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"I think I am going to fly"

Chinese Pilots Trained in Portland During the 1930s

RESEARCH FILES

by Trish Hackett Nicola

MY JOURNEY to this essay started out with a small newspaper clipping enclosed in the Chinese Exclusion Act case file of Virginia Wong, a Chinese American Pilot. Wong's case file is one of thousands created as a provision of the Chinese Exclusion Act, which are stored at various National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) facilities around the United States.1 During the 1870s and 1880s, the anti-Chinese movement in Oregon mirrored similar movements in the western United States. In 1882, the U.S. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, and it remained in effect until 1943. It excluded Chinese laborers from entering the United States, with the exception of merchants, students, travelers, and wives and children of those with exempt status, and also prevented Chinese who were not born in the United States from becoming naturalized citizens. All Chinese entering and leaving the United States were heavily scrutinized and subjected to a complicated documentation process — American-born Chinese and Chinese nationals alike.

Each time a Chinese person left or reentered the country, the files were updated with current information. These historical documents provide researchers biographical information, but newspaper articles, which usually require additional research, can help fill in the gaps with the human-interest part of the story. Information found in Chinese Exclusion Act files usually includes the person's date and place of birth, names of parents, extended family, education, and at least one photograph. The files can provide rich details about the applicant's life, especially if the U.S. government required witness statements or affidavits from family, friends, and white people — who were considered more reliable sources of information. While the documents are not as comprehensive as a memoir or an oral interview, many Chinese descendants are amazed at what can be found in their relatives' Chinese Exclusion Act files. Sometimes there is a never-before-seen photograph, extended family and neighbor information, descriptions of customs, or maps of their homes and ancestral villages. The files provide snapshots of a person's life at a specific time or over a period of years, depending on how much they traveled outside the United States. It is the daunting process that created Exclusion Act case files that

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AS A PROVISION OF THE 1882 CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT, any person of Chinese ancestry who entered or left the Untied States through 1943 was heavily scrutinized and subjected to a complicated documentation process. This document belonged to U.S. citizen Virginia Wong, who was trained as a pilot in Portland, Oregon.

also led me to learn more about the lives of Chinese pilots who trained in the United States during the 1930s. The pilots' experiences shared in this photo-

graph essay are examples of the stories that can be found in the archives and newspapers — although there are still more stories out there about the Chinese

and Chinese Americans who trained at the flight school in Portland. I hope this study will pique researchers' interests to document more of this history, especially Chinese and Chinese American historians who may have someone in their family or knew someone who was trained as a pilot in Portland.

THE WAR IN CHINA

In 1931, Japan's Kwantung army invaded Manchuria (now mostly Northeast China), an attack that eventually led to the Second Sino-Japanese War from 1937 to 1945 and included World War II.² The Chinese air force was in its infancy — barracks, hangars, and necessary repair facilities were still being constructed — and Japanese soldiers quickly defeated China's ill-equipped and ill-trained armed forces.³ The Chinese government urgently needed to build up its army and air force, and searched for places around the world, including cities in the United States, to train Chinese pilots. Although the Chinese Exclusion Act was still in effect, the



TWELVE OF THE GRADUATES of the Swan Island training school who became officers in the air force in Canton are shown here all dressed up and ready to fly planes. Top row, left to right: Arthur Chin, John K. Wong, Louis Loy, Lim S. Kwong, Tom H. Young, Ralph Chang. Bottom row, left to right: Bob Ong, Millard Chung (who was killed while practicing bombing), Sam Chong, Charles Sue, Moy Gee, Peter Huie.

Photograph property of the Oregonian Publishing Co.



CHINESE STUDENTS in the Adcox Aviation School in Portland, Oregon, pose in front of *Student Prince*, their training plane. From left to right: Michael Tom, Millard Chung, Hubert Leong, Moy Gee (nephew of Chinese consul at Portland, Moy Back Hin), Edward Wong, Ralph Chang, and Sam Chang. This image appeared on page 61 of the *Sunday Oregonian* on January 11, 1931.

