

# The “White” Leaders of the Anti-Japanese Movement in California Reconsidered: Native Sons of the Golden West in the Post-World War I Period<sup>1</sup>

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## I. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to consider what kinds of white people led the anti-Japanese movement in California after World War I. Emphasizing “white racism” as a principal cause for the movement, existing studies have simply argued that “whites” of the state mounted the movement, harboring their strong “racial sentiment” against the Japanese.<sup>2</sup> More specifically, some of the studies have focused on the vociferous advocates of Japanese exclusion,

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1 This research note is based on my research in the United States from October 2006 to September 2007 made possible by the Research Grant of the Matsushita International Foundation, for which the author expresses sincere appreciation.

2 Frank Chuman, *The Bamboo People: The Law and Japanese-Americans* (Del Mar, Calif.: Publisher’s, 1976); Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York: William Morrow, 1969); Robert Wilson and Bill Hosokawa, *East to America: A History of the Japanese in the United States* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1980). These works that the Nisei (second-generation) Japanese published under the sponsorship of the Japanese American Citizenship League tend to emphasize the impact of “white racism” on the history of the Japanese in the United States. The possible reason for this is that they fought for their civil liberties and social justice, which the Constitution guaranteed for every citizen of the United States, seeking redress for their internment experiences during World War II. In my opinion, such experiences have had a profound influence on their work and helped them to create a stronger inclination to understand many historical experiences that the Japanese went through in the United States in the ideological framework of racism.

such as James D. Phelan, Democratic Senator from California;<sup>3</sup> Valentine S. McClatchy, Publisher of the *Sacramento Bee*, a local newspaper in Sacramento;<sup>4</sup> Joseph M. Inman, Republican State Senator from Sacramento County, California;<sup>5</sup> and Hiram W. Johnson, Republican Senator from California.<sup>6</sup> These studies have argued that “racial bigots” demanded Japanese exclusion due to their strongly prejudiced views of the Japanese. However, such arguments are no longer proper and sufficient to understand those who led the movement. My research demonstrates that all the white population of the state were not involved in the movement. There were even some whites who objected to the arguments that the exclusionists made against the Japanese, such as John P. Irish, Farmer in Oakland; Alice M. Brown, Farmer in Sacramento; and Carey McWilliams, Editor of *Nation*.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, exclusionists’ characteristics and social backgrounds were not as simple as the existing studies have explained by referring to them as “whites.” My research indicates there were more complexities in their characteristics and social backgrounds while it recognizes that different people led the movement at different times. Before World War I, labor leaders and their unions took a strong critical position against the Japanese in the urban in-

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3 Phelan served as U.S. Senator from 1914 to 1920. He also served as Mayor of San Francisco from 1897 to 1902. “Phelan Distinguished Son of City, Mayor of San Francisco Three Times,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 8 August 1930, 4.

4 McClatchy began to manage the *Sacramento Bee* newspaper company with his brother, Charles K. McClatchy, after his father, James McClatchy, died in 1883. He was engaged in the newspaper publishing business until 1923. Afterward, he started real estate business in Sacramento. “V. S. McClatchy Passes Away,” *Sacramento Bee*, 16 May 1938, 1.

5 Inman had a long career as a state politician. He served as State Representative from 1913 to 1916 and as State Senator for 18 years from 1916 to 1934. “J. M. Inman, 78, Ex-Sacramento Lawmaker, Dies,” *Sacramento Bee*, 23 March 1954, 1, 8.

6 Hiram Johnson started to serve in the Senate in 1917. He served as Governor of California for almost seven years before he became Senator. Justice Detwiler, *Who's Who in California: A Biographical Directory, 1928-1929* (San Francisco: Who's Who Co., 1929), 4.

7 For the arguments that Irish and Brown made, see *Japanese Immigration Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization* (1920; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1978), 34–52, 195–205, 625–35. McWilliams criticized prejudice and discriminatory treatment against the Japanese by the exclusionists in California in his work, *Prejudice: Japanese-Americans: Symbol of Racial Intolerance* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1945).

dustrialized area of San Francisco, seeking to protect American laborers from employment competition. After the war, however, the movement enjoyed greater support from people belonging to the educated and professional class, such as lawyers, politicians and community leaders.<sup>8</sup> To deal with these facts, it is now necessary to reexamine what kinds of white people led the anti-Japanese movement in California after World War I.

