

125. Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, *U.S. Immigration Policy and the National Interest, Final Report*, 413 (Washington, D.C.: The Commission, 1981) (Statement of Senator Alan K. Simpson, Commissioner).

126. Immigration Act of 1990, Pub. L. 101-649, sec. 141, 104 Stat. 5000 (1990).

127. Major immigration restrictions have generally been preceded by congressional commission reports. See, for example, *Report of the Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration* (1877) (New York: Arno, 1978); S. Doc. No. 758, 51st Cong. 3rd sess. (1911) (report of the Immigration Commission, also known as the Dillingham Commission).

128. See, Memorandum to Organization of Chinese Americans (OCA) National Board, "Federal Anti-Immigrant Legislation," from Daphne Kwok, OCA Executive Director, February 22, 1994 (distributed at Japanese American Citizens League/Organization of Chinese Americans Washington, D.C. Leadership Training Seminar, February 26 - March 2, 1994, on file with author).

129. Arthur C. Helton, "Closing the Golden Door: Anti-Immigration Laws," *The Nation* (October 18, 1993): 428; Jose E. Serrano, "Dehumanizing the Desperate," *New York Newsday* (September 9, 1993): 58; Tim Weiner, "On These Shores, Immigrants Find a New Wave of Hostility," *New York Times* (June 13, 1993): sec. 4; "Not Quite So Welcome Anymore," in *Time*, Special Issue, *The New Face of America: How Immigrants Are Shaping the World's First Multicultural Society* (Fall 1993): 10-12. See also *This Week With David Brinkley*, discussed above.

130. With apologies to white supremacist Lothrop Stoddard for the rearticulation of the title of his book, *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy* (New York: Scribner, 1920), discussed in Daniels, *Politics of Prejudice*, 67-68.

131. Jo and Mast, *Changing Images*. See also *Report of the Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration*.

132. Cong. Globe, 39th Cong., 1st sess. 1056 (1866).

133. Pursuant to the proposed first sentence of the fourteenth amendment, "All persons born in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the States wherein they reside."

134. Cong. Globe, 39th Cong., 1st sess. 2891.

135. Cong. Globe, 40th Cong., 3d sess. 901 (1869). With respect to the question about the "control" of educational institutions, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992) may be relevant.

136. Cong. Globe, 40th Cong., 3d sess. 939-940 (1869).

137. Hing, *Remaking Asian America*, 19. See also Stanford M. Lyman, "The Chinese Before the Courts: Ethnoracial Construction and Marginalization," *International Journal of Politics, Culture & Society* 6, no. 3 (Spring 1993): 443.

138. George Santayana, *The Life of Reason, or The Phases of Human Progress* (D. Cory, ed. 1953), 82, (cited in A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., *Racism in American and South African Courts: Similarities and Differences*, 65 N.Y.U. L. REV. 479, 498 [1990]).

## A Tale of Two Brothers: Jung Oi-Won and Ming S. Jung

Him Mark Lai and Edmund D. Jung

### PROLOGUE

The Zhang (Jung) lineage was said to have begun with Zhang Liang (?-185 B.C.), an important advisor to Liu Bang (256-195 B.C.), the first emperor of the Western Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-24 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> At that time southern China, Guangdong in particular, was a frontier region with vast stretches of jungles and swamps. The region became more developed during the succeeding centuries, but it was not until the Tang Dynasty (618-906) that the government took steps to accelerate the development of Guangdong.

According to the family history of Mingxintang, twenty-four generations after the founding of the clan by Zhang Liang, a descendant, Zhang Shaoliang, was living in Qujiang, northern Guangdong. He married Li Shi, who bore him two sons: Jiuling, (678-740), who became head of the state grand council in 734 under the Tang emperor, and Jiuguo, who became governor at Jingzhou and settled in Mianzhu. It was Zhang Jiuling who pushed the construction of a good road in 716 that pierced the mountain barriers into northern Guangdong; this development facilitated migration and access to the region.

Five generations later came Han, whose great-grandson Yan moved to Zhujixiang, Nanxiong near Qujiang. Yan married Wang Shi, and their second son Shilong moved to Longjiang Village, Nanhai County (now part of Shunde County) in Guangzhou Prefecture. Shilong became the progenitor of the Jung lineage in that area. The family records continued to be kept in Longjiang until five generations later, when Wenming (1280-?) moved from Daimao (Hawksbill Turtle) Alley in Guangzhou to settle in Zini (Jee Nai, "Purple Earth") village in Panyu (Punyu).<sup>2</sup> This branch of the Jung clan built an ancestral temple here.

The Jung family records were kept in the Jee Nai village temple until the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), when the Red Guard destroyed them and left the temple in ruins. Fortunately a copy of the genealogy had been made by Jung Oi-won's wife and thus that record was not lost forever. The following tale of the two brothers, Aiyun (Oi-won) and Jingru (Gang Yu/Ming S.) is pieced together based mainly on these preserved records as well as personal reminiscences, letters, and newspaper accounts.

## EMIGRATION TO AMERICA

Guangdong's position on China's southern seacoast constantly exposed her to influences from abroad as early as the sixteenth century. This exposure developed a receptiveness in the Cantonese to new ideas and changes. New ideas combined with the threat of foreign aggression and local economic hard times also led to a massive emigration from Guangdong. Some of the more daring ventured to the West. Beginning in 1849 the California Gold Rush served as another lure for large numbers to head for America.

Although the bulk of the Panyu immigrants came from the poorer Mudeli subdivision north of the Pearl River delta (an area previously known before the 1950s as Upper Panyu and now under the administration of Canton), there was some emigration from the delta itself.<sup>3</sup> It was in this setting that Zhang Can (Cheung Chan, also known as Cheung Waa Foo and as Poon Tuck, merchant, 1848–1900) decided to leave Jee Nai. He had learned martial arts in the village as a young man and had become quite skillful but never used his martial arts aggressively. He sold vegetables in Dongli Lane in the village. The store was owned by him in partnership with two fellow clansmen. In the winter of 1877–78 Waa Fu sailed for San Francisco where he was known as Cheung Chan. He soon found work at the Tsue Wo pork and grocery store (later known as Sang Wo) on Dupont Street (now Grant Avenue). He then married Miss Luo Su (Law So, 1867–1915) in San Francisco in 1883. They had two sons and a daughter, all born in that city.

The oldest son, born on August 4, 1884, was named Zhaoxiang (Cheung Siucheung, Cheung Cheung, Cheung Cheong, Jung Sew Cheung, Cheung Oy Wan).<sup>4</sup> In 1887 Oi-won was three years old when he was taken to China by his parents. By this time the Chinese Exclu-

sion Act was being enforced, and Cheung Chan was listed as a merchant when he left. However, the family returned to San Francisco after only one year in China.<sup>5</sup> The reason for this rather brief trip is not apparent, but possibly the father had heard of the pending revisions to the Exclusion Act and, indeed, Congress did pass the act of September 13, 1888, and the act of October 1, 1888, which imposed more restrictions on Chinese immigration.

One year after the parents returned to San Francisco, the second son was born on January 10, 1889, and was named Zhaoming (Siuming) in Chinese but was registered as Ming S. Cheung on his birth certificate. He chose Jingru (Gang Yu) as his adult name. Another reason for the family's return to the United States may have been to assure Ming's U.S. citizenship.

The daughter, birthdate unknown, was named Jinyu (Gum Yook), also known as Huishan (Wei Saan).

Sometime during the early twentieth century the spelling of the family name was changed to Jung. (To avoid confusion, the names Jung Oi-won, Jung Gang Yu, and Ming Stanley or Ming S. Jung will be used in the following account to refer to the brothers even though in certain contexts the usage may be historically incorrect.)

Back in San Francisco Oi-won began Chinese studies at the age of six but did not start English school until he was eight. Gang Yu enrolled in the Oriental grammar school to learn English and the Da-Qing Academy to learn Chinese when he was four and studied Chinese for two years with Master Li Changbo (Lee Cheung Baak). When Oi-won was eleven and Gang Yu was six, the two brothers were taught by Master Zeng Xianzhi (Jung Hin Jee) of Changzhou (Cheung Jau), where the famous Whampoa Military Academy was later located. Oi-won attributed his knowledge of the basic elements of Chinese to have begun with the teachings of Master Zeng in San Francisco. Oi-won must have made an impression upon the teacher while under his tutelage, for Master Zeng betrothed his daughter to Oi-won.

On August 5, 1897, the parents again took the three San Francisco-born children across the Pacific on the S.S. *China* for the purpose of their Chinese schooling. There Gang Yu studied with Master Long Zhongji (Lung Joong Chup) at Dishipu (Dai Sup Po) Street in the Xiguan (Sai Guan) area on the western side of Guangzhou. The father then took the family back to their ancestral village of Jee Nai where the brothers studied in a traditional private school. After more than a year

Oi-won became a student of fellow clansman and uncle Master Zhang Xiangzhou (Jung Heung Jau), "discovered the way to the acquisition of knowledge," and mastered Chinese.<sup>6</sup>

### THE BROTHERS SEPARATE

Up to this point, the lives of the two brothers had followed rather similar paths. In 1900, Gang Yu returned to San Francisco in the company of his father's friend, Li Langshan (Lai Long Saan), to make his own way in life. This marked the first separation of the brothers, and the gap between them became wider as time went on. Their careers and lifestyles became increasingly more divergent in the years to come. Oi-won identified with China and adhered to a Chinese way of life while Gang Yu adopted his native country's style and habits.

Not much is known about the life of their sister, Jinyu (Gum Yook), except that she graduated from the Xin-Yue Nüzi Fazheng Jiangxisuo (New Guangdong Girls' Institute for Lecture and Study of Laws and Government Decrees) in Guangzhou and attended the Liben School for Girls. She remained in China, married He Lingyu (Ho Ling Yu) of Nanhai, had a good life in Guangzhou, and gave birth to four sons.

### OI-WON'S SCHOOL YEARS

When his father passed away in 1900, Oi-won's education was not seriously disrupted for the family was apparently provided for adequately. During the mourning period Oi-won studied on his own in the village. When he was eighteen he became a student of senior licentiate Master Wu Hongzong (Mou Hung Tsung). In less than four months he passed the entrance examination and enrolled in the Liangguang Daxue (Guangdong and Guangxi School for Advanced Learning), which was later reorganized as the Guangdong Gaodeng Xuetang (Guangdong School of Higher Learning). He studied at this school for four years.

At the age of eighteen, Oi-won was already known as a scholarly person who particularly liked to study philosophy. His analysis of affairs was full and clear, and convincing to many people. Serious in speech and manner, he was regarded by friends and contemporaries as rather puritanical and moralistic.<sup>7</sup> It was at the school that he first exhibited

his deep feelings for China. At the time many Chinese were demanding that China reform its political system and change into a modernized, strong nation. This was especially true in the Pearl River delta region, which had long been on the front line of exposure to foreign aggression as well as to new ideas from abroad. In this area was born the reformer, Kang Youwei, and the revolutionary, Sun Yat-sen.

Although we do not know exactly what influence living two decades in America had on the behavior and thinking of Cheung Chan, it is certain that his children lived in an environment in which Chinese tradition had to compete with Western concepts and that the children were thus exposed to both cultures. In particular Oi-won, the eldest son, had reached an age when he began to grasp some social and political concepts. Whatever the underlying motivation was, Oi-won became an activist advocating change.