U.S. government was concerned about Japan's aggressive behavior toward China and was willing to assist in improvements to China's military defense with hopes of avoiding any possible future war with Japan.⁴ Douglas Aircraft, an American company, manufactured and sold twenty airplanes with guns and bomb racks to Chinese authorities in 1931. The United States assisted the Chinese in building an up-to-date aircraft factory, and pilots from the United States and several countries flew in air missions over China.⁵

ADCOX AVIATION SCHOOL IN PORTLAND

In 1929, just prior to Japan's invasion, the Chinese Republic had commissioned Chang Tien Chieou, the delegate of the ministry of foreign affairs of the Republic of China, to search for a flying school to train pilots and flight instructors in the United States.⁶ Chang met with Chinese consul Moy Back Hin and visited the Adcox School of Aviation in Portland. After touring several aviation schools in the United States, the Chinese Nationalist government awarded a contract to the Adcox School to train Chinese students in aviation. The first Chinese students arrived in January 1930, and after completing their training, the pilots returned to teach students in aviation in China.⁷ The following year, American Chinese organized the Chinese Flying Club of Portland to support two classes of students at the Adcox School of Aviation. One of the training airplanes at the school, the *Student Prince*, was designed by Lieutenant Basil B. Smith and built by the First National Flying System, both of Portland.⁸

CHINESE FLYING CLUB OF PORTLAND

Following Japan's 1931 invasion, Chinese Americans denounced the aggressive actions of the Japanese and wanted to help the citizens of their native country.9 Branches of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) sprang up around the country to help raise funds for China.10 In Portland, Dr. Chan Lam and Dr. Ting D. Lee made passionate speeches to raise money for an aviation school to recruit and train Chinese pilots. Chinese all over the world donated more than \$20,000 in support of the Chinese Flying Club of Portland. Prominent Portland business owners Joe Shoong, Moy Chung Wai (Mo Chong Way), and Moy Back Hin were also strong supporters of the project.¹¹ In the winter of 1931, the first students recruited by the Chinese Flying Club of Portland began training at the Adcox School of Aviation. The flight school operated at the airfield at Portland's Swan Island Municipal Airport, which was a joint civil-military airport in the Overlook neighborhood. The school trained thirty-six pilots over two terms, and twenty-five returned to China after graduation to serve in the air force. The first group went to China in August 1932 and the second group went in January 1933.12 Among those were Arthur Chin and Wong Pan-Yang (John K. Wong, John P.Y. Hwang), who later became war heroes.¹³ Hazel Ying Lee, one of the first Chinese American women to fly for the U.S. military, and Virginia Wong were also trained at the Portland aviation school.14

VIRGINIA WONG

Although Virginia Wong was born in Portland, Oregon, her parents were both Chinese citizens, making her subject to the provisions of the Chinese Exclusion Act, including submitting documentation to prove her eligibility to reenter the country when she traveled. When twenty-one-year-old Wong applied to leave Portland on a trip to China, her 1933 application for a Native's Return Certificate in her Chinese Exclusion Act case file seemed unremarkable until the examining inspector asked her why she was going to China. She said: "I think I am going to fly." Wong had finished her preliminary instruction as a pilot and expected to finish her training in China. There were no further questions about her training or what her plans were once she got to China. Her trip to China was approved.

Through Wong's file, I learned that before her flight training, she was involved in the theatre. A file was created in 1929 when she applied to go to Canada with a theatrical troupe of five other Chinese girls. The troupe also toured New York City and many cities across the United States. In 1933, Wong was on her way to China with hopes to finish her flight training and join their air force. A newspaper clipping added to Wong's Exclusion Act case file filled in details about her life. On June 3, 1935, the *Oregonian* published a letter to the editor written by her sister, Elizabeth Wong, notifying the paper of an error in how it reported Virginia's death. As noted in her sister's letter, Virginia died in the fall of 1934 at Nanchang while serving as a commissioned lieutenant in the National Commission of Aeronautical Affairs. She was buried at the National Cemetery of the Air Force at Nanking. The state of the care of the care of the paper of the Air Force at Nanking.