My research has focused on Valentine S. McClatchy,<sup>9</sup> a person that existing studies have considered one of the most influential figures in the anti-Japanese movement in California.<sup>10</sup> My research has also investigated the four state organizations that played significant roles in developing the movement in California: (1) Native Sons of the Golden West (hereafter, referred to as NSGW), a fraternal society of California-born whites, founded in San Francisco in July 1875; (2) American Legion, Department of California, a veterans’ organizations formed in San Francisco after World War I; (3) California State Grange, an agricultural organization created in a gathering of small farmers in northern California in July 1873; and (4) California State Federation of Labor, a federated body of labor unions organized in San Francisco in January 1901.<sup>11</sup> This paper pays special attention to NSGW and demonstrates that NSGW and its members, called Native Sons, were the ones who led the movement by showing how actively they were involved in the movement after World War I. In fact, my research demonstrates that NSGW played greater and more responsible roles in the movement than the other

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8 Floyd W. Matson, “The Anti-Japanese Movement in California, 1890–1942” (Master’s thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1953), explains that the participants in the movement changed after World War I. His work is also found in Jacobus tenBroek, ed., *Prejudice, War, and the Constitution: Causes and Consequences of the Evacuations of the Japanese Americans in World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 11–67.

9 Toyoyuki Fuka, “Valentine Stuart McClatchy: The Reasons for His Intense Involvement in the Anti-Japanese Movement in California from the late 1910s” (Master’s thesis, Graduate School of American Studies, Doshisha University, 2001).

10 Roger Daniels explains that “McClatchy was a leader behind whom the whole movement could rally” in his work, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (1962; reprint, New York: Atheneum, 1972), 91.

11 Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, 85. Matson’s work in note 8 introduces the four state organizations as strong anti-Japanese driving forces in California after World War I.

three organizations. It also indicates that many prominent anti-Japanese exclusionists, such as Phelan, McClatchy, Inman and Hiram Johnson,<sup>12</sup> belonged to NSGW.<sup>13</sup> To account for the leadership of NSGW and Native Sons in the anti-Japanese movement in California after World War I, this paper examines its annual meeting record and official organs, *California Review* and *Grizzly Bear*.<sup>14</sup> This paper also examines McClatchy's *Sacramento Bee* and the *San Francisco Examiner*, a newspaper published by a well-known Native Son in San Francisco, William R. Hearst,<sup>15</sup> because of their detailed and frequent coverage on the movement.

## II. Initiating the Movement

Native Sons was the first group of people who voiced anti-Japanese sentiments in California after World War I. James D. Phelan was the first person who raised the voice. In late March 1919, the *San Francisco Examiner* reported that Phelan initiated the movement by saying that he "started a nation wide campaign which . . . is intended to educate Americans on the Japanese question."<sup>16</sup> His action was based on his earlier experiences at the

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12 McWilliams shows a similar view by stating that "A glance at the list of the prominent leaders of the anti-Oriental agitation in California from 1907 to 1941 will show that most of these men were members and in most cases officials of the Native Sons of the Golden West" in his work, *Prejudice*, 22.

13 For these four persons' memberships in NSGW, see the materials in note 3, 4, 5 and 6 above.

14 NSGW issued *Proceedings of the Annual Session of the Grand Parlor of the Native Sons of the Golden West* for its annual conference record from 1878. It entitled the record *Minutes of the Annual Session...* from 1909 to 1921, but the record is cited as *NSGW Proceedings* in this paper. As to the official organs, NSGW published *California Review* from January 1903 to December 1904 and *Grizzly Bear* from May 1907 to May 1954. All these materials are available in California State Library, Sacramento, California.

