Retention of the Chinese Heritage

Chinese Schools in America Before World War II

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When Chinese immigrants established communities and began raising families in America, many still maintained ties, personal and otherwise, with individuals and groups in their former homeland. They also tended to continue to speak the language and to practice Chinese traditions and customs. As they raised families, they were concerned that their progeny retain this heritage. Chinese schools came into being to fulfill at least part of this need, especially with respect to the language. This essay covers the development of such schools during the Exclusion period and how it was shaped by different factors: racial discrimination in American society, nationalism from China, and adoption of Western culture by Chinese American youth. The major focus is on the Chinese communities of San Francisco and Honolulu, which became the principal centers for Chinese-language education on the United States mainland and the Hawai'ian Islands, respectively, during this period.

PIONEERING EFFORTS

United States Mainland

Chinese communities began springing up on the U.S. mainland and the Hawai'ian Islands after the mid-nineteenth century. During this period the main preoccupation of Chinese immigrants was to adjust to and survive in the new environment. Thus they were most interested in acquiring skills such as an adequate grasp of the English language to help them in business and work and in social transactions.[1] As for the small number of Chinese children at the time, a few families that had the means would send their offspring to China for a Chinese education. The majority who stayed in the United States either learned Chinese from their parents, from private tutors hired by their parents, or not at all.

Formally established Chinese-language schools for Chinese children did not appear until some years elapsed. One of the earliest on record was the compulsory Chinese classes established in 1874 by the Chinese Educational Mission at its headquarters in Hartford, Connecticut, to ensure that the 120 Chinese youth sent by the Qing government to study in America would not forget their ancestral heritage. The curriculum included instruction in the Chinese language and the Confucian classics.[2] These classes ended when the imperial government ended the Mission in 1881. However, the Mission had little interaction with the Chinese American community, and it is doubtful whether its Chinese school had any influence on the development of community Chinese-language schools, despite the fact that Chinese schools that arose in the community during the same period shared the same concerns about transmitting the ancestral heritage to the next generation.

San Francisco, on the West Coast, was the entry port for thousands of Chinese argonauts during the California Gold Rush in the mid-nineteenth century. The port city quickly became the site of a Chinatown that became the economic, cultural, and political hub for Chinese in California. Most of the few families among the Chinese in America also lived there. It was thus not surprising that the San Francisco community also pioneered the establishment of Chinese schools on the U.S. mainland. By the late 1860s, the school-age Chinese population had grown to about five hundred, and a growing need arose to establish such schools.[3] Information on early Chinese schools in San Francisco is sparse, but from the fact that the 1880 U.S. manuscript census lists more than a dozen Chinese teachers in San Francisco, one can safely assume that a number of privately established schools were already in operation no later than the 1870s.

During this period, parents' principal objectives for their offspring were that they learn to function in the Chinese language as well as master the fundamentals of arithmetic. Thus most schools were on an elementary level and used the same textbooks traditionally used in China, such as the *Sanzijing* (Trimetrical classic), *Qianziwen* (Thousand-character essay), *Baijiaxing* (Surnames of the hundred families), and the *Sishu* (Four books). The students were also taught practical skills such as letter writing and use of the abacus. Some schools, however, specialized in literature and history or subjects such as the Confucian classics, classical-style Chinese essays, *baguwen* ("eight-part style" essays),[4] Tang poetry, and so forth.

Most teachers were members of the literati who had been unsuccessful in the imperial examinations and had chosen to

go abroad. Some teachers were noted for their knowledge of the classics. One such scholar during the late nineteenth century was Master Chen Xinfu, who once taught American-born Liao Zhongkai, the trusted lieutenant of Sun Yat-sen in the Guangzhou government during the early 1920s.[5] Each school was usually identified by the teacher's surname, such as Li Guan (Li's Studio) and Zeng Guan (Zeng's Studio). The twenty to thirty students in each of more than a dozen schools that existed from the 1870s to the turn of the century attended classes from 5:00 to 8:00 p.m. The monthly tuition was relatively expensive at $4 to $5, and thus out of reach of poorer families.

During this period, anti-Chinese sentiments were increasing in the American West, and Chinese were being excluded from many sectors of American society. After 1870 Chinese children were not admitted to California public schools. Although Chinese parents fought for their progeny's right to attend the schools, they were unsuccessful because the status of the Chinese in America continued to deteriorate. The ongoing controversy over Chinese immigration escalated from a local to a national issue and culminated with Congress passing the first Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882.

Close on the heels of the passage of the 1882 Exclusion Act, the Chinese minister in Washington, D.C., encouraged San Francisco Chinese community leaders to establish their own school, the Zhong-Xi Xuetang (Chinese and Western School). The original objective, as implied by the name, was to establish a school that taught both Chinese and Western subjects. For obvious reasons, the Chinese felt that they could exercise more control over the operation of a school that they themselves had instituted. However, the project evolved very slowly, and by the time the plan was submitted to the Chinese Minister Zhang Yinhuan for approval in 1886, a successful Chinese lawsuit had already forced San Francisco authorities to open a Chinese Public School for Chinese students in 1885.[6] In 1888 the community-established Jinshan Xuetang (Gold Mountain School) also opened for instruction. Classes were held on the second floor of 777–1/2 Sacramento Street. Shortly afterward the name was changed to Daqing Shuyuan (Academy of the Great Qing Empire). Because only limited funds were available in the community, the school curriculum was restricted to teaching the Chinese language and related subjects.[7]