ARTHUR CHIN (CHIN SUEY TIN)

Arthur Chin was born in Portland in 1913. After training at the Chinese American Aviation School, he applied to visit China in August 1932 to visit his sick grandmother. A few months later, in 1933, he enlisted as a fighter pilot for the Chinese Air Force to fight in the Second Sino-Japanese War. In 1936, Chin and four other pilots were selected for advanced flight training in Germany. On December 1, 1938, Chin was promoted to Major in the Cantonese Air Force. Before long, he became a war hero.

His record in combat with Japanese planes showed: eight destroyed, one shared destroyed, two damaged, and one shared damaged.¹⁹

Although Chin was born in Portland, he lost his U.S. citizenship when he joined the Chinese Air Force. He married in China, and his two sons were born in Hong Kong. Because of his lost citizenship, his sons, Gilbert, and Stephen, were not considered U.S. citizens. Chin's wife, Eva Wu (Ng Yue-ying), was killed in the war, and he was injured with severe burns.20 In July 1942, Chin returned to the United States, where he was hospitalized for over two years in Miami, Florida. In 1944, his 1922 certificate of identification from his Chinese Exclusion Act case file was returned to him. The Chinese Air Force released him from service in February 1945 as a war hero.²¹ He was officially discharged from the Chinese

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ARTHUR CHIN (CHIN SUEY TIN), was born in Portland, Oregon, and trained at the Chinese American Aviation School. In August 1932, he applied to visit his sick grandmother in China. This form, required by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, documents his physical appearance, and includes a photograph and his signature in English and Chinese.

Airforce on March 1, 1945, and he was repatriated in July 1945 in the U.S. District Court, Portland, Oregon. That year, Chin also began flying for the Chinese National Aviation Corporation (CNAC), an airline owned by Pan Am Airlines and based in Calcutta, India. There he worked under contract for the U.S. Army Air Forces, flying supplies to troops in the China-Burma-India theater. CNAC pilots who flew routes

across the Himalayas in poor weather and threats of attacks were considered some of the most skilled pilots during the war.²² After his aviation career, Chin became a postal worker in Portland, and in May 2008, House Resolution 5220 was unanimously approved to name a U.S. Post Office in Aloha, Oregon, "Major Arthur Chin Post Office Building."²³

JOHN PAN-YANG HWANG (JOHN KEE WONG; WONG PAN-YANG)

Hwang Pan-Yang was born in Canton, China. He came to Seattle, Washington, in 1919 and lived above the Kwong Mun Yuen Company at 701 King Street with his parents.²⁴ He moved to Portland in 1931 and received a private pilot's license at the Adcox School of Aviation, also referred to in newspaper reports as the Portland Flying School. In 1932, he and his classmates left for China to join the Guangdong (Cantonese) Provincial Air Force. He trained in air-to-air gunnery in Germany, and later he became commanding officer of the 17th Pursuit Squadron of the 5th Pursuit Group with the Chinese Central Air Force. Wong's biplane victory record showed: he had one destroyed, and three shared destroyed. His Boeing 281 victory record was three destroyed, three shared destroyed, and one damaged.²⁵ In 1942, the Chinese Nationalist government appointed him to the Chinese Embassy in London as the Air Attaché.²⁶ Hwang, his wife, and their eight-month-old son, Shao-Wei, caused a sensation when they arrived in New York City on a Pan American Airways flight originating in China. Because of the war, the airplane did not take a direct route. They stopped in Calcutta, India, Cairo, Egypt, Lagos, Nigeria, and Natal, South Africa, before landing in New York at LaGuardia airport. Infant Shao-Wei became a favorite of the crew and the press. There were articles and photos of him published in newspapers around the United States.²⁷ It is not known how long Hwang worked for the embassy, or stayed in London, or if he returned to the United States or China. Although some sources say he returned to the United States after World War II, no records have been found to substantiate this claim.²⁸

