Potato King and Film Producer, Flower Growers, Professionals, and Activists

The Huangliang Du Community in Northern California

by Him Mark Lai

Huangliang Du (Wong Leung Dou) was formerly an administrative region in the southwest corner of the Pearl River Delta.[1] It consisted of the present Doumen County (area: 358.3 sq. mi.; population in mid-1980s: 261,001) plus offshore islands now part of Xiangzhou District in Zhuhai Municipality (area: 144.9 sq. mi.; population in the mid-1980s: 30,535) (see Table 1). This was the political subdivision that existed when immigrants from the region came to America. Doumen is somewhat smaller than San Mateo County (454 sq. mi.) in the San Francisco Bay Area. Huangliang Du, including the offshore islands, is slightly larger; however, the total population is still only about half that of highly urbanized San Mateo.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

The Pearl River Delta is a relatively recent geological formation. About six thousand years ago, during the late Quaternary Period, the West, North, Pearl, East, and associated rivers of the region were discharging their waters southward into a shallow island-studded bay opening into the South China Sea. At the head of this bay was the port of Guangzhou (Canton). As the river water slowed in the bay, alluvial soil carried from upstream deposited to create dry land. In time islands became mountains and hills separated by river channels and valleys. The largest of these in the Huangliang Du region became Huangyang (box tree) Mountain with an elevation of 1,906 feet.

By the Song dynasty much of the bay had become dry land; it became Xiangshan County in A.D. 1162. This area saw the denouement of the Song empire in 1278, when pursuing Mongol Yuan forces crushed the main forces of the Song resistance at Yaimen in Xinhui, adjoining present-day Doumen to the west. Many the defeated settled in the region, helping to develop the area further. In 1642 the Portuguese occupied Lampacao, an island in what was to be Huangliang Du, as one of their bases to pursue the China trade. By the late 1550s, however, they had moved their operations to the more strategically located Macao, a peninsula off the southeastern tip of Zhuhai.

After the Manchu Qing dynasty succeeded the Ming during the mid-seventeenth century, Sanzao and other offshore islands became some of the bases from which Ming loyalists together with pirates continued to harass the Qing.[2] In order to prevent the loyalists from linking up with Ming sympathizers inland, the Qing court issued decrees in 1662 and 1664 ordering evacuation of the coast for fifty *li* (about seventeen miles). Much of the Pearl River Delta region was directly affected.

The evacuation order was not lifted until two decades later. Some inhabitants returned. New settlers also arrived from nearby Xinhui as well as from land-poor areas in northeast Guangdong such as Huiyang and Lufeng.[3] The Xinhui heritage is still strongly evident in the region in that, unlike the rest of Zhongshan, the local dialect closely resembles the Cantonese spoken in neighboring Xinhui. In 1731 the Qing government designated this region Huangliang Du. During the Republican era that administrative subdivision was abolished, with the portion on the mainland becoming the Eighth District of Xiangshan. Sanzao and other offshore islands became the Seventh District. In 1925 the name of Xiangshan was changed to Zhongshan (Chungshan) in honor of Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen).

In 1961 the southeastern part of Zhongshan and islands off the Pearl River Delta became Zhuhai County. In 1965 Doumen became a separate county comprising the former Eighth Area of Zhongshan and a small part of neighboring Xinhui (see map). In 1979 Zhuhai County became the Zhuhai Municipality. In 1983 Doumen County was placed under the jurisdiction of the municipality; the territory that used to be Zhuhai County became Xiangzhou District.

EMIGRATION

With easy access to the ocean, this area early became an emigration area. By the last half of the eighteenth century Huangliang Du people were known to be active in Southeast Asia.[4] Huangliang Du people also moved to nearby Macao to engage in businesses or to find work. When Hong Kong developed as an international port and entrepôt after the

TABLE 1

LAND AREA AND POPULATION STATISTICS FOR MODERN TOWNSHIPS IN THE REGION FORMERLY OCCUPIED BY HUANGLIANG DU

Locality	Land Area (sq. mi.)	Permanent Population	Mobile Fishing Population
	Townships, Doumen County		
TOTAL	358.3	261,001	
Jing'an[1]	49.7	50,593	
Doumen[1]	40.6	36,971	
Shangheng[2]	19.3	22,231	
Liuxiang[3]	24.8	18,050	
Lianxi[1]	16.2	15,685	
Baijiao[1]	48.0	30,183	
Qianwu[1]	24.5	16,530	
Wushan[1]	46.3	23,393	
Pingsha[1]	74.1	36,528	
Hongqi[1]	14.8	10,837	
	Townships, Xiangzhou District (offshore islands only)		
TOTAL	144.9	30,535	3,603
Nanshui[1]	35.4	7,123	
Sanzao[1]	30.1	11,078	
Xiaolin[1]	28.9	7,247	
Wanshan[5]	11.6	1,028	1,383
Dan'gan[4]	15.4	758	820
Guishan[4]	5.4	895	1,400
Hengqin[5]	18.1	2,406	

Source: Guangdong sheng Zhuhai shi dimingzhi (Gazetteer of geographical names of Zhuhai City, Guangdong Province) (Guangzhou: Guangdong keji chubanshe, 1989); referenced hereafter as *Gazetteer of Geographical Names of Zhuhai*.

[1] Was part of Huangliang Du.
[2] Was part of Xinhui until 1965.
[3] Was part of Xinhui and Zhongshan.
[4] Was part of Bao'an.
[5] Was not part of Huangliang Du.

Opium War, it also became a magnet, attracting Huangliang Du emigrants seeking better opportunities. Some, particularly those from Sanzao and other offshore islands, found work in the fisheries or served on ships sailing international routes. The proximity of Hong Kong also facilitated its use as a way station for Huangliang Du people to go abroad. However, the majority of Huangliang Du people living away from the home villages settled in Hong Kong and Macao.

The estimated populations from various different townships in Doumen County and the offshore islands living in Hong Kong, Macao, and countries abroad are listed in Table 2. Of the approximately 17,000 from Doumen County, in the United States the largest number are found in California, chiefly in the San Francisco Bay Area. Smaller concentrations dwelled in Los Angeles, Honolulu, and New York City.[5] A high percentage of the immigrants originated from villages in Doumen Township (area: 40.6 sq. mi., slightly smaller than the area of San Francisco) on the western side of Doumen County.[6] The population abroad from this township is between 85 and 90 percent of the population still living in the area.

There are fewer emigrants from the smaller populations of the offshore islands. An estimated 20,000 live outside the borders of China, mostly in Hong Kong and Macao, but small numbers are also found in Western Europe, the United States, Australia, Southeast Asia, and Latin America. Most came from Sanzao Island. In the United States the largest concentration of people from the offshore islands is in New York City, where there are several thousand. In the 1990s there are several hundred to a thousand in the San Francisco Bay Area.[7]

IN THE NEW WORLD

People from Huangliang Du were among the earliest Chinese to settle in North America. The earliest recorded pioneer was Yuan Sheng from Tianxin Village, Sanzao Island. Around 1820 he boarded ship at Macao and voyaged to Europe and America. When the ship berthed in New York City, he decided to stay.[8] Later he traveled to Charleston, South Carolina, to be a merchant. He became a Christian and a naturalized American citizen. He even claimed to have voted the Republican ticket. When the California Gold Rush began, Yuan was among the first wave of Chinese to settle in San Francisco around 1850. Known as Norman Asing (or Assing) to San Franciscans, Yuan became a leader in the young Chinese community. In 1852 he wrote a letter defending the Chinese when Governor Bigler of California urged a ban on Chinese immigration.[9]

At that time there were already numerous Chinese immigrants in California. Yuan urged his compatriots to organize for mutual aid and protection from external threats as well as for social control. In September 1852, Asing together with Cai Libi (Lai Bik Choi) of Shangzha and Liu Zuman (Jou Moon Lau) of Qianshan, both in present-day Xiangzhou District of Zhuhai, founded Yeong Wo Association to aid immigrants from Xiangshan, Dongguan, and Zengcheng.[10] Yuan became the first head of the association, but "an attack of haemorrhages [*sic*]" soon forced him to yield the position to Tong K. Achik of Tangjia in present-day Xiangzhou District.[11]

When Californians turned from mining gold to developing other sectors of the economy, Chinese immigration

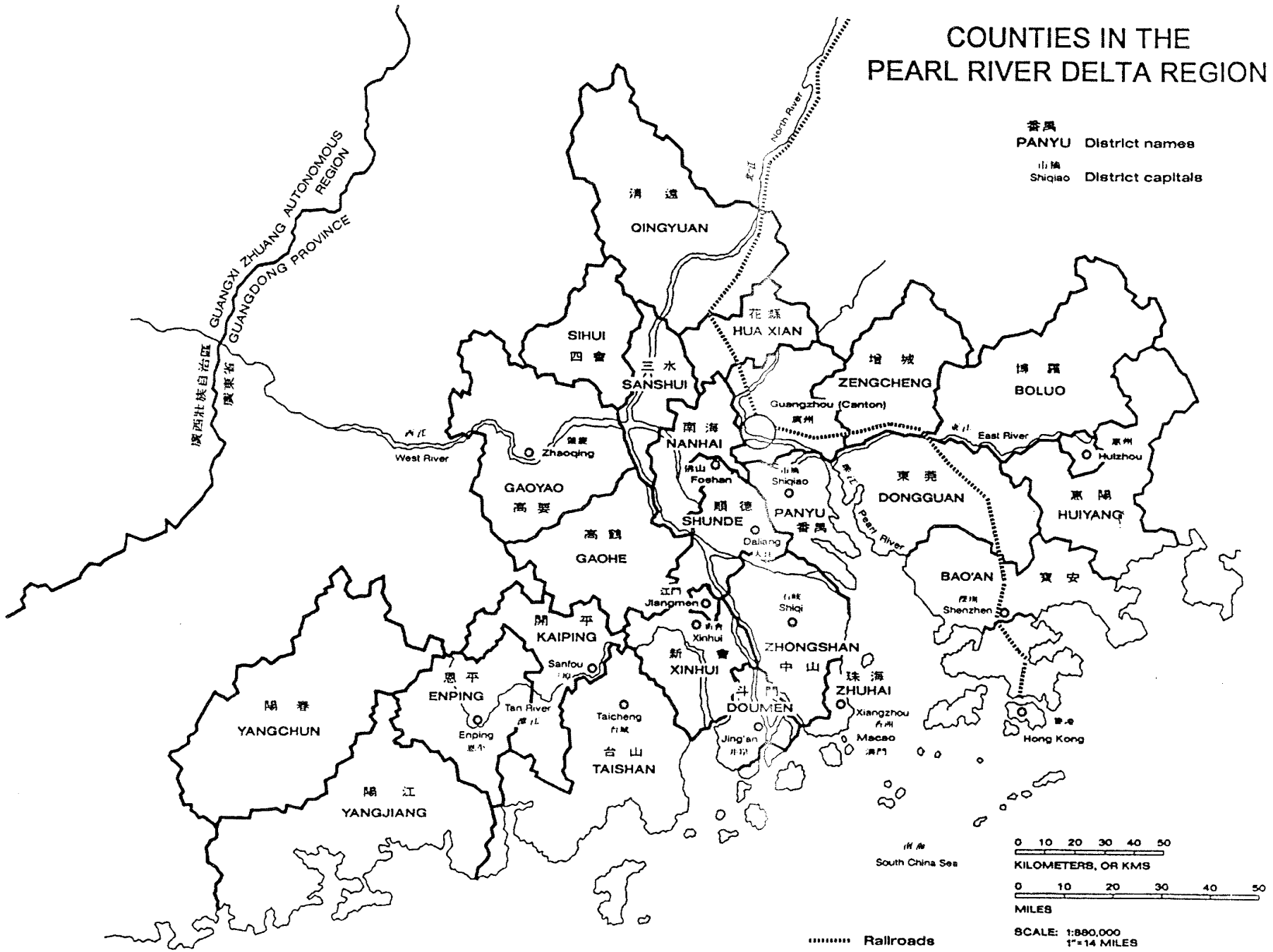
COUNTIES IN THE
PEARL RIVER DELTA REGION
番禺
PANYU District names
Shiqiao District capitals
GUANGXI ZHUANG AUTONOMOUS REGION
GUANGDONG PROVINCE
廣西壯族自治區
廣東省
North River
West River
East River
Pearl River
QINGYUAN
清遠
SIHUI
四會
SANSHUI
三水
HUA XIAN
花縣
ZENGCHENG
增城
BOLUO
博羅
Guangzhou (Canton)
廣州
NANHAI
南海
Zhaoqing
肇慶
Foshan
佛山
Shiqiao
GAOYAO
高要
SHUNDE
順德
PANYU
番禺
DONGGUAN
東莞
Huizhou
惠州
HUIYANG
惠陽
Daliang
GAOHE
高鶴
Jiangmen
江門
Shiqi
BAO'AN
寶安
Shenzhen
KAIPING
開平
Xinhui
Sanfou
XINHUI
新會
ZHONGSHAN
中山
ENPING
恩平
Tan River
Enping
DOUMEN
斗門
ZHUHAI
珠海
Xiangzhou
Taicheng
台城
Jing'an
Macao
澳門
Hong Kong
YANGCHUN
陽春
TAISHAN
台山
YANGJIANG
陽江
South China Sea
0 10 20 30 40 50
KILOMETERS, OR KMS
0 10 20 30 40 50
MILES
SCALE: 1:880,000
1"=14 MILES
Railroads

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE ORIGINATING FROM TOWNSHIPS OF DOUMEN AND OFFSHORE ISLANDS

Locality	Population in Hong Kong/ Macao	Population Overseas	Total Population Abroad
	Townships, Doumen County		
TOTAL	102,135	25,122	127,257
Jing'an[1]	12,100	3,450	15,550
Doumen[1]	25,820	6,440	32,260
Shangheng[2]	8,455	920	9,375
Liuxiang[3]	4,500	840	5,340
Lianxi[2]	2,500	765	3,265
Baijiao[1]	14,660	2,106	16,766
Qianwu[1]	15,380	2,885	18,265
Wushan[1]	13,520	4,620	18,140
Pingsha[1]	4,200	2,075	6,275
Hongqi[1]	3,000	1,021	4,021
	Townships, Xiangzhou District (Offshore Islands Only)		
TOTAL			16,250
Nanshui[1]			544
Sanzao[1]			13,200
Xiaolin[1]			305
Wanshan[5]			400
Dan'gan[4]			500
Guishan[4]			501
Hengqin[5]			800

Source: Gazetteer of Geographical Names of Zhuhai.

