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Chinese Regional Solidarity: Case Study of the Hua Xian (Fa Yuen) Community in California

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The Chinese community in America consists of a number of smaller subcommunities each of which is tied together by common bonds. Among immigrants one of the important determinants is a common geographic area of origin, with its attendant commonality of dialect and customs. These factors foster a spirit of common identity, often leading to intragroup mutual aid and support.

Hua Xian (Fa Yuen)* immigrants and their descendants comprise one such subcommunity in America. This essay analyzes the evolvement of this community, initially a small population without much economic power, that by means of bonds of solidarity generated by origin from a common geographic area in China, reinforced in many cases by kinship and intermarriages, established a mutual support network to survive and to improve the social and economic status of its members. It also examines the effect of the American environment on this behavior as the immigrants become a part of the American mainstream.

HUA XIAN HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

Hua Xian is a *qiaoxiang*, or emigrant county, in Guangdong Province, located close to the northern edge of the Pearl River delta (see maps 1 and 2). The county has an area of 958 square kilometers (370 square

* Wherever possible, names of Chinese individuals in the United States appear here as commonly used by them in American society. Other names are transliterated in pinyin from Mandarin or transliterated from the Cantonese. Personal names of individuals in the United States are given with the surname last, while those for individuals in China and Hong Kong are given with surname first in accordance with the customs in those respective societies.

miles; as compared with 531 square miles for San Mateo County in California) with a population of 454,000 in the mid-1980s. Before 1993 the county was part of Guangzhou Shi. In October 1993 it was elevated to *xianjishi* (county-level city) status under Guangzhou Shi, and its name was changed to Huadu Shi. The old name Hua Xian will be used in this essay.[1]

The northern and eastern parts of the county are mountains from which the elevation gradually decreases to lowlands in the south and west. Two thirds of the population speak the Cantonese dialect, while the remaining third, mostly in the mountainous areas, are Hakka-speaking.[2]

Hua Xian was established relatively late in Guangdong history. In 1686 the Manchu imperial government, which had just succeeded the Ming dynasty, decided that a separate administration was needed in the region to more effectively suppress brigands, based in mountain lairs, who had menaced the surrounding countryside for more than a century. Parts were carved out of neighboring Nanhai (Namhoi) and Panyu (Punyu) counties to form the new county Hua Xian, so named because of the Hua Shan (flower mountains) in its northern region.[3]

Hua Xian was smaller in land area and population than either Nanhai or Panyu. About 70 to 80 percent of the terrain consists of level plains marking the fringes of the Pearl River delta, and during the Qing dynasty most of the population was involved in agriculture. Hua Xian, however, was much visited by natural calamities. According to local records, during the two centuries from its founding to the mid-twentieth century there were fifty-four relatively major floods and twenty-seven droughts. Out of this environment evolved a hardworking peasantry who led frugal lives but who were also often willing to take chances to improve their lots. Many left their village walls for economic reasons, hastened at times by nature.[4]

Political developments in the county also impelled large-scale emigration from the county during the mid-nineteenth century. Hua Xian was the native county of Hong Xiuquan and Feng Yunshan, both Hakkas, who led the Taiping insurrection in Guangxi in 1851. Other Hua Xian Hakkas also joined this rebellion, which established the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and almost overturned Manchu imperial rule in China. By 1852 vengeful imperial forces had arrived at Hua Xian to arrest family members and relatives of the rebel leaders and to desecrate their ancestral graves. Many villagers in the area had to disguise

their surnames and flee the region. After the Taipings were finally defeated in the 1860s, other villagers who had joined the Taipings dared not return home and also sought shelter in other parts of China and abroad. It is claimed that Reverend C. C. Hung, founder of the Chinese Community Church in Washington, D.C., in 1935, is a descendant of Prince Lang of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, who had been such a fugitive.[5]

The 1850s also saw fighting in the county as part of a series of Triad-led Red Turban uprisings erupting all over the Pearl River delta. In 1864 and 1865 Gan Xian from Yahu village in neighboring northern Panyu (today Guangzhou's Baiyun Qu [white cloud district]) led a rebel army comprising many Panyu and Hua Xian villagers to attack the Hua Xian county seat, which it twice occupied during a period of nine months. During the same period Hua Xian martial arts master Zhu Ziyi led another uprising in neighboring Sanshui County. When the Manchu authorities finally gained the upper hand in the fighting, they ordered mass arrests and executions of rebels and their alleged sympathizers all over the Pearl River delta. Thousands had to flee the region.[6]

The first choice of many Hua Xian people seeking to improve their economic lots was to go to Guangzhou (Canton), only about seventeen miles to the southeast. There villagers had the flexibility of making money when times were prosperous and yet returning to the safety of the home village during bad and unstable times. A permanent Hua Xian community eventually evolved in Guangzhou, consisting of about 35,000 people in the mid-twentieth century. It is not clear when the first Hua Xian peasants began coming to the city, but the prosperity due to Guangzhou's maritime commerce before the Opium War undoubtedly attracted many from the surrounding countryside, including Hua Xian.

Beginning with the last half of the nineteenth century, when Hong Kong was also evolving into a major international entrepôt, that port city became another destination for Hua Xian migrants. By the 1980s their population in the colony was estimated at 67,000.

Hua Xian people also joined the wave of Chinese emigrants going abroad to colonies and frontier regions that the Western powers were beginning to develop during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to village accounts Jiang (Gong/Kong) clan villagers from Donghua were said to have emigrated abroad to Vietnam as early as the 1790s during the Qianlong reign era. When the coolie trade developed to supply laborers for Western colonies, Hua Xian villagers were also

among the hapless victims; however, most went abroad as credit-ticket or voluntary emigrants.[7]

Today Hua Xian emigrants and their descendants number about 210,000, residing in more than thirty countries in Southeast Asia, the Americas, and Europe. They are most numerous in Vietnam, the United States, Panama, Singapore, and Malaysia. During the past two decades the Hua Xian populations in Australia and other Western countries have also increased, largely owing to the re-migration from Vietnam.

The movement of Hua Xian villagers has been governed strongly by chain migration in which earlier emigrants assist relatives and fellow villagers to migrate to areas where the former have successfully settled. This process has resulted in Hua Xian populations in different parts of the world that trace their origins to different areas in the ancestral county. Thus Hua Xian Hakkas are found mostly in Peru and Panama, while Hua Xian emigrants in the United States, mainly concentrated in northern and central California, are largely Cantonese-speaking. The majority in America came from an area of approximately two to three miles in extent in Huashan Zhen in the central part of the county, including the villages of Luochang (Lok Cheung), Pingshan, Donghua, Pingdong, Lianglong, and Yongming. The predominant surnames among the immigrants to America are Jiang (Gong/Kong) and Liu (Lau/Low/Lowe), which comprised about 40 to 50 percent and 20 percent respectively of the Hua Xian people in this country during the 1930s. Although there has been an increase in immigrants from other areas of Hua Xian, indications are that these two surnames still comprise about 60 percent of the community in the 1990s.[8]

Because of role models and assistance provided by fellow villagers and clan members, the Hua Xian community in a particular location abroad also has a tendency to cluster in similar occupations. For example, up to the mid-twentieth century many in Guangzhou started with raising hogs or making bean curd and then became peddlers or shopowners selling wonton and noodles; others dealt in rice, liquor, and oil. Some were herb doctors and chefs; many Hua Xian Hakkas became barbers. A few were major entrepreneurs and public officials.[9] In Hong Kong many Hua Xian people also operated farms or opened butcher shops. A few became prominent in business and the arts.[10]

In Vietnam many Hua Xian immigrants operated family groceries, rice mills, and liquor distilleries, or were noodle hawkers. During the first half of the twentieth century Hua Xian female workers, distinguished by their blue bandannas, were a familiar sight at Singapore construction sites. Other Hua Xian immigrants started as shopkeepers and laborers, and a few became industrialists. In Panama many opened bars and restaurants; in California they started with laundries, restaurants, and farms, shifted to meat markets and then became prominent in the supermarket business.[11]

GROWTH OF THE COMMUNITY IN CALIFORNIA

The exact date the first Hua Xian immigrants arrived in the United States is still shrouded in the mist of history, and many of the following accounts of early Hua Xian immigrants still need to be corroborated by documentation. According to the genealogy of the Liu clan of Pingshan, Liu Juewen was a seaman. Later he went to Hawaii to work as a woodchopper (possibly harvesting sandalwood), and then in 1815 he moved to the United States mainland, where he became a watchman. A few years later the brothers Liu Huzheng and Liu Huwen came to America. During the same period Jiang Yuchun from the same area, who had worked on a Western vessel in Macao, also arrived on the U.S. mainland, where he married a Western woman and opened a laundry. He was nicknamed Faan Gwai Chun (Chun the Barbarian).[12]

Hua Xian people may have come with the first wave of Chinese arriving in California during the Gold Rush, for in 1854 one San Francisco newspaper item mentioned that membership in the Sanyi Huiguan (Sam Yup Association, Sam Yup Company) consisted of people from four counties around Canton, i.e., the Sanyi (Sam Yup or three counties), consisting of Nanhai, Panyu, and Shunde (Shuntak), plus a fourth unnamed county that may well have been Hua Xian.[13]

Oral accounts of Luochang villagers claim that the first group from that village to emigrate to America were several dozen who left during the Guangxu reign era (1874–1908). Most became laborers, but one Jiang Qipeng, who was said to have arrived around 1880, eventually completed a technical curriculum in Portland and is said to be one of the earliest persons from Hua Xian to have had a college education in America.[14] Other pioneers were said to have worked on the railroad. Based on the time period mentioned, some may have worked on Southern Pacific Railroad's San Joaquin Valley lines and the Northern Pacific Railroad.[15]

Although Hua Xian was not considered one of the Sam Yup counties, owing to Hua Xian's close geographical proximity to the counties, the spoken dialects and customs were closely related. Thus Hua Xian people in the United States often associated with Sam Yup people, especially with those from adjoining northern Panyu (the present Baiyun Qu of Guangzhou). By the 1870s, both Chinese traveler Li Gui (in 1876) and minister Chen Lanbin (in 1878) noted in their travel diaries that Hua Xian people were part of the constituency of the Sam Yup Association.[16]

Sam Yup people established a large community in San Francisco during the mid-nineteenth century and from there expanded into the rural areas, establishing branches of the Sam Yup Asssociation wherever there was a sufficient concentration of Sam Yup people to justify such services. During the 1850s and 1860s there were at least five Sam Yup Association branches to serve constituents in gold mining areas in the Sierra foothills and in the Pacific Northwest. By the 1880s six more branches appeared in growing agricultural centers in northern and central California. Of these, four were in San Joaquin Valley towns where major concentrations of Sam Yup people had sprung up when the region's economic development accelerated after completion of the San Joaquin Valley rail line. The founding dates are as follows:

Locality	*Founding Date*
San Francisco, California	1851
Stockton, California	1851
Sacramento, California	1854
Folsom, California	1850s
Angel's Camp, California	1857
Portland, Oregon	1864
Sebastopol, California	1880
Merced, California	1880
Bakersfield, California	1880
Hanford, California	1886
Fresno, California	1888
San Jose, California	1889[17]

Many Hua Xian immigrants migrated to localities with concentrations of Sam Yup people. Some were part of the Sam Yup thrust into the San Joaquin valley. A few may have been laborers hired to construct the railroad who then settled in the region. Most others came later, when the region's economy began growing. For example, the progenitor of the Wing family of Hanford's Imperial Dynasty restaurant, Ting Shu Gong (Shu Wing Gong or Henry Gong), arrived at Grangeville in 1881 and then moved on to Hanford in 1883.[18]

However, during the nineteenth century the Hua Xian community in America remained small. It is of interest that both previously mentioned citations, from Li Gui and Chen Lanbin, listed Hua Xian last out of the counties whose emigrants to America were members of Sam Yup Association. Even at the turn of the century, two decades later, the population was only an estimated 100 to 150.[19]

One factor contributing to this small population was Hua Xian's location on the outskirts of the Pearl River delta region. Its relative distance from the emigration port of Hong Kong made it a secondary source for recruiting labor for work abroad. Also, points such as Guangzhou, Hong Kong itself, and later Vietnam, the Malay Peninsula, and Singapore were much more geographically accessible. Moreover, Hua Xian did not have a well-developed commercial economy compared to its Sam Yup neighbors, and there were relatively few Hua Xian merchants to provide the network and go-between connections that facilitated emigration.