During a summer vacation from the Guangdong School of Higher Education, Oi-won returned to Jee Nai. At that time there was a dispute among the villagers over control of the night soil depository, the proceeds from which realized an annual income of three hundred to four hundred taels of silver to the clan village. Oi-won became the mediator and persuaded the clan elders to use these public funds to establish a primary school, the first in the village, as well as a Books and Newspapers Reading Room and a Give Up Opium Society. Some of the villagers objected and blocked release of the funds. Oi-won, however, showing a stubborn adherence to principles that often was to be characteristic of his behavior in later life, rallied school supporters and appealed to authorities at the district level. The litigation dragged on for more than a year until school supporters won their case and the Guangyu Xiaoxuetang (Broad Nurturing Primary School) opened in 1906. All school-age children in the area, regardless of clan or village affiliation, were eligible to enroll; however, tuition was waived for students of the Zhang (Jung) clan. The school ran until 1912 when opponents, claiming an unstable political situation caused by the republican revolution, diverted the school funds to other purposes and the school was forced to close.<sup>8</sup>

Preservation of China's territorial integrity was an ever-present issue during Jung's days at the School of Higher Education. When a rumor arose that Japan was relinquishing special privileges in Fujian in exchange for surrendering rights in Liaoning, Oi-won was one of the students leading classmates to demonstrate in protest. This was the

beginning of Oi-won's expression of his intense feelings for his ancestral land.<sup>9</sup>

Beginning at the age of fifteen, Oi-won took the imperial district examination three times. When he was twenty he finally passed the examination as a *xiangsheng* (*xiucai*: a licentiate of the first degree) and earned the right to be a member of the district academy. This was an outstanding accomplishment for any Chinese American, since they did not have the same opportunities and exposure to Chinese learning as native Chinese students.<sup>10</sup>

At the age of twenty-two Oi-won was appointed teacher at the Luoyang Senior Primary School at Qixiang, Panyu. On January 13, 1908, in Guangzhou, he married Zeng Buqui (Jung Bo Qui, Jang Boo Qui), the eldest daughter of Master Jung Hin Jee, his former teacher in San Francisco. Master Jung, after teaching school for ten years in America, returned to China in 1904. After his retirement to his native village, Master Jung was active in planning village autonomy. He was a follower of the reformers led by Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei.

Boo Qui was born in China on June 23, 1885, and was thus less than two years younger than Oi-won. Her parents had had her feet bound in the tradition of the era in which she was born. After her marriage she continued her education and graduated from Xin-Yue Nüzi Fazheng Jiangxisuo (New Guangdong Girls' Institute for Lecture and Study of Laws and Regulations) of Guangzhou.<sup>11</sup> She was representative of the small number of educated women then beginning to emerge in Chinese society who did not accept the premise that the place for women is in the home, believing instead that women are equal to men and should be active in national and community affairs.

After the marriage, Oi-won went to Japan in 1908 to study for a year. This was a period in his life when he was caught up with the spirit of the times. Only a few years earlier, there had been over fifteen hundred Chinese students in Tokyo, and more arrived almost daily to learn how Japan had prevailed in the Russo-Japanese War. As early as 1903 many of these students had been motivated to join militant organizations such as the Volunteer Corps to Resist Russia, with the aim of expelling Russian troops still holding areas in Manchuria that they occupied during the Boxer Rebellion. Also in Tokyo, various groups advocating revolution in China came together in August 1904 to form Tongmenghui, the umbrella organization for carrying out revolution to overthrow the emperor in China and to elect Sun Yat-sen as its head. It was in this

atmosphere of rebellion against the Qing regime that Qiu Jin, who later became famous as a revolutionary and a martyr, also went to Japan in 1904 to study.<sup>12</sup> Oi-won greatly admired Qiu Jin and in later years named his niece in memory of the legendary heroine.

Oi-won probably had the same motives in going to Japan as did Qiu Jin and the other young Chinese patriots. Not many details are known of his activities there but his short autobiographical sketch written in 1957 stated that in Japan he learned the principles of revolution. After staying in Japan for slightly more than a year he returned to China to prepare for his voyage back to his native San Francisco. His young bride accompanied him to participate in the momentous events that were to take place in the next few years.<sup>13</sup>

#### IN SUPPORT OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

Oi-won and Boo Qui arrived in San Francisco on the S.S. *Manchuria* on January 15, 1909. On August 8 of that year Boo Qui gave birth to their firstborn, a son they named Duck Lun (he later took the English name Allen D. Jung when he attended school in America). In the spring of 1909, at the urging of the Qing government education commissioner, Liang Qinggui, the Chinese Six Companies reorganized the Da-Qing Academy into the Da-Qing Qiaomin Gongli Xiaoxuetang (Chinese Public School), teaching a more contemporary curriculum in line with the reforms then occurring in China's educational system. Being a licensed scholar, Oi-won landed an appointment as the school's first superintendent of instruction, with a monthly salary of fifty dollars. However, Oi-won soon resigned his position at the Chinese Public School and, with his wife, established Mingxin Shushu (Understanding the New Private School) in Oakland.<sup>14</sup>

In the meantime another event important to Oi-won's future was occurring in another section of the Chinese community. During the same year Li Shi'nian (Lee See Nam), a Chinese American who had joined the Tongmenghui in Hong Kong, recruited Chinese Americans Huang Boyao (Wong Bock You), Wen Xiongfei (Won Hung Fei), and Li Wang into the organization in a secret ceremony. The group operated in public as the Young China Association, a youth organization. They also started a weekly publication, *Youth*, to promote nationalistic doc-

trines. They were soon joined by kindred spirits Huang Yunsu (Wong Wan Sue) and others. After Sun Yat-sen arrived in San Francisco in early 1910 seeking support for the revolution, he officiated over the open establishment of the Tongmenghui in San Francisco Chinatown. He also persuaded Lee See Nam and his comrades to change *Youth* from a weekly to a daily publication to better promote the cause of the revolution. Despite the fact that these young idealists did not have much access to funds, the *Young China Morning Paper* came into being in mid-1910, operating on a shoestring budget.<sup>15</sup>

It was not long after Oi-won and Boo Qui became aware of the existence of the Young China Association that they became active in it. Oi-won was among the initial eighteen individuals who took the oath to become Tongmenghui members when the organization was officially founded, and was a member of the organization's standing committee. He wrote for the weekly *Youth* and later became an editor for *Young China Morning Paper*.<sup>16</sup>

Jang Boo Qui became one of the few women members of the Young China Association as well as the Tongmenghui. Because she had an infant son to take care of, she often had to take him along to meetings. On occasion she would also make short speeches at functions urging support for the revolution.<sup>17</sup>

Around early 1909 Wong Wan Sue and others also founded the Jinmen Xuetao (Golden Gate School) in San Francisco, using space at the Chinese Empire Reform Association headquarters building for classes. Oi-won soon joined the teaching staff there. After the Tongmenghui existed openly in the community, Oi-won was emboldened to lecture on the national revolution to his students. Some of the members of the school board of trustees as well as some of the teachers objected to his declarations. When Oi-won refused to change the content of his lectures, the board of trustees barred him and Wong Wan Sue, who had come to his defense, from the premises. With the help of Lee See Nam the two reestablished the school at another site and most of their students followed them to the new school. The two also founded Qiushi Xuetao (Search for Truth School) in Oakland, where Jang Boo Qui also taught.<sup>18</sup> Life for the young couple with an infant to raise was difficult but their dedication to and faith in the cause of the revolution sustained them.

By this time activities in support of the revolution were rapidly increasing in the community. Oi-won was active in fund-raising cam-

paigns. In Oakland he personally directed the production of *Xu Xilin qiyi* (Insurrection of Xu Xilin),<sup>19</sup> a Cantonese opera in which actors portrayed Sun Yat-sen, Xu Xilin, Qiu Jin, and others on the stage. However, Oi-won's most important fund-raising was for the Revolutionary Treasury in 1911.

Early in 1911 Sun Yat-sen, negotiating with the Zhigongtang (Chee Kung Tong; Triads Society), asked the far-flung organization to work with the Tongmenghui to raise funds for revolutionary activities. The Chee Kung Tong demanded as the price for cooperation that Tongmenghui members become members of the Triads. When Sun addressed a general meeting of the Tongmenghui members to consider this action, Oi-won objected strenuously, pointing out that the two groups, one with traditional and the other with modern ideas, were incompatible. He was afraid that it would be too difficult for the two groups to cooperate, and even if they did the cooperation would not be lasting. However, Sun, by stressing that the political situation required such action, managed to convince the group to approve his proposal. Tongmenghui members, Oi-won included, were initiated into the society in groups. Oi-won's warnings eventually became reality when, shortly after the founding of the Republic, the Chee Kung Tong broke with the Kuomintang (successor to the Tongmenghui), denounced Sun Yat-sen, and became one of his bitter foes.

For the time being, however, the union of the two groups worked well to further the cause of the revolution. On July 9, 1911, Chee Kung Tong established the Revolutionary Treasury to raise funds for revolutionary activities.<sup>20</sup> Tongmenghui members filled a number of key posts in the Treasury; Wong Wan Sue, Ju Yuk, and Oi-won were designated as speakers for fund-raising rallies.

On August 7, 1911, Oi-won was one of the speakers at a public rally organized by the Tongmenghui in a San Francisco Chinatown theater to commemorate the memory of the more than eighty martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the revolution in an April 27 uprising in Guangzhou. There were more than a thousand participants in the audience. Among the numerous eulogies and elegiac couplets displayed at the ceremony and later published in *Young China* August 8 through 12, 1911, was a couplet that is one of the earliest-known surviving works of Oi-won and his wife:

With the skills of warriors and the talented planning of scholars, several dozens of heroic and brave souls embellished the new history of

China; With individuals inside China sacrificing their lives, people overseas contributing their wealth, four hundred million each went their ways to transfer and plant the flower of liberty from foreign lands.

—Zhang Gongmin (*Jung the citizen*) and Jang Boo Qui

During the next few weeks, Sun, with several members of the Treasury, traveled to various Chinese communities in the San Francisco Bay Area: Suisun, Vallejo, Stockton (twice), Holt Station, Isleton, Walnut Grove, and Oakland. In mid-August Oi-won and Ju Yuk shared the speech-making chores with the revolution's leader at Holt Station and at Stockton on Sun's second trip to the latter community. At an Oakland gathering organized by the Chee Kung Tong, Wong Wan Sue and Oi-won spoke to a filled auditorium before Sun took to the stage.<sup>21</sup>

The Treasury then decided to send two fund-raising teams across the United States. One team, comprised of Sun and Wong Wan Sue, was to go north to Oregon and Washington and then eastward, traversing the northern part of the country, while the other team, with Oi-won and Ju Yuk, took the southern route. The teams were scheduled to begin their journeys simultaneously on August 24, but an emergency came up in the Tongmenghui that demanded Sun's presence and the northward-bound team's departure was delayed until August 30.<sup>22</sup>

In the meantime, the southbound team of Oi-won and Ju Yuk began visiting California towns in the San Joaquin Valley. By August 30, the team reached Hanford, coming from Selma. Here, people from Oi-won's ancestral county, Panyu, played a leadership role in the Chinese community. His brother Ming was also working here. Fantan gambling establishments and local Chinese farms and orchards temporarily suspended operations as the Chinese gathered at a September 1 evening street rally to listen to the team. From Hanford the team went next to neighboring Lemoore and Armona, then southward to the end of the valley before heading eastward, visiting communities in northern Arizona.<sup>23</sup>

At Albuquerque, New Mexico, the team ran into trouble when they arrived in town on August 20 at 8:30 P.M. A suspicious immigration inspector detained Ju Yuk and another traveling companion as suspected illegal immigrants. During that period, some Chinese had tried to evade the exclusion laws by slipping into the United States across the Mexican border. When the inspector tried to take them to the local jail, the infuriated Ju, who had entered the United States legally as a

student, angrily asserted his rights. The bureaucrat, who had expected a docile and submissive detainee, hastily changed his overbearing demeanor and housed Ju in a hotel. Meanwhile, Oi-won proceeded on to El Paso where he, with local contacts, immediately hired a lawyer. The group visited the local immigration official to explain the team's mission and to assert that Ju was a legal entrant into the country. Oi-won showed the official copies of the *Young China* and the *Chinese Free Press* articles announcing the fund-raising campaign, along with photographs of the team members. The group's mission was accomplished when the immigration officer released the detained duo.<sup>24</sup> The reunited Ju Yuk and Oi-won then proceeded to Fort Worth and Oklahoma City before rendezvousing with the other team in Kansas City.