Daqing Shuyuan was patterned after traditional schools in China. Classes gave instruction using classical works such as the *Youxue qionglin* (Jade forest of learning for the child), *Sishu* (Four books), and *Wujing* (Five classics). There was no set curriculum for the sixty-odd students. Each student was assessed a monthly tuition of fifty cents. On weekdays classes ran from 4:30 to 9:00 p.m., while on Saturdays they ran from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. The principal teacher was usually one of the *huiguan* (native place association) presidents. The scholastic level of the academy approximated that of contemporaneous traditional schools in China, and some of its students had little difficulty continuing their education when they went to China. One outstanding example was American-born Zhang Zhaoxiang (Oi-won Jung), who enrolled at the academy in 1892. Jung departed with his parents to Guangdong at the age of thirteen for further schooling. In 1904 he was one of the rare Chinese Americans who passed the imperial district examination and became a *xiangsheng* (*xiucai*, a licentiate of the first degree).[8]

Only a few communities outside San Francisco also established traditional schools. According to one source, in 1892 merchants Yan Xianyan, Mei Boxian (Moy Back Hin), Zhang Dunpei, and Tan Cheng started such a school in Portland, Oregon, which during the 1890s had the second largest Chinese community on the Pacific Coast. Classes were held in a rented room.[9] In 1901, Ho Boshu, Mei Yueyun, and others founded another school teaching fifty to sixty pupils that was reorganized to be the community-operated school a few years later. Sometimes Chinese teachers were recruited to come from China. This was the case with Ou Gongpei, who taught at one of the early traditional schools in New York City during the first decade of the twentieth century. This school was also reorganized as a community-operated school shortly thereafter.[10]

The Hawai'ian Islands

During the closing decades of the nineteenth century, the Chinese population in Hawai'i grew as the local economy developed. Like Chinese on the mainland, at first some parents in Hawai'i sent their school-age children to China for an education, while others arranged to have their children privately tutored at home by traveling scholars.[11] By the closing decades of the nineteenth century, conditions were ripe for the establishment of Chinese-language schools in Honolulu, where a large Chinese population had congregated.

Developments on these mid-Pacific islands took a slightly different path from those on the mainland. As on the mainland, missionary English schools preceded Chinese-language schools. The first of these was the Bethel Mission School, founded by S. P. Aheong in 1869.[12] Other schools followed. Some also added Chinese-language classes. The earliest missionary-operated Chinese school on record was the Chinese Children's English School (also known as the Chinese Mission Day School), founded in January 1881 and located at the Fort Street Chinese Church. The initial enrollment was seventeen boys. In mid-1882, a government report mentioned Tang Peng Sum as "teacher of Chinese" at the school, and that the school had been given $404.50 "for the education of 50 boys and two girls in the Chinese and English languages."[13]

Around 1883, missionaries Frank and Mary Damon asked Xue Man (Sit Moon) to start a short-lived Chinese class at the YMCA.[14] After its demise during the mid-1880s, another group of Chinese Christians reopened it as the Xunzhen

Shushi (Searching for the Truth Institute), only to have it closed again after two or three years. The Damons took over the institution in 1892 and renamed it Mills Institute. The institute taught both Chinese and English until it moved away from Chinatown to Manoa Valley in 1905 and shifted its emphasis to instruction in the English language.[15]

Chinese Christian churches also started Chinese classes, mostly teaching in the Cantonese dialect. In 1890, the St. Peter's Church started a Chinese school class teaching in the Hakka dialect.[16] The school lasted until the eve of World War II and was one of the rare schools—if not the only one—teaching the dialect in the United States. In 1899 one of the Protestant missions worked with community leaders to start the Honolulu Anglo-Chinese Academy, which offered Chinese and English classes. Although the school got off to a good start with about sixty students enrolled to study Chinese, internal dissension broke out during the first year. Subsequently, the Chinese community procrastinated about contributing to the operating funds and the Chinese classes were discontinued about 1902, leaving the community with only the Chinese classes offered at Mills Institute and a private Chinese school taught by Huang Shaojing. Thus ended the first Chinese school in Honolulu to be founded with community involvement.[17]

During this period, non-Christians also started private schools to which some Chinese preferred to send their children. The first of these private schools was a short-lived one in the traditional format, founded about 1886 by Mai Shui in Honolulu's Chinatown. Several other private schools opened by other individuals also were established during the next few years until the turn of the century.[18]

THE MISSION OF COMMISSIONER LIANG QINGGUI

During the early 1900s the Chinese imperial government, bowing to demands for reform, ordered modernization of the Chinese education system. In 1902 the court issued the *Qinding xuetang zhangcheng* (Imperially mandated regulations for schools) ordering that *xuetang* (modern schools) based on Western models be established in the various provinces. In 1905 Dai Hongci, one of five high officials ordered by the imperial government to travel abroad on an extended inspection trip to learn from the West, stopped briefly in San Francisco. He wrote in his travel diary:

> Although there are many Chinese in San Francisco, they have not established a school of their own. Thus there is a reason for their [children] not speaking Chinese and having a base moral character. The Americans, in contrast, operate a separate school that specially enrolls Chinese children, but the level is low and instruction methods perfunctory. Secretly it is used to prevent our people from attending their schools. That is why those with ambition hesitate [to attend the school]. People who hear of this beat their chests in anguish and declare that the Chinese should quickly establish their own school to open wide a place to assemble and study Chinese. Even if it were to operate on a half-day basis, hopefully it will be helpful. The Chinese merchants here do not lack individuals who are influential, yet why do they not make plans at an early date?[19]

Shortly afterward, Liang Qinggui presented a memorial to the throne proposing that Chinese in America be encouraged to establish modern schools and making the point that Chinese in America who were better educated would benefit both Chinese American society and China herself. At the beginning of 1907, the Qing emperor appointed Liang commissioner to proceed to North America to accomplish this task. Liang arrived in San Francisco in the spring of 1908, when the community was still recovering from the 1906 earthquake and fire and the Daqing Shuyuan had been forced to suspend operations temporarily. Liang worked with a committee appointed by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) to establish the Daqing Qiaomin Gongli Xiaoxuetang (Chinese Primary Public School of Subjects of the Great Qing Empire), which opened on February 8, 1909. The school was housed on the second and third stories of the CCBA headquarters building, with the CCBA occupying the ground floor.