Note: In an interview on Dec. 14, 1993, the Zhuhai Overseas Chinese Affairs Office gave the following unpublished revised figures for 1992:

Doumen County: Chinese overseas and in Hong Kong, Macao: 151,000; Chinese overseas: 41,000 in thirty-eight countries including the United States, Cuba, Peru, Chile, Canada, Australia, Malaysia; United States (including Hawaii): 17,000. Sanzao: Chinese overseas in more than a dozen countries and in Hong Kong, Macao: 20,000.

[1] Was part of Huangliang Du.
[2] Was part of Xinhui until 1965.
[3] Was part of Xinhui and Zhongshan.
[4] Was part of Bao'an.
[5] Was not part of Huangliang Du.

increased dramatically. The population under the jurisdiction of the Yeong Wo Association increased to more than twenty thousand by the late 1860s.[12] During this period Huangliang Du immigrants also began to immigrate into Hawaii, where California's rapid development stimulated growth of the islands' sugar industry.

Chinese abroad very early on organized *huiguan* and *shantang* for mutual help. Membership was based on area of origin in China. A function of these groups was to ship the dead back to the home village in China for burial. The existence of a *shantang* for Huangliang Du immigrants in California was not evident in early accounts. But from the fact that similar organizations for other Xiangshan areas were documented at an early date, it is reasonable to assume that such an organization also existed to perform this important religious function for Huangliang Du immigrants.[13] However, a formally organized *shantang* for Huangliang Du immigrants in California apparently did not appear until late in the nineteenth century.

The establishment of a new Chinese cemetery at Colma, near San Francisco, by the Chinese Six Companies in 1889 may have spurred the formal establishment of Hee Shen Association for Huangliang Du immigrants in the 1890s.[14] During this period social needs as well as the need for protection against external threats also led to the formation of the fraternal group Yee Ying Association for Huangliang Du immigrants. This group was dominated by the more numerous clans, and about a decade later, smaller Huangliang Du clans formed a second fraternal group, the Hip Sen Association.[15]

Around this period Huangliang Du immigrants in the Hawaiian kingdom also formed Huangliang Du Fushan Tang on Maui, and Huangliang Du Gongsuo and Huangliang Du Jilu (name changed to Jishantang in 1906) in Honolulu.[16] There is no formal organization for Huangliang Du people in New York, but there is a Chung Shan Association, founded in 1920. There is a Sanzao Gongsuo, which existed as Sam Jo Kong Fong for many years. During the 1940s a Sam Jo Kong Fong also existed for a short time in San Francisco.[17]

The Chinese Exclusion laws barred Chinese labor from the United States from 1882 to 1943. However, America still held the promise of a better life for many Chinese, and they devised many stratagems to circumvent the ban and gain entry. Some seamen jumped ship at ports, became stowaways on trans-Pacific vessels, or were smuggled into America from neighboring countries. By far the most common method of entry was to claim exempt status as a merchant, as a merchant's spouse and children, or as citizens and citizens' offspring. Thus many Huangliang Du immigrants paid mercantile establishments to list them as partners. Others bought papers claiming citizenship status as American-born or as native-born, often with surnames different from their original surnames.

FARMERS AND BUSINESSMEN

Many Huangliang Du immigrants to America settled in San Francisco, and the city became the site for most organized activities of concern to the Huangliang Du community in the

continental United States. As was typical in practically all overseas Chinese societies, merchants played a leading role in the community. There has been insufficient research to identify Huangliang Du merchants and businesses during the early days of the San Francisco Chinese community, except for Norman Asing, mentioned above. But by the end of the nineteenth century several Huangliang Du merchants had emerged to play prominent roles. A major store at the turn of the century was Sing Kee, rice importer and seller of general merchandise located at 808 (the address changed to 756 after the 1906 earthquake) Sacramento Street.[18] The store's owner was Lung Chin (also known as Hong Dai Chan) from Nanshan Village. Chin arrived in San Francisco around 1882 and began working at Sing Kee soon after. He learned English at the Chinese Baptist Church.[19] During the late nineteenth century he began leasing land in the Sacramento–San Joaquin river delta, growing crops such as asparagus, beans, onions, and potatoes. In 1912 Chin bought 1,100 acres near Stockton and named it the Sing Kee Tract. It was probably the only tract in California named after a Chinese store. After California passed the 1913 Alien Land Act, Chin acquired about 2,000 acres near Klamath Falls, Oregon, to raise potatoes. Thus, during the early twentieth century Chin became known as the Chinese counterpart of George Shima, the Japanese "potato king." Many Huangliang Du immigrants worked on Chin's farm, and a Huangliang Du community sprang up in Stockton's Chinatown, where Chin in 1915 became part owner of Poo Wo Tong, an herbalist and general merchandise store at 137 South Hunter Street.[20]

Chin continued his agricultural enterprises in San Joaquin County until 1924, when additional restrictions imposed by a second Alien Land Act in 1920 and an amendment in 1923 forced Chin to close down his California farming operations. He also gave up farming in Oregon after that state also enacted an Alien Land Law in 1923. However, some families who went north with Lung Chin remained in Oregon. One was Hushan Village's Sam Wong Chin, who with his family eked out a living for many years growing potatoes. During World War II the farm profited by raising and supplying quantities of Chinese cabbage to the Japanese internment camp at nearby Tule Lake.[21]

Lung Chin invested part of his capital in the Shanghai Trunk Company in San Francisco in 1923. This business became a gathering place for Huangliang Du people, especially those from Nanshan, and operated until around 1939.[22] Chin also bought land and made investments in his native China.[23]

Another major entrepreneur was Jun You Jew, also known as Fook Jew, who came from Nanmen Village around 1908. Jew was manager of the Chung Sun Wo store and silent partner in the Shew Hing Lung store. In the 1920s he acquired Mon Ming Hotel and Shanghai Noodles in San Francisco. Around 1923 he founded Hip Sing Chong, a general merchandise store at 12 Ross Alley, to handle remittances to China. In the 1930s, when Huangliang Du people had become established in the flower industry on the San Francisco Peninsula, Jew's nephew James Jew opened Canton Flower Shop around 1934. Using the same storefront as Hip Shing Chong, the shop also became a gathering place for Huangliang Du people.[24] It was not the first Huangliang Du florist, but it was one of the oldest and most successful.

Jun You Jew made major investments in California agricultural enterprises. He had a shaky start, incurring losses in rice farming in Colusa. Undaunted, he leased land near Isleton to raise asparagus. In 1928 Jew formed Kwangtung Corporation. In 1929 the corporation purchased 2,665 acres near Dos Palos in Merced County. It soon moved its operations to 1,660 acres at nearby Firebaugh to the southeast. In 1944 Kwangtung Corporation became Jew Fook Corporation, headed by Jew's grand-nephew Richard. Richard managed the initial parcel together with land purchased by a corporation formed in 1947 by several former Kwangtung Corporation stockholders and another parcel he bought separately. It was the largest Chinese-owned farm in the area.[25] Fook Jew also entered a partnership with Dan Louie to acquire more than two thousand acres in Imperial Valley. Later the partnership was terminated and the holdings divided between the partners, with Jew keeping 1,800 acres. The land was sold in 1958, but the new owner leased the parcel to Jew's nephew Edwin Chew.

Jun You Jew also played a pioneering role in the Chinese film industry in America. In 1926 he became vice-president, deputy manager, and a member of the board of directors of Zhonghua Yizhi Yinghua Gongsi (Chinese educational films company). The company's first film, made in Hollywood, was *Xue Pinggui quan zhuan* (Story of Xue Pinggui), with Anna May Wong playing one of the roles.[26] Jew financed his second son, Joseph Sunn Jue, when the latter organized the New Art Film Company and made his first film, *Yaomo zhi yue* (The demon's cavern) in 1926. In 1933 Joseph Sunn Jue formed Grandview Film Company in San Francisco. The company's first production, *Gelü qingchao* (Blossom Time), was one of the earliest sound motion pictures made in the Cantonese dialect. It premiered in San Francisco and afterward was shown in China, where it was an acclaimed success. Joe Sunn Jue then moved his studio to Hong Kong. After the War of Resistance against Japan broke out in 1937, Jue returned to America in 1939 and made several color feature films using 17 Old Chinatown Lane in San Francisco Chinatown as his studio. He also formed a corporation to build and operate a movie theater in San Francisco. Fook Jew bought a building at 756–58 Jackson Street and turned it over to the corporation at cost. Unlike two other contemporary Chinatown movie theaters that were converted from theaters for Cantonese operatic performances, this theater had to be completely remodeled. Grandview Theater opened in 1940.[27] The theater closed and the building was sold in 1976.[28]

Kwong On & Co. and Chung Sun Wo were major Huangliang Du general merchandise stores in San Francisco. The former was founded around 1894 by members of the Chen (Chan) clan of Nanshan and the Huang (Wong) clan of Dahaochong. After the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, Kee Wong became manager. The business operated until around 1935. After the founding of the Republic Wong founded the *jinshanzhuang* (*gamsaanjong*) Wing Shun Tai in Hong Kong.[29]

Chung Sun Wo was founded by Jim Mock and others at the turn of the century. It ceased operation about 1922. Around 1927 the store reopened as Shew Hing Lung. It lasted until 1942. By then it was managed by Xinhui immigrants, although several of the eighty partners were from Huangliang Du.[30] Another business with partial Huangliang Du ownership was the herb shop Tin Suie Tong. During the 1930s this store provided postal and remittance services for immigrants, particularly those belonging to Doumen's Mok (Mock) clan.[31] On the eve of World War II, in around 1938, Zhao Yanxin (Yin San Jew) of Nanmen founded Comfort Shoes at 754 Grant Avenue. It was one of the few Chinese-owned shoe stores in Chinatown. However, more important than its footwear sales (although this undoubtedly was convenient for many in Chinatown), the store also handled remittances to China after Hip Shing Chong closed down. The business closed in the early 1950s.

PROFESSIONALS AND WORKERS

Similar to other Chinese immigrants to California of the period, most Huangliang Du immigrants were either shopkeepers, restaurant workers, domestics, gardeners, or cooks. One remembered by many was Mo Yiya (Yik Ngah Mok) from Chishuikeng, who held the position of chief cook at the Angel Island Immigration Station for many years before World War II. His kitchen staff, most of whom were also from Huangliang Du, played a crucial role in maintaining communications between Chinese on the outside and Chinese detainees at the immigration station. When a member of the kitchen staff had a day off, he would visit San Francisco and pick up coaching messages from a business such as Shew Hing Lung. This message would then be smuggled into the hands of the detainees at mealtime.[32] This system continued for many years, until the station closed.