By this time news of the successful uprising at Wuchang had reached the United States. Sun Yat-sen then left the group and proceeded alone to New York City to prepare for his return to China. The remaining members of the teams combined forces and completed the Midwestern and eastern portions of the trip, which by now had taken on the form of a triumphal tour, as jubilant Chinese in America celebrated the dawning of a hopeful new era. In New York City team members were part of a victory parade, with Wong Wan Sue and Jung Oi-won riding in cars as representatives of San Francisco and Oakland respectively. By December the team members, without Sun Yat-sen, had returned to San Francisco. The total effort of the Revolutionary Treasury campaign had resulted in contributions of \$144,130.41 by the end of December 1911.<sup>25</sup>

#### IN PURSUIT OF HIGHER EDUCATION

After the success of the revolution, many members of the Tongmenghui hastened to China to participate in the reconstruction of their ancestral country. No sooner had Oi-won returned to Oakland than he also began making plans for departure to China. He left with Boo Qui and young Duck Lun on January 3, 1912, on the S.S. *Manchuria*.<sup>26</sup> Thus he was not able to participate in the big victory parade on January 7 in San Francisco, much less attend his brother's wedding in March.

In Nanjing, seat of the provisional government of the Republic, Oi-won served as secretary to the presidency. Shortly afterwards President Sun Yat-sen appointed Oi-won and Wong Wan Sue to positions as Xuanwei Wei-yuan (Commissioner to Pacify and Comfort) for Guangdong.<sup>27</sup> Oi-won was soon relieved of the position but the president rewarded him for his dedicated service in contributing to the founding of the Republic by awarding him a certificate of honor for excellent and meritorious service.

After he had resigned from the presidency, Sun sent a special letter in 1913 to his successor, President Yuan Shikai, requesting that Oi-won be funded for education in America. Oi-won returned to San Francisco with his wife and son that same year on the S.S. *Nippon Maru*, arriving on September 22, to pursue his further education. Like many returning American citizens of Chinese descent during the exclusion era, Oi-won created an immigration slot to allow a relative or another fellow Chinese later to enter the United States by reporting the birth of a nonexistent second son, Dexian (Duck Yen), who supposedly was left behind in China. This "paper son," an immigrant from Huaxian, did enter the country in 1932. His fraudulent status was not revealed until 1967 when the Immigration Department uncovered it in the course of an investigation into the "Fa Yuen fraud complex," and he confessed in 1967, after Oi-won had been dead for almost a decade.<sup>28</sup>

For the next few years Oi-won concentrated on his studies. His mother passed away in China but neither he nor his brother, both in the United States, could be by her side. Although he was an elected member of the advisory committee to the North American branch of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party of China) in 1914, Oi-won was not part of the official delegation attending the first North American party convention in 1915. Neither did he play a very active role in party affairs. However, he had by no means lapsed into political passivity, for he was still deeply interested in finding solutions to China's problems.

During the days of the Tongmenghui, Oi-won and many revolutionary party idealists often debated among themselves the merits of various paths to a Utopian society as proposed by such thinkers as Tolstoy, Spencer, Marx, Prudhon, Bakunin, Kotoku Shushi, Tan Sitong, and others. They also examined and discussed the philosophy of Buddhism. After his return to America, Oi-won was among the participants in the periodic activities of the Shehuizhuyi Tongzhihui (Society of Socialist Comrades), which was founded by the early Chinese socialist

Jiang Kanghu (Kiang Kang-hu) in San Francisco in 1914. In 1919, after the October Revolution in Russia, Oi-won and others in San Jose announced the organization of Xin Shehui (New Society), a group studying the doctrines of the new socialist state and comparing capitalism and socialism.<sup>28</sup>

Oi-won studied sociology and education, first matriculating at the College of the Pacific in San Jose, then receiving a Bachelor of Arts degree from the College of Letters and Science at the University of California Berkeley in 1921 under the name Oi-won Jang. During this period the family was living away from the San Francisco Chinese community. Although Jang Boo Qui taught her son Chinese so that he was bilingual, undoubtedly the non-Chinese environment exerted a strong influence on young Allen during his formative years and could have also contributed to the development of a generation gap between parents and son.

After graduation, Oi-won had high hopes that he could contribute to the modernization of China in the field of education. In 1922 he proposed that a Qunzhong Shushe (Masses Book Society) be established in Shanghai and Guangzhou, where it was intended "to hire scholars and specialists to edit and translate different Western works for practical use as well as developing China's culture and educate the masses."<sup>29</sup> He went to various Chinese communities soliciting capital. Oi-won visited Mexicali, Mexico, November 4–14, 1923, probably with the intention of raising capital for his proposed venture. After his return, he also applied to go to Vancouver, Canada. However, the plan apparently did not come to fruition for there was no subsequent mention of this effort. On February 23, 1924, he returned to China, leaving from Seattle on the S.S. *Empress of Russia*; his wife and son had shipped out four days earlier from San Francisco.<sup>30</sup>

## LIFE IN CHINA

After his return to China, Oi-won taught briefly at Guangdong University (the name was changed to Sun Yat-sen University in 1926 after Sun's death). He was then appointed to a teaching position at Kuo Min University, a private university in Guangzhou that opened for instruction in September 1925. During his seven-year tenure at the institution Oi-won taught courses on sociology and education. Meanwhile, Oi-

won associated with the left wing of the Kuomintang and no longer participated in the Nationalist Party affairs after the accession of Chiang Kai-shek to power and the establishment of the Nationalist government in Nanking. At various other times he was also a lecturer at Workers' Movement Lecture and Study Institute of the Guangzhou branch of the Kuomintang, a teacher at the Municipal Normal School of Guangzhou, an education director at the First Provincial Normal School, a member of the board of trustees of the Henan Middle School, and a manager and teacher at the Guangzhou Municipal Commercial School. He authored several books: *Shehui-xue daolun* (Introduction to sociology), *Diguozhuyi neimu* (Inside imperialism), and *Jiezhi shengyu* (Birth control, published in Guangzhou in 1924). But in that less-enlightened period the then-head of the Bureau of Health, Situ Chao, interfered with Oi-won's advocacy of birth control and criticized it as being "inhumane."<sup>31</sup>

When Oi-won and his family reestablished themselves in China in 1924, Jang Boo Qui was already past forty and in poor health. For an extended period of time her sister had to come and take care of her. Around 1927 Oi-won took a second wife, Feng Zhonglian (Fung Joong Lim, 1911–43), whose ancestral district was Heshan. She gave birth to three children: two sons, Dejian (Duck Gin), born on November 4, 1928, and Deti (Duck Tai), born on August 21, 1930; and a daughter, Jiemei (Jit May), born on September 18, 1938.

By this time, a rift had developed between Oi-won and his eldest son Allen. The father was a strict disciplinarian who had high expectations of his offspring. Since both father and son were strong-willed and stubborn, this had led to an increasing number of conflicts between them regarding Allen's lackadaisical performance in school. Allen strongly opposed his father's action in starting a new family, and when Joong Lim's first child was born, Allen left China and returned to America by himself, where he stayed with his Uncle Ming's family for a short time.

Perhaps because of this period of traumatic change in his family situation, Oi-won turned to Buddhism in 1929. He became a vegetarian and advocated eating more natural foods. He advised others to focus on a healthy diet rather than relying on medicines. Oi-won also meditated and read and recited Buddhist sutras every day.<sup>32</sup>

The Primary school at Jee Nai, which Oi-won had helped to establish, closed in 1912. He felt that it was a pity that the clan's funds were not used for education. In the 1920s the Kuomintang was allied with the

USSR, and Chinese Communists were being admitted into the Nationalist Party; the atmosphere in the countryside was favorable for change. In 1926, pressured by the District Bureau of Education, the school was reopened. But one clan elder, who had only supported the school so that he could control the source of the funds, was able to install his minion as principal and the school administration became known throughout the area as being corrupt.

Since its initial years the school had enrolled only male students, but five years after its reopening, Oi-won, declaring that the district government would soon promulgate such an order, persuaded the school administration to change, although grudgingly, to a coeducational admission policy. However, the corrupt school administration remained until Oi-won was appointed principal around 1934, when the school was reorganized as a key village school.

Oi-won, now the new principal, hired qualified teachers, many of whom were his former students at the Guangdong Provincial Rural Normal School. He admonished students to respect peasants and workers and to not look down on the Danjia (*Tanka*, or "boat people").<sup>33</sup> He also tried to coax the peasants to enroll their children in the school but was unsuccessful. Included in the curriculum that he established were practical courses such as horticulture and gardening, carpentry, and martial arts. Within a year, the average grades of students at the primary school led all other schools in the First Area of Panyu.

Still, the corrupt elder and the father of the dismissed former principal conspired to get rid of Oi-won. They hired some ruffians to seek a pretext to beat him up. Fortunately Oi-won was able to take refuge with the village militia. The corrupt elder then bribed the local judge and accused Oi-won of causing bodily injury to the father of the dismissed principal. However, the attorney at Guangzhou vouched for Oi-won and he was able to escape punishment. Fortunately, his successor at the school was able to follow the direction of policies that Oi-won had set.<sup>34</sup>

Around May 1935, after Oi-won relinquished his position as principal of the village school, he and his entire family moved to Hong Kong. In late 1936 Oi-won left his family in Guangzhou and went to Nanjing to work as secretary of the Bureau of Social Affairs. Fung Joong Lim and Duck Tai joined him there later and were with him when the Sino-Japanese War broke out in China in July 1937. When Shanghai fell in late 1937 and the Kuomintang government retreated to Chongqing (Chung King), Oi-won, Joong Lim, and their seven-year-old son joined



the thousands of refugees fleeing before the advancing Japanese hordes. They managed to find places in a freight car to Wuhu, where they boarded a Yangzi (Yangtze) River ferry, overflowing with refugees, that took four days to reach Hankou. From Hankou it was another frightening four days on a southward-bound train that traveled only at night to avoid air raids, before they reached Guangzhou to be reunited with the rest of the family.<sup>35</sup> The entire family then moved to the relative safety of Hong Kong, where Fung Joong Lim gave birth to a daughter, Jit May.

At the end of October 1938, Oi-won left his first wife with her half-brother in Hong Kong; she would later live with her niece in Jee Nai and Canton. He had heard from his first wife's relative that a machine shop was vacant in Saigon. He also was told by a former student that a teaching opportunity was open there, so he took his second wife, their two sons and month-old daughter with him to Saigon. For a while he opened the machine shop, but it was unsuccessful and he soon sold it. The teaching position turned out to be in the French language and not English. After a year, conditions in the city became unstable so they moved to Lang Son. Oi-won supported his family there for another half a year by working as a practitioner of traditional Chinese medicine. His practice was helped when his prescription cured the chronic ailment of a local Chinese community leader. But when the signs pointed to a Japanese occupation of French Indo-China (after the fall of France during the 1940 European war), Oi-won and his family returned to Hong Kong. As the war clouds gathered even more ominously over the Pacific Basin he took passage on the S.S. *President Pierce* to return alone to America.<sup>36</sup> Here he could arrange the paperwork necessary to bring his family to the United States. However, the war intervened before his plan could be carried out. His family remained in Hong Kong. After the Japanese took over the colony, the family moved back to Guangzhou.

The United States was just emerging from the Great Depression when Oi-won landed in San Francisco on November 19, 1940. There was no opportunity in the academic field for the former social science professor from China, but he managed to eke out a living as a traditional Chinese physician, taking pulses and dispensing herbal prescriptions, and also as a tutor teaching Chinese to a few pupils in San Francisco's Chinatown.<sup>37</sup> In early 1941 he was also editor of a biweekly newspaper, *The Youth*, collaborating with Li Junheng (also known as

Li Qi), an old Tongmenghui and Kuomintang comrade, who ran a Chinatown printing shop named Youth Press. He then became instructor at the Chinese school in Hanford, California, for about a year before returning to San Francisco around 1942 to teach a small class located in a Chinatown hotel room. He also served the war effort, working for two years as a Japanese literature examiner at the Office of Censorship in San Francisco. After this he again resumed teaching Chinese.<sup>38</sup> In late 1943 he received news that Fung Joong Lim, his second wife, had been killed in Guangzhou, a casualty of a surprise air raid by allied bombers on May 8, 1943. He wrote an angry letter to President Roosevelt protesting the bombing of civilian targets in China and received a short, noncommittal acknowledgment from the State Department.<sup>39</sup> Oi-won expressed his grief in a poem, "Weeping for Ms Fung Joong Lim," published in the November 21, 1943, issue of San Francisco's *Kuo Min Yat Po*:

Difficult it is to anticipate separation and togetherness, sadness and happiness;  
I only knew that the karma of previous existence had established the antecedents for the course of events.  
That the nation is fragmented is lamentable for a thousand autumns;  
The casualty caused to an ant arouses a sense of anger.  
Once there was Lady Yu who followed Xiang Yu [the General who led the overthrow of the Qin dynasty but was in turn defeated by Liu Bang],  
Unexpectedly there was no Po [i.e., Su Dongpo] the elderly to bury Zhaoyun [the concubine who accompanied Su Dongpo in exile in Guangdong].  
Outside the City of Five Rams [Guangzhou] was left a fragrant grave;  
Across the vast expanse of ocean you are but a spirit in a dream.