Due to insufficient funds the school administration abandoned its original intent to include both Chinese and Western (social and natural sciences) subjects in the curriculum and chose instead to focus on teaching selected Chinese subjects. These included Chinese classics, cultivation of moral character, Chinese language, Chinese history and geography, Chinese calligraphy, gymnastics, and singing. The initial enrollment was 104 students.[20]

Courses such as gymnastics and singing, which had not been part of the traditional curriculum, drew criticism from members of the community who failed to see their relevance to formal education. A more serious problem arose only a few months after the school's opening when the CCBA, claiming lack of funds, dismissed the faculty of four and sent students on an early vacation. When instruction resumed several weeks later, the faculty had been reduced to two.[21] Limited financial resources were a chronic obstacle to the continued growth and development of this and other Chinese-language schools in America during the decades to come.

Liang also visited and established schools in Sacramento (1908), Seattle (1909), Victoria, B.C. (1909), Vancouver, B.C. (1909), and Chicago (1910). In Victoria and Vancouver, planning for schools had actually started before Liang's arrival. In New York (1908) and Portland (1909), existing traditional schools (see above) were reorganized to be community-operated institutions in 1909. In other cities, such as Los Angeles and Washington, D.C., the community either lacked leadership or the Chinese population was too small to support Chinese schools. In Liang's final report to China's Minister of Education, he made recommendations reflecting the Chinese government's policy toward education of Chinese abroad.

Many of the principles he enunciated were carried over into the policy of succeeding Chinese governments.[22]

Commissioner Liang's mission was in step with the needs of a community with a growing juvenile population, as evidenced by a number of other schools that also appeared during the years from the mid-1900s to the 1911 Revolution. Even before the CCBA-operated school in San Francisco opened for instruction in 1909, the Chinese Cumberland Church had stolen a march on it in 1908 by forming a Chinese class attached to its English school. Another school opened in San Francisco in 1909 that also established a branch in Fresno, California. Two schools appeared in Oakland, across the bay from San Francisco, in 1908 and 1910. And in 1910 another school was founded in Fresno as well as a Kongjiao (Confucian) Free School in New York.[23]

Liang Qinggui did not set foot in Hawai'i when he was on his way to and from the North American continent, but he claimed to have corresponded with Honolulu community leaders, encouraging them to establish a Chinese school. However, the effort in Hawai'i was largely independent of the Liang mission. In 1904 a group of activists concerned with China's weakness in the international community and sympathetic to the political ideals of the Chinese Empire Reform Association formed the Qingnian Quluobu (Ching Nin Ke Lok Bo, or Youth Club). Convinced that an educated citizenry was a prerequisite to a strong China, the club started classes in the Chinese language and military drills. The same year it merged with the Qingnian Wuxuehui (Ching Nin Mo Hock Wui, or Youth Engaged in Study Association), a group with similar objectives—and some members who also belonged to the Youth Club—that had formed in 1901 to study Chinese and Confucianism.

The reorganized Ching Nin Mo Hock Ke Lok Bo (Youth Engaged in Study Club) then began thrice-weekly Chinese classes. In 1907, club members combined their resources to purchase the site for a school, and by 1908 the group had received a permit from the territorial government to operate such an institution. In 1909 Chen Yi'an (Yee Um Chun), chief editor of the Reform Association organ *Sun Chung Kwock* (New China), persuaded the group to open the proposed school to children from the Chinese community. The club voted to turn over all its funds to the project. The Chinese consul general also signified his intention to appropriate part of a proposed registration fee from each Chinese to support the school. Mun Lun School officially opened on February 4, 1911 with two teachers and 104 students, using the Ching Nin Mo Hock Ke Lok Bo clubhouse.[24]

When Sun Yat-sen, leader of the rival Tongmenghui (Revolutionary Alliance), visited Hawai'i in 1908 and learned of the plan, he suggested that his followers establish a rival institution "to cultivate young Chinese Americans with progressive thoughts so that they can be patriotic and useful talent for China." Local members of the Tongmenghui purchased a site and began planning for the school in 1910. They also incited the community against the consul general's proposal for a registration fee and succeeded in derailing it. On February 8, 1911, four days after Mun Lun's opening, Wah Mun School began instruction with more than a hundred students.[25] Thus these two schools began in a politically polarized atmosphere in the community, although such feelings became attenuated over time. The two rival institutions continued to be the two major Chinese schools in Hawai'i.

AFTER THE 1911 REVOLUTION

The founding of the Republic in 1912 ignited optimism among Chinese Americans that China free of the Manchu yoke would now modernize and take its rightful place among the great nations. Although developments in China from the founding of the Republic until World War II were often discouraging, the status of Chinese as an unwanted group in America led many to continue to place their hopes on the potential of changes for the better in their ancestral land.

Political groups in the community, such as the Nationalist Party of China (Kuomintang) and the Chinese Constitutionalist Party, whose members included many community leaders, were strong advocates of education as a means of achieving modernization in China. Chinese schools also came to be regarded as a symbol of progress and modernity in the community. When Chinese schools began to be established in America, they were patterned after educational institutions in the ancestral land and students were expected to gain the same level of proficiency of the language and culture as their peers in China. However, unlike Southeast Asia, where the Chinese were able to establish an independent, full-time Chinese education system, Chinese in America lacked the numbers and resources to establish a corresponding system. Chinese schools in America could only supplement the education that students were receiving in the English-language schools. Even so, students had twice as much or more class time at English-language schools than at Chinese schools. Thus from the outset the Chinese schools faced great limitations to their development.