A small number of professionals also became respected individuals in the community during the first half of the twentieth century. At the turn of the century one of the best known herbal physicians in San Francisco was Dr. Henry Wong Him from Dahaochong. Wong was a domestic cook who was said to have been encouraged by his employer to become an herbal physician outside Chinatown. He became wealthy treating non-Chinese patients and was a silent partner in a number of Chinese businesses ventures such as Kwong On and Shew Hing Lung. During the late nineteenth century he also bought eighty-five acres (near the present Agnew State Hospital) in Santa Clara County, where he had a Chinese pear orchard, then the largest of its kind in the United States.[33]

Dr. Wong Him did not have a medical license, but his son, also known as Henry Wong Him, obtained an M.D. degree at the Hahnemann School of Homeopathy in San Francisco. Although the younger Wong Him was licensed to practice Western medicine, he preferred to practice herbal medicine with his father. However, he was on the medical staff of Chinese Hospital when it opened in 1925, and he donated $3,000 toward the purchase of an X-ray machine for the hospital.[34]

Another respected herbal physician was Zhao Shunzhi (Sun Jee Jew). Sun Jee Jew played a key role in bringing a halt to a bloody feud between Nanshan and Lishan villages in Doumen. In 1915 a dispute between the two villages had led to violent fighting, causing casualties and serious economic dislocations. Jew and Ging Chan, manager of Stockton's Poo Wo Tong, raised funds from fellow townsmen in America for the relief of refugees fleeing the fighting. When the fighting threatened to escalate in 1916, Jew and Chan stepped in and successfully mediated an end to the fighting and the signing of a peace treaty.[35]

Herbal physician Chen Jingshan (Ging Saan Chan) was principal at the Yeong Wo Chinese School. He also set a precedent as the first president of the Yeong Wo Association, and hence the first member of the board of presidents of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, to be elected from the local membership of the Hee Shen Association. That move had become necessary when the Chinese government during the 1920s refused to continue issuing diplomatic visas for *huiguan* presidents to come to America to head their respective organizations.[36]

Other men of letters pursued careers as Chinese school teachers and journalists. One was Huang Baohuan (Bou Waan Wong) of Dahaochong Village, who gained notoriety during his sojourn as an editor at the Kuomintang newspaper *Young China* from the late 1920s to the early 1930s. His commentary attacking the Ning Yung Association published in the paper in 1927 ignited a controversy that resulted in a Ning Yung Association boycott of *Young China*. The controversy lasted eight years and required mediation by the governor of Guangdong Province before it subsided.[37] Another jounalist was Shek Ng Mock of Chishuikeng, who immigrated in 1920. Mock taught at the Yeong Wo and Chung Wah Chinese schools during the late 1920s. He then became an editor at the *Chinese Times*, where he was subsequently promoted to chief editor and served until the early 1940s.[38]

As Chinatown gradually became modernized during the first half of the twentieth century, Western-educated professionals also appeared. One pioneer of Huangliang Du ancestry was Man Quong Fong, born in San Francisco in 1883. Fong opened Republic Pharmacy in November 1912. It was

said to be the first such Chinese-owned establishment in America. Fong graduated as a pharmaceutical chemist from the University of California in 1914.[39]

Dr. Henry D. Cheu, who came to the United States when he was ten, was one of the first Western-trained physicians of Huangliang Du origin. Cheu worked his way through Stanford University and was the third Chinese to graduate from Stanford Medical School. In 1930 Dr. Cheu joined the Chinese Hospital staff.[40]

Before World War II it was difficult for Chinese American professionals to find work in mainstream America. Many college graduates often had to change their callings or to depart for China to try to build a career. A fortunate few, however, were able to enter the professions in this country. An American-born of Huangliang Du ancestry, Chen Qinxue (Kan Hok Chan), was said to have served as interpreter at the Angel Island Immigration Station during the 1920s.[41] In 1937 John Young, son of San Jose store owner Soong Quong Young, became a petroleum engineer in Southern California, first with the Conservation Committee of California and then with Standard Oil. In both cases he was the only engineer of Chinese descent with the firm.[42]

During this period the pervasive discrimination against Chinese was an obstacle preventing many talented Chinese from even considering careers in the arts and literature. However, in some cases the younger generation was willing to take the risk. It is said that Mo Guangdong (Gwong Dong Mok), grandson of Jim Mock, was saxophonist with a band in the theatrical circuit; however, his career was cut short by an early death.[43] In the realm of fine arts, George Chann of Nanshan Village ancestry received a full scholarship from the Otis Art Institute of Los Angeles, where he majored in painting from 1934 to 1938 and graduated with honors. Chann had exhibitions while at the school and was awarded a special easel. After World War II he taught painting in China and in San Francisco and then opened a small gift shop in Los Angeles.[44]

ON THE SAN FRANCISCO PENINSULA

The writer has not yet been able to determine the year the first Huangliang Du immigrant moved to the San Francisco Peninsula to make a living. But as suburban San Mateo and Santa Clara counties developed following the Gold Rush, the Chinese population in the region also increased; however, by 1900 it had declined due to the Chinese Exclusion Laws (see Table 3). Many were domestics and gardeners working on estates in San Mateo and Santa Clara counties; others were truck gardeners and small farmers, among them immigrants from Huanglian Du. Small Chinatowns also sprang up in the peninsula towns of San Mateo, Menlo Park, Mayfield, and San Jose to serve this Chinese population. Typically each Chinatown had one or more general merchandise stores that

TABLE 3

CHINESE POPULATION IN SAN FRANCISCO PENINSULA, 1860–1900

	San Mateo County	Santa Clara County
1860	6	22
1870	519	1,525
1880	596	2,695
1890	448	2,723
1900	306	1,738

became social centers for fellow villagers and often also fronted for gambling houses catering to the Chinese. Often there were also a restaurant and a laundry or two in the neighborhood and, in the larger Chinatowns, perhaps even a rooming house.

The San Mateo Chinatown was in existence as early as the 1870s with a cluster of businesses around B and Second avenues. By the turn of the century another small Chinatown had developed around the Hop Yick store at First and Claremont. Chinese from Taishan and Huangliang Du owned most of the establishments, among which were interspersed some Japanese businesses. This Chinatown disappeared before World War II. A smaller Chinatown in nearby Menlo Park, however, lasted until the 1950s. Chinese establishments in that cluster were mostly owned by Huangliang Du people. One store, Hip Cheong Jan, later became the clubhouse for the local chapter of Hip Sen Association.[45]

In adjoining Palo Alto, however, Chinese had to fight for the right even to establish businesses in that town close to Stanford University, where many Chinese were working. Plans to open a Chinese laundry in Palo Alto failed in 1893, when citizens pressured the building owner to cancel the lease.[46] In 1905 B. F. Hall acting on behalf of Mock Wo and Ah Fong, who may have been of Huangliang Du origin, applied for a permit to operate the Cardinal Restaurant in town. When the city clerk refused to issue the license, Hall took the matter to court, and the restaurant subsequently opened quietly, establishing a precedent for other Chinese businesses in Palo Alto. Two years later Gee Beng Mock and Kee Leung, both from Huangliang Du, were able to open City Cafe without any disturbances. Leung, who had been a cook at the Phi Delta Theta house on the Stanford campus, later built one of the early apartment houses in Palo Alto, the Palm Court Apartments.[47] However, Palo Alto never did have a Chinatown, and customers of Chinese businesses were primarily drawn from mainstream American society.

A small Chinatown existed in Mayfield (annexed by Palo Alto in 1925), south of Palo Alto, for many years. This Chinatown had mostly Huangliang Du people, although there were some from Sze Yap. Mayfield's citizens were imbued with the same anti-Chinese sentiments as their neighbors, but as

lamented by the *Palo Alto Times* in 1903: "Citizens of Mayfield are meeting with difficulties in their efforts to dislodge the Chinese quarters. It is not easy to find land upon which to place them, and such tracts as can be had the Chinese will not accept." Thus, in spite of continued harassment, the small Chinese enclave managed to survive; however, it disappeared long before World War II.[48]

The largest Chinatown in Santa Clara County was at San Jose. It was first formed at Market and San Fernando streets during the 1860s. By the late 1880s the Chinatown had become a bustling community with more than a thousand inhabitants. At this time the city of San Jose was envisioning construction of a modernized downtown area where Chinatown was located. When the Chinese showed a reluctance to move from the area, arsonists set fires that destroyed Chinatown on May 4, 1887. The displaced Chinese then leased land at Fifth and Taylor streets from John Heinlen and built a new Chinatown that became known as Heinlenville.[49] But by the late 1920s the Chinese population had declined as older Chinese died, retired, or returned to China while the younger generation departed to seek better opportunities. In 1931 the Heinlen Company went bankrupt, and the land was turned over to Pacific National Bank of San Francisco, who began razing Chinatown. The last vestige of Chinatown did not disappear, however, until 1949, when the Ng Shing Gung temple was finally demolished.[50]

Most of the inhabitants of Heinlenville were Sze Yap, but branches of the Young Wo and Sam Yap associations also existed. The principal Huangliang Du general merchandise store during the twentieth century was Kwong Wo Jan (Quong Wo Chan). Soong Quong Young, who immigrated from Longtan Village in 1881, was an employee at the store. In 1892 he became a partner and in 1907 sole owner. The store was a gathering place for people from Huangliang Du and other areas of Xiangshan.[51]

TRUCK GARDENS, SEED FARMS, FLOWER NURSERIES

Many Huangliang Du immigrants were small farmers in the agricultural sector of the San Francisco Peninsula, on a modest scale. They were probably among the Chinese that began tending vegetable patches in Santa Clara and San Mateo counties during the 1870s. By the 1880s a number of Chinese were also working on peninsula estates as gardeners. This period saw the beginnings of the cut flower industry on the Peninsula, when Italian farmers began growing violets alongside their vegetables. They were soon joined by Chinese gardeners and farmers who realized that growing flowers for the market was a good means to augment their income. Thus by the turn of the century Chinese were already marketing cut flowers, as described in the following news item depicting the scene at the Southern Pacific station at Third and Townsend streets in San Francisco: "Chinese with great baskets like lidless trunks came ambling from the station, eight or ten of them, each with his offering of fresh flowers wherewith to pile high the light burden to be borne up Third Street by the express wagons."[52]

During this period cut flowers were still regarded mainly as a source of supplemental income, and for some years into the twentieth century Chinese farmers on the Peninsula still focused on produce as their principal crops. For example, Huangliang Du people were said to have operated three truck farms on the site of the present Palo Alto city hall. The land was divided into three sections and farmed by three companies, each owned by eight to ten partners. They raised vegetables such as tomatoes, string beans, celery, squash, and cucumbers and sold the produce on consignment to San Francisco merchants.[53]

Information is vague regarding whether nineteenth-century flower vendors and growers were of Huangliang Du origin; however, a support system based on clan solidarity as well as a common region of origin in China soon enabled Huangliang Du people to dominate certain sectors of agriculture on the Peninsula. The same factor also worked to promote their dominance on Chinese seed farms. At first these farms were located near San Jose at the south end of the Peninsula, but around the turn of the century the operations moved to the Hollister–Gilroy–San Juan Bautista area. Many members of the Huang (Wong) clan of Dahaochong ran such farms, and at one time during the first half of the twentieth century there were as many as seven such farms near Hollister.[54]

The Huangliang Du community generally credits the Stanford farm near Palo Alto as being the first to hire Huangliang Du people as gardeners. With Palo Alto as a center, they spread to other parts of the San Francisco Peninsula. The pioneer was said to be Jim Mock from Chishuikeng. Mock appears to have arrived in California before the 1880s, when he became a supervisor of Chinese workers on the Southern Pacific Railroad. Afterward he became a foreman on the Stanford farm. Taking advantage of his position, Mock assisted many Huangliang Du fellow clansmen and fellow townsmen to find employment on the farm. They in turn helped their relatives and friends. Thus numerous immigrants of Huangliang Du origin came into the area. According to one informant, up to the early 1920s practically all Chinese gardeners on the Stanford estate were from Huangliang Du, as were many cooks in Stanford University fraternity and sorority houses. Many second-generation Mok (Mock) clan members were born in and around Palo Alto.[55]

Mock apparently left Stanford's employ when the farm became the Stanford University campus. As mentioned previously, he became one of the founders of Chung Sun Wo in San Francisco. Mock also learned flower cultivation from a Japanese gardener and around the early 1900s became the first Huangliang Du villager to grow sweet peas, asters, and

chrysanthemums near San Carlos. He taught these horticultural skills to Mo Yuqin (Yee Him Mock), who in 1908 became the second San Carlos grower.[56] Charlie Wong, formerly supervisor of a C. C. Morse seed farm at Hollister, moved to San Carlos with his family in 1918, also to grow sweet peas, asters, and chrysanthemums.[57]

Another pioneering family was known to American society as Yee; however, their Chinese surname was Zhao (Jue, Jew, Chew). The progenitor of the clan worked on the Hopkins estate in San Mateo County as a gardener. As time went on, local people sought him out to buy flowers. Yee then leased a quarter- or half-acre near the estate and worked on it on a part-time basis, growing chrysanthemums, asters, and sweet Williams in an open field. Yee grew flowers commercially during the early 1900s and became known as Ah Sam. His descendants continued growing commercial cut flowers using the same name.[58]

After World War I ended, potato prices declined sharply, and many Huangliang Du farmers in the San Joaquin delta decided that the developing San Francisco Peninsula offered better opportunities than potato farms in the San Joaquin delta. The influx of Huangliang Du people into the Peninsula continued after 1910. Some were members of the Lin (Lum) clan of Dahuan, the Chen (Chan, Chin) clan of Nanshan, and the Tan (Tom, Hom) clan of Paishan. They were joined by villagers belonging to other clans. Thus by the 1920s the Peninsula had a relatively large concentration of Huangliang Du people.[59]

Huangliang Du people were also dispersed widely in rural parts of the Peninsula. Some were gardeners, while others grew produce. Many also raised cut flowers to augment their incomes. But as time elapsed, the cut flowers became an increasingly important part of their annual incomes. Before the 1920s sweet peas, asters, and chrysanthemums were the principal crops. Since each flower blooms at a different time of the year, this combination ensured the grower of a source of income during most of the year.[60] During the early years the Chinese growers carried cut flowers to San Francisco in reed baskets, taking the train or the streetcar line that ran from San Mateo to San Francisco. They would rent a room in Chinatown in the building above the store Chung Sun Wo, where they would keep the flowers and spend the night before going to the flower market early the next morning.[61] The Mee Brothers (the family's Chinese surname was Tan [Tom or Hom]) nursery was said to be first to purchase a Model T Ford to transport flowers to San Francisco.