In Guangzhou, Jang Boo Qui raised and cared for the three children as her own after the death of the second wife.

Oi-won had always fought for democracy and against the abuse of power and corruption. He had become disenchanted with the Kuomintang when he saw it reaching an accommodation with reactionary feudal forces in China and itself becoming increasingly authoritarian and corrupt. During and after the war he wrote frequently to Washington, D.C., denouncing the corruption of the Chiang Kai-shek government and urging the United States to help democratic reforms in China. He was against the civil war in his ancestral land and American

interference on behalf of the Kuomintang government.<sup>40</sup> During this period Oi-won drew close to the pro-Communist anti-Kuomintang Chinatown organization, the Chinese Workers Mutual-Aid Association.<sup>41</sup> However, up to the years immediately following the end of World War II his mail from China was routed to the San Francisco Kuomintang headquarters in care of an old friend who was still a party member.

Oi-won also became a staunch supporter of the struggles of minorities in America for equal rights. He advocated equality in all races and was against racial discrimination. On one occasion he even wrote to a Chinese newspaper editor chiding him for referring to African Americans as *haak guai* (black devils). In his letter he pointed out that

Should they (the blacks) find out that we Chinese Americans, even the press, called them "black devils," they will feel it intolerable. If they reciprocate with "yellow devil," would that not be equally intolerable to us? We have been humiliated enough with "Ching Chong Chinamen" and also resent being addressed as "Charlie" as being discourteous. . . .

We do not wish other people to discriminate against us; how can we justify discriminating against others? All individuals have a sense of self respect, and a people even more so. I have often heard ordinary Chinese refer to the "devil that collects garbage" rather than the garbage man, the "devil that delivers milk" rather than milkman, and the "devil who does the plumbing" rather than plumber. All these terms show a lack of consideration and respect. . . .

An individual's words and deeds go to make up (society's) mores. Even more so, the widely circulated printed page of the newspaper exerts tremendous influence on society's manners and morals and the public's attitudes; therefore it should help rectify wrongful phenomena in society and should not instead help to fan the flames. Your journal is just like the Spring and Autumn Annals in that it can pass judgment (on social Phenomena), and your reporters carry on their shoulders the responsibility of seeing to establish correct social behavior and to teach proper human relations. . . .<sup>42</sup>

In 1947 Oi-won participated in a program organized by the Committee on Social Studies Curriculum in the Elementary School of the California School Supervisors Association and proposed that the following principles be observed in the classroom:

1. Avoid exaggerated reporting about minority groups;
2. there should be no restrictions on friendship and place of residence for people of all races;
3. each ethnic group should be allowed to practice its own culture;
4. there should be no prohibition on intermarriages.

As a postscript he also stated that the frequent showing of the use of firearms "would have a tendency of upsetting the peaceful mind of children and might have an influence to foster crime and war," words that are hauntingly familiar today. Oi-won knew the basic history of the Chinese in America even though he was not a historian. In the spring of 1957 he gave a lecture on this subject to the Chinese-American Youth Club.<sup>43</sup>

Oi-won's belief in equal rights and his opposition to American policy in post-war China led him to support Henry A. Wallace and the Progressive Party in the 1948 election.<sup>44</sup> On October 1, 1949, the Chinese Communists, victorious in the civil war, formally established the Peoples' Republic of China. When a few days later, on October 9, the Chinese Workers' Mutual-Aid Association celebrated the founding of the new China together with a commemoration of the organization's twelfth anniversary at the auditorium of the Chinese American Citizens Alliance, Oi-won was among the honored guests sitting on the stage. As the evening's program began, about twenty Kuomintang-hired roughnecks broke into the hall to disrupt the meeting and beat up some spectators. Although Oi-won was shaken he was unharmed, but the experience dispelled any lingering sentiments he may have still harbored for the Kuomintang regime. In November of that year his second son Duck Gin arrived in San Francisco on the S.S. *General Gordon*. At this time his oldest son, Allen, was working in U.S. Army Intelligence Corps and avoiding contact with his father. For the rest of Oi-won's stay in America, Duck Gin became the closest of his children to him and afforded him companionship.

In 1953 Oi-won applied for Duck Tai and Jit May to come to America. However, the case became complicated when the Immigration Service noticed that the birth of Jit May had not been reported when Oi-won returned to the United States in 1940, when she would have been two years old. Furthermore, Jang Boo Qui, her alleged mother, was fifty-four years old when Jit May was born. Oi-won did not appear when the Immigration Service asked him to come for a blood-type examination and the case was dropped.<sup>45</sup>

Oi-won's political leanings did not go unnoticed. Even though he had not played a very active role because of his age, he came under the surveillance of federal investigative agents during the Cold War-inspired anti-Communist hysteria of the McCarthy period in the 1950s. On at least one occasion, in 1956, two FBI agents came to his home and tried to interrogate him on his activities and acquaintances.

But they had to retreat in frustration when he refused to answer their questions.<sup>46</sup>

The Chinese have an ancient saying, "When the bird is tired, it knows that it is time to return to the nest." In 1957, his health failing, Oi-won went to China for the last time. While waiting in Hong Kong for his entry documents to China to be processed, he stayed with Boo Qui's half-brother and had a brief opportunity to enjoy the company of his third son, Duck Tai, then working in the film industry in the colony. The Guangdong Commission of Overseas Chinese Affairs gave the old revolutionary a warm welcome when he reached Guangzhou. He once again enjoyed the warmth of family life with Jang Boo Qui after a bachelor existence of seventeen years. His daughter Jit May, only a two-year-old infant when he left, was now nineteen years old. Once he settled down, Jung Oi-won began editing the writings—memoirs, articles to newspapers, and letters to public figures written after his return to America in 1940 — that he had brought from America, submitting them for publication under the title *Haiwai chuyan* (Humble words from abroad). Thanks to an introduction by an old friend from America, Liang Shuhao, Oi-won was planning to collaborate with another author in compiling and editing a gazetteer of Panyu County. However, Oi-won's health deteriorated before he could embark on this project. He passed away on December 1, 1958, of heart failure and his body was cremated. Publication of his *Humble Words from Abroad* was not completed until after his death.<sup>47</sup> The daughter, Jit May, who was a trained nurse, took care of Jang Boo Qui during Jang's prolonged illnesses for many years until the latter died in 1973. In 1981 Oi-won's brief autobiography and his reminiscences, *Xinhai qian Meizhou Huaqiao geming yundong jishi* (Chronicles of the revolutionary movement in North America)," were included in *Guangdong wenshi ziliao: Sun Zhongshan yu Xinhai Geming shiliao xuanji* (Guangdong cultural and historical materials: Selected historical materials on Sun Yat-sen and the 1911 Revolution) published by Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe (Guangdong People's Publishing House) to commemorate the seventieth anniversary of the 1911 revolution.

### GANG YU'S EARLY YEARS

In 1900 Cheung Chan sent his twelve-year-old son, Gang Yu, back to San Francisco in the company of his friend Li Langshan (Lai Long Saan) to work and to learn English. Gang Yu arrived on the S.S. *Nip-*

*pon Maru* on November 27, 1900, but before he landed on December 22 his father passed away in China. Although he was a native-born United States citizen, Gang Yu was detained for twenty-five days in the wooden shed at the Pacific Mail Steamship Company wharf by the Immigration Service. His detention was probably not prolonged further because of a landmark case in 1898 won by Wong Kim Ark, also a native-born Chinese American.

With his mother, brother, and sister remaining in China, Gang Yu was cared for by his maternal grandmother, Tan Shi (Taam Shee), and his maternal uncle, Tan Jiqing (Taam Gut Hing). He never forgot the kindness of these two relatives. For a short time Gang Yu worked as a helper to the Chinese cook at the San Rafael Military Academy, where he established friendships with other Chinese American boys working there. He returned later to San Francisco and enrolled at Mission High School, which was some distance from Chinatown. These non-Chinese environments marked the beginning of his Westernization process. During summer vacations he studied Chinese at the school of Master Jung Hin Jee.<sup>48</sup>

### MING BEGINS WORK, MARRIES, AND STARTS A FAMILY

In November 1904, at the age of fifteen, Gang Yu, now called Ming, was hired by Liang Renfu (Leung Yun Fu), proprietor of the Long Sang Tai art goods store in New York City. Here he learned much about the ancient arts and lore of China, which served him well in later life. The store was on lower Fifth Avenue, away from New York's Chinatown, and served a non-Chinese clientele, which helped Ming to improve his English and to become more familiar with American customs and manners. In his off-hours he attended high school.<sup>49</sup>

In 1909, Ming's brother, Oi-won, returned to San Francisco from China with his bride. Ming came back to the city by the Golden Gate to be a witness at the Immigration Service for his brother's reentry into the United States. By this time Ming had mastered the English language and so gave his testimony in English, whereas his older brother had to rely on an interpreter. Ming now reenrolled in Mission High School to further his secondary education.

In March 1910 Ming was hired by Su Luoting (Sue Lok Ting, L. T. Sue), a successful herbalist in Hanford, California, to be his English language interpreter.<sup>50</sup>

On March 4, 1912, Ming returned to San Francisco to marry Wei Qiongjiao (Wai King Giu, also known as Wei Bishan [Wai Bik Saan, Mabel Wye]) in the Chinese Methodist Church. Born in San Francisco on November 27, 1895, Mabel was the daughter of Wei Zhide (Wye Gee Ock) and Yuen Shee. Wye was the owner of a Chinatown import-export and labor contracting firm.<sup>51</sup> Mabel attended the Oriental School (now the Commodore Stockton School) for her English education and went to a private school to learn Chinese.

After the marriage Ming continued to work for L. T. Sue in Hanford. In an environment in which the Chinese population was small compared to San Francisco, Ming adopted many Western ways and led an active and adventurous life. For example, after starting his work as an interpreter, he bought an Indian motorcycle. The new acquisition had to be parked at night in the front room of the tiny cottage at 16-1/2 China Alley where Ming and his wife lived. He enjoyed riding the motorcycle around Hanford and the countryside until he had an accident one day and landed in a ditch. This cured him of the sport.

It was in the same small wooden house that two sons were born to Ming and Mabel. Their first son was born on December 16, 1912, and was named Robert William Jung after Dr. Robert William, who delivered him. Robert was also given the Chinese name of Dehan (Duck Hon). The second son was born on June 29, 1914, and delivered by Dr. Robert Edmond Dixon. Since the older brother was already named Robert, the second son had to settle for the name of Edmond Dixon Jung (the spelling was later changed to Edmund sometime during grammar school, probably by a teacher who was unaware of the birth certificate spelling, and Edmund continued this spelling unknowingly). It was later noted that the doctor preferentially signed his name R. *Edmond Dixon, M.D.*, so there was a plausible reason for the choice of Edmund's name. Edmund was given the Chinese name of Dehui (Duck Wai).

Mabel, the previously traditionally submissive mother, having tolerated the intense summer heat of the valley for two years, rebelled at staying in Hanford after the second son was born, and the family moved back to the cooler climate of San Francisco where Ming worked at the Quong Hong Hai dry goods store until 1916.