HAZEL YING LEE (LEE YUET YING)

Hazel Ying Lee was one of the first Chinese American woman to obtain her pilot's license in the United States, and one of the first Chinese American women to fly for the U.S. military.²⁹ Lee and Virginia Wong were the only Chinese American women trained in Portland's flight school. Their instructor, Al Greenwood, praised their flying aptitude; they went through the same training as the men and were equal in flying ability and resourcefulness. In a retrospective article in 1935, the *Oregonian* described Lee as the "flying Joan D'Arc of China."³⁰ Lee's Chinese Exclusion Act case file, however, does not mention her pilot training, but includes several photos and a copy of her birth certificate.³¹ She left the United States for China in March 1932, and she tried to join the Chinese Air Force to fight against Japan. Although China needed pilots, they would not hire her because she was a woman. Instead, she took a desk job and flew occasionally for a commercial company.³² While in Shanghai, China, Lee's application for a certificate of identity

BRITISH CROWN COLONY OF HONG KONG CITY OF VICTORIA CONSULATE GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA Before me, F. C. Fornes, Jr., Consul of the United States of America in and for the consular district of Hong Kong, duly commissioned and qualified, appeared an individual who gave her name as LEE Yut-ying alias Hazel LEE, whose photograph is affixed hereto under the seal of this Consulate General, and who being duly sworn, deposes and says: My full and correct name is LEE Yut-ying alias Hazel LEE: I am an American citizen by birth at Portland, Oregon, on August 25, 1912; I last left the United States through the port of Seattle, Washington, on March 4, 1935, on the S.S. PRESIDENT TAFT: Before I left the United States my American citizen-ship was preinvestigated by the immigration authorities and a citizen's return certificate on Form 430 was issued to In June or July, 1933, I was residing in my father's native village in Toyahan District, Kwangtung Province, China, when I received word from a friend that all my belongings, including my Form 430, which I had left in Shanghai, had been destroyed by fire; I therefore make this affidavit to set forth my claim to American citizenship and to enable me to purchase steamship passage to the United States; AND FURTHER deponent saith not. Yut-ying (Hazel LEE Subscribed and sworn to before me this 8th day of September, 1937. Jr., Fornes, Consul of the United States of America. sittend to sevirize, Innoisen ert in beoutongel

IN THIS LETTER included in her Chinese Exclusion Act file, Hazel Ying Lee attests in 1937 to her U.S. citizenship after living in China for four years and having all of her documentation destroyed in a fire.

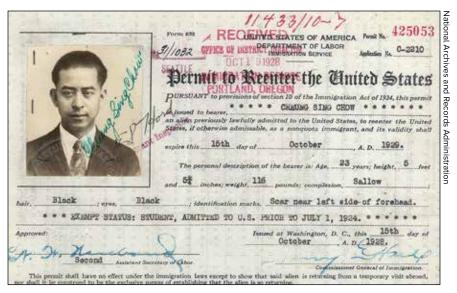
and all her belongs were destroyed in a fire, and she applied for a replacement application so she would not have any trouble re-entering the United States. Lee returned to the United States in 1938.

In 1943, Lee joined the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP) program at Avenger Airfield near Sweetwater, Texas, and was in the first group of women pilots to complete the training course.³³ WASP was a civilian organization established after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. When the United States entered World War II, women pilots were recruited to fly newly manufactured aircraft from the factories to training bases or to docks to be shipped abroad to free male pilots for combat. The women were civilians and considered part of the United States federal civil service and had no military standing. They flew under military command but received no military benefits. On October 9, 1943, Hazel Ying Lee and Major Clifford Louie, her classmate from the aviation school in Portland, were married at the Marble Collegiate Church in New York City.³⁴