Chinese growers soon found asters and chrysanthemums to be more profitable than sweet peas and turned to these crops. The need for a central outlet to store and distribute the cut flowers led to the formation of the Chinese Flowers Growers Association around 1924–25. Each member of the group bought hundred-dollar shares to form a flower market in San Francisco. Later, as the number of growers increased, the association members decided to limit membership in the market to twenty-six, with newer growers being excluded.[62] This market, under the name of Peninsula Flower Gardens Market, became part of the flower terminal complex that opened at Sixth and Townsend streets in 1956. The two other buildings of the complex were those of the larger Japanese American California Flower Market, with 135 members, and the predominantly Italian San Francisco Flower Growers Association.[63]

Around World War I Ah Sam became one of the earliest growers to have cut flowers shipped to other parts of the United States. However, during this early period, Chinese growers did not handle shipment of their products outside the local area. In 1931, during the depths of the Great Depression, San Carlos grower Charlie Wong's son ventured into the flower-shipping business when he opened Wong and Sons in San Francisco Chinatown. The outlet was both a retail florist and a shipper of cut flowers. However, within a few years the business failed. During the late 1930s Wong tried again, teaming up with his brother-in-law, and established the more successful Wong and Chan, wholesale shippers, on the Peninsula.[64] Another early shipper was Lee Brothers, whose owners came from Liwuwei. They had run one of the early Chinese-owned nurseries in the San Carlos area. The Lee Brothers packed "pom-poms, China mums, Heather-violets, Belmont Gardenias, and callas."[65]

Because asters were grown outdoors, they required minimal investment in equipment and were favored by growers with limited capital. During the late 1930s aster growers comprised the majority of flower growers. They numbered between twenty and thirty, located mostly around Redwood City and Menlo Park. Some later also located near East Palo Alto.[66] During this period before World War II there were few families; the growers thus lived bachelors' lives. In their spare hours they would visit San Francisco or San Jose Chinatown, or frequent gambling houses and stores in the smaller Chinatowns of San Mateo, Menlo Park, and Mayfield.

Most aster farms were tended by two- to three-man partnerships. The plots were located on the flatlands with parcels generally three to five acres in area. Aster crops, however, contaminated the soil with a virus that rendered the land unsatisfactory for a succeeding aster crop. Thus growers had to make frequent moves to virgin land.

Chrysanthemum crops, in contrast, did not impose such restrictions, and the growers could invest in long-term capital improvements on their parcels. During the late 1920s about a dozen nurseries were located in the San Mateo area between 25th and 33rd avenues, at the site of the College of San Mateo and around the golf course along Highway 92 beyond Hillsdale. Others were closer to San Francisco, in the San Bruno area, where the Golden Gate National Cemetery is today. They were all on leased hillside land facing east to take full advantage of the sunshine and to provide protection from frost and the ocean fog. Mee Brothers was one of the largest Chinese-owned nurseries during this period.[67]

Although chrysanthemum growers tended to stay longer at a location than aster growers, creeping urbanization and rising land values also motivated them to relocate to cheaper land in less urbanized areas. Chew Chin's nursery is said to be the first to move south to Woodside. By the eve of World War II there were some twenty nurseries of five to ten acres in the area. At the time Chin's nursery was the largest at approximately twenty acres. He had six to seven nephews working for him.[68]

Nursery owners developed techniques to control and improve the yield of chrysanthemums at an early date. During the 1920s the Mee Brothers nursery, which was located in the flatlands rather than on a hillside, was first to use cheesecloth to cover and protect the plants. In 1931 the nursery introduced the use of black cloth to induce bud initiation. At that time it was also the only grower to use steam heat to sterilize the soil and to heat the greenhouses. Most growers during this period were small and thus lacked the capital to introduce such improvements.[69]

The alien land laws barred many Chinese growers from owning land. Faced with pervasive discrimination against Chinese during the 1920s and 1930s, many also considered themselves sojourners in this country. Most growers therefore leased their parcels and were not greatly motivated to spend much on capital expenditures. Thus, even though the Chinese and the Japanese had entered the flower-growing business at approximately the same time, the Japanese growers soon assumed the leadership role in developing the industry. During the pre–World War II era, Italian and Japanese at one point each made up about 45 percent of the growers in the region, while 10 percent were Chinese.[70]

THE PEAKING AND THE DECLINE OF THE CUT FLOWER INDUSTRY

During World War II many flower growers served in the armed forces, and many growers turned to garden produce. After the war the political and social status of the Chinese in America improved with the relaxation and repeal of many anti-Chinese laws and practices. This change diminished the sense of alienation among Chinese in America, and the attitude that this country was to be a permanent home for themselves and their descendants began to evolve.

After the war the relaxation of immigration laws allowed many families to be reunited in this country. During the period of postwar prosperity many growers improved their economic status. Many bought parcels of land and turned from asters to the more profitable chrysanthemums. Nurseries became family-operated businesses and the number of growers increased.

The increased availability of air cargo services for shipping cut flowers enabled growers to develop a national market. This expanding market for flowers motivated nursery owners to invest in technological innovations to improve and maintain their competitive positions. Chrysanthemum nurseries moved from the hillsides to the flatlands. Cheese-cloth houses erected on redwood posts began to be superseded by steel-framed glass greenhouses. Around 1952 Charles Foo Chan was first to use electric lights to control the growth rate of chrysanthemums. The use of steam heating became universal around 1956 to sterilize the soil and to heat greenhouses. Fan cooling with a pan of water to lower the greenhouse temperature in summer was first used around 1958 to improve the quality of the blooms. Techniques were also introduced for direct planting and rooting in sand beds, thus eliminating the need for transfer planting.[71]

With the increased number of Chinese flower growers, some felt that there was a need to organize to strengthen their bargaining power in negotiations with suppliers, shippers, and florists. Since membership in the existing Chinese Flowers Growers Association was limited to twenty-six, a number far smaller than the forty-five to fifty-five growers during the mid-1950s, Charles Foo Chin and Mo Huanwen (Foon Man Mok) led in the founding of the more inclusive Bay Area Chrysanthemum Growers Association around 1956. Membership was limited to Huangliang Du growers. Chinese aster growers also formed the Northern California Aster Growers Association. The Chrysanthemum Growers Association was headquartered in Mountain View, but in 1981 loans from members enabled it to build and move into a new headquarters at Ringwood Avenue, San Jose.[72]

America's prosperity in the 1960s ushered in a golden era for nursery owners. Huangliang Du nurseries increased to around a hundred, providing livelihoods for some five to six hundred Huangliang Du people. The owners were predominantly from Doumen, but a significant minority originated from Sanzao. During the 1960s Fuzhou immigrants also entered the field to become competitors.[73] The number of aster growers declined to a minority, as shown by the eighteen members in the Northern California Aster Growers Association in 1970 as compared to eighty in the Bay Area Chrysanthemum Growers Association. During this period some growers began to try to diversify their crops as a buffer against the caprices of the market. T. S. Chan Nursery, founded by Lung Chin's son in 1948, in 1967 became the first Chinese nursery to grow roses, a crop with high profit margins. By that time T. S. Chan's son, Gordon, was managing the business. Gordon Chan was the only Huangliang Du nursery owner with a formal education relating to the field, having received a degree in ornamental horticulture from California Polytechnic Institute in 1959. In the early 1970s two other Chinese nursery owners went into roses, while four or five grew carnations.[74]

By this time chrysanthemums had become the single biggest crop among agricultural products in Santa Clara County, valued at $9,392,000 in 1968. This figure represented 12.4 percent of the value of all agricultural production. Chrysanthemums were grown on 158.8 acres, for a value per acre of $59,000. Tomatoes, the second cash crop,

had a value per acre of only $980. At the time the Chinese produced about half the chrysanthemum crop and nearly all the asters.[75]

The rapid postwar urbanization of the Peninsula, however, exerted constant pressure, forcing the growers to move southward to cheaper land. Flower nurseries had not existed in Belmont, where some early growers started, since the 1940s. They disappeared from Woodside Road near Redwood City after the 1950s. During the early 1940s the first Chinese growers had entered Santa Clara County, settling near Palo Alto. By the 1950s most of the aster growers were on Stanford University land. By the 1960s they had begun moving to the Berryessa District in San Jose. A similar fate befell the chrysanthemum growers. By the early 1950s the last nurseries had left the San Bruno region. By the late 1950s and early 1960s, about the time College of San Mateo built its campus the last Chinese grower left the San Mateo area. In the 1950s many nurseries were located near Mountain View and Sunnyvale, but rapid urbanization of that area during the 1960s accompanying the rise of Silicon Valley forced nursery owners to move again. Most chose to join their aster-growing fellow villagers in the Beryessa District. By the mid-1970s the bulk of the growers had relocated there. There were five to six growers in the Cupertino area from 1959 to 1985. Some moved to Milpitas and Fremont. Others moved south to the area around Gilroy and Morgan Hill, where it was hoped the urban frontier would not arrive soon.[76]

Even during this period of prosperity, uncertainties were already clouding the future of many nurseries. Many growers' offspring, especially those who had acquired professional or technical educations, were reluctant to follow in their parents' footsteps. But up to the mid-1970s the influx of new immigrants into the industry more than offset those dropping out, so that by 1978 the number of nurseries had actually increased to 125, with ten in asters, two in roses, and the rest in chrysanthemums. About 110 were from Doumen, ten Fujianese, and the remainder Cantonese from areas other than Doumen. A typical nursery consisted of about two acres of covered area tended by members of the family and three hired employees (usually Mexicans, in contrast to the 1950s, when they were practically all Chinese). The average annual gross income of the nurseries ran between $50,000 and $100,000.[77]

In 1979 a disagreement within the Bay Area Chrysanthemum Growers Association over construction of a new clubhouse led twenty-eight members to withdraw to form the United Flower Growers Association. Since by this time there were an increasing number of non–Huangliang Du growers, and growers of Huangliang Du ancestry could no longer monopolize the field, both organizations accepted as members all Chinese growers, regardless of area of origin.[78]

During this period a basic change had occurred in the domestic market for chrysanthemums. Around 1971 chrysanthemums began to be imported from countries with lower production costs. Then came the Arab oil embargo of 1973, and domestic nurseries found production costs zooming steeply upward. Less expensive imported pompon chrysanthemums expanded their share of the American market from 5.6 percent in 1971 to 73.5 percent in 1988. Cut flowers in Santa Clara County dropped from a $35 million industry in 1980 to $22 million by 1990. By 1989 cut flowers had yielded their position as the leading agricultural commodity in Santa Clara County and had slipped to third place behind nursery crops and mushrooms. Newcomers from the Indochina Peninsula, including ethnic Chinese, also began entering the field during the late 1970s and early 1980s to compete against existing growers for a shrinking market.[79]

With these adverse developments the number of active growers in the Bay Area Chrysanthemum Growers Association decreased from 140 in the late 1970s. By 1997 the organization had eighty-three growing members and seventy-one retired members. There are no growers left in the Milpitas area, about eight growers around Alviso on Highway 237, and three in San Jose. The rest are located near Morgan Hill, Gilroy, San Martin, and even Watsonville south of San Jose. There are about seventy chrysanthemum growers but only one (in Watsonville) grower of roses.[80] The remaining active growers have turned to raising Chinese vegetables, primarily for the growing Asian market in the Bay Area. A few ship their produce to mainstream supermarkets as far away as Seattle. About half the former members chose to retire. As urbanization of the South Bay Area continued unabated, nursery owners such as Cupertino's Marshall Mok and San Jose's Gordon Chan and William Mock (grandson of Yee Him Mock) either sold their land at premium prices to developers or developed their landholdings themselves as housing and shopping malls.[81]

In the 1990s a decreased number of Huangliang Du people are still active in the flower-growing sector of the Bay Area economy. The number from Sanzao has increased relative to those from Doumen, so that they now are said to number almost half.[82] However, they have entered a field that faces many uncertainties as it is buffeted by changing winds in the domestic and international economies.

CHANGING TIES WITH THE ANCESTRAL LAND

Early Huangliang Du immigrants, similar to most Chinese immigrants, continued to maintain strong ties to their home villages. With the rise of Chinese nationalism after the late nineteenth century, they also expressed interest and concern in developments in the ancestral land more generally. Some participated actively in Chinese political movements advocating a strong and modern China. Many were particularly active in the revolutionary movement led by Sun Yat-sen. During the first decade of the twentieth century, merchant Kee Wong was active raising funds for the movement. The Imperial Qing government was said to have put a price on

his head, and Wong had to use the name Huang Rui (Yoey Wong) to avoid arrest. After the founding of the Republic, Wong was active in the Kuomintang-led movement in America opposing President Yuan Shikai's usurpation of power in China. He also served variously as an officer in the General Branch of the Nationalist Party of China (Kuomintang) in the United States through the mid-1920s.[83]

Another activist was San Jose merchant Soong Quong Young, proprietor of the Kwong Wo Jan store, who joined Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary organization Tongmenghui. After the founding of the Republic he continued to be active in the successor organization, the Kuomintang. In 1923 Sun Yat-sen appointed him to head the party's San Jose liaison office.[84]

From Nanshan Village came three notable supporters of Sun Yat-sen. Chen Yaoyuan (You Foon Chan) arrived in Stockton in 1906 to take over operation of his cousin's store Tuck Wo and Company, and soon joined the Tongmenghui. He became head of the local chapter and a close associate of Sun Yat-sen. In 1911 he sold his business to help finance the revolution. After the founding of the Republic, Chan became affiliated with the San Francisco party organ *Young China*. In 1915 he helped to organize the first party convention held in San Francisco. He also participated in establishing a program in America to train aviators for Sun Yat-sen's forces. In 1922 Sun appointed Chan to be general secretary of the Kuomintang general branch in San Francisco that supervised all party branches in the Americas. In 1925 Chan was elected one of the delegates from America to attend the Second Party Congress in China. In 1929 Chan became an alternate member of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang in China.[85] Fellow villager Chen Zesan (Jaak Saam Chan) became a member of the board of directors of the general branch of the Kuomintang in San Francisco in 1921. He served the party organ *Young China* in various capacities as member, officer on the board of directors, as well as editor up to the 1950s.[86] A third activist was Ging Chan (also known as Chen Jiazheng [Gai Jing Chan]), manager of Stockton's Poo Wo Tong herb-shop. In 1930 Ging Chan was a stockholder in Chicago's Kuomintang organ, *San Min Morning Paper*. In 1933 he introduced a resolution at a meeting of Kuomintang delegates to ask the Chinese government to take action to resist Japanese aggression in China. In 1937 he was appointed by the *Young China* board of directors to a committee to study methods to improve the paper's operations.[87] The elder Dr. Wong Him and Jun You Jew were also active Kuomintang members.[88]