After returning to the city, the family could not find suitable housing in the restricted quarters of Chinatown. While most Chinese then were confined to that district, Ming was among the early ones to break this barrier. He found a third-floor flat at 1118 Powell Street in a building

owned by the brother of the cartoonist Rube Goldberg. The owner was particular as to whom he rented his property but he had no objection to the Chinese. It was here that the family's only daughter, Lucille (Huaijin [Wai Gun], named by Oi-won in memory of Qiu Jin,) was born on December 4, 1916. Soon after the Jungs moved in, another Chinese American couple, Mr. and Mrs. Chang Wah Lee (brother of Ching Wah Lee, an art connoisseur) rented the ground-floor flat at 1114 Powell Street. Chang Wah (Chester) was a student at the University of California Berkeley at that time; he later graduated from dental school and practiced as a dentist in Chinatown. Dr. James Hall, one of the first Western-trained medical doctors in Chinatown, moved next door sometime later.

During this time Ming developed a passion for automobiles, and in 1920 he became the owner of a two-door Chandler sedan. This was later turned in for a Mercer, a larger, four-door open touring car. The family enjoyed weekend drives to the beach or all-day jaunts down the peninsula as far as Millbrae and San Mateo. Mabel would prepare a basket of food and beverages for the family to enjoy at roadside picnics in the countryside or in Golden Gate Park or at Ocean Beach. For a number of years automobiles could not be parked overnight on the streets in San Francisco, but this restriction was later lifted and Ming had no problem parking his car in front of their house on cobblestoned Powell Street.

Influenced by the mood of the times and swayed by the example of his brother Oi-won, Ming had joined the Young China Association and the Tongmenghui after his return from New York.<sup>52</sup> After the founding of the Republic he became a member of the Kuomintang but does not appear to have been very active; by the late 1920s he apparently had let his party membership lapse.<sup>53</sup>

Chinese merchants in San Francisco started the China Mail Steamship Company in 1915 when they boycotted Japanese shipping in response to Japanese pressure on President Yuan Shikai of China for political and economic concessions. In March 1916 Ming was hired by the Steamship Company as manager of the cargo department and also as its Chinese secretary.<sup>54</sup> There were other Chinese employees in the company but the majority of his office coworkers were Caucasian. Ming felt comfortable and enjoyed his position there. He remained in this job for three years and left when business in the shipping line declined and the company was entering bankruptcy.

In 1919 he pooled his funds with those of his friend Li Zhuofang (Lee Cheuk Fong) to form the Chinese American Mercantile Company. Ming became the general manager in this business, which specialized in importing from and exporting goods to China.<sup>55</sup> That same year Chinatown was galvanized by provisions in the Versailles Treaty that ended World War I. These provisions turned over the defeated Germany's interests in Shandong to Japan, in utter disregard of China's sovereignty. This aroused a storm of protest in China and among Chinese abroad. Led by the Kuomintang, the San Francisco Chinese founded the Chinese National Welfare Society in America to protest the Versailles Treaty and to use the collective strength of the Chinese abroad to help protect China's territorial integrity. Ming became a member of the society. By its first anniversary the society had established fourteen branches in North America, and it organized a conference of North American Chinese from June 24 through 26, 1920, with the following objectives:

1. To help make the republic a reality in China in spirit as in name
2. To achieve equal status for China in international relations
3. To promote unity and mutual help among North American Chinese

Ming was part of the conference planning group, heading the communications department; however, he was not one of the delegates to the conference.<sup>56</sup>

As Ming established himself as a member of the Chinatown business community, his participation in Chinese American community affairs increased while his role in events related to politics in China waned. He played a key role in the founding of San Francisco's Chinese Hospital. When fifteen Chinatown organizations formed the Zengjian Donghua Yiyuan Choujuan Ju (Bureau to Plan and Raise Funds to Enlarge and Construct the Chinese Hospital), one of the first key actions required was to acquire a site for the building. The Bureau duly found a suitable plot of land on Jackson Street on the edge of Chinatown. However, California's alien land laws precluded the Bureau, the membership of which was predominantly noncitizens, from purchasing and owning land. The committee then appointed a subcommittee of three American-born Chinese, Ming among them, who proceeded to purchase the land under their own names in August 1923 and to apply

for a hospital construction permit. Afterward they transferred title of the land to the hospital.

During the implementation of the hospital project Ming wore several hats. In 1924 he was English secretary for the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (the Chinese Six Companies) and became one of the delegates representing the Chinese Six Companies on the Bureau. He was also secretary for the construction and member of the communications departments under the Bureau. When the hospital building was nearing completion, Dr. Howard Johnson, superintendent of St. Luke's Hospital, was hired as part-time superintendent. On October 16, 1924, the board of directors, consisting of representatives from the organizations, elected Ming to be the deputy superintendent, which position he assumed on November 16, 1924. His friend and neighbor, Dr. James Hall, became the hospital's first chief of staff. Ming had left the Chinese American Mercantile Company to serve as the hospital's deputy superintendent. On November 1, 1925, he submitted his resignation from the hospital because he needed a better-paying job to support his family. His name did not appear again on the hospital roster until more than half a century later, when he served on the hospital board as the representative from the Sam Yup Benevolent Association.<sup>57</sup>

Ming also served on the boards of other Chinese community organizations. In 1923 he became one of the founders of Mingyitang (Ming Yee Tong), formed to purchase Mingyilou (the Ming Yee Building) at 924 Grant Avenue for the Lung Kong Tin Yee (Four Families: Lew, Kwan, Jung, and Chew) Association.<sup>58</sup> In 1924–27, 1954–58, and 1961–62 he was elected as one of the board members from Panyu serving on the Sam Yup Benevolent Association board. He also served that district organization as secretary from 1959 to 1960.<sup>59</sup> In 1924 Ming was one of two men appointed by the Sam Yup Association (as part of a sixteen-person delegation from the Chinese Six Companies) to discuss plans with the Chinese Chamber of Commerce on future strategy to fight for the entry of merchants' and citizens' wives to the United States. At that time the Chinese had just lost these immigration cases in federal courts.<sup>60</sup> Earlier that same year, Ming was appointed by the board of directors of the Chinese Six Companies to be the co-chair of a committee to negotiate the settlement of a fee dispute with a Caucasian lawyer who had been hired to fight a liver fluke (*Clonorchis sinensis*) case with the federal government.<sup>61</sup>

After his resignation from the Chinese Hospital, Ming found his next challenge and employment in June 1926 in an entirely different setting as manager of the first Chinese-owned nightclub in Chinatown, the Mandarin Cafe. It was located at 400 Grant Avenue at Bush Street. The nightclub had a chorus line of four European American women and a band of five European American male musicians. It preceded Andy Wong's Chinese Penthouse (1937) and Charlie Low's more famous Forbidden City (1938) by more than a decade. (The Forbidden City had Chinese American dancers and singers but was located at 363 Sutter Street on the border of Chinatown.)

When the Mandarin Cafe folded after March 1928, Ming found temporary work at *Kuo Min Yat Po* (Chinese Nationalist Daily of America) as an assistant translator from April of that year until 1930, when the Great Depression struck. At the onset of the Depression, a business innovation developed in Chinatown when Western Union Telegraph Company decided to establish a branch office in Chinatown in competition with its national rival, Postal Telegraph, which had opened their office at 669 Grant Avenue. Ming was hired to be the manager of the new Chinatown Western Union office. Daisy Wong (later Mrs. Thomas W. Chinn) and Rose Lee were hired to be teletype operators. The three new employees were sent to the Western Union School in San Jose to train for six months. On completion of their training they started work at the Western Union branch office already operating on Montgomery Street, between Clay and Commercial streets, located on the eastern edge of Chinatown. This was a temporary measure at first while searching for a location in Chinatown, but no property could be found. Ming remained in this work for six years until the telegraph business declined and was displaced by newer technology in the communications industry. In addition to his regular duties at the Western Union office, Ming assisted Chinese clients in translating their telegrams and cablegrams.<sup>62</sup> His second son, Edmund, worked there also as a bicycle messenger during summer vacations.

Ming's next business venture in 1936 was as a partner in the China Emporium, a Chinese art goods store at 733-35 Grant Avenue. During the Depression years, Chinese gift shops were hard-pressed to survive. Although supposedly in their own territory in Chinatown, life was made even more difficult for them by Japanese competitors. In 1936 there were only seventeen Chinese-owned stores on Grant Avenue as compared to thirty-seven Japanese-owned ones, which were attracting tourists in droves by offering low prices for their goods, generally

made in Japan. The China Emporium, inspired perhaps in part by nationalism, attempted to meet the challenge by offering Chinese-manufactured art goods. The façade of the storefront emulated a Chinese palace and the furnishings within were all in Far Eastern style. The store opened on April 18, 1936, with great fanfare, attracting reporters and photographers from the Western press as well as Chinese and Caucasian friends and curiosity seekers. More than 100,000 firecrackers were set off in front of the establishment and the visitors were entertained with Chinese music for two nights.<sup>63</sup>

Ming's early training at the age of fifteen in New York City provided a good foundation for his new undertaking at the China Emporium. He began by handling the buying and selling and was also in charge of the English and Chinese correspondence because of his bilingual fluency.<sup>64</sup> His number-one son, Robert, worked at the store for a few years in charge of the stock in the warehouse. Although life at the art goods store was satisfying to Ming, it was interrupted by the advent of World War II. Ming felt an obligation to do his part in the war effort since both of his sons were in the service then. He sent an application to the Office of Censorship in San Francisco and was quickly accepted because of his excellent qualifications. With his knowledge of both Chinese and English, which had been sharpened by his newspaper experience, his roles as an interpreter in Hanford and for the Chinese Six Companies, and the translating skills developed further during the six years at Western Union, he was rapidly promoted from trade examiner to senior censorship clerk and ultimately to supervisor. His brother Oi-won also worked in the Censorship Office, as previously noted. The end of World War II terminated Ming's job in the Censorship Office on September 10, 1945.<sup>65</sup> He then returned to the China Emporium and resumed his position there until he retired on January 1, 1967. Ming's business career came full cycle when he retired at the age of seventy-eight, in the same type of business in which he first went to work at the age of fifteen.

#### MING'S FAMILY LIFE AND LATER YEARS

Ming enjoyed his family life. His wife, Mabel, was an exemplary help-mate throughout his life. She was only eighteen years old when they

were married but she managed her family and household skillfully with a maturity beyond her years, possessing as she did a perceptive and understanding mind. Mabel was an excellent cook and a loving mother to her children. She also was an expert seamstress. During frequently difficult financial times, when Ming was between jobs or his income was limited during the Depression years, Mabel added to the family income by making garments of the latest fashion for a long list of appreciative women clients. She herself was always dressed stylishly and was petite and pretty. She passed her sewing skills on to her daughter Lucille.

Ming's health declined steadily in later years after he suffered a heart attack and heart failure. His pastime as a spectator of sports events was curtailed and he was limited to listening to the San Francisco Giants baseball games on the radio. He regretted having to give up attending the San Francisco 49ers football games at Kezar Stadium with his son Edmund, an activity they had shared for years. However, Ming was still able to enjoy studying Chinese and spent hours in his study, honing his skills in Chinese calligraphy.

As a final act of community duty, Ming took part in a litigation that involved the Lung Kong Tin Yee Association (Four Families Association) of San Francisco's Chinatown. He was one of the few remaining elders who had arranged the purchase of the headquarters building in 1923. The case was heard in Municipal Court at City Hall on February 9, 1971. Mabel, his wife of fifty-nine years, was with Ming in the courtroom when he started his testimony on the witness stand that day. The stress of the situation overburdened Ming's weakened heart and he suddenly collapsed. Mabel, who had been watching him closely and had sensed some calamity, rushed to his side, when he slumped over and died in her arms.<sup>66</sup>

#### THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE TWO BROTHERS

This account of the lives of the two sons of Cheung Chan, who came to San Francisco from Jee Nai village in the latter part of the 1880s, points out the contrasts between two brothers who were the first generation of the Jung clan to be born in America. Oi-won, the older brother, followed a path linked firmly to China. Although he did receive an American college education and degree, his earlier and more intensive

schooling was primarily in Chinese. He used only his Chinese name and did not adopt a Western one. He was a dedicated Chinese patriot, initially to the Kuomintang cause and, in later years, to the Communist-led People's Republic. He was an idealist striving for a better world. Oi-won had strong convictions. He rejected going along with the crowd just to be accepted and refused to ingratiate himself with people in power. He regarded many Chinese traditional practices, such as lavish weddings and elaborate funerals, as feudalistic. These traits worked against his being successful as a politician or an official. In his later years he became a devout Buddhist, eschewing materialism and adhering to strict dietary practices. He followed an older tradition of taking a second wife and raising a second family when his wife's health failed. A second marriage was not a rare occurrence during the period of transition from traditional to modern China. No less than his mentor Sun Yat-sen had taken a similar course of action. So did Chiang Kai-shek, the strongman of the nation during the 1930-40s, and Li Zongren, vice-president of the republic after World War II. Oi-won, who was never financially successful nor much interested in exalted social status, remained to the day he died a principled activist who tried to do his part to make China and the world better. As a result of his shuttling back and forth across the Pacific, his family was scattered, with Allen and Duck Gin in the United States, Duck Tai in Hong Kong, and Jit May in Guangzhou.