While ferrying a fighter plane from New York to Great Falls, Montana, in November 1944, Lee was severely injured when avoiding an aborted landing in Great Falls. She died a few days later at the age of thirty-two. She was the last woman pilot to die in the WASP program.³⁵ A few days later her brother, Victor Lee, was killed in combat in France while serving with the U.S. Tank Corps. The Lee family wanted to bury the siblings beside each other at Riverview Cemetery in Portland, Oregon, but were told that Asians were not permitted in the white section. The cemetery eventually relented after a fight.³⁶

AL GREENWOOD, FLIGHT INSTRUCTOR IN PORTLAND

Al Greenwood was an instructor for the class of thirty-six Chinese and Chinese American pilots trained at Swan Island airfield — thirty of them became officers in the Chinese army air corps. Greenwood bragged that they were "among the best pilots the Chinese have."37 Greenwood was a veteran aviator in Portland, and he was proud to tell anyone and everyone that he trained the first two classes in the program. In a 1937 Oregonian article, Greenwood said: "Chinese are apt . . . pilots and apply themselves whole-heartedly to the task of earning their wings." Four of the best pilots in the 1935 class were William Young of New York, Clifford Louie and Harry Low of Seattle, and Mai Euon Lam of Portland.³⁸ Greenwood explained that each student had accumulated forty-five hours of flying, including "ten hours of stunts, spins, loops, vertical rolls, barrel rolls, vertical reversements, wing-overs, slow rolls, and Immelmann turns." And each one had to make their solo flight.³⁹ Greenwood was also very proud that he learned under the tutelage of "Tex" Rankin — a well-known aerobatic pilot, barnstormer, air racer, and flight instructor from the 1920s to the 1940s — and had more than 2,500 solo hours in his credit. "Tex" Rankin began flying in 1913, when airplanes were still considered an oddity.40 Greenwood went on to be inspector for the state board of aeronautics. Other pilots training the students at the school were Charles Hanst, Charles Mears, and Dick Rankin.41



MILLARD CHUNG (CHEUNG SING CHOW)'S 1929 permit to reenter the United States was included in his Chinese Exclusion Act case file. The card notes his exempt status as a student who was admitted to the country prior to July 1924.

THE OTHER CHINESE PILOTS

After they left the flight school, seventeen students went to Shanghai to enter the air force of the national government of northern China. They included Millard Chung (Cheung Sing Chow), Mai Euon Lam, and Lt. (later Major) Clifford Louie (Louie Yim Goon). Several became flight instructors.

MILLARD CHUNG / CHEUNG (CHEUNG SING CHOW)

Millard Chung (Cheung Sing Chow) was born in 1905 in Sah Fooy Village, Xinhui (新會 Sun Wei or Sunwui) China, and arrived in the United States at the Port of Seattle in 1922, with a destination of Portland, where he was admitted as a student. He attended Atkinson public school, then High School of Commerce in Portland, where he completed a bookkeeping course. He worked in a fish cannery during his school vacations. The interviews in the Chinese Exclusion Act case files sometimes give us personal information about the file's subject that we might not overwise know. One of Chung's teachers, Henry F. Baldwin, said in his Chinese Exclusion Act case file witness statement for Millard that he was an "A" student, and he did not smoke or have bad habits. The principal of his high school, J.F. Elton, also testified that he was a boy "whose attitude was always right. He gave us no trouble." These white witnesses were thought to be more credible than Chinese witnesses. In 1928, he applied to leave the United States to visit his parents in China, and he returned to Portland the next year. ⁴² Chung spoke excellent English and was the Adcox School

class spokesman.⁴³ While attempting to qualify for an expert dive-bomber rating, Chung dove too close to the ground in his Voight Corsair biplane and crashed. He did not survive.⁴⁴

MAI EUON LAM (LIM (LAM) MAI)

According to his Chinese Exclusion Act case file, Mai Euon Lam was born in 1913 in Canton, China, and arrived at the Port of Seattle in December 1922 as a student. He lived with his brother, Lam Yuk Tsun (a.k.a. Y.T. Lam), in Tacoma, Washington, before moving to Portland in 1925. Mai graduated from Lincoln High School in 1931.⁴⁵ In 1932, he gave up his classes in pharmacy and chemistry in the North Pacific College to join the pilot training school at Swan Island airport. In his Chinese Exclusion Act case file, Charles W. Abbott, a witness and one of his teachers, said Mai was a very good student.⁴⁶ In 1937, Mai was a chief test pilot for the Chinese