A few Hua Xian immigrants began to arrive during the 1870s, when there was a great demand for Chinese labor in California. But during this same period there was already a rise in anti-Chinese sentiment in the West, and by the time more Hua Xian immigrants were ready to come, the passage of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act had slammed the door in their faces.

During the first decades of the new century, nature and human beings created conditions impelling greater emigration from the ancestral land. A great drought and insect pestilence in 1902 led to a disastrous harvest. Major floods occurred in 1908, 1914, and 1915. The political situation in the Pearl River delta was also unstable during the decade after the 1911 Revolution, and the sporadic fighting in the area between contending factions adversely affected normal trade and commerce.[20] This situation provided additional motivation for Hua Xian people to migrate abroad.

By this time the Chinese Exclusion Act was being strictly enforced to ban Chinese entries into the United States. However, the Chinese devised various stratagems to circumvent the exclusion act and gain entry. Among the Hua Xian people, some became seamen or bribed crewmen to allow them to be stowaways on trans-Pacific vessels and then jump ship at port. Others took passage to countries neighboring on

the United States and were smuggled across the borders. Many came by way of Mexico, especially from Baja California, where during the first two decades of the twentieth century many Hua Xian villagers were among Chinese laborers recruited to transform the desert into productive farms and cotton fields. Mexicali became a temporary way station where organized rings smuggled them into the United States. A Sam Yup Association established in the border town was also available to provide assistance.[21]

By far the most prevalent methods of entering the country were to claim exempt status, usually as a merchant or a merchant's spouse and children, or citizenship status. Many paid mercantile establishments to list them as partners, and some stores ended up with extraordinarily large numbers of partners. For example, Fong Tai and Company, a small store owned by Hua Xian people in San Francisco with $40,000 capital, shows forty partners with shares of $1,000 each in partnership lists filed with immigration authorities.[22] Many others bought papers claiming citizenship status as native-born (persons born in the United States and persons born abroad with at least one American parent). In particular, the destruction of city official birth records in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and fire provided an opportunity for many Chinese immigrants to claim that they were American-born.

Since the existing pool of Hua Xian immigrants was extremely small, with only a limited number of surnames, the odds were extremely high that an individual's paper surname would not be the same as the individual's real surname. Thus, although many in the Gong clan entered with their real surnames spelled as Gong or Kong, others became variously Chin, Ow, Dun, Don, Jung, Young, and so forth. Similarly some Lau clan members became Wong and Gong, and so on.

Often the same immigrant tried using different identities at different times to enter the land of opportunity. For example, Lan Fong Gong was an illegal entry from Mexico in 1912 who became the chef at San Francisco's Port Arthur Cafe using the name Gong Lan Chu. After a six-month visit to China in 1922 he reentered America legally via New York as Lan Fong Gong, a staff member of the Chinese diplomat Zhu Zhaoxin, and wended his way back to San Francisco to resume his former occupation. Sometimes even different members of the same family had vastly different experiences in their dealings with immigration authorities. For example, one of Gong's sons entered as a paper son but was deported just before the outbreak of the Second World War. After the war he arranged to stow away in a trans-Pacific vessel and jumped ship at port to return to San Francisco.[23]

At this time most members of the California Hua Xian community were workers with limited resources. Many made use of the Chinese rotating credit system *hui* to borrow the funds to finance the passage of relatives coming to America. Hua Xian native Zhu Zhaoxin, who served as Chinese consul-general in San Francisco from 1918 to 1921, was one of the persons credited with encouraging the practice. Whatever the source of the inspiration, the practice became widespread among Hua Xian immigrants in America after World War I.[24]

Overcoming legal and financial hurdles, the Hua Xian community in America grew steadily. By the 1930s it numbered between several hundred and a thousand, concentrated mostly in San Francisco and the San Joaquin Valley.[25]

After World War II many Hua Xian immigrants who had served in the armed forces visited China and brought back "war brides." Many of these were only too glad to escape from the rapidly deteriorating economic and political situation in China.

In 1965 the United States revised its immigration laws. Chinese immigrants were given equal treatment with other nationals and they were given a yearly quota of 20,000. Among the new immigrants were many from Hua Xian, some coming by way of Taiwan but most from Hong Kong. The number of people of Hua Xian ancestry registered at the Fa Yuen Association, including American-born offspring, was about 5,000 by the 1970s, an increase of about 25 percent from the early sixties.[26]

The People's Republic of China relaxed emigration restrictions during the late 1970s, and many from Hua Xian villages joined their relatives in America. Along with them came an increasing number of people of Hua Xian ancestry from troubled spots of the world, especially refugees from Vietnam beginning in the late 1970s. Thus the population of Hua Xian ancestry continued to increase rapidly. San Francisco and the San Joaquin Valley continued to be areas of concentration. A small community also sprang up in southern California. Current estimates of the population vary widely from 15,000 to more than 30,000.[27]

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Being from a poor county with limited commerce, most early Hua Xian immigrants had few skills to offer except their brawn. Some early Hua Xian immigrants worked on the railroads. They also branched out into other occupations as the economy developed in the West. In the San

Francisco Bay Area some undertook unskilled work such as sorting potatoes at the waterfront to be loaded as cargo. Others became subcontractors or workers who manufactured overalls and workers' clothes. Some former seamen became shrimp camp employees. Others worked for Chinese lottery companies. A few also carried on a tradition established in the ancestral land and became practitioners of Chinese herbal medicine. During the 1940s out of twenty-seven traditional physicians in San Francisco Chinatown four were from Hua Xian: Tin Bo Gong (Tin Bo Herbs Co.), Tin Shi Gong (Chon Shang Herbs Co.), G. Z. Kung, and Yick Dore Lew. Hua Xian people at that time probably comprised only 3 to 5 percent of the Chinese population in San Francisco.

From the late nineteenth century to the eve of World War II a number of Hua Xian immigrants were in the laundry business, competing with the more numerous Taishan laundrymen. During this period some enterprising Hua Xian laundries located near San Francisco's waterfront created business by periodically collecting soiled articles of clothing from crewmen for laundering. For example laundryman Yuey Foon Gong formed friendships with crewmen working on ferries plying between Stockton or Sacramento and San Francisco, and they regularly gave their laundry to Hop Lee Laundry at 507 Pacific Street, where both Gong and his father worked during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Another laundry having a similar clientele during the 1920s and 1930s was Tai Loy at 134 Jackson Street. Other laundries were located in smaller Bay Area cities such as South San Francisco and Richmond.[28]

At the turn of the century more modern enterprises and institutions began to appear in the San Francisco Chinese community. The telephone company established a China telephone exchange in Chinatown. Chinese-owned canneries appeared in the East and South Bay areas. San Francisco merchants who founded the first Chinese American bank also formed the San Francisco Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Hua Xian entrepreneurs were no less moved by the spirit of the times; however, they had only limited capital. Nevertheless in 1902 Chun Show and others established Fong Tai and Company at 957 Grant Avenue in Chinatown to tailor men's and women's clothing; sell lacquerware, curios and silks; and handle remittances to Hua Xian and neighboring Panyu. An important part of its business was also the sale of Chinese lottery tickets.[29] Although the business was small compared to the large import-export firms of fellow Sam Yup merchants, Fong Tai and Company was active in the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. When merchant

members of the Chamber pooled resources to establish the China Mail Steamship Company in 1915, Fong Tai also participated in raising the necessary capital. It was one of the eighty-five Chinatown mercantile establishments that took out bank promissory notes to raise $100,000. In keeping with the size of the business, however, its share was only a modest $500.[30]

Around the World War I period some Hua Xian entrepreneurs also invested in restaurants catering to a middle-class clientele. Chun Show was principal investor in the Port Arthur Cafe at 933 Market Street in downtown San Francisco. The restaurant was adorned with Chinese teak furniture, and the chef was Lan Fong Gong, reputed to be third best chef in Guangzhou.[31] An even more prominent entrepreneur was Dai Wah Low (D. W. Low), who had immigrated to San Francisco around 1907. He is said to have worked at a laundry and as a Chinatown telephone operator before he became principal founder in 1913 of Shanghai Low at 532 Grant Avenue, a restaurant that became known for its ornate Chinese decor. In the wake of Shanghai Low's successful operation, Low and others in the Chinese community in the 1920s founded the Shan Kong Association, capitalized at more than $200,000, and Low became board chairman. Low also was part owner of New Shanghai Tea Garden (later Club Shanghai) at 453 Grant Avenue, which opened around 1923. He was a founder of Grandview Motion Picture Company and the associated realty corporation, one of the owners of Goo Soo Inn and Great Eastern restaurants, and involved in other enterprises such as a women's apparel shop in Chinatown.[32]

Up to the late 1920s Fong Tai was the only major business establishment in the heart of Chinatown owned by Hua Xian people. The other major Hua Xian businesses were outside or on the outskirts of Chinatown. One possible explanation is that the Hua Xian population then lacked the numbers and capital in a community where clan and regional ties were still important determinants of the success or failure of a business. By the 1930s, as the Hua Xian population grew, a few other businesses appeared in the heart of Chinatown, such as the small grocery store Tung Sing at 737 Jackson Street, which also did a brisk business handling lottery tickets.[33] One block to the east, in the building where the Hua Xian Changshantang (Chong Sen Association) had a mailing address, was Goo Soo Inn at 649 Jackson Street. This restaurant later became Nanking Low, and after World War II the Lingnam and then Great Eastern restaurants, all with Hua Xian ownership. On the opposite side at 650 Jackson Street was Yat King Low, which operated from

the early thirties to the late 1950s. The streets near these two restaurants also became an area where Hua Xian people liked to meet and socialize. Another Hua Xian restaurant was Canton Low at 706 Grant Avenue. These restaurants catered mostly to individual customers and seldom shared in the lucrative banquet business that went to restaurants having connections with the more powerful family and district associations and tongs.

Many Hua Xian villagers had to leave San Francisco to find better economic opportunities. Some moved east of the Rockies and to the Pacific Northwest. For example, shortly after Port Arthur Cafe opened in San Francisco, Hua Xian people also started Port Arthur Restaurant in New York. During the mid-1930s, after Lan Fong Gong's son Homer Jung learned the meat business in Marysville, he went to Chicago to start a Mandarin Market. However, most Hua Xian people preferred to move to California's rural regions, where many became farm workers while others became sharecropppers and tenant farmers, some of whom became quite successful. For example, around the World War I period Woot Ham Gong and Jing Lau made small fortunes raising hops in the Sacramento area. During the same period Shu Wing Gong and his son Wing Chue Gong (Henry Chow Wing) had an enterprise involving fruit ranches in the Hanford area. Each year they would buy the fruit on the trees and then recruit workers to harvest the crop. At one point the family was handling ten to twelve ranches, hiring seven hundred to a thousand Chinese.[34]

During the 1930s, Hua Xian people were involved in several farms around the Modesto, Merced, and Madera areas growing vegetables to supply local towns and the San Francisco Bay Area. Other Hua Xian people were produce peddlers in the Fresno-Visalia area. However, the number of Hua Xian people in agriculture dropped after World War II as they increasingly turned to other economic pursuits. Although there were still farmers around the Fresno-Visalia area during the 1970s supplying Chinese fruits and vegetables for the market, by the 1980s refugees from the Indochina peninsula had largely supplanted them.[35]

There were fewer Hua Xian people in agriculture in other areas. In the Salinas area Lee Wong, in partnership with Japanese Americans, became a major supplier of green onions for a few years in the 1950s. He had a falling out with his partners and moved his operations to Arizona and then to Mexico.

Similar to their compatriots in San Francisco, hardworking Hua Xian people set up laundries in San Joaquin Valley towns, but most disappeared after World War II with the increasing entry of Hua Xian people into the meat and supermarket businesses. Others in the San Joaquin Valley went into the Chinese restaurant business.