Ming, the younger brother, became Westernized early and easily. Although circumstances did not allow him to pursue an American college education, his intelligence and bilingual schooling, as well as his practical experiences, attained for him respected positions in business and in community endeavors. In his business career he was involved mainly in a managerial or supervisory capacity. The Westernization of Ming was apparent early, as indicated by his love for motorcycles, cars, and sports. He dressed well in top name-brand suits to match his wife's stylish clothes. (Both parents also saw to it that their children were well dressed by American standards.) Ming spoke and wrote fluently in both Chinese and English but, as time passed, his feelings of commitment and interest became increasingly focused on America and specifically on San Francisco's Chinatown community. His wartime efforts on behalf of the government are testimony to his pride in being a citizen of the United States. Reflecting his long domicile in San Francisco, Ming's children all lived in the San Francisco Bay Area. All of them were more fluent in English than in Chinese. Ming's life was an illustration of a

stage in the development of Chinese Americans as an integral part of America's multicultural, multiethnic society.

Despite the apparent differences in the lives of the Jung brothers, there was one similarity in their personalities as young men. Both had strong tempers that were usually held in check until some misdeed provoked an uncontrolled outburst. This behavior was seldom demonstrated in public view but occurred not infrequently in the family setting. Both brothers were loving fathers to their children but were strict disciplinarians, more so with their sons. For example, Duck Tai remembers sudden slaps on the head if the proper morning greeting was not extended to his father. Ming's outbursts happened during infrequent arguments with his wife. He was able to discipline his children with a certain look, but at times had to resort to spanking the boys.

## EPILOGUE

Oi-won and Ming were the first generation of the Jung family of Jee Nai born to immigrant parents in San Francisco. Why did the younger one adapt and grow well in the soil where the seed had been transplanted, while the older son reverted to his roots in China? Some hints to an answer to this phenomenon are suggested by examining their individual histories.

An important influence directing their lives must have been the environment in which the brothers grew up. Oi-won went to China five times during his lifetime, starting at the age of four and ending at seventy-four when he died there. He lived in China continuously for twelve years during the formative periods of his youth and early manhood when he was studying Chinese. The combined years of constant exposure to the Chinese people, country, language, and politics no doubt played a major role in shaping his life. What is more, he was successful in Chinese society, being a titled scholar and later a respected teacher, which no doubt tended to push him farther along in that direction.

In contrast, Ming's parents had lived in San Francisco for a few years in the early 1880s, then returned to China in 1887 and chose to return to San Francisco for Ming to be born in America. Ming was in China only once and then only for three years, from the age of eight to eleven. He returned to San Francisco without his parents, began to make his own way in America, and never returned to China.

One of the other major influences on their lives may have been the women that the brothers married. Oi-won's wife was born in China, was well educated in Chinese, and lived a completely Chinese way of life. Ming's wife, on the other hand, was American-born, was almost totally Westernized in her ways, and was educated at primary school levels in both Chinese and English.

The question of why the brothers' lives and careers became so disparate may not be satisfactorily answered but it is interesting to speculate on the reasons. Superficially, it would appear that nurture prevailed over nature. However, on closer scrutiny the difference between the brothers is not as great as it seems at first glance. Although Oi-won's behavior was "Chinese," much of what he advocated—birth control, republicanism, a deep belief in equality of race and gender—betrays the influence of the West. He had an active interest in the politics of China but was not active in any of the overseas Chinatown traditional organizations. On the other hand, the "Americanized" Ming participated in and was accepted fully in the leadership circles of the immigrant-dominated Chinatown traditional district and family organizations such as the Sam Yup Association, Chong How Association, Yee Shan Society, Chew Yee Association, Lung Kong Tin Yee Association, and Chang (Jung) Family Association. Chinese culture and behavior, especially those practices that were relevant to survival in Chinatown, continued to be an integral part of his life. He was not known to have been a Christian, although he was married in the Chinese Methodist Church and joined the YMCA. He was a staunch Republican, always voting the straight Republican ticket and never failing to vote.

Both brothers were the products of a period in society when the Chinese in America were in a stage of transition from overseas Chinese to Chinese American. Pulled, often in different directions, by Chinese and Western cultures, many Chinese Americans of that era exhibited the influences of both. This was certainly so for the Jung brothers. Thus even though Oi-won's life appears to emphasize the Chinese side while Ming's focused on America, their individual careers should be regarded as different facets of the same phenomenon. Without a doubt there are many similar stories, not only among the Chinese who came to America, but in the families of immigrants from all over the world who chose to leave their homelands to settle in the United States.



## NOTES

1. Zhang Aiyun, *Zini Zhang Mingxintang Jiazhuan* (Family History of Mingxintang [Hall of Knowing the New] of the Jung Family of Jee Nai) manuscript 1931, copied from records kept in the Jung Family ancestral temple in Jee Nai village, Panyu (Punyu) county, Guangdong province [hereafter to be referenced as *Family History of Mingxintang*]. Him Mark Lai, "The Guangdong Historical Background," in *Chinese America: History and Perspectives, 1991* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1991), 75-99.

2. Jee Nai village is on an island formed among the network of crisscrossing channels in the Pearl River delta. It is located about twenty miles south of Guangzhou in southwest Panyu, adjacent to Shunde district. The following excerpt from the *Family History of Mingxintang* written in the 1930s expresses the high regard the inhabitants had for their ancestral village: "Our village has much land but few people. Other than raising mulberry bushes and pond fish many villagers are in the construction trade. In recent years, construction and widening of roads are occurring in the cities and highways are being built in the villages. In addition, our country has been unified and local law and order reestablished. There is great hope for the future. That is why life in our village has never been too impoverished. As for public affairs, the clan village leaders have been strict in dealing with banditry and prevented this problem from escalating. As a result, brigands have never been allowed access to the clan. In addition, workers, merchants, and women all work together to defend against bandits. That is why the village is peaceful and orderly. . . ."

Today the village of twenty-two hundred population can be reached by car from the center of Guangzhou after a one-hour drive over excellent roads and across a new bridge to the island. In the old days the island village was approachable only by boat.

Delun (Duck Lun, Allen), son of Jung Oi-won, while reminiscing about part of his boyhood spent in Jee Nai village in the 1920s, recalled that even then it was a fairly prosperous area due to the commerce in rice and sugar. The entire village was surrounded by a continuous wall, and within that wall each clan in turn had its own wall for further protection. These barriers provided a measure of security from roving bandits in the old days. Allen remembered that there were five clans in the village and that the Jung clan was the largest and relatively well off (letter from Allen Jung, Los Angeles, January 22, 1980 to Edmund and Haw Jung, San Francisco).

3. *Jishantang Di-3 Jie Yun Jiu Zhengxinlu* (Record of income and disbursements for the third transporting of coffins by Jishantang) (Hong Kong; Jishantang, 1893), 29-35, lists the following number of dead with the subdivision (st) of Panyu wherein their villages were located:

Mundeli Subdivision (farthest north from the Pearl River)	570
Lubu Subdivision (north bank of the Pearl River)	33
Guangzhou	4
Jiaotang Subdivision (northern part of delta)	96
Shawan Subdivision (southern part of delta)	61
Villages unknown	17

4. Certificate of birth; Cheung Cheung testimony to Immigration Inspector W.H. Webber, January 18, 1909; Immigration Service Record Room report, January 15, 1909.

5. From the coaching paper of Jung Duck Gin. Usually such documents include also some falsified information on paper sons and this was probably no exception. However, since Jung Oi-won was American-born his claim to citizenship was indisputable and there was little reason to give false dates on that type of information to the immigration officers; therefore the coaching paper was used in this essay as the source for birthdates for various members of the family and dates for their entries into or departures from the United States, as well as their various movements in the Far East.

A comparison of key dates in the coaching paper with ages given in the *Genealogy of Mingxintang* revealed that the ages were reckoned in accordance to Chinese custom; i.e., a person is considered one year old on the date of his or her birth. These ages have been corrected to correspond with Western reckoning, in which a person is considered one year old upon reaching the first anniversary of his birth.

6. *Genealogy of Mingxintang*. Changzhou is a market town on an island of the same size situated at the mouth of the Pearl River across the river from Huangpu (Whampoa), the seaport of Guangzhou. It is now part of Guangzhou's Huangpu Qu, but before 1953 it was under the administration of Panyu.

7. "Guangdong Xuanweishi Zhang Aiyun (Jung Oi-won, envoy to Guangdong for pacifying and comforting the people [an official serving as a link between the government and the local populace])," reprinted from *Zhongguo Ribao* of Guangzhou, 1912.

8. "Wo de xiangcun wenhua yundong (My cultural campaign in the countryside), dated September 3, 1952, 64-67 in Jung Oi-won, *Haiwai chuyan* (Humble Words from Abroad); *Genealogy of Mingxintang*. (The former will hereafter be referenced as *Humble Words from Abroad*.)

9. "Jung Oi-won, envoy to Guangdong for pacifying and comforting the people."

10. *Family History of Mingxintang*; Liu Boji (Pei Chi Liu), *Meiguo Huaqiao jiaoyu* (Overseas Chinese Education in the U.S.A.), (Taipei: Haiwai Chubanshe [Overseas Publication Service], 1957), 30-31.

11. *Family History of Mingxintang*.

12. Mary Backus Rankin, "The Emergence of Women at the End of the Ch'ing: The Case of Ch'iu Chin," in *Women in Chinese Society*, Margery Wolf & Roxane Witke, eds. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 39-66.

13. "Jung Oi-won, envoy to Guangdong for pacifying and comforting the people."

14. *Chung Sai Yat Po*, August 4, 1909. Testimonial for the school in which the writer stated that in all of the courses, "there was not a single one where the teacher did not read and then explain the meaning of the text . . . My daughter, who attended the school, learned something which was utterly different from past (schools). The results are clear to all to see. . . ."

15. Him Mark Lai, "The Kuomintang in Chinese American Communities Before World War II," in *Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America, 1882-1943*, Sucheng Chan, ed. (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1991), 170-212.

16. *Family History of Mingxintang*.

17. Zhang Aiyun, "Xinhai qian Meizhou Huaqiao geming yundong jishi (Chronicles of the revolutionary movement in North America before the 1911 revolution)," in *Guangdong wenshi ziliao: Sun Zhongshan yu Xinhai Geming shiliao xuanji*: (Guangdong cultural and historical materials: Selected historical materials on Sun Yat-sen and the 1911 revolution) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1981), 36-90.

18. Zhang, *Chronicles of the Revolutionary Movement in North America*.

19. Xu Xilin was a cousin of Qiu Jin and one of the leaders of the revolutionary organization Guangfuhui. In 1906 Xu went to Anqing to become joint director of a military academy and later of a school for training police officers. He secretly organized these men and arms under his command for an uprising. Qiu Jin, who also became a member of the organization, went to Shaoxing in 1907 and joined the staff of Datong Xuetao, a school founded also by Xu and used as headquarters for his revolutionary followers. During the ensuing months a plot was formed to begin a general uprising in Anhui and Zhejiang. However, the plot went amiss at Anqing in Anhui and Xu was forced to act in advance of the scheduled date. Although he assassinated the governor, Xu was captured and executed. With the exposure of the plot, revolutionaries in several Zhejiang cities were placed under arrest. Qiu Jin was captured and beheaded.