MAI EUON LAM'S Exclusion Act case file included this 1938 return permit and photograph.

central government's air force. In a letter to his brother Y.T. Lam, a Portland naturopath, Mai said his pilot school classmate, John Key Wong (a.k.a. Wong Pan-Yang, Hwang Pan-Yang), broke the world's record of shooting down two Japanese bombers in two minutes. Mai reported on others from his Portland flight course: Bill Young became an instructor; Harry Low and Art Chin both had shot down a plane; Chin's plane was also shot down, but he landed in a rice field and was fine. Lok-Ye-Kim (Louis Wing Chong) held the highest single record at the time.⁴⁷ All together the Portland-trained pilots shot down more than sixty Japanese planes. 48 Mai was shot down over Nanchong, China, in December 1937 and died from his injuries.49

CLIFFORD LOUIE (LOUIE YIM GOON) (LOUIE YIM-QUN)

Clifford Louie was born in China and came to the United States to attend public school in Seattle, Washington. In 1931, Clifford joined his cousin, Frank Louie, in Portland to enroll in the flight school. In 1933, he returned to China to join the air force. He did so well that he was appointed chief pilot to Gen. Chiang Kai-Shek.⁵⁰ He had a stellar military career. In 1937, he joined the 28th Fighter Squadron of the 5th Fighter Group and became their Deputy Squadron Leader and then their commander in 1937. He was made a Major and served as a pilot in the Chinese army. In 1942, he entered the U.S. Army's Staff and Command College in the United

States.⁵¹ As noted above, Louie and his classmate from aviation school in Portland, Hazel Ying Lee, were married in 1943 at the Marble Collegiate Church in New York City.⁵² After the tragic loss of his wife, Louie continued with his studies. In 1945, he became an instructor for Allied pilots. He served as a member of China's Military Commission in Japan after the Japanese surrendered in 1945. He served in Taiwan in the 1950s and 1960s and eventually became deputy commander-in-chief of the Chinese Air Force. He retired from the military in 1974.⁵³ In 1946, he married Pearl Lowe, and they had three children together.⁵⁴

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hazel_ying/#.X57bv4hKiUk (accessed October 31, 2020).

- 15. "Virginia Wong, Native's Return Certificate Application," 1933, CEA case files, Wong Quai Yin (Virginia Wong), Portland file, box 96, case 5017/723, [hereafter Virginia Wong CEA case 5017/723], NARA-Seattle.
- 16. Letter from District Director of Immigration to Virginia Wong, June 24, 1930, Virginia Wong CEA case 5017/723, NARA-Seattle.
- 17. "How Virginia Wong Died," *Oregonian*, June 3, 1935, CEA case file, Virginia Wong, Seattle file, box 410, case 7030/146, NARA-Seattle.
- 18. Michael Little, "World War 2 Flying Ace Arthur Chin's Amazing True Story," October 7, 2015, Disciples of Flight, https://disciplesofflight.com/world-war-2-flying-ace-arthur-chin (accessed September 27, 2021).
- 19. Gustavsson "Biplane Fighter Aces: China," Major 'Arthur' 'Art' Chin Shui-Tin.
- 20. Little, "World War 2 Flying Ace Arthur Chin's Amazing True Story."
- 21. Applicants typically took certificates of identification with them unless the applicant was not planning to return to the United States, in which case the certificate is kept by the office. In correspondence between Seattle's and Portland's immigration offices that Chin's application was approved favorably and they were sending his certificate of identification to them with the other papers. It is unclear why the office held his certificate. "Correspondence #1209-614," 1950, CEA case file, Chin Suey Tin (Arthur Chin), box 102, case 1209/614, [hereafter Arthur Chin CEA case 1209/614], NARA-Seattle; "Chinese Set to Go Back," *Oregonian*, September 6, 1944, p. 18.
- 22. "An American Born Ace," https://www.faa.gov/about/history/pioneers/media/Arthur_Chin.pdf (accessed November 9, 2021).
- 23. Little, "World War 2 Flying Ace Arthur Chin's Amazing True Story"; "Arthur Chin, repatriation," Arthur Chin CEA case 1209/614, NARA-Seattle. Arthur Chin's grandson, John Gong, inherited his grandfather's entire Chinese Air Force and China National Aviation Corporation collection from 1932–1950 but found out information about his grandfather from the Chinese Exclusion Act case file that he'd never