There were a number of Hua Xian restaurateurs in the Fresno-Visalia-Hanford area. In the small town of Hanford alone, there were four such establishments during the 1930s. A well-known Hua Xian family in the business were the Wings. The grandfather, Shu Wing Gong, opened Mee Jan Low in Hanford around 1883. His son Henry Chow Wing, who arrived in this country in 1906, then took over the management. During the 1920s Henry Wing also opened Quong Jan Low in nearby Visalia, which for a time was managed by his cousins Howard Gong and Willie Chung Do. In 1937 Wing closed the venerable Mee Jan Low and opened the Chinese Pagoda Restaurant, which became one of the few restaurants in the area capable of serving Chinese banquets. After World War II Henry's children opened the Imperial Dynasty Restaurant adjacent to Chinese Pagoda. With Richard Wing as chef the restaurant has become known for its continental-style gourmet menu, and Richard Wing and his culinary creations have been singled out by the American Academy of Chefs, the International Wine and Food Society, and other such organizations for awards.[36] Hua Xian-owned establishments in other valley towns, such as the Shanghai Tea Garden in Modesto and others in Stockton and Fresno, also date to the 1920s and 1930s.[37]

It was in the meat and grocery businesses that Hua Xian people left their most visible marks. Information is unavailable regarding who was the first Hua Xian immigrant to work as a butcher. Many informants, however, credit the beginning of large-scale Hua Xian involvement in the meat business to the Mandarin and Company meat market. During World War I some Hua Xian people were partners and possibly others were employees at Wing Lee, a Sacramento meat market owned by immigrants from Jiujiang (Kowkong), Nanhai. After learning the skills of the trade, the Hua Xian butchers pooled their resources with other investors, mostly Hua Xian, to open Mandarin and Company, said to be the first Chinese-owned retail and wholesale meat market in Stockton.[38] The market did well in the post–World War I period of prosperity, supplying meat to Chinese restaurants and Chinese worker camps in nearby ranches and farms.

Over a number of years Mandarin and Company hired numerous Hua Xian immigrants and a few American-born of Hua Xian ancestry as apprentices. Those with surname Gong were especially numerous. As

neophytes acquired the skills of the trade, many would leave and open their own markets. Thus Mandarin and Company became known as the training ground for Hua Xian butchers. Hua Xian people also apprenticed at other markets, but Mandarin and Company, as the earliest successful major meat market opened by Hua Xian people, probably hired many more and a much higher proportion of Hua Xian people over a longer period of time.

Many Hua Xian butchers trained at Mandarin and Company eventually became employees at other Chinese meat markets in northern California. Others looked for opportunities to open their own shops. In the 1920s and 1930s a number of Chinese-owned meat markets were already in business in larger northern California cities such as San Francisco, Oakland, Sacramento, and Stockton. The Hua Xian latecomers thus had to seek opportunities in smaller rural communities where the situation was less competitive. In 1929 Fun Kwong, who learned the butchering trade in Los Angeles and then at Wing Lee, and several partners pooled their capital to purchase the Caucasian-owned Capitol Meat Market, which became the first Chinese-owned meat market in San Jose.[39] A few Hua Xian people moved to Portland in the Pacific Northwest. Other Hua Xian fellow villagers opened meat markets in small northern California towns such as Lodi and Marysville. However, the main thrust of the meat markets was into the San Joaquin Valley south of Stockton, where butchers joined the Hua Xian farmers, laundrymen, and restaurateurs who had preceded them.

Hua Xian meat market owners leapfrogged from Stockton to Central California, where many Sam Yup people had settled. During the mid-1920s several partners of Mandarin and Company opened another Mandarin in Fresno. During the same period or slightly afterward Lai Chung Low started National Meat Company, the first Hua Xian meat market in Visalia. In the late 1920s Lai Chung Low's cousin George Lowe, who had been his partner at the Visalia store, established National Market in nearby Hanford.[40] This shop became the first of a number of National Markets in various towns all of which were founded by different members of the Lau/Low/Lowe clan of Hua Xian ancestry. One even existed in San Francisco from the eve of World War II into the postwar years.

This branching out was typical for Hua Xian meat markets and later for supermarkets. Often after a store had been in business for a while, some partners, for whatever reason, wished to establish their own outlets. As apprenticed employees acquired the skills of the trade, some also considered striking out on their own. Sometimes friends and relatives who were already established even supplied loans or logistical support.

During the late twenties and early thirties Gong/Kong fellow clan members successively founded meat markets in Modesto some twenty miles south of Stockton and Merced thirty miles farther. On the coast Dick Kong and his family withdrew from San Jose's Capitol Market in 1934 to start State Market in the same city. His brother Carl Kong in turn opened a branch store in nearby Sunnyvale in 1941. On the Central California coast Fred Wong crossed the Coast Range during the late 1930s to Watsonville to establish the first Hua Xian market in Santa Cruz County. Around the same period others moved south of the Tehachapis into San Bernardino County.[41]

During this period before World War II there was still much prejudice against Chinese in California, and sometimes Hua Xian entrepreneurs would encounter hostile actions by local bullies. In such cases the Hua Xian people, being few in number, had no recourse but to retreat and look for friendlier communities. Established Hua Xian markets usually targeted as their clientele the working class of the rural areas, among which were many Mexicans.

Like Mandarin and Company, the various Hua Xian markets usually hired relatives or fellow villagers as employees, and a benign paternalistic relationship often existed between employers and employees. Students and new immigrants, often related to the owners, would often be taken on to fill low-paying part-time or apprentice positions. Family members also could become part of the work force, sometimes unpaid. Under these conditions operating costs were low, thus enabling the markets to compete effectively. These factors were not new, for they operated more or less effectively at Hua Xian farms, laundries, restaurants, and other businesses. The principal difference, however, was that meat markets and later the groceries were competing with Caucasian-owned businesses in mainstream society and besting the competition on a one-on-one basis, especially in small towns.

Labor unions have long attacked the long hours and low pay of Chinese-owned markets. Throughout the twenties and thirties labor unions often called for boycotts of Chinese meat markets. When San Jose's State Market opened for business in 1934 it was picketed by labor unions for thirteen consecutive months.[42] However, labor unions proved incapable of penetrating the group solidarity maintained between employer and employees in the meat markets, fostered by family and

clan ties as well as regional camaraderie, and they failed to organize the workers.

It was not long before some meat markets tried to broaden their services by adding grocery items. The National Markets in the small towns of Visalia and Hanford were said to be two of the earliest Hua Xian meat markets to take steps toward being stores that handled a diversity of items. Other Hua Xian meat markets subsequently also took up the practice. However, the principal business of most Hua Xian markets during the thirties was selling meat products, which had a faster turnover and required less capital outlay than groceries.

After the war California's economy mushroomed, and after the 1940s the state's agricultural production led all other states in the nation. The completion of the Central Valley Reclamation Project introduced water from Northern California south into the water-scarce San Joaquin Valley and enabled the valley, with its mild climate and fertile soil, to become California's most important region for agriculture. As the economy of the region prospered, so did Hua Xian businesses.

Along with the status of many other Chinese Americans, the economic status of Hua Xian people improved during World War II, and many had frugally accumulated savings. Some were attracted by the success of the earlier Hua Xian meat markets and sank their capital into other meat markets in rural California. An enterprising meat market owner during the decade after the end of World War II was Lee Wong of Monterey County. After Wong developed connections with a reliable supplier, he opened a meat market in Castroville in the late 1940s. Within a few short years he had expanded to a chain of six or seven meat counters in Santa Cruz, Monterey, and San Benito counties. He even leased a slaughterhouse in Hollister to ensure a reliable meat supply for his stores. However, Wong overextended his resources. When beef prices dropped during the 1950s and he was unable to pay his debts, he had to declare bankruptcy. He then turned to raising green onions.[43]

Another successful entrepreneur of Hua Xian ancestry during this same period was William Ding of Portland. During the war Ding, in partnership with Sam Wah You of Day Lite Meat Company and others, founded Brander Meat Company in Portland. Up to the 1960s this company with more than a hundred employees was one of the few successful Chinese-owned meat packing houses in the continental United States.[44]

Hua Xian entrepreneurs were among the earliest Chinese to open supermarkets. In 1939 farmer and restaurateur Lein Gong, restaurateur Yee Gong, and meat market owner Louis Gong opened Ukiah State Market, the first Hua Xian–owned establishment of this type. Just as Mandarin became the training ground for butchers, many Hua Xian people who later operated supermarkets were initiated into the intricacies of the business at Ukiah State Market.[45] However, it was not until the next decade that more Hua Xian people entered this field. In 1942 Hanford's Young family purchased Omata Market, a meat market with groceries, for a pittance when its Japanese American owners were interned in one of America's wartime concentration camps. Renamed State Market after the Ukiah market where Charles, the oldest of six brothers, and his sibling Edward had learned the supermarket business, it became the base from which the family expanded operations.[46]

After the war, as the California economy prospered and Hua Xian people accumulated more capital, the number of groceries and supermarkets increased markedly, especially in Central California. The same factors that promoted the proliferation of meat markets and ensured their success were effective in the operation of groceries and supermarkets. With trusted family members and fellow villagers holding key positions, these businesses competed on even terms with large supermarket chains. Based on bonds engendered by a common geographic origin and augmented by family and clan ties, these fellow-villager entrepreneurs formed in effect an informal mutual support network.

Many Hua Xian businesses have single owners, but it was also common for a number of partners to pool their capital. During the post-war period some among the older generation handed over their businesses to the second generation and a number of family-run corporations began to emerge. In Fresno, for example, Gong's Supermarket and Shopping Center, which was the largest Chinese-owned operation in Fresno when it opened in 1960, was owned and operated by Bob Gong, his three brothers and one sister, and two brothers-in-law. Another example is the corporation formed by Hanford's Young family. Under the leadership of eldest brother Charles H. Young, the family opened six supermarkets in Central California towns by the 1960s. However, the number of outlets has decreased to four by the 1990s.

The number of Hua Xian supermarkets increased rapidly during the 1950s and 1960s. A Fa Yuen Association leader who traveled the state in the sixties to raise funds for the association estimated that there were

about 300 meat markets, groceries, and supermarkets at that time.[47] The *Fah Yuen Association Directory* published in the mid-1970s, however, listed somewhat more than 150 Hua Xian groceries and supermarkets in California. If 1970 census population figures are used as a reference point, three-quarters of these businesses were located in towns with populations of 50,000 or less. About two-thirds were located in San Joaquin Valley towns.[48]

A number of markets were located in larger valley towns such as Fresno (1970 population 165,655), Stockton (1970 population 109,963), Bakersfield (1970 population 69,515), Modesto (1970 population 61,712), Visalia (1970 population 27,130), and Merced (1970 population 22,670). However, many more markets were in dozens of smaller valley towns with populations under 20,000. The number of Hua Xian–owned markets decreased markedly north of Stockton, at the north end of the San Joaquin Valley. There were also only a few markets in Southern California south of the Tehachapi Mountains.

Hua Xian supermarket entrepreneurs were most successful in the region centering on Visalia. In 1990 out of twelve supermarkets in Visalia, seven were owned by Chinese Americans, all of Hua Xian descent. This area also is the headquarters of several Hua Xian–owned supermarket chains similar to that established by Hanford's Young family. One is Jack Young's Supermarkets, founded in 1957 by Jack Young in Visalia, which has six stores in Bakersfield and Visalia. Its 1992 sales volume was $40 million. R-N Market, founded by So Chun in nearby Orosi in 1953 and later managed by his son Raymond, began its expansion later than Young's Supermarkets, but by 1992 it had the largest number of branch stores (eight) and total sales exceeded $25 million. Another chain based in Visalia was Fairway Market, headed by Joe Gong. It has four stores, and 1992 sales were $20 million. The Town and Country markets, owned and operated by cousins of the Lau/Low/Lowe clan, are another group that by 1991 have grown to seven markets in the towns of Porterville, Orosi, Lindsay, Kingsburg, Reedley, Selma, and Los Banos with a combined annual sales volume of $60 million.[49]

The second most active region for Hua Xian–owned supermarkets was the northern and central California coastal region between Ukiah in Mendocino County in the north and Arroyo Grande in San Luis Obispo County in the south. About a quarter of the Hua Xian–owned markets listed in the *Fah Yuen Association Directory* were in this region. In the

1970s there was only one Hua Xian market listed in the San Francisco–Oakland area. About half were located in the central California coastal region centering on Salinas, the largest city in the region (1970 population 58,896). At that time one of the largest Hua Xian–owned markets and the largest independent one was Bob Din's Star Market, one of five Hua Xian markets listed as being in Salinas.