20. Zhang, "Chronicles of the Revolutionary Movement in North America," *Young China Morning Paper*, July 11, 1911.

21. *Young China Morning Paper*, July 25, 26, 30 and August 6, 7, 14, 15, 21, 1911.

22. *Young China Morning Paper*, August 23, 27 and September 1, 1911. At the emergency meeting the Tongmenghui expelled Cui Tongyue for defaming Sun.

23. *Young China Morning Paper*, September 7, 8, 14, 19, 1911.

24. *Young China Morning Paper*, September 26, 1911.

25. Zhang, *ibid.*; *Young China Morning Paper*, December 20, 1911.

26. *Young China Morning Paper*, January 3, 1912.

27. "Pai Huang Yunsu Zhang Aiyun wei xuanwei weiyuan zhi xianggang Tongmenghui han (Letter to Tongmenghui comrades in Hong Kong concerning the appointments of Wong Wan Sue and Jung Oi-won as Commissioners to Pacify and Comfort). *Guofu quanji* (Complete works of Sun Yat-sen), vol. 3 (Taipei: Zhongguo Guomindang Zhongyang Weiyuanhui Dangshi Weiyuanhui [Party history committee of the central committee of the Nationalist Party of China]), 322-23.

It is not clear what were the duties of the position. Officials entitled *xuanweishi* (envoy to pacify and comfort) had existed since the Tang dynasty. During the Ming and Qing dynasties they were hereditary positions among the non-Han Chinese minorities. At various times the position seemed to function

as a communication channel between local and provincial, local and military, or local non-Han and the Han Chinese authorities. Apparently the position did not last long and was abolished during the first years of the Republic.

28. Zhang, "Chronicles of the Revolutionary Movement in North America," *Young China Morning Paper*, February 22, May 3, 1914; *Chung Sai Yat Po*, December 4, 1919.

29. *Chinese Republic Journal*, October 6, 1922.

30. Immigration Service letters, Calexico inspector to commissioner of immigration in San Francisco, November 14, 1923, and Commissioner of Immigration in San Francisco to inspector in Nogales, December 18, 1923; coaching paper of Jung Duck Gin, no date, probably late 1940s.

31. Letter, Jung Duck Tai to Jung Duck Gin, August 2, 1968, hereafter referenced as Jung Duck Tai letter; Cai Xueying, "Huiyi wo de fuqin: Fang Sun dazhongtong shouren mishu Zhang Aiyun nuer Zhang Jiemei nüshi (Recollections of my father, interview with Jung Jit May, daughter of Jung Oi-won, first secretary of President Sun)," *Aomen Ribao* (Macao Daily News), August 4, 1986.

32. *Family History of Mingxintang*.

33. The Danjia (Tanka) were people who lived in boats on rivers and coastal waters in southeast China. Some consider them to be descendants of the aborigines of the region. Before the People's Republic was established many Chinese discriminated against them. During the Qing Dynasty they were forbidden to live on land or to take the imperial examinations.

34. "My cultural campaign in the countryside."

35. "Nanjing tao nan ji (Chronicle of flight as a refugee from Nanjing)," written late 1940s to early 1950s, in *Humble Words from Abroad*, 67-68.

36. "Chuan xing suo ji (Miscellaneous recollections of a voyage)," dated November 30, 1940, in *Humble Words from Abroad*.

37. Advertisements in *The Youth*, March 1, 1941.

38. Letter, Jung Oi-won to U.S. State Department, April 27, 1945.

39. "Wei Mei ji hongzha Guangzhou lunxianqu zhi Mei zongtong Luosifu (letter to President Roosevelt regarding the bombing of occupied Guangzhou by American airplanes)," dated April 10, 1943, in *Humble Words from Abroad*, 9-13; "Ku Feng Zhonglian nüshi" (Weeping for Ms. Fung Joong Lim), poem in *Chinese Nationalist Daily of America*, November 21, 1943.

40. The following letters and essays are some examples: February 28, 1945 letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt urging political democracy in China (23-30); October 16, 1945 letter to Representative Mansfield protesting American armed forces interfering in China's internal politics (32-35); August 30, 1946 letter protesting the arrogant attitude of U.S. marines towards Chinese people of North China (39-44).

41. "Zhi Huagong Hezuo Hui shu (Letter to Chinese Workers Mutual-Aid Association)," dated November 17, 1941, in *Humble Words from Abroad*, 1-2.

42. "Buyao hu Heiren wei Heigui (We should not refer to black people as black devils)," dated March 13, 1957, in *Humble Words from Abroad*, 70-71.

43. "Guanyu Meiguo xiaoxue shehui yanjiu de jiaocai (On curriculum materials for social studies in U.S. elementary schools)," in *Humble Words from*

Abroad" 47-54; "Meiguo Huaqiao lishi zatan (Miscellany on Chinese American History), *Mingqing*, May 18, 1957, no. 3, 11-12.

44. "Jing gao qiaobao zhi you xuanjuquan zhe" (Respectfully inform our compatriots that they have the right to vote in the United States), *Humble Words from Abroad*.

45. Immigration Officer's Report sent by Department of Justice to United States Consul General in Hong Kong, September 11, 1953.

46. Letter, Jung Oi-won to Jung Duck Gin, August 26, 1956.

47. Zhang Cai'an, Luo Guanqun, "Zhang Aiyun shilue (Short biography of Jung Oi-won)," *Sun Zhongshan yu Xinhai Geming shiliao zhuanji* (Special collection of historical materials on Sun Yat-sen and the 1911 revolution), Zhongguo Renmin Zhengzhi Xieshang Huiyi Guangdong Sheng Weiyuanhui Wenshi Ziliao Yanjiu Weiyuanhui, eds. (Historical materials research committee, Guangdong provincial committee; Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1981), 237-240; letter, Jung Jit May to Jung Duck Gin, December 9, 1958.

48. *Zini Zhang Shi Jiapu* (Genealogy of the Jung family of Jee Nai), hereafter referenced as *Genealogy of the Jung Family*; Cheung Ming testimony to immigration inspector W. H. Weber, San Francisco, January 21, 1909.

49. *Genealogy of the Jung Family*. Long Sang Tai Company was a Chinese art goods store on Manhattan dealing with a Caucasian clientele. In 1913 its address was 293 Fifth Avenue, New York.

50. *Genealogy of the Jung Family*; Karen Clark, "Chinese Doctors Introduce New Forms of Healing," *The Hanford Sentinel*, special section, "The Immigrant Chinese," March 1983. (This article was reprinted by permission in the *Bulletin of the Chinese Historical Society of America*, 19, no.3 [March 1984]). L. T. Sue was a practitioner of traditional Chinese medicine. His herb store and office were located at 15 China Alley. The reputation of L. T. Sue's skills spread beyond the Chinese community in Hanford and he attracted patients of the Caucasian and other races from the surrounding San Joaquin valley.

51. *Genealogy of the Jung Family*. Wai Gee Dak was the proprietor of Quong Ying Kee, said to be one of the leading firms in the business. It was located at 708 Commercial Street.

52. *Meizhou Jinshan Guomin Jiujiju gemingjun chouxiang zhengxinlu* (Record of income and disbursements of the fund-raising campaign for the revolutionary army by the National Relief Bureau of San Francisco in America) (San Francisco: 1912). Page 13 of the publication shows that a Zhang Ming in Hanford donated ten dollars which was collected on the fifth day of the ninth moon. Zhang Ming was probably Zhang Zhaoming, the name given to Jung Gang Yu (Ming S. Jung) at birth.

53. Deng Jiayan, "Zhongguo Guomindang kenqin dahui shi-mo ji" (The story of the convention of the Nationalist Party of China), in *Zhonghua Gemin-dang shiliao (Geming wenxian di-45 ji)* (History of the Chinese Revolutionary Party [45th collection of documents on the revolution]) (Taipei: Zhongyang Wenwu Gongyingshe, 1969). Jung Gang Yu's name was listed among the 174 San Francisco party members contributing toward a fund to help defray expenses of the convention. He donated one dollar, which was the amount given by the largest number of party members.

54. *Genealogy of the Jung Family*. In 1915 Japan made demands on President Yuan Shikai to grant them special privileges in China. Yuan, looking for support for his ambition to be emperor, readily signed an agreement. Chinese in China and abroad, however, arose in protest. In America, Chinese boycotted Japanese goods and refused to ship cargoes on Japanese vessels. However, at that time the only alternative shipping available was that of the British, who had taken their vessels out of the Pacific shipping routes for use as troop carriers in World War I. Chinatown merchants then pooled their capital to establish the China Mail Steamship Company. The shipping firm operated until 1923 when it declared bankruptcy.

55. *Genealogy of the Jung Family*.

56. *Qiao-Mei Zhongguo Guomin Waijiao Hui zhounian jinian hui Bei Meizhou Huaqiao da hui he ji* (Combined proceedings of the conference commemorating the first anniversary of the founding of the Chinese National Welfare Society in America and the conference of North American Chinese) (San Francisco: n.d.).

57. *Genealogy of the Jung Family; Meiguo Sanfanshi quan qiao gongli Donghua Yiyuan 40 zhounian zhuankan* (Special publication to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the community-established Chinese Hospital in San Francisco, U.S.A.) (San Francisco: Chinese Hospital, 1963), 30, 40, 54, 70. The community organizations that founded the Chinese Hospital were the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, Ning Yung Benevolent Association, Sue Hing Benevolent Association, Hop Wo Benevolent Association, Kong Chow Benevolent Association, Yeung Wo Benevolent Association, Sam Yup Benevolent Association, Yan Wo Benevolent Association, Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Chinese American Citizens Alliance Grand Lodge, Chinese Christian Union of San Francisco, Chinese Young Men's Christian Association, General Branch in America of the Nationalist Party of China, General Headquarters of the Chinese Constitutionalist Party, General Headquarters in America of the Chee Kung Tong.

The other two of the trio who bought the land for the hospital were Zheng Ruoyu (Jang Yeuk Yu) and Tan Ruituan (Taam Yoey Teun).

It is not known why M. S. Jung resigned his position at the hospital. On page 40 of the fortieth anniversary commemorative album there was an item dated May 29, 1925, as follows:

"Deputy Superintendent M.S. Jung reported the following at the board of trustees meeting: Due to the low compensation, workers at the hospital have united in requesting increases in their salaries. If the request is not granted, no one will report for work on the first of the following month. Jung also asked for an increase in his salary."

It is not known what decision was made by the board but this was during a period when the hospital faced many financial problems. The threatened cessation of work apparently did not occur, but subsequently a number of the staff was said to have submitted resignations. The difficulty of raising a family on the meager compensation may also have been the reason prompting Ming S. Jung's decision to resign.

58. *Chinese Times*, February 10, 1971.

59. Yuk Ow, Him Mark Lai, and P. Choy, *A History of the Sam Yup Benevolent Association in the United States, 1850-1974* (San Francisco: Sam Yup Benevolent Association, 1975), 104-112.

60. *Chinese World*, October 29, 1924.

61. *Chung Sai Yat Po*, March 31, 1924.

62. Letter from Ming S. Jung to Lt. R. J. McMillan, San Francisco, listing working experience and applying for position in Censorship Bureau, March 11, 1942, hereafter referenced as Jung letter of application.

63. *Chinese World*, April 1936.

64. Jung letter of application.

65. Office of Censorship personnel action notifications, June 16, 1943 and September 13, 1945.

66. *Chinese Times*, February 10, 1971.