During the early decades of the Republic, when the Kuomintang was striving to unify China under its rule, the party often appealed to Chinese abroad for support. One of the young Chinese who answered the call was Chen Yousheng (Yau Shing Chan) of Nanshan, who had immigrated to the United States around 1913. Chan learned aviation at the Kuomintang-sponsored aviation school in Redwood City, California, and then returned to Guangzhou in 1921 to join the Kuomintang government's embryonic air force. He served in various capacities and by 1940 had been promoted to be section head of the administrative section of the Aviation Commission.[89]

Japanese aggression against China during the 1930s aroused nationalistic feelings among Chinese in America. Some Chinese Americans hastened to join in the defense of ancestral land. Most notable were those who fought in China's outnumbered air force. After the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, Lin Shihan (Shihon Lam) of Niwan Village, then living in Mexico, arranged to go to San Diego to take flying lessons and then enlisted in the Guangdong air force in 1932. During the War of Resistance against Japan, Lam was appointed commanding officer of a military airfield in Guizhou Province.[90] Some young men made the ultimate sacrifice while serving in China. One was American-born George Young, son of Soong Quong Young, who became the first instructor in China to teach parachute jumping techniques. He was killed during the Sino-Japanese War when his plane crashed into a mountainside while flying with poor visibility.[91] Another was Huang Huajie (Wah Git Wong) of Dahaochong, who had immigrated into America in 1913. After graduating from the aviation school sponsored by the Chinese Six Companies in 1939, he enlisted in the Chinese Air Force. He was killed in a mishap at the Kunming Airport in 1941.[92]

Chinese resistance against the ruthless Japanese military machine inspired an outpouring of patriotic fervor in the Chinese community. Chinese Americans generously donated time and money to support the war effort. For example, in 1944 Jun You Jew was one of two people making the second largest donation at $20,000 to a fundraising campaign commemorating the seventh anniversary of the outbreak of the war.[93] He and Jaak Saam Chan served on the executive board of the China War Relief Association of America (CWRAA) and were among the many Huangliang Du people actively involved in war relief activities. Women also played active roles. Huang Zuyi (Jook Yee Wong), Jun You Jew's wife, was director of the women's section of CWRAA. She also became chairwoman of the Chinatown chapter of the Women's New Life Movement Association of China.

Soon after the end of the conflict in 1945 the cold war between the Western powers and the Socialist bloc began. China also lapsed into civil war. The victorious Communists founded the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949 and aligned with the Socialist bloc, while the defeated Nationalist government fled to Taiwan. At this critical juncture, the Korean War began, giving the United States a pretext to intervene in the Chinese civil war by extending its protection over Taiwan. The entry of PRC troops into the Korean Peninsula in late 1950 led to hostilities between them and United Nations troops, led by the United States. The presence of two governments, one on the mainland and the other on Taiwan, each claiming to be the legitimate rulers of the Chinese nation, polarized Chinese abroad. It was not until recently, as

confrontation between Taiwan and the China mainland has relaxed, that the political atmosphere among the Chinese in America has changed accordingly.

The situation that developed within the Huangliang Du community in America was no different from that among other Chinese in America. Those who were active Kuomintang members actively helped Taiwan to extend and maintain political control over public opinion in the Chinese community. Active in the party organ *Young China* was J. P. Wong of Dahaochong. Wong had immigrated to the United States in 1913 and joined the Kuomintang in 1922, and soon he was serving as an officer in the San Francisco branch of the party. He returned to China in 1929 and did not return to this country until the Nationalist regime on the China mainland collapsed in 1949. In 1951 Wong became proprietor of the Hang Ah Teahouse. He also was elected to the board of directors of *Young China* and became its manager in 1954. In 1974 Wong was appointed consultant to Taiwan's Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission. However, in 1980, after U.S. relations with the PRC had improved, Wong visited his ancestral village in Doumen. The following year, 1981, he and fellow Kuomintang member and artist George Chann accepted invitations from the Guangdong provincial government to attend the seventieth anniversary commemoration of the 1911 Revolution.[94]

Another loyal Kuomintang supporter was flower grower Zhao Shusheng (Shue Shang Jew) of Nanmen, who served as a *Young China* board director and consultant to Taiwan's Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission.[95] In the 1980s one of the most active supporters of the Taiwan regime was flowershop owner Mo Xiangxing (Cheung Hing Mok), who variously served as secretary of the General Branch of the Kuomintang in America and president of the Chinese Anti-Communist League. He was also a member of the board of *Young China*. In the 1980s the Taiwan government appointed him an overseas Chinese affairs commissioner. In 1986 he was elected to serve in Taiwan's Legislative Yuan as a representative of the Chinese in America.[96]

Because of the tense relations between the PRC and the United States, and the anti-Communist atmosphere in this country, there were few overt expressions of support for the PRC by Chinese in America during the 1950s and 1960s. But by the late 1960s, with the rise of a more liberal atmosphere in America brought about by the Civil Rights movement, attitudes in the community began to change. Journalist Maurice Chuck (also known as Huang Yunji [Wan Gei Wong]) of Dahaochong Village, who immigrated in 1948, was one of the first to express this new orientation openly. Chuck was an active member of the pro-PRC Chinese American Youth Club in the 1950s and was harassed by the U.S. government for his political beliefs. When the political situation began to change, he was hired as Chinese editor of the liberal weekly *East/West* in 1967. In 1969 Chuck became a founder of *Chinese Voice*, a newspaper advocating better U.S.–PRC relations. In 1972 Chuck started *San Francisco Journal*, another paper with a similar editorial policy.[97] Chuck was also active in creative writing in the Chinese language. In 1995 he began publishing *The Literati*, a bimonthly journal devoted to literary works by Chinese in America.

Similar to other emigrants from the Pearl River Delta, Huangliang Du emigrants had long remitted money to their ancestral villages for family support and public projects. However, because the emigrant population was relatively small compared to such areas as Taishan and Kaiping, few schools and hospitals were built in the region through contributions from abroad. In the 1930s Huangliang Du Chinese in America raised funds to expand the Hefeng Middle School in the town of Doumen. However, the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War forced postponement of the project, and the Hee Shen Association diverted the money to purchase a building. After World War II, Zhao Shunzhi (Sun Jee Jew) and Chen Jingshan (Ging Saan Chan), both former herbal physicians in San Francisco who had retired to Doumen, started a campaign in 1950 to raise money from abroad to expand the school facilities. A two-storied classroom building with a memorial plaque inscribed with the characters *qiao zc shilin* (fellow villagers abroad confer beneficence upon our community of scholars) was dedicated in 1951.[98]

With the opening of the PRC in the 1980s, immigration from Doumen and Sanzao increased dramatically. Many in the Huangliang Du community in America resumed contacts with relatives in the area, while young people visited the ancestral villages in search of their roots. Some Chinese Americans of Huangliang Du ancestry forged commercial links with or invested in business ventures in the PRC. Others became active making educational and cultural contacts with China. An example was restaurant owner Kam Hong Kwong of Xiaohaochong, who in the 1980s proposed establishing a college in Zhongshan to meet the needs of the developing economy. Groundbreaking and recruitment of students for a Sun Wen College (the name was changed to Zhongshan College in 1995) began in 1984. Kwong was an active member in the New China Education Foundation that in 1988 sponsored five Zhongshan middle school students to study in an American high school. In 1993 he initiated another foundation-sponsored activity, a summer study program in Guangdong that included Chinese language lessons and visits to various points in the Pearl River Delta, including the students' ancestral villages.[99]

From 1978 through 1987 Huangliang Du people abroad and in Hong Kong and Macao donated about RMB$1,120,000, benefiting more than twenty middle and primary schools. Additional contributions went toward funding other public facilities for a modern society. Among the most generous donors were the late John Young and his wife Mary. In 1984 the couple donated $10,000 to the First County Middle School, followed by $10,000 in 1986 to the County Third Middle School to set up scholarship funds. In 1987 they

donated art objects valued at $10,000 to the County Library to set up an exhibition room dedicated to the memory of Soong Quong Young and $5,000 to help plan a county museum. After John Young passed away in 1987, his family donated HK$1,280,000 and art objects to establish the John Young County Museum. Another generous donor was William Mock, who since 1987 donated a total of HK$1,370,000, including RMB$180,000 to build Jingsheng Primary School at Bajia, $40,000 to purchase an X-ray machine for the County People's Hospital, and more than $10,000 to the First Middle School to establish an electronic classroom and a Shuangsong Library. In 1995 Mary Young and William Mock were among a group of twenty-eight overseas investors and donors honored by being made honorary citizens of Doumen.[100] On October 15, 1996, they were the only two from Doumen among 802 outstanding foreign investors honored by the Guangdong provincial government for their contributions during the seventeen years of China's open door reform policy.[101]

INTO THE AMERICAN MAINSTREAM

Even while many in the Huangliang Du community in the United States were concerned with developments in the ancestral land, others in the community were sinking roots in America and were becoming increasingly involved in events in American society. As early as the turn of the century, Dr. Wong Him, the San Francisco herbal physician, made history when he fought against the segregation of Chinese children in San Francisco public schools. His daughter Katie was excluded from Clement School in San Francisco's Richmond District in 1902 in accordance with Section 1662 of the Political Code of California and was ordered to attend Chinese Primary School in Chinatown. Wong Him then filed a complaint in the United States Circuit Court, alleging that the law violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution in that it denied equal protection of the law to citizens of Chinese descent. In the racist clime of the day, however, Dr. Wong Him lost the case.[102] In 1908 the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) appointed him to serve on a twenty-one-member planning committee to work with Imperial Commissioner Liang Qinggui to establish a Chinese school in San Francisco. He subsequently donated $300 to the school building fund.[103]

Man Quong Fong, founder of the Republic Pharmacy, was also active in community affairs. After the 1906 earthquake and fire in San Francisco, he helped to manage the Chinese refugee tent city located on the shores of Lake Merritt in Oakland, California. He then served as secretary to the Chinese consulate. He also became a member of the Chinese school planning committee appointed by the CCBA.[104] Fong was secretary for the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in 1913 and English secretary for China Mail Steamship Company, the first Chinese-owned steamship company in America, in 1915. He was also one of the founders of the Soo Yuen Association.

Owing to prejudice against Asians, particularly on the Pacific Coast, Chinese participation in mainstream society was very limited during the first half of the twentieth century. The turning point was World War II. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor catapulted America into the war, many Huangliang Du people entered the war industries. Flower growers became truck farmers for the duration of the conflict. In common with other Chinese Americans, many entered the armed forces. A few served in the China-Burma-India theater, as was the case of Huang Zhaojun (Siu Gwan Wong) from Wankou Village, Qianwu. Wong has the distinction of having served in both the Chinese and U.S. air forces. He learned aviation in America and in 1934 joined the Guangdong air force. Subsequently he quit the Chinese Air Force and returned to the United States. During World War II he joined the U.S. Air Force and was assigned to the Fourteenth Air Force as an aerial spotter for the artillery.[105] A few Huangliang Du people became commissioned officers in the armed forces. One of these was John Young, the younger son of Soong Quong Young. John Young volunteered for duty and was sent to serve in the China-Burma-India war theater. Young started as a second lieutenant, but by the end of the war he was a captain. Young joined the reserves after his discharge, and during the Korean War he was recalled to active duty and was eventually promoted to full colonel. In 1946 he was cited for the Grand Order of the Cloud and Banner, China's highest decoration.[106] Another with a distinguished military record was James Leung, who went to officers' training school during the war and was sent to Germany with U.S. Army Unit 356, Civil Affairs, in 1947. Afterward he stayed in the reserves and was promoted to full colonel in 1960.[107]

In the period immediately preceding U.S. entry into the conflict, as American industries began tooling up to help England defend against German attacks, Chinese Americans with technical education were finding job opportunities where none existed before. Jun You Jew's son Lawrence Jue began as a junior naval architect at Mare Island Navy Yard in 1940, after he received a Master of Science degree in mechanical engineering from the University of California, Berkeley. By 1958 he had become chief naval architect at the San Francisco Naval Shipyards and had made significant contributions to submarine design. He was the principal designer of Sealab II, a manned underwater habitat, and received the Superior Service Award, the Navy's second highest award for civilians. In 1943 Jue was a founding president of the San Francisco chapter of the Chinese Institute of Engineers. This was the first organization promoting the interests of the increasing number of Chinese American engineers in the San Francisco Bay Area.[108]

The war brought about repeal of the Chinese Exclusion acts, and the situation of Chinese in the United States began to improve perceptibly. With this better economic status, more Chinese American venture capital began to be invested in various enterprises. The efforts among flower nursery owners have been described in a previous section. Many others opened businesses. A major departure from the groceries and restaurants traditionally connected with Chinese in America was the U.S. Enterprise Corporation, founded by John Young and his brother-in-law George Hall in San Francisco. The corporation produced Wing Nien brand soy bean sauce and was one of the few Chinese-owned manufacturing firms in America. Some immigrants from Sanzao skilled in Western cookery became mainstays on the staff of Chinatown businesses such as the Ping Yuen Bakery.