15 Hearst started to publish the *San Francisco Examiner* in March 1887. It is widely known that he made an enormous fortune through his newspaper publishing business. He owned 28 newspapers, 13 magazines, 8 radio stations, and a total of 56,000,000 dollars in real estate by the time he died in 1951. NSGW considered Hearst one of the most distinguished members. "William Randolph Hearst Dies at 88 in California," *San Francisco Examiner*, 15 August 1951, 1, 20-21; *NSGW Proceedings* (1945), 145.

16 "Phelan Opens Nation-Wide Fight on Jap Aggression," *San Francisco Examiner*, 23 March 1919, 4.

immigration station at Angel Island and in Southern California. At Angel Island in early March 1919, while 120 Japanese women were present, he saw "forty of them waiting to join their husbands whose photographs they had married" in the practice of picture bride marriage.<sup>17</sup> In Southern California in mid-March 1919, he heard that rich owners of a Japanese steamship company planned to buy "800,000 acres of the best land adjoining the California border as part of the colonization scheme" of Japan. He also learned that the Japanese consul at Los Angeles assisted "the illegal smuggling of Japanese into California from Mexico."<sup>18</sup> Considering that all of these findings were clear evidence of Japan's plot to make California a Japanese colony, he was determined to carry out an anti-Japanese campaign to protect the soil of his state from such Japanese threats. Phelan gave a speech at the Assembly chamber of the State Capitol at the end of March and warned that "California is exposed to the... danger" of being turned into "a Japanese plantation" like the territory of Hawaii unless protests against the Japanese were made.<sup>19</sup> Following this speech, he published an article titled "Japanese Menace Explained to the East" in the April 1919 issue of the *Grizzly Bear*. In this article, he called Japan "Huns of the Orient" and emphasized the serious threat of Japan's incursion into California and the whole Pacific Coast region.<sup>20</sup>

Valentine S. McClatchy became actively involved in the anti-Japanese campaign following Phelan. In June 1919, he wrote a series of anti-Japanese articles in his *Sacramento Bee* newspaper to appeal to the federal government to create legislation to exclude the Japanese completely from the United States.<sup>21</sup> On the 13th of the same month, he sent a letter to the Congressional

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17 "Photo Brides Used to Evade Law, Is Charge," *San Francisco Examiner*, 7 March 1919, 1. For further information on picture brides, see Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (1988; reprint, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1992), 131-32.

18 "Japs Plotting State Colony, Says Phelan," *San Francisco Examiner*, 14 March 1919, 1.

19 "Congress Overrides Laws, Solons Told," *San Francisco Examiner*, 1 April 1919, 1.

20 James D. Phelan, "Japanese Menace Explained to the East," *Grizzly Bear* (April 1919): 1.

21 All three articles that McClatchy wrote during June 1919 are found in Valentine S. McClatchy, *The Germany of Asia*, in *Four Anti-Japanese Pamphlets* (1919; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1978), 22-36.

hearings held by Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in Washington D.C. and appealed to its chairman Albert Johnson, Republican Representative from Washington,<sup>22</sup> for the immediate enactment of an immigration law that banned all further emigration from Japan.<sup>23</sup> On August 20, 1919, he submitted the following five principles in the document entitled “A Remedy for the Evils Resulting from Japanese Immigration”<sup>24</sup> to Sacramento Chamber of Commerce, an organization that represented the commercial, industrial, financial and civic interests of Sacramento and Northern California.<sup>25</sup>

1. Cancellation of the “Gentlemen’s Agreement”<sup>26</sup>
2. Exclusion of “picture-brides”
3. Rigorous exclusion of Japanese as immigrants
4. Confirmation and legalization of the policy that Asiatics shall be for-

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22 *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), 1122.

23 McClatchy’s letter is found in House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Percentage Plans for Restriction of Immigration: Hearings on H.R. 5212*, 66th Cong., 1st sess., 13 June 1919, 29-36.