During the Republican era the hope of building a modern China was also reflected in the desire to have a progressive, modernized Chinese American community. Social vices that created a negative image of the community, such as opium smoking, gambling, prostitution, and tong wars, were discouraged and condemned. As Chinese began to accept the concept of equality of the sexes, schools began to accept girls as students during the early years of the Republic. During this period Chinese in America were developing a stronger sense of community and increasingly began to think of themselves as Chinese rather than as Sanyi (Sam Yup), Siyi (Sze Yup), or Zhongshan (Chungshan). In America, where the immigration had been overwhelmingly Cantonese, the Cantonese dialect became the language of instruction in

practically all schools. On the mainland, where different varieties of Cantonese from various regions were spoken, Cantonese as spoken in Guangzhou, the capital of Guangdong province, became the standard language of instruction in many schools, especially in San Francisco. However, in Hawai'i, where three-quarters of the population came from Zhongshan County, teachers tended to use the dialect as spoken in Shiqi (Shekki), the county seat. Guoyu, or Mandarin, was offered as a separate subject in some schools after the Chinese government decreed it to be the national language during the early twentieth century. As time elapsed, some schools in the larger communities also responded to demands for further education beyond elementary levels and added middle-school-level classes.

In most schools classes were held after English-language school on weekday late afternoons or early evenings, plus a Saturday morning session, for a total of seventeen to nineteen hours per week. Core subjects varied somewhat with the school and the period, but basically they included teaching *guowen* (national readers) in Cantonese, vocabulary, calligraphy, composition, *changshi* (common knowledge), *xiushen* (cultivation of morals), Chinese history, Chinese geography, and letter writing. In upper-level classes, depending on the school, there were courses such as classical Chinese essays and poetry, Chinese couplets, Confucian classics, use of the abacus, and translation from English into Chinese. Textbooks were the same as those compiled and published for use in schools in China.

As modern China evolved, some of the schools also introduced institutions and activities representative of modern China. Major schools established libraries of Chinese books and organized activities such as student governments, student clubs, school or class newsletters, wall newspapers, debating teams, intramural sports, *huaju* (vernacular drama, called *baak waa kek* in Cantonese), Chinese patriotic songs, and even alumni associations. A few could even afford to have a drum or drum and bugle corps to participate in parades and festivals. All these activities were based on Western models, although in most cases these had been adopted and modified by schools in China before being introduced by Chinese intellectuals who had been appointed to teaching positions in Chinese schools in America. (Until World War II, members of Chinese American drum and bugle corps in America all wore Western-type uniforms.)

During this period the status of China as a weak nation preyed upon by the Powers gave rise to nationalist sentiments that pervaded the curriculum of many Chinese schools. Beginning in the 1920s, commemorations of "National Humiliation Days" were frequently observed. Some were simple commemorations held at individual schools. At other times students from all the schools would support community rallies and campaigns with parades, singing of patriotic songs, or performing vernacular dramas. These activities intensified during the 1930s, when Japan began her aggression against Chinese territory that resulted in the long War of Resistance against Japan.[26]

Many Chinese communities in America started Chinese-language schools between 1912 and 1945. San Francisco and Honolulu, however, became the dominant centers in terms of both the number and scholastic level of their institutions.

San Francisco and Other Communities on the U.S. Mainland

The time from the founding of the Republic in 1912 through the 1920s was one of community-building in San Francisco Chinatown as a number of modern institutions, including Chinese schools, were established. A few years into the Republic, the CCBA-supported Daqing Qiaomin Gongli Xiaoxuetang became Zhonghua Qiaomin Xuetang. In 1916 the school was reorganized and the name changed to Zhonghua Qiaomin Gongli Xuexiao (Chinese Public School). By 1920 the school began to admit female students. In 1922 it added junior-middle-school-level classes to meet the community's needs. In 1926 the school settled on Cantonese, as spoken in Guangzhou, as the language of instruction. Yet until the late 1920s, administration of the school was woefully inadequate. Principals served without remuneration and the position was held concurrently either by the consul general or by the *huiguan* presidents in annual rotation. Because these men could devote only part of their time to the position, they were unable or unwilling to focus their full attention on running the school. Management was lackadaisical and supervision of student discipline inadequate. Enrollment decreased, even though the student population was slowly increasing. By 1923, only slightly more than 130 students were in attendance at the school, a decline from more than 180 in 1922.[27]

In 1927, under the leadership of Principal Yi Qiqian, the Kong Chow Association president, the school raised funds from the Chinese community and also took out a bank loan to purchase a neighboring school owned by a Protestant church. The school also changed its name to Zhonghua Zhongxuexiao (Chinese Central High School) and in 1928 became the first Chinese school in America to offer senior-middle-school-level classes. The following year the Board of Directors revised its bylaws and appointed educator Lin Shiheng as its first paid principal.[28]

In 1930 Lin launched a successful campaign to retire the school's outstanding debt. National Dollar Store founder Joe Shoong donated $14,000, almost 80 percent of the goal; thus when the remodeled facility opened for instruction in 1931 with an enrollment of 450, a large marble slab engraved with the characters "Zhou Song xiaoshe" (Joe Shoong's school building) adorned the front of the edifice. However, two other plans proposed by Lin failed to come to fruition. He had intended to build a dormitory for students who enrolled from areas outside San Francisco, and also to establish an

endowment to help supplement the school's budget. These plans were dropped when it became obvious that funds were difficult to come by during the lean years of the Great Depression, which had started with the 1929 stock market crash. Nevertheless, the school became one of the major educational institutions in the Chinese American community.[29]

During the post–World War I period, a number of other schools arose to compete for students with the Chinese Public School. The pacesetter in this was the Morning Bell School, founded in 1919. This pioneer coeducational institution was sponsored and subsidized by the Morning Bell Theatrical Society, which had been formed by a group of pro-Kuomintang intellectuals. Tuition was set very low with the ultimate aim of having the school be tuition-free to encourage enrollment, which ranged between 130 and 170 students. Morning Bell was the first school to have organized student activities, including athletics, military drills, and a drum corps. The school also had a speakers' group whose members would go to a Chinatown street corner to make political speeches on Fridays. However, finances proved to be the school's Achilles' heel, and it finally had to close in 1924 due to inadequate funds.[30]