Chinese Americans also took advantage of U.S. government veterans' education benefits to enter medicine, engineering, science, education, and other professional and clerical fields to form a new middle class. Members of this new middle class did not limit their activities to the traditional organizations but also became active in various newer organizations such as the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Chinese American Citizens' Alliance, and various veterans groups. They also began to establish contacts in mainstream America and even to venture into mainstream politics. Chinese Americans of Huangliang Du ancestry participated actively in these developments.

The decades after 1960 saw even greater middle-class participation in community and civic affairs to elevate the status of the Chinese in America and to improve the quality of life in the Chinese community. Many who participated were of Huangliang Du ancestry. One of the earliest was Alan Wong of Dahaochong ancestry. Wong became interested in social issues during the late 1960s, when he was a member of the San Francisco Council of Churches. He participated in the Economic Development Council established during the War on Poverty program initiated during late 1960s. In 1969 he taught the first collegiate course on the Chinese community at San Francisco State College. Wong entered elective politics in 1965, when he served on the Democratic Party County Central Committee. In 1982 and 1986 he was elected to the San Francisco Community College Board.

Naval architect Lawrence Jue was also a community activist. He headed a Save Our Schools Committee in 1973 that successfully lobbied the San Francisco school board to find funds to retrofit and seismically upgrade three elementary schools serving the Chinatown area rather than closing them.[109] In 1974–78 he and Connie Young Yu, daughter of Col. John Young, were members of a legislature-appointed committee to make recommendations for preservation of the Angel Island Immigration Detention Station. Jue also headed the committee to choose the Chinese inscription on the memorial tablet erected at the site. Connie Young Yu later was active in the South Bay community, participating in the project to restore San Jose's Ng Shing Kung temple, and has published authoritative works on the Chinese in Santa Clara County.

In San Francisco civil engineer William Chin of Xiazhou represented the Chinese Six Companies in 1994 to negotiate with the city government on the implementation of regulations for handicapped access during seismic retrofitting of Chinatown buildings.[110] In 1987 attorney Arnold Chin, another of Lung Chin's grandsons, became one of the few American-born to head the Yeong Wo Association and the Chinese Six Companies. Chin was president of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in 1994–95.[111] He also serves on the board of the Angel Island Immigration Station Foundation that works to preserve the historic site. From the late 1960s, Dr. Donald Cheu, son of Dr. Henry Cheu, has been appointed to local and state positions in emergency and disaster care and has received numerous commendations and awards.[112]

Judy Yung, of Paishan ancestry, served on the San Francisco Library Commission, in 1976–78 under Mayor Moscone. In 1975 she established the Asian Branch of the Oakland Public Library, the first such public collection in the country. She also headed a research project to develop the first exhibition on Chinese American women's history—which opened in 1983—and has often written on the subject.[113] Yung is currently professor of American Studies at University of California, Santa Cruz. Developer Pius Lee from Bajia, active in the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, headed the California-Taiwan Sister State Committee in 1984–85. He became police commissioner in 1988 under San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos.[114]

In spite of increased political participation, Chinese on the American mainland have yet to match the record of Hawaii's Senator Hiram Fong, who was of Doumen ancestry. Fong was elected to national office and held office until he retired. On the mainland Man Quong Fong's daughter-in-law March Fong ran successfully for the Alameda County school board in the 1960s. Elected to the California State Assembly in 1966 and secretary of state in 1974, she became one of the most successful Chinese American politicians in California. In 1994 she became ambassador to Micronesia. Her son Matthew in turn was elected California's state treasurer in 1994.[115]

In Santa Clara County, Gordon Chan, grandson of Lung Chin, was the first Chinese American member of the County Farm Bureau. From 1985 to 1989 he served on the County Planning Commission. In 1992 he was appointed to the County Fair Board. He also served on the Trails Master Plan Committee of the County Parks and Recreation Commission from 1993 to 1996.[116] College professor Paul Fong, grandson of a Huangliang Du flower grower, was the first from such a South Bay family to be elected to public office. During the

mid-1990s he was elected to the Foothill–De Anza College District board.[117] In 1995 Fong's home also became the headquarters for the successful campaign to elect Michael Chang as the first Chinese American to serve on the Cupertino city council.[118] In 1996 Alameda County judge Ming Chin became the first Chinese American to be appointed to the California Supreme Court. Chin was the youngest son of Oregon farmer Sam Wong Chin.[119]

In the cultural field, in 1997 Jessica Yu won the coveted Oscar Award in the Best Documentary Short category. Just as her staunchly Nationalist great-grandfather Soong Quong Young was noted for his role in helping to shape historical destiny in China, her name now occupies a permanent niche in the annals of America for her contribution to the best in the film arts.[120]

CONCLUDING WORDS

A striking phenomena of the Huangliang Du community in northern California is its high incidence of activists in the political arena during the twentieth century. This activism may have to do with the fact that the Pearl River Delta is a region that for centuries was influenced by contacts from abroad. Such contacts led to a psychology favorable toward acceptance of new ideas. During the nineteenth century the Zhongshan-Zhuhai-Doumen region was on the frontline for receiving attacks on traditional China launched by Western aggressors. Thus it was not surprising that, at the turn of the century when Sun Yat-sen from the same region began promoting his ideas for changing and modernizing China, he found many sympathetic ears and attracted many followers among Huangliang Du people. These pioneers through their examples not only spurred the continuation of activism among their descendants, but also served as models, stimulating activism within the Huangliang Du community.

The basic history of the Huangliang Du community in northern California, however, parallels that of other Chinese American communities formed by immigrants from Guangdong's Pearl River Delta and their descendants. Through hard work and perseverance over many decades, many succeeded in upgrading their social and economic status. Because they came from a relatively small area in China and spoke the same dialect, these immigrants formed a close-knit community. Mutual aid based largely on feelings of kinship and regional bonds enabled them and fellow villagers to enter and expand their role in certain sectors of the economy. This phenomenon was most noticeable in their role in the development of the San Francisco Peninsula cut flower industry.

When the community became established in California, it continued to maintain close ties with the home villages in China. This was particularly true before World War II, when many immigrants had come without their families. Many at that time considered themselves sojourners in this country and returned to China when they retired. In the half-century since the end of World War II, however, most Huangliang Du immigrants' families have been reunified in this country. With that resolution has come a realization that America for all practical purposes has become the permanent home for themselves and their posterity. Although the continued influx of immigrants in recent decades has served to sustain regional bonds both within the community in California and with ancestral villages in China, the changed status of the community in America has greatly weakened feelings of regional solidarity as individuals have increasingly become active participants in the American mainstream.

This tendency is particularly marked among the increasing number of American-born, some reaching even the fourth or fifth generations. Many have entered occupations in the larger society in the professional and technical fields. With their increasing integration into the American mainstream, they have become actively involved in developments in American society, and regional feelings have become even less meaningful as a factor in their personal and business relationships.

NOTES

1. In this essay all transliterated Chinese geographical names, except for widely accepted ones such as Hong Kong and Macao, are given in Mandarin transliterated into Hanyu pinyin. For names of institutions and individuals, the spellings customarily used in America are preferred. If only the Chinese characters were available, the name appears in pinyin with the Cantonese transliteration in parentheses. Personal names customarily used in America and Cantonese transliterations of Chinese names are given with surname last per Western practice. Individuals' names in Mandarin are given with the surname first per Chinese practice.
2. Huang Qichen, *Aumen lishi* (History of Macao) (Macao: Macao Historical Society, 1999), 40–43; *Xiangshan xianzhi, xubian* (Guangzhou: Mobaolou, 1923), vol. 16, folio 1a.
3. Zhao Fuchong, "Mulong sui zhong" (Grave of mulong year), in *Doumen wenshi* (Doumen literature and history), 1st collection (Doumen: Zhengxie Doumen xian weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao gongzuozu, 1985), 59–60; Zhao Guoyong, "Xue jun banban de 'yijie' shijian" (The bloody "moving the boundary" incident), *Doumen wenshi*, 2d collection (Doumen: Doumen xian zhengxie wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui, 1986), 49–51; Zhao Guoyong, "Doumen ge xingzu yuanliu gaikuang" (A survey on the origins and development of various Doumen clans), Part 1, *Doumen wenshi*, 4th collection (Apr. 1987), 48–50; Part 2, *Doumen wenshi*, 5th collection (Oct. 1987), 49–55; Liang Zhenxing, Wen Liping, "Sanzao dao jianshi" (Brief history of Sanzao Island), *Zhuhai wenshi* (Zhuhai literature and history), 5th collection (Zhuhai: Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Zhuhai shi weiyuanhui wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui, 1987), 63–73.
4. "Doumen xian qiaowuzhi" (Gazetteer of Doumen overseas Chinese affairs) (draft) (Doumen, 1988), 7. Referenced hereafter as "Gazetteer of Doumen Overseas Chinese Affairs."
5. "Gazetteer of Doumen Overseas Chinese Affairs," 9.

6. *Jiushan chongjian Yanghe guan miao gongjin zhengxinlu* (Record of income and disbursements for reconstruction of the Yeong Wo Association building and temple in San Francisco) (San Francisco: Yeong Wo Association, 1900). Referenced hereafter as *Record of Yeong Wo Association*. The count of Huangliang Du donors listed by village of origin on folios 10b to 13a was used to estimate the number of immigrants from the various villages to California.
7. Interview with Kong Chow, Nov. 3, 1995. Referenced hereafter as interview with Kong Chow.
8. Ou Tianqi, "Zhonghua, Sanyi, Ningyang, Gangzhou, Hehe, Renhe, Zhaoqing, Keshang ba da huiguan lianhe Yanghe xinguan xu" (Joint preface from the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent, Sam Yap, Ning Yeung, Kong Chow, Hop Wo, Yan Wo, Sue Hing, and Haak Sheung associations congratulating Yeong Wo Association on its new building), in *Record of Yeong Wo Association*, no page numbers.
9. Norman Asing, "To His Excellency Gov. Bigler," *Daily Alta California*, May 5, 1852.
10. "Joint preface from the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent, Sam Yap, Ning Yeung, Kong Chow, Hop Wo, Yan Wo, Sue Hing, and Haak Sheung Associations Congratulating Yeong Wo Association on Its New Building"; "Report of the Committee on Mines and Mining Interests"; California State Assembly Document No. 78 (Sacramento), dated Mar. 9, 1953.
11. Carl T. Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1985), 47.
12. *Sacramento Daily Union*, Nov. 27, 1869.
13. A news item in *The Oriental*, June 1856, reads as follows:

    > On the 28th day of the fourth moon a two-and-a-half mast English ship Shidianchenbolu carried 336 coffins [containing bones] of late fellow townsmen to Guangdong. The cost for renting the ship as well as the expenses to exhume and move the bodies from the mountains, this city and other places and to purchase the coffins was covered by the generous subscriptions from the fellow townsmen of each *du*. There were 138 coffins of late fellow townsmen of Jishan Tang of Shang Gongchang Du, 25 coffins of Mushan Tang of Long Du, 23 coffins of Dunshan Tang of Renzi Du, 12 coffins of Chengshan Tang of Dening Du, 17 coffins of Jishan Tang of Sizi Du, 2 coffins of Guishan Tang of Guzu Du, 94 coffins of Bao'an Tang of Dongguan, 17 coffins of Yi'an Tang of Zengcheng. Besides there were eight coffins of bones of people from other distant locations whose expenses were paid by relatives.

    The names of six out of the eight organizations mentioned above are the same as the corresponding organizations today. The names of the modern Long Du and Dening Du organizations are Tongshan Tang and Deshan Tang respectively. The date of this item is much earlier than the founding dates claimed by most of these organizations. It may be that these organizations at this early date were activated only when the need arose to take care of the dead and that they took on other functions and evolved into some degree of permanence only toward the end of the nineteenth century.
14. Li Puzhen (P. C. Lee), "Liushan jiyao" (Summary history of the Chinese cemetery), in *Meiguo Sanfanshi liu huiguan chongxiu Liushan fenchang zhengxinlu* (Record of income and disbursements for the rebuilding of the Chinese cemetery by the six *huiguan* of San Francisco in America) (San Francisco: Chinese Cemetery Association, 1953), 1.
15. Interviews with John Mock, Nov. 2, 1969; Apr. 26, May 17, 1970 (referenced hereafter as interviews with John Mock); Zhou Zhangcai, "Xieshantang lishi leshu" (A short history of Hip Sen Association), *Doumen xiangyin* (The Voice of Doumen), no. 23 (fall 1992), 17.
16. *The Chinese of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Overseas Penman Club, 1929), 97, 100; *The Chinese of Hawaii, Vol. II* (Honolulu: Overseas Penman Club, 1936), 36.
17. *The Chinese Community in New York City* (New York: Chinese Community Research Bureau, 1950), 182; interview with Kong Chow.
18. Interview by Judy Yung with Lung Chin's fourth son, Gway Chin (referenced hereafter as Yung interview with Gway Chin), July 29, 1979; interview of the author with John Chin (referenced hereafter as interview with John Chin), Nov. 13, 1995.
19. Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860–1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 207–8; Yung interview with Gway Chin; interview of author with Mary Chan, Oct. 23, 1995.
20. Wells Fargo and Co.'s Express, Directory of Chinese Business Houses, San Francisco, Sacramento, Stockton, Marysville, San Jose, Portland, Virginia City, Nev. (San Francisco: Wells Fargo and Co., 1878), 32; same Directory dated 1882, 49; interview with John Chin; notarized partnership lists dated May 13, 1887; Aug. 12, 1891; Aug. 16, 1893; Lung Chin's Statement to U.S. Immigration Service, Nov. 9, 1904; Jan. 11, 1912; Dec. 27, 1917.

