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Leah Chan Grinvald

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The concluding chapters focus on the position of multilateral diplomacy at the start of the twenty-first century. The increase in globalization and international transactions that has occurred since the fall of the Soviet Union will force multilateral diplomacy to adapt, as it has in the past, to the ever-changing global arena. In his essay, Ambassador Chen Luzhi suggests that one of the greatest challenges facing multilateral diplomacy is to maintain the effective functioning of sovereign states as the global economy increases and the importance of territorial borders decreases. Noting that the nation-state has not been rendered useless by increased globalization and the abundance of NGOs, Earl Sullivan asserts that although multilateral diplomacy may continue to increase in significance, independent states will preserve the right to use strategic and military action on behalf of their own interests as long as the Westphalian order survives.

Multilateral Diplomacy presents an interesting collection of essays. The book as a whole benefits from the diversity of the contributing authors. For instance, one essay conveys a Russian Ambassador's day-to-day experiences at the U.N., while another presents a Chinese Ambassador's perspective on the importance of state sovereignty. The fact that many of these authors reveal how they go about their jobs serves as an added bonus for the reader who is considering a career in diplomacy. Overall, *Multilateral Diplomacy* should be read by anyone who wants to know how international diplomacy really functions today.

By BRIAN J. ALALU

If They Don't Bring Their Women Here: Chinese Female Immigration Before Exclusion. By George Anthony Peffer. Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1999. Pp. xv, 164. \$35.00 (cloth), \$17.95 (paper).

When the Chinaman comes here and don't bring his wife here, sooner or later he dies like a worn out steam engine; he is simply a machine, and don't leave two or three or half dozen children to fill his place.

—Judge Lorenzo Sawyer

According to George Peffer in *If They Don't Bring Their Women Here*, Judge Sawyer's viewpoint could be one of many rea-

sons why, prior to 1882, the number of Chinese female immigrants to the United States never reached a level proportionate with the Chinese male immigrant population. Given the lack of surviving records, Chinese American historians have speculated and pieced together plausible stories to explain the low numbers of Chinese immigrant women before the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. The traditional reason historians give is that male Chinese immigrants were coming to the United States with a "sojourner" mentality. That is, the sojourner would leave his wife and children with his extended family to keep his ties to his ancestral village. Once his fortune was made overseas, he would return to his village and family and be respected as a wealthy man. The traditional interpretation divides Chinese American history into three periods: 1852 to 1882, a period of voluntary sojourning; 1882 to 1943, a period of forced sojourning; and after 1943, a period of transition from sojourners to families.

Breaking away from traditional thought, Peffer attempts to "unbind" the legacy of Chinese American women by arguing that the United States used the Page Law to exclude almost all Chinese women who tried to enter the country. Peffer also reconceptualizes the history of Chinese female immigration according to four periods: 1852 to 1868, a period of male sojourning; 1869 to 1874, a period of unrestricted family immigration; 1875 to 1882, a period of female exclusion; and post-1882, general exclusion. Using habeas corpus trial transcripts, newspaper accounts, the 1870 and 1880 censuses, and any surviving records of the immigrants themselves, Peffer attempts to tell the untold story of Chinese female immigration during the seven-year period of 1875 to 1882.

The Page Law, named for California Congressman Horace F. Page and adopted in 1875, was "an important step in the transformation of Chinese immigration from a western to a national issue." It was just one of many exclusionary bills that Page had sponsored. Earlier attempts to restrict Chinese immigration in California had been deemed unconstitutional. The courts struck down these anti-immigration laws because they violated the Burlingame Treaty of 1868, which provided for free movement of immigrants between the United States and China.

One of the reasons the Page Law passed and was implemented so effectively was because it played on American fears

and stereotypes of the Chinese. Based largely on newspaper portrayals, Americans viewed Chinese society as decadent and Chinese women as immoral. This ensured popular support for a law that focused on prostitutes, but effectively barred all prospective Chinese female immigrants from entering the country. Since American officials began with a presumption that any Chinese woman attempting to enter the United States was a prostitute, it was extremely difficult to prove otherwise. Interrogation began at the American consulate in Hong Kong, where a prospective immigrant underwent questioning by the consul and was required to produce "character" papers as well as proof of sponsorship by a "moral" Chinese organization. If she passed the inspection, she was allowed to board a ship bound for the United States, where she underwent another inspection. On arrival at the port of entry, officials would often refuse to even let the women off the ships, and simply sent them back. A few women were lucky enough to have families who sought legal assistance, and it is these cases that were documented in the habeas corpus trials that Peffer discusses.

Peffer's last chapter brings his argument full circle. Here, he ties together all the documents and data of the first seven chapters, clearly explicating his view that it was not the Chinese male sojourner mentality that kept Chinese women out of the United States, but gender exclusion under the Page Law. He argues that the Page Law's negative effect on Chinese family immigration resulted accidentally through the misapplication of prevalent anti-Chinese stereotypes. There was no factual basis that all Chinese women were prostitutes, and Peffer points to the fact that all the habeas corpus petitions on behalf of women were successful, despite severely biased judges. *If They Don't Bring Their Women Here* is a well-documented account of the struggles that Chinese women faced in immigrating to the United States during the nineteenth century, and Peffer creates a historical place for these courageous pioneers.

BY LEAH M. CHAN

International Environmental Law Reports: Volume I: Early Decisions. Edited by Cairo A. R. Robb. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Pp. 1, 600. \$130.00.

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