Most supermarkets owned by Hua Xian people have single or at most two outlets. The largest is G & G, which is located not in the Central Valley but in growing Santa Rosa in northern coastal California. This market, founded in 1964 by Gee Kai Gong and later expanded, claimed a total sales area of 56,000 square feet; 15,000 to 25,000 square feet is usual in most supermarkets.

Many successful market owners sought to diversify their holdings. One such entrepreneur was McFarland supermarket owner William Gong, who opened one of the first Chinese-owned motels in the San Joaquin Valley, Palm Garden Motel, in 1956. Others followed in his footsteps as they accumulated capital. For example, Turlock's Doo family established Liberty Market in 1949 and later added a second outlet; the two became the major markets in the town. Subsequently at one time or another the family owned other businesses in the area, including a theater and all of the coin-operated launderettes.[50] Some acquired large parcels of land on which they developed shopping centers. They would rent out plots to various businesses and retain a portion on which to locate their supermarkets. One of the earliest such facilities was Valley Shopping Center, owned by Hua Xian immigrant Frank Low in partnership with Henry Yep from Hong Kong, which opened in 1955 in the small town of Kerman in Fresno County. Hua Xian–owned shopping centers have since appeared in many towns.

Like most Chinese of the old school, the Hua Xian people in their quest for economic betterment often gave up immediate gratification for possible future gains. Individuals had to have a venturesome spirit and the willingness to capitalize on favorable opportunities whenever and wherever they appeared. The following brief biographic sketches illustrate of this spirit.

Kan Don, one of the founders of Mandarin and Company, came to California in 1899 when he was about seventeen. Landed as a paper son after three months detention, he worked at first in his father's laundry in Snelling (near Merced), an establishment that was open seventeen hours daily. Subsequently he was a laundryman in Merced and Madera.

He also worked picking grapes in Fresno vineyards for five to six cents per basket. After the 1906 earthquake, he was associated for a few years with an Oakland overalls factory. At other times during his first two decades in California, Kan Don purchased crops, cultivated corn, and sold lottery tickets. He became one of the partners in Mandarin and Company when it opened in the early 1920s.[51]

Yuen Tim Gong arrived in San Francisco around the time Kan Don opened Mandarin and Company. After entering the United States under a paper name, Chin F. Sun, he worked at his first job in a laundry in which his brother was a partner. His wife joined him in this country in the early 1930s after he bribed immigration officials to facilitate her entry. The couple soon left San Francisco to work for a Hua Xian farmer near Madera. In the late thirties the family left the farm to sell produce in the Visalia area. After the war, with $30,000 in savings and $100,000 in loans and credits, Gong established Liberty Market in Patterson in 1954. With everyone pitching in and living frugally, the family retired the entire debt in three years![52]

Jack Young's life story is another saga illustrating how Hua Xian pioneers were ready to go anywhere there were opportunities. In 1916 Wang Huan came into the country as Hoy Young, a name he soon anglicized to Jack Young. After his wife joined him in the San Joaquin Valley in the early 1920s, the couple picked grapes in the vineyards. By the mid-thirties he was hawking produce in the Visalia area in partnership with several Hua Xian fellow villagers. After that he opened meat markets in Modesto and San Bernardino. During the war years Young returned to the San Joaquin Valley to raise produce and walnuts on a farm he purchased. With the money made during the period of wartime prosperity, Young opened a supermarket in 1950 in Visalia. This business expanded in subsequent years (as described previously).[53]

Although some Hua Xian businesses still appear to be flourishing, in some areas most have passed their peak. As populations in the rural towns grew, giant chains began to enter local markets to compete with the independents. Also, as land prices rose and the cost of capital increased, independents encountered higher operating expenses. And as business expanded they could no longer depend exclusively on operating with relatives and fellow villagers but had to compete for employees in the general labor market, usually leading to higher labor costs. Finally, the economic success gained by the hard work of the previous generation enabled their offspring to matriculate in colleges and universities. With the opening of more opportunities in American society for

ethnic minorities, many second- and third-generation Chinese Americans of Hua Xian ancestry were not particularly interested in following in their parents' footsteps. This trend became prevalent by the seventies when the postwar generation began to launch their careers. Many became professionals and engineers. A few were active in the performing arts. For example, Dennis Dun, grandson of one of the founders of Stockton's Mandarin and Company, became a well-known actor on stage and in films.

Some market owners, on reaching retirement age, have sold their businesses. Others have left the field. Daat Seun Gong, for example, left the meat market where he was working and settled in Wisconsin in the late 1960s to become one of the earliest Chinese to cultivate ginseng for the market. When the United States government limited pistachio imports from Iran owing to the revolution there and California grew to be the major domestic supplier of the nuts, San Francisco peninsula supermarket owner John L. Kong in 1977 became one of the first in the Hua Xian community to go into pistachio farming. He was joined by another market owner, David C. Lowe, in 1978. In 1980 Herman Kong forsook the supermarket business to be owner and operator of a major motor inn, Lamp Liter Inn, in Visalia.[54]

There are still about a hundred Hua Xian–owned markets in California in the 1990s. They are still thriving in San Joaquin Valley towns, particularly in smaller towns where the giant chains have at most one outlet so that the independent market can compete on a one-on-one basis. In those situations the Chinese–owned markets are still in very competitive positions. Many Hua Xian butchers and clerks, particularly immigrants, are also still dependent on employment in these fields for their livelihoods.

ORGANIZATIONS

Organizations of the Hua Xian community were shaped principally by two factors: population increase in the community and the growth of the community's economic affluence. During their first few decades in the United States, Hua Xian immigrants did not have any formal organization of their own. They were considered an auxiliary following of the Sam Yup Association, which gave them protection and services such as arbitration of disputes. But not being from one of the three co-founding counties (Nanhai, Panyu, and Shunde), Hua Xian people could not serve

as officers in the organization and had little part in decision-making processes. Toward the end of the nineteenth century Hua Xian leaders joined people from Sanshui, Qingyuan, Gaoyao, Sihui, and Gaoming counties, all of which had only small populations in the United States, to form the Liuyi Tongshantang (Look Yup Tung Sin Tong). The organization provided for its constituency the same services as the three *shantang* formed by merchants of the three founding counties of the Sam Yup Association, that is, arbitration of disputes, maintenance of a cemetery, the exhumation and return of bones to China, and the protection of members from external threats.

At the turn of the century, an ambitious Sanshui leader challenged the Sam Yup leadership by declaring that members of the Look Yup Tung Sin Tong had the right to serve a term as president of the Sam Yup Association. He further claimed that Look Yup Tung Sin Tong had a share equal to those of the founding societies in the assets of the Sam Yup organization. When the three founding societies rejected the claim, the dispute ended up in the Chinese Six Companies for arbitration. After the tribunal rendered a decision favorable to the Sam Yup Assocation in 1901, Look Yup Tung Sin Tong seceded.[55]

In the meantime, Hua Xian leaders, who did not support the actions of the Tung Sin Tong, decided to organize their own group. Around 1900 they founded the Chong Sen Association, which became affiliated with the Sam Yup Association. Through the help of a president of the Sam Yup Association from Panyu, the Chong Sen Association bought land in 1900 to establish a separate cemetery for Hua Xian people. Hua Xian immigrants were closely associated with Panyu people, most of whom emigrated from what was then northern Panyu adjoining Hua Xian (today it is Baiyun Qu, a Guangzhou suburb). They were allowed to join the Zhaoyi Gongsuo (Chew Yee Association), the self-defense organization formed by Panyu immigrants. Letters to and from Hua Xian villages were often deposited at the Yushan Xinju (Yee Shan Association), organized to handle correspondence with Panyu County.

In the mood of modernization brought about by the establishment of a republic, Hua Xian leaders reorganized the Chong Sen Association into the Hua Xian Lianhehui (United Hua Xian Society) in 1918 to unite all Hua Xian people abroad. However, the organization was united in name only, as there were no concrete plans to achieve the ambitious objective. It soon faded into oblivion. More successful and more lasting was the Hua Xian Qiao-Mei Shiye Gongsi (Fa Yuen Realty Company in America), founded in 1918 by economically affluent Hua Xian leaders

Woot Haam Gong, Jing Lau, D. W. Low, and Seung Gong Wong to purchase two pieces of property at 42–46 Wentworth Street (behind the headquarters building of Pon Yup Chong How Association) and 647–649 Jackson Street (adjacent to the Shuntak Hung On Association) to be used by the Chong Sen Association. For the first time the Chong Sen Association had a permanent mailing address.

The economic situation of Hua Xian people improved steadily through the war years. In 1945 they raised funds to purchase a building at the northwest corner of Stockton and Jackson streets for Chong Sen Association headquarters and to buy Fa Yuen Realty Company's two buildings. The Chong Sen Association soon passed a resolution to remodel 647–649 Jackson Street as the headquarters for a combined Chong Sen Association–Fa Yuen Association. The necessary funds were raised by levying a minimium of $30 on each Hua Xian person in America. Under the new organizational structure the cemetery and funeral arrangements for members were to be administered by the Chong Sen Association while the Fa Yuen Association was to be used in contacts with the larger society. The combined associations' first president was D. W. Low.

After the Fa Yuen Association opened in 1955, Hua Xian leaders requested that a Hua Xian person be included among the directors sent by the Sam Yup Association to serve on the board of directors of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA, Chinese Six Companies). This demand was rejected, first by the Sam Yup Association and again by the CCBA. The Hua Xian people then withdrew from the Sam Yup Association. To this day the Fa Yuen Association is unaffiliated with both the Sam Yup Association and the CCBA.[56]

The Fa Yuen Association is located on a familiar site for Hua Xian people. Beneath the association is the Great Eastern Restaurant; across the street used to be Yat King Low, an old haunt of Hua Xian people. The association has become one of the busiest *huiguan* in San Francisco. It provides a clubroom where local and out-of-town Hua Xian visitors socialize and play mahjong.

In 1961 Yuey Foon Gong, Tong Hing Lowe, and others proposed a bilingual Fa Yuen Association monthly publication to keep the membership abreast of developments and events in their community. Although it was later changed to a quarterly to accommodate fiscal and personnel constraints, it is still being regularly published more than thirty years later. It is the second oldest periodical continuously published by a San Francisco traditionist association.[57]

Reflecting the increasing number of Hua Xian families, the association formed a women's group to help put on social functions. In 1977 the Fa Yuen Association established an annual scholarship to encourage the younger generation to pursue higher education. In 1992 there were fifteen recipients of amounts ranging from $500 to $1,000. In 1988 a Chinese school scholarship fund was also set up to encourage the study of Chinese. In 1992 the association distributed sixty-five such scholarships of $25 each for primary school and $50 for middle school.[58]

As is the case in many Chinese traditionist organizations, the Fa Yuen Association has been a loosely organized group. Trust has been based on feelings of regional and clan solidarity, and there have been few safeguards against abuses and misuses of power. Between 1983 and 1988 members of the board misappropriated more than a million dollars of the association's funds for their own use. Embezzlement has occurred in many Chinatown organizations, but the organizations usually prefer to handle such scandals inhouse. In this case, however, the officers who took their places on the board brought the case to court and won a judgment in 1992 in the amount of $1,049,000. This was the first time such a case had been brought to trial in an American court. However, shortly before the trial six defendants voluntarily settled with the association.[59]

Throughout the sixties and seventies the Hua Xian population outside San Francisco was also expanding. There was a feeling that organizations were required to maintain social contacts. In 1976 the Hua Xian community in Southern California, which had increased to several hundred, formed a Fa Yuen Association of Southern California headquartered in Los Angeles. In 1977 the Fa Yuen Club in Visalia in the San Joaquin Valley acquired a clubhouse and became known as Huashan Bieshu (Fa San Association).[60]

PART OF THE MAINSTREAM

After Hua Xian people emigrated, many retained a natural interest in developments in their native land. Some even continued to be politically involved. There were not many immigrants from Hua Xian in Hawaii, but one of them, Li Chang, was instrumental in the founding of Sun Yat-sen's first revolutionary organization, the Xingzhonghui, in 1894. Li's grandfather participated in the Taiping revolution and was a fellow clansman of Hong Xiuquan's cousin Li Jingfang. Li's father had taken

refuge in Hong Kong after the fall of the Taipings to escape arrest by Manchu government authorities. Another Hua Xian immigrant in Hawaii was Song Juren, one of the earliest active members of the Xingzhonghui, who subsequently played an active role in three revolutionary uprisings in China.[61]

A number of Hua Xian immigrants in the continental United States also supported the revolutionary movement. At least six members of the Gong clan were members of San Francisco's Young China Association, a front for the Tongmenghui. Xu Maojun, another immigrant, joined the movement after his return to China. He was alleged to have participated in the abortive Huanghuagang uprising of 1911 in which eighteen of the famous seventy-two martyrs were of Hua Xian origin, with sixteen of these being fellow clan members. Xu Maojun, however, managed to escape capture. Both he and Wang Peng, who joined the Xingzhonghui in America and returned to China in 1920, became active supporters of the Communist-led peasant movement during the 1920s. After the Kuomintang began the bloody purge of the Communists in 1927, Wang Peng was captured and executed, while Xu had to flee temporarily to Annam in 1928.