The 1920s also saw the appearance of schools sponsored by community groups and organizations other than the CCBA. In many Chinese communities overseas, native place associations (*huiguan*, or *tongxianghui*) had been active in establishing schools to educate their members' offspring. The earliest such effort in America was Nam Kue Chinese School, founded by the Nam Hoy Fook Yum Benevolent Society in 1920. The motivation may have been the desire of the group's members, who came from the area around Guangzhou, to ensure that their offspring be taught Cantonese as spoken in Guangzhou, which was considered to be the standard. By 1925 the society had purchased land and constructed a two-story edifice with a Chinese-style facade to house the school and a conference room for the society.[31] This was the first facility on the mainland designed specifically for use as a Chinese school.

In 1924, the Yeong Wo Benevolent Association followed suit with the Yeong Wo Chinese School, and in 1926 the Kong Chow Benevolent Association established the Kong Chow School. The largest native-place association, Ning Yung, passed a resolution at its 1928 national convention to raise funds for a Ning Yung School, but by 1933, during the depths of the Great Depression, the school had still not become a reality and the project was dropped. Three years later, in 1936, the Kong Chow School also ceased operation. The Yeong Wo School operated six years longer before it closed its doors in 1942, during World War II. Only Nam Kue School, backed by the resources of the affluent Fook Yum Benevolent Society, has survived to the present.[32] Unlike Southeast Asia, where native-place associations successfully sponsored many schools, the corresponding groups in America were not significantly effective, possibly due to the fact that each group within the small Chinese American population was much too small to provide the financial resources to sustain such schools.

Also active in establishing schools were various denominations of the Christian church, which viewed such efforts as part of their proselytizing of Chinese youth. As mentioned earlier, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church had established Chinese classes in 1908. It was followed by a school founded by the Episcopalian Church (1919) and by St. Mary's School, founded by the Paulist Fathers of the Catholic Church (1921). In 1925 the Chinese Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist Episcopal, and Baptist churches combined forces to set up the Hip Wo Chinese School (Chinese Union Christian Academy). The Baptist Church withdrew its sponsorship about 1929 and formed its own school in 1930.[33]

Although political groups had long been interested in Chinese education as a vehicle for promoting their political programs, they did not directly operate any schools in San Francisco for many years. In 1930 the Confucian Society, which was close to the Chinese Constitutionalist Party, made its entry into the education field with Kung Kao Chinese School, which operated until 1946. The Kuomintang was not directly involved in operating schools during the early twentieth century, although the administration of the Yeong Wo School was controlled by Kuomintang sympathizers. There were also a few private schools started by individuals. These, however, were usually limited in size and in the grade levels offered.[34]

During the pre-war era, San Francisco had the largest number of Chinese schools and the largest enrollment on the United States mainland. Table 1 shows the the results of a 1934 survey of the enrollment, staffing, and class hours per week for the ten major schools in San Francisco Chinatown.[35]

Based on the figures in Table 1, 57 percent of Chinese students attending San Francisco private and public English-language schools were enrolled in Chinese school. This number increases to approximately 64 percent when only those students below high school are considered (most students dropped out after reaching high school) and when the few dozen students are included who attended *sishu* (private schools, or *si gaa gwun* in colloquial Cantonese) not listed in Table 1. One condition that contributed to such a high percentage was the fact that most Chinese families were congregated in the Chinatown area, so that there was convenient access to the schools, a situation not found in other major Chinese communities.

Chinese schools in San Francisco continued to develop as the student population steadily grew. Hip Wo and St. Mary's schools followed Chinese Central High School and changed to middle schools in 1933 and 1938, respectively. With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, immigration increased as Chinese in America brought their wives and children away from the war zone in China to a safe haven in

TABLE 1: SAN FRANCISCO CHINESE SCHOOLS, 1935

Name of school	Number of students	Teaching staff	Number of class hours per week	Nature of sponsor(s)/ Date founded
Chinese Central High School	400	9	18	CCBA/1909
Hip Wo Chinese School	340	8	17	Protestant churches/1924
St. Mary's Chinese School	250	7	18	Catholic church/1921
Episcopal Mission Chinese School	158	2	10	Protestant mission/1919
Cumberland Chinese School	140	3	10	Protestant church/1908
Kung Kao Chinese School	135	5	18	Confucian Society/1930
Nam Kue Chinese School	130	4	18	Native place association/1920
Yeong Wo Chinese School	130	4	18	Native place association/1924
Chinese Baptist Chinese School	120	4	17	Protestant church/1930
Chinese Independent Baptist Chinese School	45	1	17	Protestant church/1930s?
Boys	975			
Girls	873			
Total	1,848	47		

America. Enrollment in the schools increased. By the eve of World War II, Hip Wo, St. Mary's, and Chinese Central High School had become the three largest Chinese schools in San Francisco, with Hip Wo having the largest enrollment—640 students in 1939. All three schools offered full middle-school curricula.[36]

By this time the Kuomintang had also started its own school. In 1935 the seventh congress of the Kuomintang in the United States had passed a resolution to establish a middle school to educate young Chinese Americans so that they could better serve the party as cadres. Kin Kuo School began instruction in 1937. For many years the enrollment remained small, limited by the fact that most Chinese Americans stopped attending Chinese school when they felt pressured by the increased study load in English-language high schools. (The school did not admit primary grade students until after World War II.)[37]

The increase in the young population, together with their concentration in Chinatown, was also created in a unique environment in which youthful energy was stimulated by nationalist sentiments stirred by the Sino-Japanese War. This led to the blossoming of a diversity of cultural activities during the war years. Key roles were played by the Chinese schools and a dozen or so Chinatown youth clubs.