24 This document is found in *Japanese Pamphlets 2*, California State Library, Sacramento, California. For the evidence that McClatchy was an original creator of the five principles, see McClatchy, *The Germany of Asia*, 36. When these five principles were reported in the *San Francisco Examiner* four days later, the sixth principle was shown with other five principles. It said, “Provide such labor as may be necessary for the development and prosperity of the country, and which cannot be had here or secured from desirable immigration, by bringing in Chinese for a fixed term of years, confining their activities to certain localities [*sic*] and certain industries so that they cannot offer an economic menace to American labor; and send them back to China when they need for their services has ceased.” “Jap Menace Put Before Sacramento,” *San Francisco Examiner*, 24 August 1919, 16.

25 McClatchy was a member of the Sacramento Chamber of Commerce. McClatchy to Chamber of Commerce, 4 October 1911, Sacramento Bee, Letter Book, V.S. McClatchy, Personal, 09/04/1911~08/17/1912: 83, Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center, Sacramento, California (hereafter cited as McClatchy Letter Book); *Sacramento City Directory* (Sacramento, California: Larking Printing Co., 1926), 8.

26 For more information on Gentlemen’s Agreement, see Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: The Free Press, 1988), 69-72.

ever barred from American citizenship.

5. Amendment of Section One of Article XIV of the Federal Constitution providing that no child born in the United States of foreign parents shall be considered an American citizen unless both parents are of a race that is eligible to citizenship.

Joseph M. Inman began to organize the anti-Japanese campaign after McClatchy presented the five principles. On August 29, he called a meeting to organize the exclusionist movement against the Japanese.<sup>27</sup> On September 5, about a hundred American citizens representing various parts of Northern California responded to his call and met in Sacramento. Then, he created the Anti-Japanese Association, the first campaign body for Japanese exclusion in post-World War I California. Inman as the chairman of the Association began to carry out a statewide anti-Japanese campaign in California.<sup>28</sup> He continued as chairman even after the Association was reorganized on October 27 as California Oriental Exclusion League.<sup>29</sup> Inman's Anti-Japanese Association adopted McClatchy's five principles as its general goals on September 29, when it held the second meeting in Stockton, about sixty kilometers south of Sacramento.<sup>30</sup> Other state organizations, such as California State Federation of Labor and Placer County Federation of Women's Club,

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27 "Jap Menace Is to Be Fought," *San Francisco Examiner*, 30 August 1919, 1.

28 "Move to Keep Out Asiatics Is Under Way," *San Francisco Examiner*, 6 September 1919, 1; "Educational Campaign to Halt Japanese Invasion Is Decided Upon at Meeting," *Sacramento Bee*, 6 September 1919, 1.

29 Inman called a meeting of the executive committee of his Anti-Japanese Association on the 27th. After this meeting, his Association began to be called "California Oriental Exclusion League." At this meeting, the plan to take anti-Japanese actions with American Legion and other organizations which had declared their support for Japanese exclusion was discussed. "Governor Urged to Include Anti-Japanese Action," *Sacramento Bee*, 27 October 1919, 1; "Anti-Japanese Society Demands Prompt Action," *Sacramento Bee*, 28 October 1919, 1; and "Stephens to Be Asked for Two Sessions," *San Francisco Examiner*, 28 October 1919, 1. Inman played a role of leadership in this organization even in July 1920. *Japanese Immigration Hearings*, 334.

30 "To Put Anti-Japanese Laws on Ballot by the Initiative," *Stockton Daily Evening Record*, 30 September 1919, 7.

adopted the same principles.<sup>31</sup> American Legion and California Farm Bureau Federation set similar principles as the goals of their activities for Japanese exclusion.<sup>32</sup>

Inman also led the anti-Japanese campaign in NSGW. On September 15, 1919, he submitted an anti-Japanese resolution incorporating McClatchy's five principles in the meeting of the Sunset Parlor, a branch office of NSGW in Sacramento. Shortly after the Sunset Parlor adopted his resolution, he sent it to the president of NSGW, William P. Caubu,<sup>33</sup> and requested its distribution to other branch offices of NSGW in order to ask for their endorsement.<sup>34</sup> With Inman's initiative, many NSGW branch offices in California adopted the resolution and eventually supported the movement.<sup>35</sup>