When Japan began threatening China's sovereignty, many Hua Xian people were staunch supporters of Chinese resistance and even influenced the younger generation. One of these was Doong Shing Gong, American-born son of a Stockton Hua Xian restaurateur, who learned aviation and went to China in 1934 to join the Guangdong air force. In 1941 he was shot down over Chengdu by a Japanese fighter.[62]

Other Hua Xian people in America were active members of the Kuomintang. During the postwar era Shing Lau, owner of Great Eastern Restaurant and Foot Eze Shoe Store in San Francisco and one of the founders of the Fa Yuen Association, was for many years a member of the executive and standing committees of the San Francisco branch of the Kuomintang. S. C. Gong (George Gong) was a delegate to the National Assembly in Taiwan.

Most Chinese Americans of Hua Xian were not as politically active, but, like many other overseas Chinese during the Republican Period, they were deeply interested in modernizing their ancestral villages. Many remitted money to build brick houses for families and relatives and to live in after retirement. Some put their money into modernization projects. For example, after the founding of the republic, Xu Maojun organized a corporation in Hua Xian to build the town of Xinmin, which today is Xinhua, the county seat. Hua Xian leaders in America also led a

number of drives to raise money from fellow villagers and clan members for school construction. One of the earliest was Luochang's Meicheng Primary School, built in 1925 with contributions from Gong clan members. Not to be outdone, Lau clan members raised funds to build Siming Primary School in nearby Pingshan in 1925 and donated more money to expand it into a middle school in 1947. Since the number of people emigrating from this area to America was much smaller than the number from areas such as Taishan, the number of schools was correspondingly lower; however, Hua Xian fellow villager contributions in America funded partially or entirely the construction of nine out of the dozen or so schools in Hua Xian built through donations by Chinese abroad.[63] During the Republican Period some Hua Xian families in America also sent their American-born children to China for a Chinese education, sometimes in these very same schools.

When hostile relations developed between the United States and the People's Republic of China established by the Chinese Communists in 1949, apprehensive Chinese in America minimized communications with relatives in the ancestral land.

During the period of tension between China and the United States, opportunities were opening for nonwhite minorities in America, including the Chinese. The younger generation, rather than looking back to the ancestral land, began eagerly to seek participation as full partners in the American mainstream. During the fifties and sixties many entered professional and technical occupations. For example, laundrymen's sons George Lau and Albert Gong were among the earliest Chinese Americans hired by the U.S. Customs Service. American-born Roy Gong chose the Air Force as a career and retired a colonel.

After the seventies job horizons broadened considerably. For example, Richard Gong, son of San Francisco herbal physician Tin Shi Gong, sought a career in film and television production. Similarly a number of postwar immigrants with higher education entered managerial and professional fields. Two examples are Silicon Valley executive David K. Lam and executive director Yvonne Lee of the Chinese American civil rights organization Chinese American Citizens' Alliance.[64] This generation is English-speaking and is comfortable in mainstream society mixing and interacting with other ethnic groups. This ability to mix was even more characteristic of Chinese Americans raised in areas without a large concentration of Chinese. Such a background was perhaps a factor enabling the emergence of a few well-known political personalities from

the small Hua Xian community. One is Harry Low, who in 1966 was the first Chinese American to be appointed municipal judge in San Francisco. Another is March Fong, who started her political career in 1956 by being elected to the Alameda County school board and who in 1974 was elected to the office of California secretary of state. In 1993 she is holder of the highest elective office occupied by any Chinese American. Both were offspring of laundrymen in the small town of Oakdale, California. Another politician is supermarket owner Ernie Wong, who in 1969 was the first Chinese American to be appointed to the Watsonville city council.[65]

However, becoming part of the mainstream has exacted a price on western-educated Chinese Americans of Hua Xian ancestry, as it has on many other Chinese Americans. The years since the end of World War II have witnessed a rapid loss of Chinese language and culture among the second generation, a situation that has been abetted by numerous intermarriages with non-Chinese. This trend has been especially marked in the rural areas, where the Chinese population is small and dispersed and people often only have opportunities to meet one another at weddings, funerals, and visits to the cemetery during Qingming.

The loss of their heritage and their identity has been a matter of concern to the older generation. However, efforts of the Fa Yuen Association to organize a youth group in San Francisco to facilitate opportunities for socializing among the younger generation have been unsuccessful. There was a better response in the San Joaquin Valley. Possibly because the families were more Westernized and less patriarchal, a youth group was formed by young people in Fresno-Kings-Tulare counties using the Fa San clubhouse in Visalia for social and recreational activities. Reflecting the fact that regional and dialect differences were less meaningful to most of the American-born, the group called itself the Central California Chinese Youth Association, and membership was not limited to those of Hua Xian ancestry, although without a doubt they predominated.[66]

During the 1970s relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China improved, and the Hua Xian community in America restored once-severed ties with China. Many visited relatives in their ancestral county. Since then there has been some resumption of contributions to modernize Hua Xian. For example, in the 1980s a group of villagers in America contributed $10,000 to expand the facilities of Donghua Primary School; in 1990 villagers from Tieshan Village in

America launched a campaign to solicit contributions from Hua Xian people abroad to rebuild the village primary school; in 1992 So Chun (Huang Riliu), founder of R-N Markets, donated $80,000 to a fund to rebuild the dilapidated primary school in Pingdong Village as Riliu Primary School; the same year villagers in San Francisco initiated campaigns to raise funds for rebuilding Meicheng and Siming primary schools. Reflecting changes that are occurring in China, in 1992 there was even another campaign under way asking for contributions to rebuild the ancestral temple at Shenbian Zhuang in Pingshan.[67] However, during recent years the Hua Xian community in America had also assisted numerous relatives to immigrate into the United States, thus weakening ties to the ancestral villages.

The struggle of minorities since the 1960s for equal opportunities has led to an increased interest among Chinese Americans in their ethnic heritage. Some Chinese Americans have become interested in Chinese American history and literature. Others participated in cultural activities such as martial arts, folk dance, and Chinese music. Hua Xian became one of first six counties to hold summer camps in Guangdong for Chinese youth abroad; a group of Chinese Americans of Hua Xian ancestry were also participants. Predictably, they found a great cultural gap between Chinese Americans and the Chinese in China.

These developments encouraged a group of Chinese American business persons, predominantly Hua Xian supermarket owners in the San Joaquin Valley, to plan and build the million-dollar Chinese Cultural Center of Central California. Appropriately the facility is located in Visalia, the center of the Hua Xian community in the valley. The facility began functioning in 1990, and since then it has staged community events and presented Chinese culture and the arts. In 1992 it sponsored the third summer youth camp held in Hua Xian and Guangzhou.[68]

The Central California Chinese Cultural Center signifies the commitment of the Chinese American community of Hua Xian ancestry to pass on a Chinese heritage to the next generation. Since the cultural center has functioned for only a short period it is too early to predict how well it will accomplish its mission. Given the weakened ties to the ancestral villages and the development of the Chinese American identity in recent years, it is likely that the Chinese legacy will be modified to suit American conditions and to become part of the heritage of the Chinese American community of Hua Xian ancestry as an integral component of America's multiethnic multicultural society.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Mutual aid and support based on relationships engendered by perceived common bonds and interests are a frequently encountered phenomenon in society. In the case of Chinese immigrants a common geographic area of origin, with a commonality in speech and customs, was one prevalent basis for group unity. The concept was embodied in some of the earliest Chinese organizations, fellow villager groups such as the ***huiguan***, which provided support and protection for immigrants from a specific geographic region in China. This group support also worked effectively in influencing the pattern of migration of immigrants within this country and the types of occupations they entered. Thus immigrants with certain surnames tend to congregate in certain communities in the United States. For example, the Deng (Ong, Ang) clan from Kaiping County dominates in Phoenix, while the Mei (Moy) clan from Taishan plays a similar role in Chicago. In terms of occupations, Doumen people used to predominate in the growing of asters and chrysanthemums in the San Francisco peninsula, and many butchers in San Francisco and Oakland came from the Jiujiang (Kowkong) area in Nanhai County.

Regional feelings of solidarity also played an important role in the development of the Hua Xian community in the United States. The fact that the immigrants came from within a small geographic area, with many also related by in-group marriages, has helped to strengthen unity within the group. This in-group mutual aid and support has tended to encourage many members of the community to enter similar occupations and businesses—such as laundries, farming, meat markets, and supermarkets—and to congregate in certain geographic areas—namely, the San Francisco Bay Area, Central California rural areas, and Los Angeles.

It is in the rural areas that the Hua Xian immigrants carved out a niche for themselves. Faced with intense competition from the powerful clans in large Chinese communities, many among the small population of Hua Xian pioneers made conscious decisions to move to these areas. On the one hand, they were deprived of many of the amenities for gracious living as well as the company of great numbers of their fellow countrymen. On the other hand, there were fewer constraints on their economic development, even though they still had to compete with other ethnic groups and racism was an ever-present threat to spirit and

body. In the end, capitalizing on opportunities and using feelings of family unity and regional solidarity to advantage, the Hua Xian people expanded and prospered.

Today, however, many of the factors that enabled the economic development of the Hua Xian community have changed. The community has increased in population and become more diversified. A number of new immigrants from Hua Xian have lived for long years under a socialist system. Some came from areas in Hua Xian other than the Huashan Zhen area; others lived in urban areas in Hong Kong or Vietnam. Among the American-born generation few are now fluent in Chinese or the Hua Xian rural dialect. Nor do they have the same feelings of camaraderie toward fellow clan members and people from the same ancestral village. With such divergences in experiences and behavior, the conditions that promoted group cohesiveness are now much weaker. It is interesting to speculate what changes these factors will effect in the community and its institutions during the coming decades.

NOTES

1. Xiang Shuhui, "Zhu Jiang Sanjiaozhou qing gongye tiantang" [The Pearl River delta, heaven for light industries], *Daduhui Zhoukan* [Cosmo Chinese Weekly], no. 69, (June 27, 1993). In 1983 Guangdong Province initiated a system emphasizing the leading role of the *shi*, or city, in economic development. The province was divided into nineteen *dijishi* (prefecture-level cities), each of which administers a central city and the surrounding rural areas which may consist of one or more *xian* (counties) or *xianjishi* (county-level cities). Hua Xian was a county administered by Guangzhou. After it becomes Huadu Shi, it will be a county-level city still under the administration of Guangzhou.

2. Xie Han, ed., *Hua Xian gaikuang* [A survey of Hua Xian] (Hua Xian: *Hua Xian difangzhi* bianzuan weiyuanhui bangongshi [Office of the Editorial Committee for the *Hua Xian Gazetteer*], 1988), 4–5.