- known including a photograph that he and his family had never seen. Readers can access a note from Gong on "Chinese Exclusion Case Files," a blog that highlights volunteer efforts to catalog Exclusion Act files at NARA-Seattle, https://chineseexclusionfiles.com/2017/09/13/updateon-arthur-chin-chin-suey-tin-from-his-grandson-john-gong (accessed September 27, 2021).
- 24. Information sheets included with Major and Mrs. John P.Y. Hwang's arrival passenger list, March 24, 1942, arriving New York, New York. "Supplemental Manifests of Alien Passengers and Crew Members Who Arrived on Vessels at New York, New York, Who Were Inspected for Admission, and Related Index, 1887–1952," microfilm publication A3461, NARA.
- 25. He was also known as Hwang Pei-Yang or John Pung-Yung Hwang. Gustavsson, "Biplane Fighter Aces: China, 'John' Wong Pan-Yang." A Boeing 281 was the export version of Boeing P-26A Peashooter and was primarily used in China and Spain. "Boeing Model 281 Export Fighter," Skytamer images, https://www.skytamer.com/Boeing_281.html (accessed October 31, 2020).
- 26. "Baby Lost at N.Y. Airport after Flight from China," *Morning Omaha World-Herald* (Omaha, Nebraska), April 24, 1942, p. 1.
 - 27. lbid.
- 28. Gustavsson, "Biplane Fighter Aces: China, 'John' Wong Pan-Yang."
- 29. Margie Boule, "Hazel Ying lee's Aerial odyssey Wins its Wings at Long Last," *Oregonian*, April 3, 2003, p. F01; Lee Sig Unander, "Sky's the Limit," *1859 Oregon's Magazine*, November 10, 2016, https://1859oregonmagazine.com/think-oregon/art-culture/hazel-lee (accessed February 5, 2017).
- 30. Webster A. Jones, "Portland-Trained Chinese Flying to Oriental Fame," *Sunday Oregonian*, May 12, 1935, p. 2.
- 31. "Hazel Lee," 1933–1938, CEA case file, Lee Yuet Ying (Hazel Lee), box 582, Seattle case 7030/5149, [hereafter Hazel Lee CEA case 7030/5149, NARA-Seattle.
- 32. Qianyu Sui, "Anna May Wong and Hazel Ying Lee-Two Second-Generation Chinese American Women in World War II" (M.A. thesis, University of Oregon, 2012), 77.
 - 33. Unander, "Sky's the Limit."