Soon after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Chinese Central High School students formed the Zhonghua Jiuwang Geyongtuan (Chinese National Salvation Chorus) to perform at rallies and on Chinese radio to promote the war effort. Harmonica, Chinese shadow boxing, and classical music groups were organized in 1940. In the meantime, St. Mary's School established a library with a reading room open to the public, a move that proved very popular with the community. The school was the first to break with traditional practice when it organized a girls' drum corps and outfitted them with colorful uniforms based on classical Chinese theatrical costumes rather than the drab Western quasi-military styles favored by Chinese schools up to that point. The group made its public debut in the 1941 St. Patrick's Day parade and won instant acclaim.[38]

In some cases cultural activities were collaborative efforts involving schools, students, teachers, and/or young intellectuals in the community. In 1940 a newly founded group, the Lufeng Huaju Yanjiushe (Beacon Fire of Marco Polo Bridge Vernacular Drama Society, founded in 1939) was invited to present its first dramatic production as part of the commencement program of Kin Kuo School. And in 1942 former students and faculty members from Kin Kuo School collaborated with students and faculty from Nam Kue School to present a Cantonese version of Cao Yu's well-known vernacular drama *Leiyu* (Thunder Storm), the first time such a major play was presented in the Chinese community.[39]

Some school cultural groups gained independent existence as community organizations. For example, the Xianfeng Juyishe (Vanguard Drama Society), formed by students at Hip Wo School in 1942, severed ties with the school in 1943 to become independent. The Yingwu Yinyueshe (Parrot Music Club) was formed during the early part of the war by members of the Chinese classical music class at St. Mary's School, while the Qinghua She (Chinese Youth Club) was derived from the Jinghua She (Quintessence Club), which had been formed in 1943 at Chinese Central High School by students interested in literary writing.[40]

This rich diversity of cultural activites involving San Francisco Chinese school students and young intellectuals in Chinatown youth clubs was a phenomenon unmatched in any other U.S. community.

Elsewhere in America

From 1912 through the end of World War II, schools proliferated in Chinese communities, large and small, all over America. A listing based mostly on newspaper articles indicates that more than seventy-five schools were founded or opened on the mainland United States from 1887 through 1945.[41] About 80 percent were started during the Republican years (1912 through 1945). The statistics for schools started during the Republican period show a decided slant toward California, with about 48 percent in Northern California and 23 percent in Central and Southern California. San Francisco led in the number of schools established with twelve, followed by Oakland, which saw eight schools started from 1912 to 1945, and Los Angeles with seven. However, the number of operating schools at any given time was fewer, since many had only limited longevity. In 1936 Lin Shiheng, former principal of Chinese Central High School, estimated the number of schools at fifty, plus approximately twenty private classes.[42] These did not include numerous weekly classes, which often were more informal in nature.

The spread of Chinese schools over the United States followed the migration patterns and development of Chinese communities in America. The oldest schools began in San Francisco, followed by those in other communities on the Pacific Coast, then the Midwest and the Eastern seaboard. At the time, the South had the smallest Chinese population and hence the fewest Chinese schools. It was in this region that the Chinese ran up against local segregation laws. When Chinese were banned from white schools in Mississippi during the 1930s, they raised funds from local businessmen and Chinese in other Chinese American communities, and also received help from the Baptist Home Mission Board, to purchase ten acres of land near Cleveland, Mississippi, where they constructed a two-story school building. In 1936 the facility opened as the Chinese Mission School and taught both English and Chinese classes.[43]

Most Chinese American communities usually supported only one school. Many were community run, usually through the local CCBA (Fresno, founded 1936; Chicago, founded 1939). A few were sponsored by organizations such as the Kuomintang (Vallejo, California, founded 1921; Courtland, California, founded 1921; Fresno, founded 1929), On Leong Association (Boston, founded 1916; Cleveland, founded before 1924; Chicago, founded 1928), Hip Sing Tong (Minneapolis, founded 1932), and Bing Kung Tong (Portland, founded 1939). Others were sponsored by Chinese Protestant churches (Los Angeles, founded by Baptist Church, 1932; Oakland, founded by Congregational Church, 1932) or the Catholic Church (Los Angeles, founded 1931). A few individuals also started schools (Augusta, Georgia, founded by a merchant, 1929). Most of these schools outside San Francisco did not own their facilities but had to borrow or rent those of organizations such as the Chinese Empire Reform Association, the Chee Kung Tong, the Kuomintang, or the Christian churches.[44]

The overwhelming majority of schools outside San Francisco had only primary-level classes. Many faced great difficulties in keeping their facilities open. Fiscal shortages were chronic problems that often led to inadequate staffing, and either to cessation or to intermittent and spasmodic operation. Often it took concerned members of the community to initiate rescue efforts. For example, the Chinese school founded in Sacramento in 1908 operated until 1919, when it had to close for lack of financial support. It took the Tiansheng Theatrical Society, a group connected to the Kuomintang, to raise more than $700 before the school could resume operation on the premises of the local CCBA. In 1930 the community raised sufficient funds to construct a new school building that was, externally, a virtual replica of San Francisco's Nam Kue School.[45] Other communities were not as fortunate as Sacramento. For example, a Chinese school founded in Astoria, Oregon, in 1913 operated for about a decade before closing; it reopened in 1925, only to close again a few years later. A Detroit Chinese school founded in 1920 ran for only a few years and then closed. In 1936 a proposal to reopen it fell through.[46]

Even though such adverse conditions were common, many communities continued to keep schools in operation with the hope that the younger generation would acquire elements of the Chinese heritage. This spirit can be seen in Arkansas, where Chinese operated a number of grocery stores in different towns in the southeast corner of the state. In 1939 they raised enough money to establish a school at McGehee. Students had to travel 30 to 150 miles from towns in the surrounding area to attend classes, which were therefore held only on Sundays. After less than two years of operation, America's entry into World War II forced closure of the school because wartime gasoline shortages made it difficult for students to continue the long commute to the school. Also, several of the student body of forty-five students were lost to the armed forces.[47]