3. Ye Di, *Guangdong diming tanyuan* [Exploring the origins of Guangdong geographic names] (Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng ditu chubanshe, 1986), 7; Liang Han, "Hua Xian jian xian kao" [Study on the founding of Hua County], in *Hua Xian wen-shi* [Hua Xian literature and history], 7th collection (Hua Xian: Hua Xian renmin zhengxie Hua Xian wen-shi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui, March 1985), 110–37. Liang mentions that some attributed the name Hua Xian to Juhua Shan (chrysanthemum mountain), located near the county seat, on which are found rocks with chrysanthemum-like patterns. He points out that such a mountain was not even mentioned among places of historical interest and scenic beauty listed in the county gazetteer published in 1687 soon after Hua Xian's founding. There was only a brief description of Juhua Shan in the county gazetteer published in 1924, and even then the gazetteer made no claims connecting Juhua Shan and the name Hua Xian. This claim apparently was only made in later works such as the draft county gazetteer of 1959.

4. Li Qiaofang, "Hua Xian nongye diaocha baogao" [Report on investigations of agriculture in Hua Xian], in *Guangdong nongye gaikuang diaocha baogao shu* [Report on investigations into the situation of agriculture in Guangdong], 242–49; Liang Han, "Hua Xian Huaqiao chuguo shilüe" [Brief history of Chinese emigration abroad from Hua Xian], in *Hua Xian wen-shi*, 11th collection (Feb. 1988), 66–81; "Hua Xian Huaqiao chuguo shilüe" (Brief history of Chinese emigration abroad from Hua Xian) (selection from *Hua Xian Huaqiao zhi* [Hua Xian overseas Chinese gazetteer]), *Hua Xian xiang yin* [The native voice of Hua County], April 1993, 52–53.

5. Huang Xinhua, "Taiping Tian Guo Hong shi houyi chuanshuo bushu" [Supplementary information on descendants of the Hong clan of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom], *Hua Xian xiang yin*, Jan. 1984, 28.

6. Wang Jianhui and Zhou Jihang, "Suijiao Huaqiao chuguo yuanyin chu tan" [Preliminary exploration into the reasons for people of Canton suburbs to emigrate abroad], *Suijiao qiaoxun* [The overseas Chinese news of Canton suburbs], April 1990, 37–38; Wang Jianbo, "Zhu Ziyi shilüe" [Short biography of Zhu Ziyi], in *Hua Xian wen-shi*, 5th collection (April 1984), 8–19; Liang Han, "Hua Xian Huaqiao chuguo shilüe."

7. "Hua Xian Huaqiao chuguo shilüe" (selection from *Hua Xian Huaqiao zhi*).

8. Changjiang, "Guxiang za yi lu" [Miscellaneous reminiscences of the native village], *Sanfanshi Hua Xian Zong Huiguan jikan* (hereafter cited as *Fah Yuen Association Quarterly*), no. 53 (March 21, 1982), 11–14. The percentages were estimated from names in the 1932 registration book of the Sam Yup Benevolent Association and a list of donors for the commemoration of the thirty-seventh anniversary of the Fa Yuen Benevolent Association in 1992. They would be representative of the Hua Xian community in Northern and Central California.

9. Changjiang, "Za tan Hua Xian lüwai yiqiao, ji shanshui renwu, fengtu renqing" [Miscellany on Hua Xian sojourners, landscape and personages, and local conditions and customs], *Fah Yuen Association Quarterly*, March 1982, 11–14; June 1982, 20–21. A well-known Hua Xian entrepreneur in Guangzhou during the twentieth century was Luo Huatang, who managed the Guangdong Navigation Company, handling passenger traffic in the Pearl River delta. In the performing arts there was the famous Cantonese opera actor Bai Yutang. Luo Kun is one of the most famous dim-sum chefs in contemporary Guangzhou.

10. Changjiang, "Za tan"; "Shenqie huai'nian xiangxian Hu Zhong Xiansheng" [Dearly Cherishing the Memory of Our Worthy Countryman Mr. Hu Zhong], *Hua Xian xiang yin*, special edition, Sept. 1991, 1–28.Hopewell Holdings, controlled by the Hu (Wu) family of Hua Xian ancestry, is one of five major Chinese business groups in Hong Kong. The grandfather of the current generation moved with his family from Hua Xian to Hong Kong in the 1880s. From hog raising and vegetable farming his son Wu Chung started a taxi service during the 1920s, which eventually became the largest in Hong Kong. During the 1960s Wu began investing in real estate, industries, and infrastructural development.

His third son Gordon Wu founded Hopewell Holdings, which in the 1980s expanded its investments to the People's Republic of China. Among its projects were Guangzhou's China Hotel, Shenzhen's Joint Customs Inspection Building, and the Guangzhou-Shenzhen-Zhuhai Superhighway.

In Hong Kong stage and films there was Yam Gim Fai, a Cantonese opera actress who specialized in singing male roles.

11. Changjiang, "Za tan"; Liang Han, "Hua Xian Huaqiao chuguo shilüe," *66–81.*

12. "Hua Xian Huaqiao chuguo shilüe (selection from *Hua Xian Huaqiao zhi*). Jiang Yuchun was mentioned separately to the writer by two informants, Kan Don (Jeung Kin Gong) and Yuey Foon Gong, and his story was probably well known among villagers. The above essay states that the Liu brothers came to California in 1815 and Jiang in 1819. However, during that period California had a pastoral economy. There were population concentrations clustered around each of twenty-one missions along the coast. They numbered from a few hundred to about two thousand and consisted mainly of church personnel, protecting military personnel, and Indian converts. This situation does not seem like it would attract Chinese immigrants looking to improve their lives. It may be that these pioneers went to the East Coast. However, judging from the fact that only a few Hua Xian people are living outside California today, it is more likely that they arrived after the Gold Rush began, when the California population skyrocketed.

13. *San Francisco Daily Herald,* Sept. 4, 1854.

14. Geng Xiguang, "Qing mo qinsi gongke juren Jiang Qipeng" [Jiang Qipeng, recipient of the title of scholar of the second degree bestowed by the emperor at the end of the Qing dynasty], in *Hua Xian wen-shi,* 9th collection (Dec. 1986), 50–53. Jiang acted as interpreter for Chinese Empire Reform Association leader Liang Qitian when the latter visited the United States during the early 1900s. He then went to Hong Kong and worked for a while as translator-reporter for a reform association newspaper, writing articles on Western political thought and scientific developments. After he returned to Hua Xian, he founded a normal school, where he also taught physics. During that period he translated an American work on electricity and magnetism. He presented this work to the imperial court and was awarded the title of scholar in technology of the second degree. When the Qing government began modernizing its armed forces, Jiang became an instructor teaching the military. After the founding of the republic Jiang served the Kuomintang government in technical positions and minor political posts.

15. Xu Hongchang, "Luochang cunmin fu Mei ji Huaqiao mujuan banxue de ruogan shishi" [Some historical facts on the emigration of Luochang villagers to America and donations by overseas Chinese for education], in *Hua Xian wen-shi,* 8th collection (April 1986), 107–10; Li Shijun, "Meiguo diyi ge [Yayi nü zhouwuqing Jiang Yuegui" March Fong, the first Asian female secretary of state in America], *Hua Xian xiang yin,* April 1984, 1; oral interview by the author of ninety-three-year-old Kan Don, Feb. 2, 1975. March Fong claimed that her grandfather was a railroad worker. So did Kan Don. Kan Don said that there used to be a Hua Xian merchant in Portland who sold supplies to railroad workers.

16. Li Gui, "Dong xing riji" [Diary of an eastward journey] (excerpts), 110-16 in Wan-Qing haiwai biji xuan [Selections of late Qing notes on countries abroad] (Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe, 1983). Li Gui stated that the peoples of Sanshui, Qingyuan, and Hua Xian were "attached" to the Sam Yup Association.

17. Yuk Ow, ed., "1850 nian zhi 1974 nian, Lü-Mei Sanyi Zong Huiguan jianshi" [A History of the Sam Yup Benevolent Association in the United States, 1850–1974; hereafter cited as Sam Yup Benevolent Association] (San Francisco: Sam Yup Benevolent Association, 1974), 75.

18. Frank Newton, "Henry Gong Wing was Famed Cook," *Hanford Sentinel,* Feb. 12, 1958.

19. Lu Yuguang (John Wong), "Hua Xian Huiguan chengli di-15 zhounian jinian" [Commemoration of the fifteenth anniversary of the founding of the Fa Yuen Association], *Fah Yuen Association Quarterly,* No. 6 (Summer 1970), 1. Hereafter cited as Lu, "Fifteenth Anniversary of the Fah Yuen Association." The statistics in the following table were based on data extracted from the 1880 manuscript census:

Reported Place of Birth	*Population*
Sam Yup	658
Guangzhou	883
Nanhai	707
Panyu	265
Shunde	389
Sanshui	20
Sihui	4
Hua Xian	3
Gaoyao	2
Subtotal: Sam Yup and associated counties	2,931
Other areas	4,215
Guangdong, Hong Kong, Macao	8,794
Grand total	15,940

The census takers were inconsistent in recording place of birth. More than half the population was listed merely as born in Guangdong Province. Thus the count of people originating from each emigrant county in China is undoubtedly lower than the actual number. Also, those who call themselves Sam Yup may be thinking in terms of membership in the Sam Yup Association, which also included immigrants from several non-Sam Yup counties such as Hua Xian. However, the statistics do give some indication of the relative smallness of the Hua Xian population.

The figure given for the turn of the century was the approximate membership of the Chong Sen Association when it was founded. Women and children as well as some adults may not have been included. However, there were few families during this period.

20. After the 1911 Revolution Guangdong was ruled successively by warlords Chen Jiongming, Long Jiguang, and Lu Rongting, each of whom used military force to oust his predecessor. Lu invited Sun Yat-sen and his government to come to Guangdong but soon came into conflict with Sun. Chen Jiongming ousted Lu in 1920, and a military government headed by Sun Yat-sen was reestablished in Guangzhou in preparation for a northern expedition to unify the nation. Chen also came into conflict with Sun Yat-sen and in 1922 revolted, forcing Sun to flee to a gunboat on the Pearl River. Forces supporting Sun finally forced Chen to retreat to eastern Guangdong in early 1923.

21. Liang Han, "Hua Xian Huaqiao chuguo shilüe"; interview by the author with Him Lew in San Francisco, Aug. 16, 1973; transcript of interview by Frank Chin and Nathan Lee with Richard and Ernie Wing at Hanford, California, Sept. 11, 12, 1970, 57–58. Him Lew was a well-known herb doctor in San Francisco Chinatown and one of the founders of the Fa Yuen Association. He went from Hong Kong to Mexicali in 1916 and was smuggled across the border and taken to San Francisco around 1920. The Wings told of the help given by their grandfather and father to Hua Xian illegal entrants from Mexico who went to the Hanford area.

22. Partnership list of Fong Tai and Company, 957 Grant Ave., San Francisco, filed Aug. 13, 1919.

23. Liang Han, "Rexin qioaxiang gongzuo de lao guiqiao Jiang Lanfang" [Gong Lan Fong, an old returned overseas Chinese ardent about the work in the emigrant areas], in *Hua Xian wen-shi*, 11th collection (Dec. 1988), 39–42; interview of author with Kun Don, March 10, 1993.

24. Interview with Kan Don; Geng Xiguang and Xian Zhengguang, "Zhu Zhaoxin xiansheng shilüe" [Brief biography of Mr. Zhu Zhaoxin], in *Hua Xian xiang yin*, April 1985, 21, 16. During the early 1970s the Chinese American historian Yuk Ow told the author that the use of the *hui* by Hua Xian immigrants and of Zhu Zhaoxin's role in encouraging its use. This story was later substantially confirmed by Kan Don.

Zhu Zhaoxin (1879–1935) was a native of Huangshatang Village in Hua Xian. After graduating from Peking University in 1907, he went to America for graduate studies at Columbia University. He then entered China's diplomatic service.

25. Ow, *Sam Yup Benevolent Association*, 146–47; Lu, "Fifteenth Anniversary of the Fa Yuen Association." Ow's book listed 420 Hua Xian people registered. Of these 227 were in the San Francisco Bay Area and 160 in towns in the San Joaquin river valley and delta. Allowing for some nonregistrants including a number of women and children, the total Hua Xian population could be as much as a thousand.