Native Sons in Los Angeles and San Francisco followed Inman's action and formed their own organizations for Japanese exclusion in their cities. In early November, some members of NSGW met in Los Angeles and created the Anti-Asiatic Committee. On November 15, they established the Los Angeles County Anti-Asiatic Association out of that committee, incorporating representatives of many other organizations to coordinate anti-Japanese activities in the area. William I. Traeger, a Native Son and Sheriff of Los Angeles

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31 California State Federation of Labor, *Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the California State Federation of Labor* (1919), 16–17; “Women Join War against Jap Invasion,” *San Francisco Examiner*, 30 October 1919, 6. Daniels lists the names of other organizations that adopted McClatchy's five principles, such as Fourteen Counties Association of the Sacramento Valley, Americanization League of the San Joaquin Valley and Alien Regulation League of Imperial Valley, in his work, *Politics of Prejudice*, 84.

32 American Legion, *Committee Reports and Resolutions Adopted at the First National Convention of the American Legion, November 10, 11 and 12, 1919* (Minneapolis), 37–38; *Japanese Immigration Hearings*, 942.

33 Caubu was an attorney in San Francisco. *NSGW Proceedings* (1944), 178; Baily Millard, *History of the San Francisco Bay Region: History and Biography*, vol. 2 (1924; reprint: Tokyo: Hon-no-Tomosha, 2003), 23.

34 “Entertains Daughters,” *Grizzly Bear* (Oct. 1919): 18–19; “Native Sons Urge Japanese Exclusion,” *Sacramento Bee*, 2 October 1919, 3.

35 “Native Sons and Daughters Act against Japanese,” *Sacramento Bee*, 28 October 1919, 28.



County,<sup>36</sup> was elected Chairman of the Association and became a central figure in the anti-Japanese movement in the southern part of California.<sup>37</sup> In San Francisco, the members from twenty-seven NSGW branch offices gathered on November 19 and established the NSGW Anti-Japanese Committee. The Committee elected Waldo F. Postel, Attorney in San Francisco,<sup>38</sup> its chairman.<sup>39</sup> Two days later, the Committee called the second meeting with delegates from NSGW branch offices of San Francisco and its vicinity, and it unanimously adopted a plan of action to prevent further emigration from Japan.<sup>40</sup>

### III. Developing the Movement

Native Sons took the lead in expanding the anti-Japanese movement around the country. On August 7, 1920, Phelan called a meeting in San Francisco to have a thorough discussion of the Japanese situation. He had been concerned about the increasing influence of the Japanese in California and wanted to coordinate all the groups actively involved in the anti-Japanese movement in the state.<sup>41</sup> Phelan's call brought about a statewide conference at the Native Sons' Hall on September 2, 1920, with the delegates of all the anti-Japanese organizations in the state. This conference established the Japanese Exclusion League of California and decided to initiate a national "campaign of education" to expound the necessity of Japanese exclusion to people of other states, especially on the East Coast, in united action among the dele-

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36 Traeger served as the sheriff for twelve years from 1921 to 1932. He assumed many civic duties, such as Deputy United States Marshal, 1903-1906; Deputy Sheriff, 1907-1910; and Deputy Clerk of the California Supreme Court in the southern part of California until 1921. He was even elected to the House of Representatives from California in 1932. From 1921 to 1922, he served as President in NSGW. "W. I. Traeger, Noted Sheriff, Dies; Rites Set," *San Francisco Examiner*, 21 January 1935, 1; *NSGW Proceedings* (1921), 137-39.

37 "Big Force Organize to Rout Japanese," *Grizzly Bear* (December 1919): 22.

38 "Waldo F. Postel," *Grizzly Bear* (April 1922): Supplement 3.

39 "Immediate Present Time to Protect White Race," *Grizzly Bear* (December 1919): 24; "N.S.G.W. Plan War Japs' Influx," *San Francisco Examiner*, 20 November 1919, 9.

40 "Expulsion of Japs Plan of Native Sons," *San Francisco Examiner*, 22 November 1919, 3.