    Lung Chin's name did not appear on the 1887 partnership list. However, the 1891 and 1893 lists put Lung Chin at the head of the list and were signed by him. The 1893 list also stated that he had been a San Francisco resident for fourteen years and a member of Sing Kee for eleven years.

    Sing Kee appears to have been owned originally by a person from Nanhai County. It was at 625 Dupont Street in 1878. By 1882 it had moved to 613 Dupont. It was probably sold to Chen Aida (Oi Dai Chan) from Nanshan Village during this interval. When Chan passed away, his younger brother Lung Chin (Hong Dai Chan) assumed control. According to Lung Chin, he had become connected with the firm in 1882. He became the leading member of the firm no later than 1891 and owned the largest share of the business. He also held the important position of interpreter. According to Yung's interview with Gway Chin, Lung Chin was the sole owner of the store; thus the other individuals were probably either minor partners or merely paper partners, a common practice use by Chinese immigrants during the exclusion era to attain exempt status to gain legal entry into the United States.

    On different occasions Lung Chin gave different dates for his first arrival in the United States. His Aug. 16, 1893, affidavit claimed that he had been in the United States for fourteen years, that is, since 1879. His Nov. 9, 1904, statement to Immigration stated that his first arrival was in the seventh year of the Guangxu reign era (1881). But on Jan. 11, 1912, and in subsequent statements the date had been changed to the eighth year of Guangxu (1882). The earlier 1893 affidavit was given when his wife Leong Shee arrived in San Francisco with a young domestic slave girl whom she claimed as her daughter. Although this was Leong Shee's first arrival in the United States, she told the Immigration inspector that she had first immigrated to the United States with her parents. She claimed to have been married in San Francisco in 1885, given birth to the alleged daughter in 1886, and returned with her to China in 1889.
21. Telephone interview with Gordon Chan, Apr. 17, 1996. Referenced hereafter as telephone interview with Gordon Chan.
22. Shanghai Trunk Manufacturing Company Partnership Lists, Apr. 1, June 3, 1921; July 7, 1923; interrogation of Wing Chan, Jan How Chun, and Lung Chin by Immigration, Dec. 15, 1923. The company was started in 1921 with Chan Chun Wing (Chan Chung Wing, also known as C. C. Wing) as

manager and largest shareholder. Lung Chin bought into the company on Jan. 5, 1922.

23. Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil*, 206–11; *Chung Sai Yat Po*, Mar. 22, 1911; Sucheng Chan, "Chinese American Entrepreneur: The California Career of Lung Chin," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives, 1987* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1987), 73–86.
24. Interview with Lawrence Jue, son of Jun You Jew, Sept. 7, 1995. Referenced hereafter as interview with Lawrence Jue.
25. Liu Pei Chi, *A History of the Chinese in the United States of America II* (Taipei: Liming wenhua shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 1981), 307; interview with William Mock, Nov. 13, 1995; William Mock, "Doumenren de huaye" (The flower industry of Doumen people), *Xishan Tang bai zhounian kan* (Publication commemorating the centennial of the Hee Shen Association), 98–99 (referenced hereafter as William Mock, "Flower Industry of the Doumen People").
26. *Chung Sai Yat Po*, Feb. 2, 4, 9, 20, June 10, 1926.
27. "Sanfanshi Huabu 40 nian dashiji" (Important events in San Francisco Chinatown during the past forty years), 74–90, in Liu Weisen, *Meiguo Sanfanshi Huaqiao gongli Donghua Yiyuan 40 zhounian jinian zhuankan* (Special publication commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the Chinese Hospital of San Francisco, U.S.A.) (San Francisco: Chinese Hospital, 1963); interview with Lawrence Jue; *Daguan xiyuan kaimu zhuankan* (Special publication for the opening of Grandview Theater) (San Francisco: Grandview Theater, 1940).
28. Advertisement in *Chinese Times*, Dec. 30, 1977.
29. Huang Lizhi, "Huang Kaiji xiansheng zhuanle" (Short biography of Mr. Kee Wong), in *Doumen wenshi*, 7th collection (Sept. 1988), 26–27 (referenced hereafter as Huang Lizhi, "Short biography of Mr. Kee Wong"); notarized partnership lists dated Aug. 17, 1893; Nov. 6, 1899; 1904 (month and day not listed); Oct. 26, 1905; Oct. 7, 1907; Mar. 16, 1917; interviews with John Mock. According to the partnership lists, Kwong On was at 714 Jackson St. in 1893, at 616 Jackson St. in 1899, and at 735 Clay St. in 1907. The last change of address was probably related to the 1906 earthquake and fire. Although Kee Wong was already listed as a partner in the 1893 partnership list, his name did not appear as manager until 1907. Lung Chin's name first appeared as a partner in 1917. His responsibility was to collect accounts payable and to solicit orders for the firm in rural areas.
30. Interviews with John Mock.
31. Interview with Robert Fong, Dec. 2, 1995.
32. Interviews with John Mock.
33. Sally Jean Dobson, "Dr. Henry Wong Him, His Contributions to Santa Clara County," in *Chinese Argonauts: An Anthology of the Chinese Contributions to the Historical Development of Santa Clara County*, ed. Gloria Sun Hom (Los Altos Hills: Foothill Community College, 1971), 151–55.
34. Collin Quock, *Chinese Hospital Medical Staff Archives: The Dawning* (San Francisco: Chinese Hospital Medical Staff, 1978), 9. According to an interview with Dr. James Hall, Aug. 23, 1970, government authorities periodically "go after" old Dr. Wong Him for practicing medicine without a license. To skirt this requirement, Dr. Wong Him sent his son through medical school. His son did not receive a license in California but was licensed in Nevada, which through reciprocity allowed him to practice in California.
35. Zhao Yujia, "Cong Hefeng shuyuan dao Doumen zhongxue" (From Hefeng academy to Doumen middle school), in *Doumen wenshi* (Doumen literature and history), 1st collection, 43–47; Huang Zhiwen, Tan Fang, "Zhao Shunzhi shilüe" (A short biography of Zhao Shunzhi), in *Doumen wenshi*, 10th collection (Aug. 1990), 34–37.
36. From around the 1880s until the mid-1920s, presidents of the district associations forming part of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association were men of letters from the home districts in China. At that time they were considered assistants to the Chinese consulate and were issued diplomatic visas. During the mid-1920s the U.S. State Department objected to the practice as contrary to international diplomatic practice. In 1923 the Peking government decreed that the presidents should be issued tourist visas and should be forbidden to bring along staff members. The district associations objected strenuously, but after several years of fruitless negotiations, the Chinese government prevailed. In 1927 it was the turn of Hee Shen Association to assume the presidency of Yeong Wo Association, and in January of that year Ging Saan Chan, who had already immigrated, was elected president.
37. H. M. Lai, "The Kuomintang in Chinese American Communities before World War II," in Sucheng Chan, ed., *Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America, 1882–1943* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1991), 170–212; Huang Lizhi, "Huang Baohuan xiansheng shile," (Short biography of Mr. Bou Waan Wong), in *Doumen wenshi*, 5th collection (Oct. 1987), 42.
38. Interview with Shek Ng Mock, Jan. 15, 1977.
39. Interviews by Kenneth Joe, Philip Choy, and the author with Man Quong Fong, 1, 10, 1970.
40. Collin Quock, *Chinese Hospital Medical Staff Archives: Following the Dawn* (San Francisco: Chinese Hospital Medical Staff, 1979), 46–57.
41. Judy Yung, H. M. Lai, Laura Lai, interview with John Mock, former kitchen worker at Angel Island, Dec. 27, 1975.
42. Connie Young Yu, "John C. Young, a Man Who Loved History," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives, 1989* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1989), 3–14.
43. Interviews with John Mock.
44. Michael D. Brown, *Views from Asian California, 1920–1965: An Illustrated History* (San Francisco: Michael Brown, 1992), 16
45. Mitchell P. Postel, *San Mateo: A Centennial History* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1994), 139; interviews with John Mock.
46. *Palo Alto Times*, Nov. 3, 10, 1893.
47. *Palo Alto Citizen*, July 29, 1905; Pamela Gullard and Nancy Lund, *History of Palo Alto: The Early Years* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1989), 105–7; Xixian, "Liang Ji de yisheng" (The life of Kee Leung), *Chinese Pacific Weekly*, Dec. 11, 18, 1958.
48. *Palo Alto Times*, Dec. 29, 1903; interviews with John Mock.
49. Connie Young Yu, *Chinatown, San Jose, USA* (San Jose: San Jose Historical Museum Association, 1991), 21–30.
50. Ibid., viii, 107–10.
51. Interview with John Young, Oct. 19, 1968; Connie Young Yu, *Chinatown, San Jose, USA*, 66–67.
52. *San Francisco Chronicle*, Jan. 5, 1902 (Sunday edition).
53. Interview with Norman Mock and his mother, May 3, 1969. Referenced hereafter as interview with Norman Mock.
54. Interview with J. P. Wong, July 16, 1977.
55. Interviews with John Mock.
56. *1872–1942: A Community* (San Mateo: San Mateo Chapter JACL, 1981); interviews with John Mock; interview with Shek Ng Mock; William Mock, "Flower Industry of the Doumen People." Japanese began to be employed on San Mateo County estates during the 1890s. Some became gardeners and soon gained a reputation for showplace gardens on estates in San Mateo, Burlingame, and Hillsborough. Japanese flower growers, however, were concentrated in Oakland and did not arrive on the peninsula until after the 1906 earthquake. Jim Mock may have learned his horticultural skills from one of the gar-

deners on the estates. According to William Mock, Jim Mock taught his techniques to fellow villager Yee Him Mock.

57. Interview with Mary Wong, daughter of Charlie Wong, Jan. 24, 1996 (referenced hereafter as interview with Mary Wong).
58. Mike Culbertson, "The Chinese Involvement in the Development of the Flower Industry in Santa Clara County," in *Chinese Argonauts: An Anthology of the Chinese Contributions to the Historical Development of Santa Clara County*, 47–59. Ah Sam the flower grower should not be confused with the well-known San Mateo flower shop of the same name. The latter business started with Leong Shun Chew, or Sam Shun Leong, who came to the United States in 1906. He moved to San Mateo in 1928 to help his cousins the Lees with their flower business while he maintained a fruit and vegetable route. In 1933 his son Gordon borrowed $150 to start the Ah Sam Flower Shop and ran it for many years with his brothers Lincoln and Arthur and his sister Mable. The Leong family was from Xinhui. Their Chinese surname is Zhao (Chew). Postel, *San Mateo: A Centennial History*, 162–63; Lisa Zinckgraf, "The Floral Industry of San Mateo County" (student monograph, San Mateo Community College, spring 1980); interview with Mamie Leong at Ah Sam Flower Shop, Nov. 24, 1995.
59. Interview with Norman Mock; interview with Shek Ng Mock; *San Francisco Chronicle*, Jan. 5, 1902; Gordon Chan lecture at Chinese Historical Society of America meeting, Oct. 16, 1981.
60. Lecture by Gordon Chan, Oct. 16, 1981.
61. Interview with J. P. Wong, July 16, 1977.
62. Interviews with John Mock.
63. Thomas B. Carter, "A Blooming Business," *San Francisco*, May 1970, 27–29, 43–45.
64. Mike Culbertson, "The Chinese Involvement in the Development of the Flower Industry in Santa Clara County"; interview with Mary Wong.
65. Catherine Clare Oefinger, "The Flower Industry of San Mateo County" (San Mateo Junior College student paper, Jan. 1941).
66. Lecture by Gordon Chan, Oct. 16, 1981; Lincoln Fong, "Aster Production in San Mateo and Santa Clara County" (Paper, San Mateo Junior College, June 1951); William Mock, "Flower Industry of the Doumen People"; Pei Chi Liu, *A History of the Chinese in the United States of America II*, 307–8.
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77. Lecture by Gordon Chan, Oct. 16, 1981.
78. Telephone interview with Gordon Chan.
79. Lecture by Gordon Chan, Oct. 16, 1981; *San Jose Mercury News*, Oct. 20, 1987; June 9, Dec. 27, 1990; "Interview with Gordon Chan," in *Toward the Gold Mountain*.
80. *San Jose Mercury News*, Oct. 20, 1987; Dec. 27, 1990; "Interview with Gordon Chan," in *Toward the Gold Mountain*.
81. *World Journal*, June 13, 1991; *International Daily News*, Mar. 8, 1995.
82. Interview with Kong Chow; telephone interview with Gordon Chan.
83. Huang Lizhi, "Short biography of Mr. Kee Wong"; *Minguo chunian zhi Guomindang shiliao* (Historical materials on the early years of the Kuomintang) (Taipei: Zongyang wenwu gongyingshe,1967), 25, 97, 105; Zhonghua Gemingdang shiliao (Historical materials of the Chinese Revolutionary Party) (Taipei: Zhongyang wenwu gongyingshe, 1969), 420, 421; "Zhongguo Guomindang zhu Sanfanshi zongzhibu suo shu jiguan Minguo 13 nian 14 nian zhiyuan mingce" (List of officers for 1924, 1925 of offices under the San Francisco General Branch of the Nationalist Party of China) (San Francisco: San Francisco General Branch of the Nationalist Party of China, 1924), 1, 22; *Guofu quanji* (Complete works of Sun Yat-sen) (Taipei: Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang weiyuanhui dangshi weiyuanhui, 1973), 4:538.
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87. *Meiguo Zhijiage "Sanmin chenbao" zhengxinlu* (Record of income and disbursements of *San Min Morning Paper*) (Chicago: San Min Morning Paper and Publishing Co., 1931), 8; *Zhongguo Guomindang zhu Meiguo zongzhibu Meixi zhibu di'er ci, disan ci daibiao dahui jishi* (Account of the second and third congresses of delegates from the western U.S. and U.S. general branches of the Nationalist Party of China) (San Francisco: n.p., 1933), 22; *Fiftieth Anniversary (1910–1960), "The Young China Morning Paper,"* 13.
88. *Minguo chunian zhi Guomindang shiliao* (Historical materials on the early years of the Kuomintang), 25; *Zhongguo Guomindang zhu Sanfanshi zongzhibu disan ci daibiao dahui jishi* (An account of the third congress of delegates of the General Branch of the Nationalist Party of China in San Francisco) (San Francisco: n.p., 1929), 51.
89. "Chen Yousheng," in *Zhuhai renwu zhuan*, 224; Guangdong kongjun lianyihui (Guangdong air force friendship association),

Guangdong kongjun shiliao. Zhao Rongfang, *Zhongshan wenshi* (Zhongshan literary and historical materials), 16th collection: *Xiangshan hangkong renwu lu* (Annals of aviation personages of Xiangshan) (Aug. 1989), 69–70 (referenced hereafter as Zhao, *Annals of Aviation Personages of Xiangshan*), mentions Chen Shenhu (San Wu Chan) from the same village. Chen allegedly returned to China during the same period as Chen Yousheng. He later successively served military governments in Guangdong, Yunnan, and Sichuan. The two lives are so similar that they may be referring to the same person.