## GLOSSARY

### PEOPLE

Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石  
Chinn, Thomas W. 陳參盛  
Cui Tongyue 崔通約  
Feng Zhonglian (Fung Joong Lim) 馮重廉  
Hall, James 何廷光  
He Lingyu (Ho Ling Yu) 何令輿  
Huang Boyao (Wong Bock You) 黃伯耀  
Huang Yunsu (Wong Wan Sue) 黃芸蘇  
Jiang Kanghu (Kiang Kang-hu) 江亢虎  
Ju Yuk (C. S. Yook) 趙昱  
Kang Youwei 康有為  
Lai, Him Mark 麥禮謙  
Lee, Chang Wah 李華傑  
Lee, Ching Wah 李華清  
Li Changbo (Lee Cheung Baak) 李長伯  
Li Junheng (Li Qi) 李鈞衡 (李七)  
Li Langshan (Lai Long Saan) 黎郎珊  
Li Shi 李氏  
Li Shi'nan (Lee See Nam) 李是男

Li Wang 李旺  
Li Zhoufang (Lee Cheuk Fong) 李卓芳  
Li Zongren 李宗仁  
Liang Qichao 梁啟超  
Liang Qinggui 梁慶桂  
Liang Renfu (Leung Yun Fu) 梁仁甫  
Liang Shuhao 梁述豪  
Liu Bang 劉邦  
Long Zhongji (Lung Joong Chup) 龍仲緝  
Luo So (Law So) 羅蘇  
Qiu Jin 秋瑾  
Situ Chao 司徒朝  
Su Dongpo 蘇東坡  
Su Luoting (Sue Lock Ting, L. T. Sue) 蘇樂亭  
Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan) 孫逸仙 (孫中山)  
Tan Ruituan (Taam Yoey Tuan) 譚翳端  
Tan Jiqing (Taam Gut Hing) 譚吉慶  
Tan Shi (Taam Shee) 譚氏  
Wang Shi 王氏  
Wei Bishan (Wai Bik Saan) 衛碧珊

Wei Qiongjiao (Wai King Giu, Mabel Wye) 衛瓊嬌  
Wei Zhide (Wye Gee Ock) 衛智德  
Wen Xiongfei (Won Hong Fei) 溫雄飛  
Wong, Daisy 黃杏玉  
Wong Kim Ark 黃金德  
Wu Hongzong (Mou Hung Tsung) 務洪宗  
Xiang Yu 項羽  
Xu Xilin 徐錫麟  
Yu the Consort 虞姬  
Yuan Shikai 袁世凱  
Yuen Shee 阮氏  
Zeng Bugui (Jung Bo Qui, Jang Boo Qui) 曾步規  
Zeng Xianzhi (Jung Hin Jee) 曾獻之  
Zhang Aiyun (Cheung Oy Wan, Jung Oi-won) 張懿蘊  
Zhang Can (Cheung Chan) 張燦, 張科燦  
Zhang Dehan (Jung Duck Hon, Robert Jung) 張德漢  
Zhang Dehui (Jung Duck Wai, Edmund Jung) 張德惠  
Zhang Dejian (Jung Duck Gin) 張德建  
Zhang Delin (Jung Duck Lun, Allen Jung) 張德鄰  
Zhang Deti (Jung Duck Tai) 張德提  
Zhang Dexian (Jung Duck Yen) 張德賢  
Zhang Gongmin 張公民  
Zhang Huaijin (Jung Wai Gun, Lucille Jung) 張懷瑾  
Zhang Jiema (Jung Jit May) 張節薇  
Zhang Jinyu (Cheung Gum Yook) 張金玉

Zhang Jingru (Jung Gang Yu, Ming S. Jung) 張鏡如  
Zhang Jiuguo 張九皋  
Zhang Jiuling 張九齡  
Zhang Liang 張良  
Zhang Shaoliang 張紹良  
Zhang Shilong 張世龍  
Zhang Huafu (Cheung Waa Foo) 張華敷  
Zhang Wenming 張文明  
Zhang Xiangzhou 張襄舟, 張顯樞  
Zhang Yan 張琰  
Zhang Zhaoming (Cheung Siuming, Cheung Ming) 張兆明  
Zhang Zhaoxiang (Cheung Siu-cheung, Cheung) 張兆祥  
Zhaoyun 朝雲  
Zheng Ruoyu (Jang Yeuk Yu) 鄭若愚

### GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATIONS

Annam 安南  
Anhui 安徽  
Anqing 安慶  
Changzhou (Cheung Jau) 長洲  
Chongqing (Chungking) 重慶  
City of Five Rams 五羊城  
Daimao Alley 玳瑁巷  
Dishipo (Dai Sup Po) 第十甫  
Dongli Lane 東里坊  
First Area of Panyu 番禺第一區  
Fujian 福建  
Guangdong 廣東  
Guangzhou Prefecture 廣州府  
Huaxian (Fa Yuen) 花縣  
Hankou 漢口

Heshan 鶴山  
 Jiaotang Subdivision 交塘司  
 Jingzhou 荊州  
 Lang Son 諒山  
 Liaoning 遼寧  
 Longjiang 龍江  
 Lubu Subdivision 鹿步司  
 Mianzhu 綿竹  
 Mudeli Subdivision  
 慕德里司  
 Nanhai 南海  
 Nanjing (Nanking) 南京  
 Nanxiong 南雄  
 Panyu (Punyu) 番禺  
 Qujiang 曲江  
 Saigon 西貢  
 Shandong 山東  
 Shaoxing 紹興  
 Shawan Subdivision 沙灣司  
 Shunde 順德  
 Wuchang 武昌  
 Wuhu 蕪湖  
 Xiguan (Sai Guan) 西關  
 Yangzi River 揚子江, 長江  
 Zhejiang 浙江  
 Zhujixiang 珠璣巷  
 Zini (Jee Nai) 紫坭

INSTITUTIONS,  
 BUSINESSES

Books and Newspapers  
 Reading Room 閱書報社  
 Chang Family Association  
 張家公所  
 Chew Yee Association  
 昭義公所  
 China Emporium  
 中華國貨公司  
 China Mail Steamship  
 Company 中國郵船公司  
 Chinese American Citizens  
 Alliance, Grand Lodge  
 同源總會  
 Chinese American Mercan-  
 tile Company  
 中美商務洋行

Chinese American Youth  
 Club 三藩市華僑民主  
 青年團  
 Chinese Chamber of  
 Commerce  
 金山中華總商會  
 Chinese Christian Union of  
 San Francisco  
 三藩市華人基督教聯會  
 Chinese Consolidated  
 Benevolent Association,  
 Chinese Six Companies  
 中華總會館  
 Chinese Constitutionalist  
 Party, General  
 Headquarters  
 中國憲政黨總部  
 Chinese Empire Reform  
 Association 中國維新會,  
 保皇會, 帝國憲政會  
 Chinese Hospital 東華醫院  
 Chinese National Welfare  
 Society in America  
 僑美國國民外交會  
 Chinese Workers Mutual-Aid  
 Association  
 加省華工合作會  
 Chinese Y.M.C.A.  
 中華基督教青年會  
 Conference of North  
 American Chinese  
 北美洲華僑大會  
 Chong How Association  
 昌後堂  
 Da-Qing academy  
 大清書院  
 Da-Qing Qiaomin Gongli  
 Xiaoxuetang  
 大清僑民公立小學堂  
 Datong Xuetang 大同學堂  
 First Provincial Normal  
 School  
 省立第一師範學校  
 Give Up Opium Society  
 戒煙社  
 Guangdong Commission of  
 Overseas Chinese Affairs  
 廣東省僑務委員會

Guangdong Gaodeng  
 Xuetang 廣東高等學堂  
 Guangdong Provincial Rural  
 Normal School 廣東省立  
 鄉村師範學校  
 Guangdong University  
 廣東大學  
 Guangfuhui 光復會  
 Guangyu Xiaoxuetang  
 廣育小學堂  
 Guangzhou Municipal  
 Commercial School  
 廣州市市立商業學校  
 Guangzhou Municipal  
 Normal School  
 廣州市市立師範學校  
 Henan Middle School  
 河南中學校  
 Hop Wo Benevolent  
 Association 合和總會館  
 Jinmen Xuetang 金門學堂  
 Kong Chow Benevolent  
 Association 岡州總會館  
 Kuo Min University  
 國民大學  
 Kuomintang 中國國民黨  
 Liangguang Daxue  
 兩廣大學  
 Liben School for Girls  
 立本女學校  
 Long Sang Tai 隆盛泰  
 Lung Kong Tin Yee  
 Association  
 龍岡親義總公所  
 Luoyang Senior Primary  
 School 螺陽高等小學  
 Mingxin Shushu 明新書塾  
 Mingyilou (Ming Yee  
 Building) 名義樓  
 Mingyitang (Ming Yee Tong)  
 名義堂  
 Nationalist Party of China,  
 General Branch in  
 America 中國國民黨駐  
 美總支部  
 Ning Yung Benevolent  
 Association 寧陽總會館

Qishi Xuetang 求賢學堂  
 Qixiang 七鄉  
 Qunzhong Shushe  
 群眾書社  
 Quong Hong Hai 廣同泰  
 Quong Ying Kee 廣英記  
 Revolutionary Treasury  
 中華革命籌餉局  
 Sam Yup Benevolent  
 Association 三邑總會館  
 Sang Wo 生和  
 Shehuizhuyi Tongzhi Hui  
 社會主義同志會  
 Sue Hing Benevolent  
 Association 肇慶總會館  
 Sun Yat-sen University  
 中山大學  
 Tongmenghui 中國同盟會  
 Tsue Wo 聚和  
 Whampoa Military Academy  
 黃埔軍校  
 Workers' Movement Lecture  
 and Study Institute of the  
 Guangzhou Branch of the  
 Kuomintang 廣州市黨部  
 工人運動講習所  
 Xin Shehui 新社會  
 Xin-Yue Nüzi Fazheng  
 Jiangxisuo  
 新粵女子法政講習所  
 Yan Wo Benevolent  
 Association 人和總會館  
 Yee Shan Society 禺山信局  
 Yeung Wo Benevolent  
 Association 陽和總會館  
 Young China Association  
 少年學社  
 Youth Press 英年印務局  
 Zengjian Donghua Yiyuan  
 Choujuan Ju  
 增建東華醫院籌捐局  
 Zhigongtang (Chee Kung  
 Tong), General  
 Headquarters in America  
 洪門致公總堂

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WORKS

Chinese Free Press.

Chinese Republic Journal

〈大同日報〉

Chinese Times

〈金山時報〉

Chinese World

〈世界日報〉

Chung Sai Yat Po

〈中西日報〉

Diguozhuyi neimu

〈帝國主義肉幕〉

Jiezhì shengyu

〈節制生育〉

Kuo Min Yat Po

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Youth (1909)

〈美洲少年報〉

Youth (1941) 〈英年報〉

## MISCELLANEOUS TERMS

Danjia (Tanka) 蟹家

haak guai 黑鬼

xiangsheng 庠生

xiucai 秀才

Xuanwei Weiyuan

宣慰委員

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"Guanyu Meiguo xiaoxue shehui yanjiu de jiaocai," 47-54. 第47-54頁: 〈關於美國小學社會研究的教材〉。

"Wo de xiangcun wenhua yundong," 64-67. 第64-67頁: 〈我的鄉村文化運動〉

"Nanjing tao nan ji," 67-68. 第67-68頁: 〈南京逃難記〉。

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Couplet eulogizing martyrs of the April 7, 1911 uprising in Guangzhou:

武夫身手，文士才猷，數十個烈魂英魄，點綴中華新歷史；  
內地出命，海外輸財，四百兆場鏖分道，移栽外國自由花。

張公民，曾步規  
*Young China*, Aug. 8, 1911

Poem with preface mourning death of Fung Joong Lim:

哭馮重廉女士(七律並序)

頃接家書，悉中民卅二年五月八日，盟機突襲廣州。官祿路、海珠路、光復路、一德路、惠福路等一帶，皆遭殃及，市民死傷千餘人，或說千餘人。重廉赴市購物，順道探望戚家，由戚家出門，未及五分鐘，遂遇難於途云。感傷而作：

離合悲歡逆料難，  
早（《海外芻言》作“只”）知夙業造前因；  
山河破碎千秋恨，  
蟻蟻傷亡一念嗔；  
曾有虞姬隨項羽，  
竟無坡老葬朝雲；  
五羊城外遺芳冢（《海外芻言》作“五羊百里芳縱香”），  
萬頃波濤夢裡魂。

張鶴縉  
*Kuo Min Yat Po*, Nov. 21, 1943

## THE J'UNGS OF JEE NAI IN CALIFORNIA