41 "Phelan Heads Move to Stir Whole Nation," *San Francisco Examiner*, 8 August 1920, 1-2.

gates.<sup>42</sup> Native Sons accounted for a large portion of the officers and executive members of this newly established anti-Japanese organization. Inman was appointed President of the League and Traegar one of the five vice-presidents. About a half of all twenty-five officers and executive committee members were Native Sons.<sup>43</sup> McClatchy was chosen as “special emissary to represent the League in Washington D.C.” to confer directly with the federal government regarding Japanese immigration.<sup>44</sup> As a representative from the anti-Japanese organization, McClatchy made direct appeals for Japanese exclusion to the federal government by meeting Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes, on May 6, 1921.<sup>45</sup>

A prominent Native Son, Hiram W. Johnson, joined the anti-Japanese movement in California in April 1921. Until this time, he neither took any significant action for Japanese exclusion nor assumed any prominent posts in the Japanese Exclusion League of California, but in the spring of 1921 he began to work for Japanese exclusion and made efforts to expand the movement beyond California. He urged the creation of an organization composed of one Senator and one Representative from eleven western states – Idaho, Montana, Utah, Colorado, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oregon and Washington (10 states plus California) –, and called for united action among these states to deal with the Japanese immigration problems.<sup>46</sup>

The plan of uniting western states for Japanese exclusion was first intro-

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42 “No Compromise on Jap Question,” *Grizzly Bear* (Oct. 1920): 24; “New League Is Formed to Oppose Japs,” *San Francisco Examiner*, 3 September 1920, 1; “League Fights Any Compromise with Japanese,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 September 1920, 4.

43 At the time of this paper’s submission, 12 of 25 officers and executive committee members of the League belonged to NSGW. The list of the members is found on the head of the letter, Joseph A. Garry to Phelan, 14 May 1921, James D. Phelan Papers, Box 63, Folder: The Japanese Exclusion League of California, 1920–1924, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter cited as Phelan Papers).

44 “West Unites in Campaign against Japs,” *San Francisco Examiner*, 23 November 1920, 3.

45 George R. Burnett, “Excluding the Japanese: The Politics of Diplomacy 1908–1924” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1991), 137–38.

46 “Californians in Senate Open Drive on Japs,” *San Francisco Examiner*, 19 April 1921, 1. Nebraska and Montana joined this organization in May 1921, when Johnson announced its members. Totally twelve western states agreed to take anti-Japanese actions with California. “Leaders Named in Jap Fight,” *San Francisco Examiner*, 5 May 1921, 1.

duced in the executive committee of the League shortly after its foundation.<sup>47</sup> However, it was not carried into practice at that time. It solidified two months later, when the chairman of the committee, John S. Chambers, State Controller, sent letters to the Governors, United States Senators, Congressmen and legislators of the eleven western states for the purpose of organizing a "Western Federation of States in opposition to the Japanese 'menace.'"<sup>48</sup> Chambers was not a Native Son because he was a white person not born in California, but he was working very closely with McClatchy as an editor of the *Sacramento Bee* before he was appointed State Controller by then Governor Hiram W. Johnson in 1912.<sup>49</sup> Chambers shared many of McClatchy's anti-Japanese views. For example, both of them took the view that Japan acted like Germany, an aggressor nation which fought against the United States during World War I, and called the country "Germany of Asia" in their anti-Japanese arguments.<sup>50</sup>

To expand the anti-Japanese movement to other states, NSGW became a financial supporter for the Japanese Exclusion League of California. In October 1920, as a member of the executive committee of the League, NSGW President James F. Hoey requested the members to make a contribution to the movement.<sup>51</sup> In February 1921, the financial committee of the League appealed to the people of California to raise 200,000 dollars for its education

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47 "South Pledges Anti-Asiatic Bill Support," *San Francisco Examiner*, 24 September 1920, 4.

48 "Western Men Solid against Japs, California Exclusion Plan Approved, Would Unite All Organization," *San Francisco Examiner*, 1 December 1920, 2; "Anti-Japanese League Would Extend Scope," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 19 November 1920, 1.