26. Interview with Him Lew, Aug. 16, 1975.

27. Informants at the Fa Yuen Association stated that membership in the 1980s was about 5,000. Allowing for those who did not join the association, such as many of the American-born and those living away from San Francisco, it is estimated the total population of Hua Xian ancestry is around 15,000. However, a 1984 survey made by the Hua Xian Overseas Chinese Affairs Office resulted in a figure of more than 30,000. The Fa Yuen Association figure may be low because the organization is dominated by immigrants from the Pingshan-Luochang area, and recent refugees and immigrants from Vietnam and other countries who came from other regions of the county may not have chosen to join it. Also the Fa Yuen Association probably did not have contact with many Hua Xian people outside California. There may be much approximation in the Hua Xian Overseas Chinese Affairs Office figure as well, since it was largely derived from information provided by village informants.

28. Interview by author with Kan Don, Feb. 2, 1975; interview with Chin T. Sun, Feb. 2, 1992; interview with George Lau, whose father worked at Tai Loy, Feb. 18, 1992; information from Albert Gong, son of Yuey Foon Gong, Apr. 25, 1993. Jiang Yuchun from Pingshan is said to have worked as a laundryman and to have started the practice of going to vessels docked in San Francisco and collecting seamen's dirty laundry.

29. The Chinese lottery, or *baigepiao*, is a game from which the modern game of Keno was derived. The immigration service inspector placed a November 22, 1926 memorandum in the Fong Tai and Company partnership list file stating that "five arrests of Chinese for keeping lottery and having lottery paraphernalia in possession were made at Fong Tai Co., store, 957 Grant Ave., S.F. since March 26th of present year. Convictions were had in all cases."

30. He Zhuojing (Cherk Gin Hall), *Zhongguo Youchuan Youxian Gongsi baogao lu* [Report of the China Mail Steamship Company] (San Francisco, 1919), 11. In 1915 Chinese in America boycotted Japanese shipping in protest against the twenty-one demands served by Japan on China's Yuan Shikai government. Since all British shipping had been commandeered by the British military for use in World War I and no other shipping was available, the Chinese had to start their own steamship company.

31. Interview by author with Homer Jung, Jan. 7, 1992; Liang Han, "Jiang Lanfang."

32. Ling Lew, *The Chinese in North America: A Guide to Their Life and Progress* (Los Angeles: East-West Culture Publishing Association, 1951), 252; interview by author with Raymond Low, adopted son of D. W. Low, June 21, 1980, and June 22, 1993.

33. Information from Albert Gong.

34. "Wings Build 'Dynasty' in China Alley," *Hanford Sentinel*, special publication on the Chinese, March 1983; interview by Frank Chin and Nathan Lee with Richard Wing and Ernest Wing, Sept. 11, 12, 1970.

35. Interview with Him Lew; interview by author with David Chan, Jan. 31, 1992; interview by author with Chin F. Sun, Feb. 2, 1992; interview with George Lau; interview with Richard and Ernie Wing; registration book of the Sam Yup Benevolent Association, 1932.

36. "Wings Build 'Dynasty' in China Alley" and "Richard Wing Stays Tuned with Old Cooking Tradition," *Hanford Sentinel*, special publication on the Chinese, March 1983.

37. Sam Yup Association registration book, 1932.

38. Interview with Kan Don; interview by author with David G. Chan, June 11, 1990; interview by author with Howard Young, May 25, 1992; partnership lists for Mandarin and Company submitted to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1922–37. Howard Young told of Kay Gong from Luochang, who

had volunteered to serve in the U.S. Army during World War I and there learned the butcher trade. A 1921 partnership list shows him as one of the original partners of Mandarin and Company.

39. Kohala-Ann Gibson, "The Kwong Family and the Meat Markets," in *Chinese Argonauts: An Anthology of the Chinese Contributions to the Historical Development of Santa Clara County*, edited by Gloria Sun Hom (Los Altos Hills: Foothill Community College, 1971), 71–84.

40. Information from George Lowe's son Gange Coy Lowe, Oct. 1990.

41. Gibson, "The Kwong Family and the Meat Markets"; Sandy Lydon, *Chinese Gold: The Chinese in the Monterey Bay Region* (Capitola: Capitola Book Co., 1985), 472; interview with John Gong; interview with Howard Young.

42. Gibson, "The Kwong Family and the Meat Markets."

43. Interview by author with John Gong of Salinas, April 7, 1991.

44. Interview with John Gong; interview by author with Chin F. Sun, Feb. 2, 1992; Ling Lew, *The Chinese in North America*, 242.

45. Stephen H. Chang, *The Chinese around the World* (Mountain View, Calif.: World Chinese Publishing Association, 1966), vol. 1, 33.

46. Ibid., 45; information from Camille Wing, Oct. 5, 1993.

47. Information from Albert Gong, whose father Yuey Foon Gong was a member of the fundraising team.

48. *Lü-Mei Hua Xian Huiguan tongxunlu* [Fa Yuen Association directory] (San Francisco: Fa Yuen Association, 1976).

49. Information from John S. Lowe, May 19, 1993.

50. Chang, *Chinese around the World*, vol. 1, 48; information from Albert Gong.

51. Interview with Kan Don.

52. "Autobiography of Yuen Tim Gong," translated by Marlon K. Hom and published as "A Gold Mountain Man's Memoir," in *Chinese America: History and Perspectives 1992* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America and Asian American Studies Department of San Francisco State University, 1992), 211–37; interview by author and George Lau with Chin F. Sun (Yuen Tim Gong), June 27, 1990.

53. Chang, *Chinese around the World*, vol. 1, 61; Irene Young Terry, "Roots" (term paper in Bakersfield Public Library, special collections, n.d.); interview with Chin F. Sun, June 27, 1990.

54. Liu Zhanping (Jarm Ping Lau), "Huaqi shen zhongzhi chang xunli" [A tour of a ginseng farm], *Fah Yuen Association Quarterly*, no. 95 (March 1993), 25–26; interview by author with David C. Lowe, March 23, 1993; interview with Herman Kong, Nov. 15, 1991.

55. Ow, *Sam Yup Benevolent Association*, 61–62.

56. Lu, "Fifteenth Anniversary of the Fa Yuen Association"; Liu Tongxing (Tong Hing Lowe), "Hua Xian Huiguan chengli di-18 zhounian jinian" [Commemoration of the eighteenth anniversary of the founding of the Fa Yuen Association], *Fah Yuen Association Quarterly*, no. 18 (June 1973), n. p.; "Lü-Mei Hua Xian Zong Huiguan ji Changshantang xiaoshi" [Brief history of the Fa Yuen Association and the Chong Sen Association], in *Jinshan qiao she liyi guifan* [San Francisco Chinatown Etiquette], edited by Mo Keng (Byron Mok), Liu Weisen, and Guan Chunru (Kenneth Joe) (San Francisco: *Jinshan qiao she liyi guifan* chuban weiyuanhui [San Francisco Chinatown Etiquette Committee], 1991), 412–13; "Lü-Mei Hua Xian Zong Huiguan zhangcheng" [Constitution of the Fa Yuen Association of America], *Fah Yuen Association Quarterly*, no. 32 (Winter 1976), n. p. According to the constitution the official names of the association are Lü-Mei Hua Xian Zong Huiguan (Fa Yuen Association of America) in Chinese and Chong Sen Benevolent Association, U.S.A., in English.

57. Liu, "Eighteenth Anniversary of the Fa Yuen Association"; Yu, "Ben kan di-9 zhounian jinian yu gaihuan xin mingcheng shuoqi" [The ninth anniversary of this publication and its changing to a new name], *Fah Yuen Association Quarterly*, no. 8 (Winter 1970), 1; information from Albert Gong.

58. *Fah Yuen Association Quarterly*, no. 36 (Winter 1977), n.p.; *Fah Yuen Association Quarterly*, no. 93 (Fall 1992), 4–5.

59. *Fah Yuen Association Quarterly*, no. 92 (June 1992), 4.

60. *Fah Yuen Association Quarterly*, no. 28 (Jan. 1976), n. p.; *Fah Yuen Association Quarterly*, no. 33 (July 1977), n. p.

61. Liang Han "Hua Xian Huaqiao chuguo shilüe,"66–81; Geng Xiguang and Huang Xinhua, "Aiguo Huaqiao—Song Juren xiansheng shilüe" [A brief history of Mr. Song Juren, patriotic overseas Chinese], in *Hua Xian wen-shi*, 3rd collection (March 1983), 39–48.

62. Irma Tam Soong and Wei-tung Lin, *Five Hsing Chung Hui Men of Valor* (Taipei: Hawaii Chinese History Center and Federation of Overseas Chinese Associations, 1989), 137–62; Hua Xian Wen-Pu-Ban (Hua Xian office for popularization of culture), "Huaqiao wenwu: Sun Zhongshan yu Huaqiao hezhao zhaopian" [An overseas Chinese cultural relic: a group picture of Sun Yat-sen and overseas Chinese], in *Hua Xian wen-shi*, 8th collection (April 1986), 111–12; Li Yuwen, "Xu Maojun," in *Hua Xian wen-shi*, 6th collection (Aug. 1984), 143–47; Jiang Yongjin, "Aiguo huaqiao Wang Peng lieshi" [A patriotic overseas Chinese, the martyr Wang Peng], *Hua Xian wen-shi*, 4th collection (Sept. 1983), 41–43; Huang Yan, "Changkong yang zhonghuan: ji Mei ji Huaren Jiang Dongsheng wei guo juanqu de shiji" [Paying respects to a loyal soul in the sky: an account of how Chinese American Jiang Dongsheng sacrificed his life for the nation], in *Hua Xian wen-shi*, 9th collection (Dec. 1986), 89–90.

63. Xu Hongchang, "Meicheng Xiaoxue shilüe" [A brief history of Meicheng elementary school], in *Hua Xian wen-shi*, 2nd collection (Oct. 1982), 82–85; Xu Hongchang, "Luochang cunmin fu Mei ji Huaqiao mujuan banxue de ruogan shishi" [Some historical facts on the emigration of Luochang villagers to America and the donations of overseas Chinese to run schools], in *Hua Xian wen-shi*, 8th collection (April 1986), 107–10; Liu Yinhuai, "Qiao ban Siming Xiaoxue de chuangjian" [The establishment and construction of the overseas Chinese-run Siming Elementary School], in *Hua Xian wen-shi*, 2nd collection, 79–81; Xian Wen-Pu-Ban, "Huashan Qu qiaozi xingban xuexiao gaikuang" [A survey of schools established by overseas Chinese in the Huashan area], in *Hua Xian wen-shi*, 8th collection, 103–6.

64. Lige, "Bawo mingyun: fang Lin Jieping xiansheng" [Taking a hold of destiny: an interview with David K. Lam], *Sing Tao Daily*, March 13, 1993; information from Yvonne Lee, May 31, 1993. David K. Lam is currently chief executive

officer of Expert Edge, a computer software firm. He was born in Hua Xian, raised in Vietnam, attended middle school in Hong Kong, and matriculated at the University of Toronto and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1993 the Pacific Rim Center of the University of San Fancisco gave him an award as an outstanding Asian American leader.

65. Lydon, *Chinese Gold*, 467.

66. *Fah Yuen Association Quarterly*, no. 33 (July 1977), n. p.

67. *Hua Xian xiang yin*, 1988, no. 1, 25; *Hua Xian xiang yin*, 1992, no. 5, 33; *Fah Yuen Association Quarterly*, no. 90 (Dec. 1991), 14; *Fah Yuen Association Quarterly*, no. 91 (March 1992), 7; *Fah Yuen Association Quarterly*, no. 94 (Dec. 1992), 26–27.

68. *Fah Yuen Association Quarterly*, no. 28 (Jan. 1976), no. 33 (July 1977); *The Central California Chinese Cultural Center* (Visalia: Central California Chinese Cultural Center, 1990); *Hua Xian xiang yin*, 1992, no. 5, 17.