Honolulu and the Hawai'ian Islands

Chinese education also flowered in Honolulu during the Republican era, though somewhat differently than on the mainland due to the different demographic and political conditions in the Islands. Honolulu entered the Republican era with two major schools, Mun Lun and Wah Mun. The first principal of Mun Lun School was Chen Yi'an (Yee Um Chun), but he was soon succeeded in 1915 by Zheng Renxian (Yum

Sinn Chang), who had been recruited as a teacher in 1911 from the Datong School in Yokohama, Japan. Chang served as principal for more than fifty years—a record for longevity and dedication to education unmatched in any other Chinese school in America.[48] Mun Lun School had begun with four teachers and an enrollment of 147. Under Chang's guidance it became an outstanding school with high standards. By 1936 the school had expanded greatly, with 28 teachers and 1,348 students, the largest enrollment of any Chinese school in North America up to that time. The school began by offering only the elementary grades, but by 1931 it had added junior-middle-school-level classes, and by 1936 offered first-year senior-middle-school-level classes.[49]

The rival Wah Mun School, the second largest school in Honolulu, had close ties to the Tongmenghui and to its successor after the founding of the Republic, the Kuomintang. In fact the first convention of the Kuomintang in Hawai'i was held at the school in 1915. Wah Mun was one of the first Chinese schools in America to offer a Mandarin class, with Kuomintang leader Lin Sen teaching the subject in 1914.[50] The same year the school began publication of *Huawen zazhi* (Wah Mun magazine), which included short stories and essays by students and faculty members, and student actors presented the first Chinese vernacular drama in Hawai'i at the school. The school registered with the territorial government in 1921.[51] In 1927 it changed its name to Chung Shan School, in memory of Sun Yat-sen (Sun Chung-shan). The school had begun in 1911 with 127 students and four instructors in the elementary grades. Junior-high-school-level classes were added in 1935. By 1939 the school had reached a peak enrollment of 852 students taught by 24 instructors.[52]

These two schools dominated the Chinese education field in Hawai'i. Until the 1920s there were few other alternatives in Honolulu.[53] One of these was the Jackson Institute, founded by well-known educator Jackson Hee. Another was Min Hon School, founded by Kalfred Dip Lum, a graduate of the Jackson Institute. There were also some privately run classes.

The territorial government began keeping records of the enrollment in foreign-language schools in 1921, after it had passed a law to control such schools (see the section below on "Efforts to Curb the Schools" for a more detailed discussion). That year the enrollment in Chinese-language schools is estimated to have been about 24 percent of Chinese students attending English-language private and public schools. The number dropped to approximately 19 percent in 1925.[54] This low percentage shows that many Chinese families were not sending their children to the Chinese schools—some because of lack of interest, others because they had moved away from Chinatown, where the schools were located. The fact that the territorial government levied a one-dollar tax on each enrollee in a Chinese school and also imposed other restrictions on school operations was probably also a factor.

The situation began to change in 1925, when the Japanese schools that were leading the fight against the foreign-language school law won a favorable judgment in court. Another defining event was a 1925 international conference convened by the Institute of Pacific Relations in Honolulu, where Y. C. James Yen spoke on the mass education movement that he had founded and headed in China. His work left a deep impression on Honolulu's Chinese community,[55] and in 1926 the United Chinese Society (UCS) founded the Zhonghua Huiguan Penmin Xuexiao (UCS School for Poor People). Its name soon changed to the more euphemistic Zhonghua Huiguan Pingmin Xuexiao (UCS School for the Common People). This primary school waived tuition for needy students. Another new school was the Hoo Cho School, founded in 1926 by the Tanxiangshan Qingnian Huzhushe (Youths' Mutual Assistance Society), a group influenced by the Russian revolutionary P. A. Kropotkin's mutual aid philosophy. Opening with forty-nine students and one teacher, the society operated the school for several years by raising funds in the Chinese community.

However, during the Great Depression of the 1930s, these institutions ran into operational difficulties. UCS found it difficult to raise sufficient operating funds for the School for the Common People, so in 1934 the school facility was sold to Chung Shan School, which also absorbed the eighty students then attending the UCS school with free tuition.[56] And in 1935 Hoo Cho School turned over operation of its facility to a board of trustees elected from members of the founding society and donors. The school remained one of the major schools in Hawai'i, with enrollment peaking in 1939 with 426 students. At that time there were ten teachers.[57]

By the mid-1920s, an increasing number of American-educated Chinese in Hawai'i were entering Western-type professions. Many were motivated to learn Chinese in order to enter the local Chinese market—which was important for improving their economic status in Hawai'i, where racial discrimination persisted. Also, the national government established in China by the Kuomintang by the late 1920s, as well as Japanese military aggression in China in the 1930s, fanned nationalist feelings among an increasing number of Chinese in Hawai'i. During the early years of the Nationalist government, a number of Hawai'ian Chinese went to China for an extended period for further education or to pursue career opportunities.[58] Thus after 1925 a number of new schools appeared in Honolulu. Some of these were located outside Chinatown where small concentrations of Chinese had arisen.