49 Chambers was born in Kentucky in 1867 and moved to California around 1893. After he retired from public office in 1921, he worked as a manager of the Sacramento branch of the Bank of Italy, present Bank of America. McClatchy had great confidence in Chambers for his business skills and ability in the Editorial Department of the *Sacramento Bee*. "John S. Chambers, Banker, Ex-Newspaper Man and Official, Dies," *Sacramento Bee*, 19 November 1923, 1 and 15; V. S. McClatchy to C. K. McClatchy, 2 January 1913, McClatchy Letter Book, 08/19/1912~08/29/1913: 204.

50 "Japs Gross Violators of Land Laws, Says Chambers, 'Peaceful Penetration' Forces Out White Citizens," *San Francisco Examiner*, 25 January 1920, N1-N2.

51 *NSGW Proceedings* (1921), 79-80; "Vote and Work for Alien Land Law," *Grizzly Bear* (Nov. 1920), 6.

campaign.<sup>52</sup> Phelan immediately contributed five hundred dollars to the League.<sup>53</sup> In April 1922, NSGW passed a resolution in the annual meeting and donated one thousand dollars per year to the League.<sup>54</sup> Even after the League was reorganized as California Joint Immigration Committee,<sup>55</sup> NSGW's donation continued. This contribution continued until 1946, although the amount of the donation was reduced to five hundred dollars in 1927<sup>56</sup> and to two hundred fifty dollars in 1932.<sup>57</sup> The amount of money that NSGW paid during the twenty-six years from 1920 to 1946 totaled more than eleven thousand dollars. None of the other three anti-Japanese state organizations provided so large an amount of money as NSGW did for their goals of the complete exclusion of the Japanese from the United States.

Olaf A. Tveitmoe took leadership of Native Sons in the anti-Japanese movement in California after World War I. Tveitmoe, as President of the Asiatic Exclusion League, organized the anti-Japanese movement with his Building Trades Council of California and other labor unions in San Francisco for several years from May 1907. At the annual convention of his organization held on March 21, 1921, he argued that his labor organization

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52 "Anti-Jap Leaders Plan to Meet to Discuss Fund," *San Francisco Call and Post*, 3 February 1921, 1; "17 Cal. Counties Plan Anti-Jap Meetings," *San Francisco Call and Post*, 8 February 1921, 6; "Contribute," *Grizzly Bear* (February 1921): 5; John S. Chambers, "Japs Will Triumph over California Unless Funds Are Put Up Educational Campaign," *Grizzly Bear* (February 1921): 5.

53 Phelan often made monetary contributions for the anti-Japanese movement in California. He sent one thousand dollars to Inman in October 1919, when he organized California Oriental Exclusion League. He also offered the same amount of money to McClatchy and other members of the Japanese Exclusion League of California who worked in Washington D.C. to push the immigration bill which made complete exclusion of the Japanese from the United States possible in March 1924. "Curb Japs Now, Phelan Pleads," *San Francisco Examiner*, 27 October 1919, 1; Frank C. Tracey to Phelan, 23 February 1921; Joseph A. Garry to Phelan, 5 March 1924, Phelan Papers, Box 63, Folder: The Japanese Exclusion League of California, 1920-1924.

54 *NSGW Proceedings* (1922), 157-58.

55 *NSGW Proceedings* (1926), 124-25; "Confer on Jap Situation," *Grizzly Bear* (December 1923): 25.

56 *NSGW Proceedings* (1927), 142-43.

57 *NSGW Proceedings* (1932), 100.

should continue their fight against the Japanese. Tveitmoe said:

Fifteen and eighteen years ago, when this State Council led in the fight against the Japanese people [those] who did not care thought it was a labor question. They left it to labor to finance and dig. We dug and told them and they listened and smiled for fifteen years. Then they began to arouse; they sat up and rubbed their eyes, and now the Native Sons are in the lead.<sup>58</sup>

Considering these facts, my research clearly indicates that NSGW and its members, Native Sons, were the ones who led the anti-Japanese movement in California after World War I.