90. Zhao, *Annals of Aviation Personages of Xiangshan*, 130–31.
91. Ibid., 144–45.
92. Ibid., 114–16.
93. *Qiqi kangzhan qi zhounian jinian tekan* (Special publication commemorating the seventh anniversary of the War of Resistance beginning on the seventh day of July) (San Francisco: Chinese War Relief Association in America, 1946), 24. Gam Yee Hong (Garment Workers' Guild), National Dollar Stores, and Joe Shoong shared the top spot, each donating $50,000. The campaign raised more than $300,000.
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98. "Gazetteer of Doumen Overseas Chinese Affairs," 19; *Gazetteer of Geographical Names of Zhuhai*, 222.
99. New China Education Foundation brochure; interview with Kam Hong Kwong, Dec. 8, 1995.
100. "Gazetteer of Doumen Overseas Chinese Affairs," 15; *Zhuhai News*, no. 31 (Aug. 1995), 11–12.
101. *Guangdong Sheng wailai touzizhe biaozhang dahui fangmingce* (Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng renmin zhengfu, 1996).
102. Section 1662 of the Political Code of California called on school districts "to establish separate schools for children of Mongolian or Chinese descent. When such separate schools are established, Chinese or Mongolian children must not be admitted into any other schools." See Victor Low, *The Unimpressible Race: A Century of Educational Struggle by the Chinese in San Francisco* (San Francisco: East/West Publishing House, 1982), 85.
103. *Jinshan Zhengbu Daqing qiaomin gongli xiaoxuetang zhengxinlu* (Record of income and disbursements for the Daqing Qiaomin Gongli Xiaoxuetang) (San Francisco: n.p., 1909), folio 3a, 6a.
104. Ibid., 3a.
105. Zhao, *Annals of Aviation Personages of Xiangshan*, 127.
106. Ou, "Short Account of the Lives of Mr. John Young and His Forebears"; Yu, "John C. Young, a Man Who Loved History"; *Los Angeles Times*, June 2, 1946.
107. Letter from Connie Young Yu, Jan. 25, 1996, with information provided by Vera Leung.
108. Lawrence Sinclair Jue, "My Memoirs: Lifelong Experiences of a Chinese American Engineer" (manuscript, 1995).
109. *San Francisco Independent*, June 1995.
110. *Chinese Times*, Sept. 28, 30, 1994; Apr. 13, 1995.
111. *Chinese Times*, July 2, 1994; *Sing Tao Daily*, July 1, 1995.
112. Connie Young Yu, *Profiles in Excellence: Peninsula Chinese Americans* (Palo Alto: Stanford Area Chinese Club, 1986), 39–41.
113. Résumé of Judy Yung, n.d.
114. *East/West*, June 23, 1988; *World Journal*, July 12, 1991.
115. *Ta Kung Pao*, Oct. 12, 1993; *World Journal*, Feb. 11, 1994; *Sing Tao Daily News, Aug. 17, 1997.*
116. Interview with Gordon Chan.
117. *World Journal*, July 9, 1995.
118. *Sing Tao Daily News*, Nov. 26, 1995.
119. *Asian Week*, Feb. 2, 1996; telephone interview with Gordon Chan.
120. *San Francisco Chronicle*, Mar. 26, 1997.

CHINESE GLOSSARY: NAMES AND TERMS

Baijiao 白蕉
Bao'an Tang 寶安堂
Bay Area Chrysanthemum Growers Association 灣區菊花會
Canton Flower Shop 廣東花店
Chan, C. C. 陳春榮
Chan, Charles Foo 陳富
Chan, Gai Jing 陳界正
Chan, Ging 陳典經
Chan, Ging Saan 陳景山
Chan, Gordon 陳國男
Chan, Hong Dai 陳康大
Chan, Jaak Saam 陳澤三
Chan, Kan Hok 陳勤學
Chan, Mary 陳秀仲
Chan, Oi Dai 陳愛大
Chan, San Wu 陳神護
Chan, Sucheng 陳素貞
Chan, T. S. 陳壽
Chan, Yau Shing 陳有勝
Chan, You Foon 陳耀恒
Chann, George 陳蔭罷
Chengshan Tang 成善堂
Cheu, Henry D. 趙德富
Chew, Edwin 趙樹嵩
Chin, Arnold 陳有琪
Chin, Chew 周濂傳
Chin, Gway 陳貴
Chin, John 陳振熊
Chin, Lung 陳龍
Chin, Ming 陳惠明
Chin, William 周偉廉
China Mail Steamship Co. 中國郵船公司
China War Relief Association of America 旅美華僑統一義捐救國總會
Chinese American Citizens' Alliance 同源會
Chinese Chamber of Commerce 中華總商會
Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, Chinese Six Companies 中華總會館
Chinese Flower Growers Association 華人菊花會
Chinese Hospital 東華醫院
Chinese Times 金山時報
Chinese Voice 華聲報
Chishuikeng 赤水坑
Choi, Lai Bik 蔡麗碧
Chow, Kong 周剛
Chuck, Maurice 黃運基
Chun, Jan How 陳纘休
Chung Sun Wo 忠信和
Chungshan Association 中山同鄉會
Comfort Shoes 金福鞋店
Dahaochong 大濠涌
Dahuan 大環
Dan'gan 擔杆
Daqing Qiaomin Gongli Xiaoxuetang 大清僑民公立小學堂
Dening Du 德寧都
Deshan Tang 德善堂
Dongguan 東莞
Doumen 斗門
Dunshan Tang 敦善堂
East/West 東西報
Fong, Hiram 鄺友良
Fong, Man Quong 鄺文光
Fong, March 江月桂
Fong, Matthew 鄺傑鎏
Fong, Paul 方文忠
Fong, Robert 莫興維
Fushan Tang 福善堂
Gam Yee Hong 錦衣行
Gelü qingchao 歌侶情潮
Grandview Film Co. 大觀聲片公司
Grandview Theater 大觀戲院
Guangxu 光緒
Guishan 歸善
Guishan Tang 歸善堂
Guzi Du 谷字都
Hall, George 余志勇
Hall, James 何廷光
Hang Ah Teahouse 香亞茶室
Hee Shen Association 喜善堂
Hefeng Middle School 和風中學
Hip Cheong Jan 協昌棧
Hip Sen Association 協善堂
Hip Sing Chong 協成昌
Hongqi 紅旗
Hop Yick 合益
Huangliang Du 黃梁都
Huangliang Du Gongsuo 黃梁都公所
Huangliang Du Jilu 黃梁都寄廬
Huangyang Mountain 黃楊山
huiguan 會館
Huiyang 惠陽
Hushan 虎山
Jew, Fook 趙福
Jew, James 趙樹彪
Jew, Jun You 趙峻堯
Jew, Shue Sang 趙樹生
Jew, Sun Jee 趙順之
Jew, Yin San 趙彥新
Jew Fook Corporation 招福公司
Jing'an 井岸
Jingsheng Primary School 景勝小學
jinshanzhuang 金山莊
Jishan Tang 積善堂
Joe, Kenneth 周堅乃（關春如）
Joe, Shoong 周崧
Jue, Joseph Sunn 趙樹燊
Jue, Lawrence 趙樹材
Kuomintang 國民黨
Kwangtung Corporation 廣東公司
Kwong On and Co. 廣安號
Kwong Wo Jan 廣和棧號
Kwong Kam Hong 鄺錦洪
Lampacao 浪白澳
Lau, Jou Moon 劉祖滿
Lee, Pius 李兆祥
Leong Shee 梁氏
Leung, James 梁宗耀
li 里
Liang Qinggui 梁慶桂
Lin Shihan 林時漢
Literati, The 文化人報
Liuxiang 六鄉
Liwuwei 李屋圍
Long Du 隆都
Longtan 龍壇
Louie, Dan 呂登
Low, Victor 馮天賜
Lufeng 陸豐
Mee Brothers 譚氏兄弟
Mock, Guong Dung 莫光棟
Mock, Jim 莫載耀
Mock, John 莫松年
Mock, Marshall 梁光桓
Mock, Shek Ng 莫錫五
Mock, William 莫景勝
Mock, Yee Him 莫裕欽
Mok, Chang Hing 莫翔興
Mok, Foon Man 莫煥文
Mok, Yik Ngaa 莫益雅
Mon Ming Hotel 文明旅館
Mushan Tang 慕善堂
Nanmen 南門
Nanshan 南山
Nanshui 南水

New China Education Foundation 新中國教育基金會
Ng Shing Gung 五聖宮
Ning Yung Association 寧陽會館
Niwan 泥灣
Northern California Aster Growers Association 北加省江南菊同業會
Oriental, The 東涯新錄
Paishan 排山
Ping Yuen Bakery 平園餅家
Pingsha 平沙
Poo Wo Tong 保和堂
Qianshan 前山
Qianwu 乾霧
qiao ze shilin 僑澤士林
Qing dynasty 清朝
Quock, Collin 郭嘉麟
Quong Wo Chan 廣和棧
Renzi Du 仁字都
Republic Pharmacy 共和藥房
Sam Jo Kong Fong 三灶公房
San Francisco Journal 時代報
Sanzao 三灶
Sanzao Gongsuo 三灶公所
Shang Gongchang Du 上恭常都
Shangce 上柵
Shanghai Noodles 上海麵廠
Shanghai Trunk Company 上海洋箱公司
Shangheng 上橫
Shew Hing Lung 肇興隆
shi 市
Shidianchenbolu 士店臣波爐
Shima, George 牛島謹爾
Shuangsong Library 雙頌圖書館
Sing Kee 生記
Sizi Du 四字都
Soo Yuen Association 溯源堂
Sun Wen College 孫文學院
Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙
Sun Zhongshan 孫中山
Tangjia 唐家
Tianxin 田心
Tin Suie Tong 天壽堂
Tong K. Achik 唐廷植
Tongmenghui 同盟會
Tongshan Tang 同善堂
Tuck Wo and Company 德和店
United Flower Growers Association 華聯花會
Wankou 灣口
Wanshan 萬山
Wing Nien 永年
Wing Shun Tai 永信泰
Wing, C. C. 陳春榮
Women's New Life Movement Association of China 中國婦女新生活運動會
Wong, Alan 黃作述
Wong, Anna May 黃柳霜
Wong, Bou Waan 黃曝寰
Wong, Charlie 黃炳基
Wong, J. P. 黃華培
Wong, Jook Yee 黃足以
Wong, Kee 黃開基
Wong, Mary 黃美仙
Wong, Siu Gwan 黃兆均
Wong, Wah Git 黃華傑
Wong, Yoey 黃銳
Wong Him, Henry (father) 黃華添（黃曉霖）
Wong Him, Henry (son) 黃天恩
Wushan 五山
Xiangshan 香山
Xiangzhou 香洲
Xiaolin 小林
Xiaoliqi 小瀝岐
Xiaohaochong 小濠涌
Xiazhou 下洲
Xinhui 新會
Xue Pinggui quan zhuan 薛平貴全傳
Yaomo zhi yue 妖魔之穴
Yeong Wo Association 陽和會館
Yi'an Tang 義安堂
Young China Morning Paper 少年中國晨報
Young, George 容兆明
Young, John 容兆珍
Young, Mary 容李如心
Young, Soong Quong 容嵩光
Yu, Connie Young 虞容儀芳
Yu, Jessica 虞琳敏
Yuan Sheng (Asing, Norman) 袁生
Yung, Judy 譚碧芳
Zengcheng 增城
Zhonghua Yizhi Yinghua Gongsi 中華益智映畫公司
Zhongshan 中山
Zhongshan College 孫文學院
Zhuhai 珠海

CHINESE GLOSSARY: ARTICLES AND BOOKS

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