing of it to three years. The law avoided referring to the Japanese by name but instead used the euphemism “aliens ineligible to citizenship.”97 It proved so ineffective at curtailing Japanese farming,98 however, that by 1920 an initiative amendment passed, strengthening the 1913 law.99 As well as banning purchasing or leasing, it also prohibited aliens from serving as guardians to minors who had an interest in agricultural land,100 which prevented immigrant Japanese from buying farms in the names of their citizen children.

In western Washington the Japanese settled first in the southern area of Puget Sound, then gradually spread into the White River Valley, the same area that had seen hostilities between white settlers and the Nisqually tribe over a half century before.101 World War I brought the need for more agricultural workers. The Chinese population had, by then, dwindled as a result of the Chinese Exclusion Act. As well, most immigrants from India, Southeast Asia, and the islands of the Pacific were excluded with the creation of the Asiatic Barred Zone in the Immigration Act of 1917.102 The Japanese, however, who were not subject to that exclusion, had proven able farmers and prospered.103 Many envious white farmers saw the Japanese as a threat. But others admired them for their hard working ways and efficiency. One such person was Frank Terrace who, along with his wife Elizabeth, desired to lease part of their land to N. Nakatsuka.104

In 1921, Washington toughened its alien land law to include leasing as well as procedural mechanisms that closed loopholes, and to enact harsh penal-
ties for circumventing the Constitution, making it clear that Washington really meant it. The Japanese, as nonwhites, could not “in good faith” declare their intention to become citizens. By combining eligibility for citizenship with the intent to actually pursue it, the state effectively prevented the Japanese from participating in farming in any meaningful way. Indeed, it successfully removed that means of livelihood for many of them.

Washington’s motivation in passing and amending the law was not a secret—to eliminate competition between Japanese and white farmers. Indeed, one of its citizens, Albert Johnson, was soon to play a leading role in the major reform of U.S. immigration laws. Johnson, a native of the logging town of Gray’s Harbor and elected to Congress in 1912, was also a newspaper editor of the same ilk as Hearst and McClatchy in California. His vehement campaign against the labor movement and his antipathy toward foreigners, Japanese in particular, propelled him into the heart of national immigration debates. By 1919 he had become chair of the House Committee on Immigration, in which capacity he was successful in bringing the hearings to address the “Japanese problem” to Seattle where the members met in the courtroom of Judge Edward Everett Cushman, who was later to write the district court opinion in Terrace.

The Northwest American Japanese Association had challenged the ban on Terrace leasing part of his land to Nakatsuka. They lost. After negating protection by the 1911 commerce treaty, federal district court Judge Cushman, perhaps recalling conversations with Albert Johnson, tackled the eligibility question:

It is obvious that the objection on the part of Congress is not due to color, as color, but only to color as an evidence of a type of civilization which it characterizes. The yellow or brown racial color is the hallmark of Oriental despotisms, or was at the time the original naturalization law was enacted. It was deemed that the subjects of these despotisms, with their fixed and ingrained pride in the type of their civilization, which works for its welfare by subordinating the individual to the personal authority of the sovereign, as the embodiment of the state, were not fitted and suited to make for the success of a republican form of Government. Hence they were denied citizenship. It is this disqualification put upon them by the federal government to which the

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105 Act of Mar. 8, 1921, ch. 50, §§ 1–10, 1921 Wash. Laws 156 (repealed 1967); see Lazarus, supra note 49, at 235 (discussing these mechanisms).
106 See Daniels, supra note 94, at 45, 75–76 (on William Randolph Hearst); id. at 91, 95–99 (on V.S. McClatchy); see also MAE M. NGAI, IMPOSSIBLE SUBJECTS: ILLEGAL ALIENS AND THE MAKING OF MODERN AMERICA 47 (2004) (discussing role of McClatchy, co-owner of the Sacramento Bee, in anti-immigration debates).
107 Higham, supra note 5, at 177–78, 309–10, 319.
109 Ichioka, supra note 97, at 167.
110 Terrace v. Thompson, 274 F. 841, 841 (W.D. Wash. 1921).
state objects, and not their color, although the federal government may have made their race color the irrefutable evidence of disqualification for citizenship.\textsuperscript{111}

Declaring that it was the duty of Congress “to preserve, in its purity, our own type of civilization,” he went on to say: “The more homogeneous its parts, the more perfect the union . . . [T]here is no law or treaty that yet has said . . . if citizenship be accorded these Orientals, the danger is past of our becoming a ‘mechanical medley of race fragments.’”\textsuperscript{112}

Shortly afterward, the U.S. Supreme Court in the Ozawa case (1922)\textsuperscript{113} handed down a decision crushing any hope for Japanese to transcend the barrier of the whiteness requirement for citizenship. Takao Ozawa had petitioned the Court for naturalization showing, in short, that he was an educated, assimilated American.\textsuperscript{114} Despite all, his request was denied and Japanese were barred from naturalized citizenship until the immigration reform McCarran-Walter Act of 1952.\textsuperscript{115}

When the Terrace case reached the U.S. Supreme Court the following year, the Court needed only to use race-neutral language to affirm the lower court opinion. Terrace and Nakatsuka challenged the law on two grounds: first, that it conflicted with the due process and equal protection clauses of the 14th Amendment, and second, that it contravened the 1911 commerce treaty between U.S. and Japan. The Court decided it did not. With impeccable formalISTIC logic, the Court created a two-by-two matrix placing in the same category those ineligible for citizenship with those who were eligible for citizenship yet refused to elect it, preventing both groups from the ability to purchase, lease, or contract agricultural land.\textsuperscript{116}

The effect of the decision on the Japanese population was devastating.\textsuperscript{117} One other California alien land law case was decided on the same day as Terrace;\textsuperscript{118} two more followed a week later.\textsuperscript{119} Between 1920 and 1930, the Japa-
The nise population in Washington state increased by a mere 450 persons. Washington’s alien land law remained on the books until repealed in 1966, after two attempts had failed to remove it.