#### IV. Native Sons as Key Actors

The present research continues to examine the involvement in the anti-Japanese movement in California by four state organizations: (1) NSGW, (2) American Legion, Department of California, (3) California State Grange, and (4) California State Federation of Labor. As it becomes clear that NSGW and its members, Native Sons, led the anti-Japanese movement, this research attempts to clarify how they came to push for the movement after World War I in cooperation with other three organizations within the historical contexts of the period. Because Native Sons viewed their fathers’ generations as “pioneer fathers” and revered them for their strenuous efforts and accomplishments in opening up the land of American California,<sup>59</sup> they regarded it as extremely important to pass down their memories to the future generations as cultural traditions and historical heritages of the state. Native Sons held strong attachments of the land of California because they believed that they inherited it from their “pioneer fathers” as immediate successors and as-

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58 “Keep Up Fight on Japs; Plea of Tveitmoe,” *San Francisco Examiner*, 22 March 1921, 3.

59 The NSGW members often used the words “pioneer fathers” and “pioneer mothers” to refer to the people of their fathers’ and mothers’ generations. *NSGW Proceedings* (1903), 52; (1910), 230; (1914), 231; (1918), 209; (1922), 164; (1923), 187.

sumed duties to the further prosperity and development of it.<sup>60</sup> In fact, they often described their native state of California in poetic phrases. In 1899, when California went through dramatic agricultural and commercial developments through land development and introduction of intensive farming of fruits and vegetables instead of wheat, they described California as the “Empire Beautiful.”<sup>61</sup> In July 1903, they saw it as the “wonderland of beauty, of sunshine, of happiness, and wealth.”<sup>62</sup> In October 1919, Clarence M. Hunt, a Native Son and Managing Editor of the *Grizzly Bear*, extolled California as “white man’s paradise which God Almighty intended it should always remain.”<sup>63</sup>

By understanding those who led the movement not simply as the “whites” but more specifically as “Native Sons” and also by examining the conditions of the anti-Japanese movement from the viewpoints of Native Sons, this research can provide more detailed and convincing explanations of the way the movement was developed. In addition to the anti-Japanese exclusionists mentioned in this paper, who was working for Japanese exclusion among Native Sons? How did Native Sons carry out the movement with the members of the other three state organizations? Other than anti-Japanese sentiments, were there any common interests? Additionally, why

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60 For the detailed information as to the characteristics of NSGW, see Toyoyuki Fuka, “Neithibu Sanzu obu za Goruden Uesto: Sono Furatanaru Sosaiathi no Shinjo to Katsudo ni tsuiteno Ichikousatsu (Native Sons of the Golden West: The Belief and Activities of the Fraternal Society in California),” *Doshisha American Studies* 40 (March 2005): 73–92. For the information as to the foundation of NSGW, see Peter Thomas Conmy, *The Origin and Purposes of the Native Sons and Native Daughters of the Golden West* (San Francisco: Dolores Press, 1956). For the pictures of NSGW activities, see Richard S. Kimball and Barney Noel, *Native Sons of the Golden West* (Charleston, Sc.: Arcadia, 2005).

61 This expression is taken from a cover page of the early publication of NSGW, *California the Empire Beautiful: Her Great Bays, Harbors, Mines, Orchards, and Vineyards . . . Her Men and Women, A Prophecy of the Coming Race* (San Francisco; Mrs. J.J. Owen, 1899).

62 *California Review* (July 1903): 443.

63 “Would Save California? Then Do Your Duty,” *Grizzly Bear* (October 1919): 8. Hunt also mentioned “California remains what it has always been and God Himself intended it shall always be - the White Man’s Paradise” in “Governor Fails to Uphold Law,” *Grizzly Bear* (March 1920): 4. A similar expression, “White Men’s Country,” is found in *NSGW Proceedings* (1919), 158–59, and “White Men’s Home” in *NSGW Proceedings* (1921), 11.

did NSGW and Native Sons believe they must expand the anti-Japanese movement to the rest of the United States? Why did NSGW and Native Sons advocate the complete exclusion of the Japanese from the United States so eagerly and persistently after World War I? The author believes that exploring into these questions will help to clarify the conditions of the anti-Japanese movement in California.