GLOSSARY

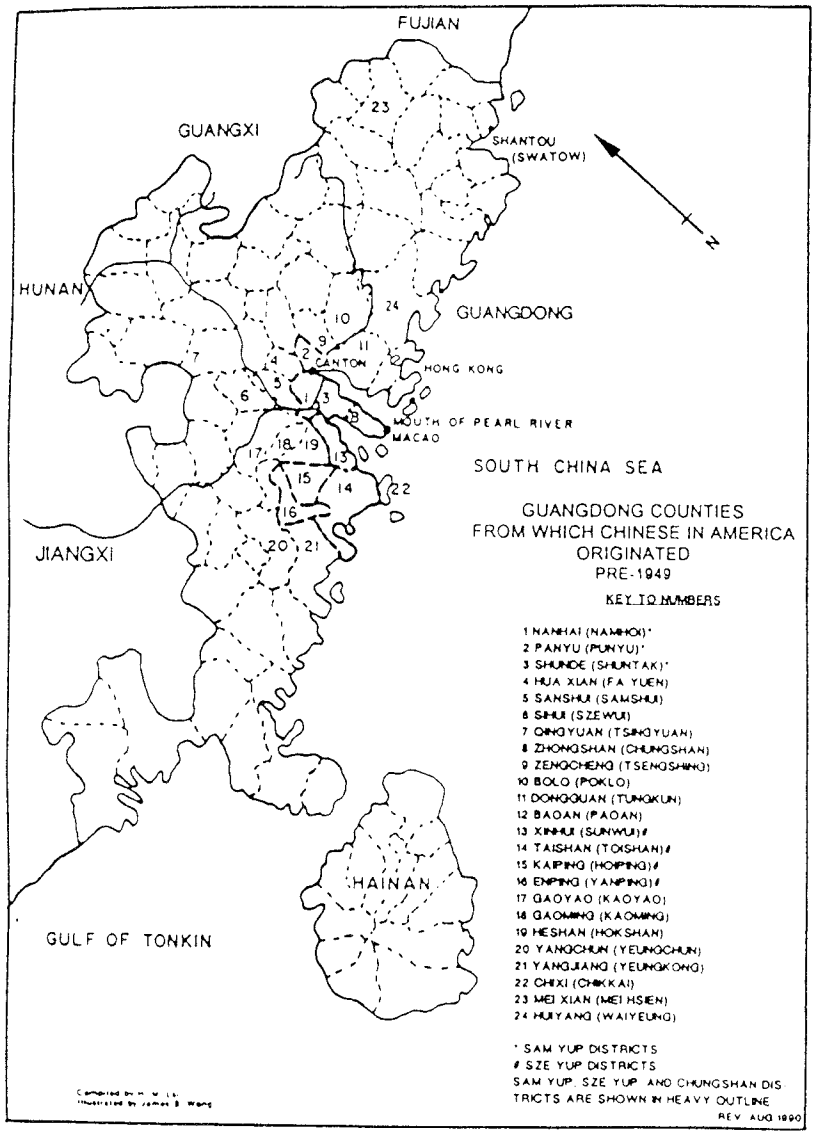
(Note: Personal and organizational names are listed only once, usually under the form used in the United States)

Bai Yutang 白玉堂
baigepiao 白鴿票
Baiyun Qu 白雲區
Canton Low 廣東樓
Central California Chinese Culture Center 加州中部中華文化中心
Chan, David G. 江沛松
Chang, Stephen H. 張翰良
Changjiang 長江
Chen Jiongming 陳炯明
Chen Lanbin 陳蘭彬
Chew Yee Association 昭義公所
China Mail Steamship Company 中國郵船公司
Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association 中華總會館
Chong Sen Association 昌善堂
Chu, Gong Lan 朱江蘭
Chun, Show 陳新秀
Chun, So; Huang Rihu 黃日壺
Club Shanghai 新上海
Day Lite Meat Company 日明公司
Deng (Ang, Ong) clan 鄧姓
dijishi 地級市
Ding, William 鄧九
Don, Kun 唐慶威
Don, Kan 江象乾
Donghua 東華
Doumen 斗門
Dun, Dennis 江演恒
Faan Gwai Chun 番鬼春
Fa San Association 花山別墅
Fa Yuen Association 花縣總會館
Fa Yuen Association of Southern California 南加花縣同鄉會

Fa Yuen Club 花山俱樂部
Feng Yunshan 馮雲山
Fong, March; March Fong Eu 江月桂
Fong Tai and Company 逢泰號
Foot Eze Shoe Store 足安鞋舖
Gan Xian 甘先
Gaoming 高明
Gaoyao 高要
Geng Xiguang 庚熙光
Gong, Albert 江開永
Gong, Bob 江長庶
Gong, Daat Seun 江達信
Gong, Doong Shing 江東勝
Gong, Gee Kai 江志啟
Gong, Joe 江增煒
Gong, John 江驤華
Gong, Kay 江騏
Gong, Lan Fong 江蘭芳
Gong, Lein 江聯
Gong, Louis 江黎
Gong, S. C.; George Gong 江思聰
Gong, Tin Bo 江天寶
Gong, Tin Shi 江天士
Gong, Ting Shu; Shu Wing Gong; Henry Gong 江廷樹
Gong, William 江威廉
Gong, Wing Chue; Henry Chow Wing 江榮釗
Gong, Woot Haam 江活涵
Gong, Yee 江餘
Gong, Yuen Tim; Chin F. Sun 江潤甜
Gong, Yuey Foon 江銳寬
Goo Soo Inn 姑蘇亭
Grandview Motion Picture Company 大觀聲片有限公司
Great Eastern Cafe 大東酒家
Guan Chunru (Kenneth Joe) 關春如; 周堅乃
Guangzhou 廣州
Hakka 客家
He Zhuojing (Hall, Cherk Gin) 何卓競
Heshan 鶴山
Hom, Gloria Sun 譚孫麗美
Hom, Marlon K. 譚雅倫
Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全
Hop Lee 合利號
Hua Xian 花縣
Hua Xian Lianhehui 花縣聯合會
Hua Xian Qiao-Mei Shiye Gongsi 花縣僑美實業公司
Huadu Shi 花都市
Huang Xinhua 黃新華
Huang Yan 黃巖
Huanghuagang 黃花崗
Huangshatang 黃沙塘
Huashan Zhen 花山鎮
hui 會; 三益會
huiguan 會館
Hung, C. C. 洪楨祥
Jiang Qipeng 江起鵬
Jiang Yongjin 江永錦
Jiang Yuchun 江鴻春
Jiujiang 九江
Juhua Shan 菊花山
Jung, Homer 江廣昌
Kaiping 開平
Kong, Carl 江學雅
Kong, Dick 江拔雅
Kong, Herman 江汝海
Kong, John L. 江汝潛
Kung, G. Z. 江志勇
Kuomintang 國民黨

Kwong, Fung 江賜峰
Lam, David K. 林傑屏
Lau, George 劉錦榮
Lau, Jing 劉楨
Lau, Shing 劉意誠
Lee, Yvonne 李麗紅
Lew, Ling 劉令
Lew, Yick Dore; Him Lew 劉益多；劉謙
Li Chang 李昌
Li Gui 李圭
Li Jingfang 李敬芳
Li Qiaofang 李翹芳
Li Shijun 李士君
Li Yuwen 李雨文
Liang Han 梁翰
Liang Qitian 梁啟田
Lianglong 兩龍
Lige 里戈
Lin, Wei-tung 林爲棟
Lingnam 嶺南
Liu Huwen 劉護文
Liu Huzheng 劉護楨
Liu Juewen 劉厥機
Liu Tongxing (Tong Hing Lowe) 劉同興
Liu Weisen 劉偉森
Liu Yinhuai 劉蔭懷
Liu Zhanping (Jarm Ping Lau) 劉湛平
Long Jiguang 龍濟光
Look Yup Tung Sin Tong 六邑同善堂
Low, Dai Wah 劉棣華
Low, Frank 劉鏡光
Low, Harry 王百昌
Low, Lai Chung 劉麗祥；劉禮鋼
Lowe, David C. 劉波能
Lowe, Gange Coy 劉鏡開
Lowe, George 劉麗鋼
Lowe, John S. 劉成樑
Lu Rongting 陸榮廷
Lu Yuguang (John Wong) 陸榆光
Luo Huatang 羅華堂
Luo Kun 羅坤
Luochang 落場村
Mandarin and Company 萬泰源號
Mee Jan Low 美珍樓
Mei (Moy) clan 梅姓
Meicheng Primary School 美成小學
Mo Keng (Byron Mock) 莫賡
Nanhai 南海
Nanking Low 南京樓
New Shanghai Tea Garden 新上海茶樓
Ow, Yuk 區龍睦，區玉
Panyu 番禺
Pingdong 平東
Pingshan 平山
Pon Yup Chong How Association 番邑昌後堂
Port Arthur Cafe 旅順樓
Port Arthur Restaurant 旅順樓
Prince Lang 琅王
qiaoxiang 僑鄉
Qingming 清明
Qingyuan 清遠
Quong Jan Low 廣珍樓
Red Turbans 紅軍、紅巾賊、紅頭賊
Riliu Primary School 日昌小學

Sam Yup 三邑
Sam Yup Association 三邑會館
Sanshui 三水
Shan Kong Association 申江實業公司
Shanghai Low 上海樓
shantang 善堂
Shenbian Zhuang 沈邊莊
shi 市
Shunde 順德
Shuntak Hung On Association 順德行安堂
Sihui 四會
Siming Primary School 思明小學
Song Juren 宋居仁
Soong, Irma Tam 宋譚秀紅
Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙；孫中山；孫文
Tai Loy 泰來號
Taiping Heavenly Kingdom 太平天國
Taishan 台山
Tieshan 鐵山
Tongmenghui 同盟會
Tung Shing 東成號
Wah You, Sam 周森
Wang Jianbo 王鑒波
Wang Jianhui 王堅輝
Wang Peng 王鵬
Wing, Gong Chu; Henry Chow Wing 江榮創
Wing, Richard 江惠泉
Wing Lee 永利號
Wong, Ernie 王集全
Wong, Fred 王東其
Wong, John 陸榆光
Wong, Lee 王圖
Wong, Raymond Chun 黃侶文
Wong, Seung Gong 黃霜降
Wu, Gorden 胡應湘
Wu Chung; Hu Zhong 胡忠
xian 縣
Xian Zhengguang 冼政光
Xiang Shuhui 香樹輝
xianjishi 縣級市
Xie Han 謝漢
Xingzhonghui 興中會
Xinhua 新華
Xinmin 新民
Xu Hongchang 徐紘昌
Xu Maojun 徐茂均
Yahu 鴨湖鄉
Yam Gim Fai 任劍輝
Yat King Low 一景樓
Ye Di 業地
Yee Shan Association 馬山信局
Yep, Henry 葉景興
Yongming 永明
Young, Charles H. 楊琴正
Young, Howard 江開浩
Young, Jack; Hoy Young 王俠
Yu 楡
Zhou Jihang 周楫航
Zhu Zhaoxin 朱兆莘
Zhu Ziyi 朱子義



MAP 1

Chinese, *Chino, Chung Gwok Yan:*
Our Family's Journey from the Fragrant Mountain to the Gold Mountain

Hamilton J. L. Chang

Editors' Note: *This essay is one of the family histories written by interns in the In Search for Roots Program sponsored by the Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco, the Chinese Historical Society of America, and Community Education Services since 1991. Primary research such as this provides us with a better understanding of the complexities and global dimensions of the history of Chinese immigration.*

San Francisco seems like an appropriate place for us to be. Here I can relive the multiple facets of my history on a daily basis. I wander through the streets of Chinatown and remember Hong Kong. I browse in a store and speak my basic Cantonese, showing I belong there. The shop owner speaks too quickly, though, and I must ask him to repeat. I recognize Hong Kong movie stars and singers from the posters hanging in stores. I hear the Cantonese pop songs and hum along. I wander through the streets of the Mission and also feel a sense of familiarity. Physically I stand out. A Chino among the Latinos. I hear remarks as I walk by the shops. Little do the speakers know I understand. What makes me different from them? The color of my skin sets me apart. When I open my mouth, though, I'm Peruvian. But they cannot see that, unless I let them. I wander through the streets of Honolulu, like I have so many times before. I'm fair-skinned though, and my slippers still look new. I'm treated like a tourist, but I'm not one. My family's been in Hawai'i for five generations. So every time I open my mouth, I emphasize my Pidgin accent, the one I have heard all my life.

My family's history has been that of China, Peru, and Hawai'i. We are Cantonese. We are Latino. We are Hawaiian. We are American. Yet my family's world of intertwined cultures remains masked behind our Chinese faces. What brought us through those migrations and, eventually, to this point in our lives?