Terrace was not the only blow. The Immigration and Naturalization Act ended Japanese immigration in 1924, ironically the very same year that Indians received citizenship.

IV. MANIFEST DESTINY AND ECHOES OF TERRACE TODAY

Though the slogan of manifest destiny seldom finds its way into contemporary discourse, the sentiment it evokes is very much alive. Few Washingtonians may have heard of Terrace v. Thompson, yet its legacy is quite intact. By examining a state’s racial history, one can see recurrent patterns that, somewhat like DNA, predictably replicate behavior. Washington, late to enter the Union, was considered by some to be the last bastion of untarnished land. Inhabited by peaceful Indians, untainted by slavery, not a place of seething multiracialism and immigration, it remained for decades an overwhelmingly white state. If you were white, you would likely be surrounded by people like yourself; if not, you might find yourself leading a lonely existence with chilly relations with your neighbors. If you were unlucky, you might


120 Lazarus, supra note 49, at 236. The increase, from 17,387 to 17,837, was probably due to the birth of the second generation Nisei who were citizens by birthright.


122 Immigration (Johnson-Reed) Act of 1924, Pub. L. No. 68-139, 43 Stat. 153 (commonly known as the National Origins Act). Though the Act contained no reference to the Japanese, it made clear that aliens ineligible for citizenship were forbidden to immigrate to the United States. Albert Johnson was instrumental in its passage.


124 See, e.g., Andrew Garber, New Poll Looks at Tea Party Views Toward Minorities, SEATTLE TIMES (June 1, 2010, 11:43 AM), http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/html/politicsnorthwest/2012005031_new_poll_looks_at_tea_party_vi.html; Delgado & Stefancic, Home-Grown Racism, supra note 6, at 773 (discussing these patterns); Delgado & Stefancic, Racial History, supra note 6, at 1558, (also discussing these patterns).

125 The “Seattle chill” is a frequently remarked phenomenon among students and faculty of color at the school where I teach. It refers to a somewhat distant, if friendly, manner that Anglos affect in interactions with their neighbors or colleagues of color.
encounter one of the region’s Aryan supremacist groups that would make your life miserable. 127

If you were historically minded, you might suspect that the region’s history had something to do with it. The reader will recall how Washington, while a territory, dispatched its Indians to miniscule, forlorn reservations. 128 Chinese were excluded from immigration by federal law until 1943; local attitudes kept them on edge both before and after that. 129 Japanese were cut off from agricultural livelihood and, not long after, interned. 130 Black migration from the South was tolerated, but not encouraged. 131 Mexican workers have lived, in large part, under the radar.

Immigration of undocumented workers, much of it Latino, has increased as global migration changed direction in the last few decades. Formerly from west to east, or in some cases east to west, migration now proceeds from south to north. The manifest-destiny agenda of multinational corporations has delivered free trade to Latin America via NAFTA, bringing profits to U.S.-based companies and poverty to countries south of our border. Mexican farmers cannot compete with U.S.-subsidized corn, a staple of the Mexican diet. 132 These little-regarded consequences have resulted in a migration of millions of Latin American farm workers to the U.S. looking for ways to make a living wage, much as did Japanese agricultural workers in the early twentieth century.

Latino workers have been essential to agriculture in Washington for many years. As with other racial groups, sometimes they have been treated well or ignored. Recently, however, the nation’s tangled immigration laws have subjected them to workplace raids, 133 deportation, 134 loss of benefits, 135 and

128 See, e.g., supra Part I text and accompanying notes 7–40.
129 See supra notes 82–88 and accompanying text.
130 See supra notes 104–20 and accompanying text.
charges of unassimilability. Naturalization is but a dream for the undocumented, and the repeal of birthright citizenship a threat for their children who were born here. At the local level, states and municipalities seem to apply the same template of suspicion, nativism, and xenophobia to virtually all new groups, particularly if they look different than the majority population. Latinos’ misfortunes in Washington and other states now echo those of indigenous people, the Japanese, and the Chinese before them. Terrace v. Thompson paved the way for Japanese internment during World War II. Will we be seeing more cases like it soon?

See Samuel P. Huntington, Who Are We?: The Challenges to America’s Identity 316 (2004); Peter Brimelow, Alien Nation: Common Sense about America’s Immigration Disaster 273 (1995).

See Marc Lacey, Birthright Citizenship Looms as Next Immigration Battle, N.Y. Times, Jan. 4, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/05/us/politics/05babies. For the Congressional effort to provide a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrant students brought to the U.S. when they were young, see Dream Act: Summary, Nat’l Imigr. L. Ctr. (May 2011), http://nile.org/dreamsummary.html (click on pdf file link).

For a comparison of nineteenth century laws against Chinese and current ones against undocumented Mexicans, see Mary D. Fan, Post-Racial Proxies: Resurgent State and Local Anti-“Alien” Laws and Unity-Rebuilding Frames for Antidiscrimination Values, 32 Cardozo L. Rev. 905 (2011).