- 34. "Chinese Bride and Groom are both Pilots," *Richmond Times Dispatch* (Richmond, Virginia), October 12, 1943, p. 9; "Pilots All", *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City, New Jersey), November 3, 1943, p. 10.
- 35. Margie Boule, "Hazel Ying lee's Aerial odyssey Wins its Wings at Long Last," *Oregonian*, April 3, 2003, p. F01.
- 36. San Diego Air & Space Museum, "Hazel Ying Lee, Aviators," Asian-Americans in Aviation, https://sandiegoairandspace.org/exhibits/online-exhibit-page/asian-americans-in-aviation (accessed May 5, 2017).
- 37. Jones, "Portland-Trained Chinese Flying to Oriental Fame," p. 2.
- 38. Ibid. The October 3, 1937, article, "Prowess of Chinese Fliers Extolled by Ex-Portlander," published in the *Oregonian*, states that there were thirty-two aviators trained by Greenwood. This is probably because four pilots received extra training in other countries.
- 39. "Prowess Pleases Tutor of Fliers," Oregonian, October 4, 1937, p. 4. A vertical reversement is a half snap roll from a steep turn in one direction to a steep tum in the opposite direction. Entry is accomplished from a 60-to-70-degree bank at 90 miles per hour. Flight Manual Edition No. 1, "Aerobatic Maneuvers," Reimsjcessna FRA 150L, November 1971, rev. no 3, August 1973, Aerobatic covers, http://www.takeflightaviation. co.uk/uploads/7/2/0/9/72092367/pilots_ aerobatic_sequence_guide_g-bcku.pdf (accessed Oct 31, 2020). A Wingover is an aerobatic maneuver in which an airplane makes a steep climb, followed by a vertical flat-turn (the plane turns to its side, without rolling, similar to the way a car turns). The maneuver ends with a short dive as the plane gently levels out, flying in the opposite direction from which the maneuver began. "Wingover," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia. org/wiki/Wingover (accessed Oct 31, 2020).
- 40. "'Tex' Rankin," Hall of Fame, Oregon Aviation Hall of Fame, Oregon Aviation Historical Society, https://oregonaviation.org/hall-of-fame (accessed October 31, 2020); "J.G. 'Tex' Rankin," David-Monthan Aviation Field Register, https://dmairfield.org/people/rankin_te/ (accessed November 8, 2021).

- 41. "Prowess of Chinese Fliers Extolled by Ex-Portlander," p. 3.
- 42. U.S. Department of Labor, Immigration Service, Applicant for Reentry Permit as Student, October 5, 1928, pages 1–3, CEA case file, Cheung Sing Chow (Millard Cheung), 1922–1929, box 1148, Seattle case 11433/10-7, NARA-Seattle.
- 43. Gertsman, "Chinese Youths Study Aviation in Portland School," p. 61.
- 44. Jones, "Portland-Trained Chinese Flying to Oriental Fame," p. 2.
- 45. "Application for Return Permit as student, case of Lam Mai," February 8, 1933, CEA case file, Lam Mai (Li (Lam) Mai) (Mai Euom Lam), 1922–1933, box 958, Seattle case 7032/2234 [hereafter Lam Mai CEA case 7032/2234], NARA-Seattle.
- 46. An *Oregonian* article published on May 12, 1935, states that he gave up classes in dentistry, but his Chinese Exclusion Act case file says he studied pharmacy and chemistry. Lam Mai CEA case 7032/2234, NARA-Seattle; Jones, "Portland-Trained Chinese Flying to Oriental Fame," p. 2.
- 47. "Prowess of Chinese Fliers Extolled by Ex-Portlander," *Oregonian*, October 3, 1937, p. 3.
- 48. This figure is from a manual count of the planes shot down by Portland pilots. Gustavsson, "Biplane Fighter Aces: China."
- 49. "Portland Airman Casualty of War," *Oregonian*, January 27, 1938, p. 5.
- 50. Don McLeod, "Chinatown Stirred by Feats of Flying Ace in War Zone," *Oregonian*, September 1, 1937, p. 2.
- 51. Gustavsson, "Biplane fighter Aces: China, General Clifford 'Long Legged' Louie Yim-Qun," http://surfcity.kund.dalnet.se/china. htm (accessed September 27, 2021).
- 52. "Chinese Bride and Groom are both Pilots," p. 9; "Pilots All," p. 10.
- 53. Gustavsson, "Biplane fighter Aces: China, General Clifford 'Long Legged' Louie Yim-Qun."
- 54. "Clifford Louie and Pearl Lowe, 17 Feb 1946," The National Archives of the UK, Kew, Surrey, England; General Register Office: Foreign Registers and Returns; Class: RG 33, piece 19. Yee, Louie, NARA_Riverside, CA #594890 RC 21 Records of the District Courts Petitions for Naturalization.