After 1925, the proportion of Chinese students in English schools who also enrolled in Chinese schools rose steadily, reaching 42 percent in 1935, although this remained lower than the percentage found in San Francisco. Contributing to the difference was the fact that Chinese in Hawai'i were increasingly becoming part of Hawai'i's multiethnic society, whereas in San Francisco the Chinese population was still

segregated and largely isolated from American society at large.[59] Also, more Hawai'ian Chinese had had a higher percentage of families than their mainland counterparts, so by the 1930s there were more third-generation Chinese Americans who were not strongly motivated to send their children to Chinese schools.[60] Yet even though the ratio of Chinese-language school students to Chinese students in private and public English-language schools was lower for Honolulu than for San Francisco, the actual student population in Chinese schools in Honolulu exceeded that in San Francisco during the mid-1930s. This was due to the larger Chinese population in Honolulu as well as to the larger number of children, which was in turn due to the higher percentage of families among Honolulu Chinese.[61]

Table 2 shows that there were nineteen Chinese schools in the Territory of Hawai'i in 1934, with 3,372 students, 3,106 (or 92.1 percent) of whom were attending twelve schools in Honolulu, where more than 70 percent of the Chinese were concentrated. Moreover, 40.8, 21.1, and 9.1 percent of the Chinese-language school students in Honolulu were enrolled in Mun Lun, Chung Shan, and Hoo Cho schools, respectively. Mun Lun and Chun Shan were the only schools to offer middle-school-level classes.[62]

As seen in Table 2, the three largest schools were connected to political groups. Each established a base of supporters who basically agreed with its goals and ideals and who provided financial support. Other schools were founded by individuals or groups of interested individuals. These less ideologically driven schools each had its own small circle of supporters; however, their operations were smaller than those of the three major schools due to their limited financial resources, and their enrollments were correspondingly low.

During this period Christian churches did not play the major role in Chinese-language education in Honolulu that they did in San Francisco. As mentioned earlier, the Protestant churches had played an important part in pioneering Chinese-language education in Hawai'i, and during the twentieth century some churches still operated Chinese schools or classes as part of their activities. However, by the 1920s American citizens of Chinese descent were already in the majority among the Chinese population in Hawai'i, and the focus of churches was shifting to programs that conformed more to the current vogue in the American mainstream. (The San Francisco churches did not reach that stage until after World War II.) With this largely English-speaking and westernized group, participation in mainstream-type

TABLE 2: CHINESE SCHOOLS IN HAWAI'I, 1934

Name of school	Location	Number of students	Nature of sponsor(s)/Date founded
Mun Lun School	Honolulu, Oahu	1,267	political group/1911
Chung Shan School	Honolulu, Oahu	655	political group/1911
Hoo Cho School	Honolulu, Oahu	281	political group/1926
Chung Wah School	Honolulu, Oahu	184	private individuals/1926
Tan Kwong School	Honolulu, Oahu	183	Protestant church/1932
Tai Chung School	Honolulu, Oahu	125	private individuals/1932
Dai Goong School	Honolulu, Oahu	96	private individuals/1934
Kuo Min Yee Moo School	Honolulu, Oahu	82	private individuals/1932
Fook Hing School	Honolulu, Oahu	81	private individuals/1934
Kam See School	Honolulu, Oahu	58	private individuals/1934
Chung Mun School	Honolulu, Oahu	50	private individuals/1935
Min Hon School	Honolulu, Oahu	44	private individuals/1917
Kung Yick School	Kaneohe, Oahu	46	private individuals/1931
Wah Mun School	Wahiawa, Oahu	59	private individuals/1927
Wah Mun School	Waipahu, Oahu	42	private individuals/1917
Wah Mun School	Hilo, Hawai'i	42	private individuals/1930
Kiu Ying School	Hilo, Hawai'i	25	private individuals/1934
Fook Quan School	Waimea, Kauai	29	Protestant church/1927
Hon Mun School	Wailuku, Maui	23	Protestant church/1916
Boys		1,946	
Girls		1,426	
Total Students		3,372	
Instructors		95	

activities was more attractive than learning Chinese language and culture. Church-operated Chinese schools remained small-scale operations with only a few dozen students.

Sometimes the apportioning of limited resources in the churches to either Chinese or Western-type activities led to tension between the younger American-born group and the older immigrant group. For example, Liu Tieyun (Lau Tit Wun), lay pastor of Honolulu's Second Chinese Church of Christ, and his wife founded Tan Kwong School at the church in 1932. Friction soon developed between the English-speaking young people and the Chinese governing board and pastor as to whether the activities and programming should emphasize American or Chinese culture. The English-speaking group split off in 1934 to form the Keeaumoku Church. After Lau resigned as pastor in 1936, the Hawaiian Evangelical Board suggested that the school be operated as a private enterprise.[63]

It should be noted that even during the 1930s, when the number of schools and student enrollments were peaking on Oahu in the city of Honolulu, the Chinese population on the outer islands was declining, with many migrating to Oahu. Schools on the outer islands also closed one after another due to lack of enrollment.

The Sino-Japanese War did not lead to any great groundswell of Chinese cultural activities in Honolulu as it did in San Francisco, although one of the responses of Hawai'ian Chinese to the nationalist sentiments inspired by the conflict in China did give birth to a unique educational facility, the Tanxiangshan Huaqiao Guoyuwen Xuexiao (Chinese National Language School). In 1936 the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission (OCAC) of the Nationalist government had called on Chinese abroad to establish classes to study the national language, Mandarin. As noted previously, Lin Sen had taught Mandarin at Wah Mun School earlier in the century, although the course languished after he departed for the mainland six months later. In 1936 a Mandarin class was started at the Nuuanu YMCA but did not flourish due to lack of motivation, lack of the need to use Mandarin locally, and lack of qualified Mandarin instructors in the Islands. But as more Mandarin speakers landed on the Islands after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, the local Chinese began to feel the need to learn the language, and in March 1939 the Chinese National Language School was founded using the facilities of Chung Shan School. The initial enrollment was more than ninety students. The instructors during the first semester were Yang Buwei and Zhao Rulan (Rulan Chao), the wife and daughter of distinguished linguist Y. R. Chao, who had taken a temporary position at the University of Hawai'i.[64]

Students of the school participated in Mandarin speech contests and radio broadcasts to popularize China's national language. In 1940 the school presented the first Mandarin vernacular drama in Hawai'i to commemorate the ninth anniversary of the Shenyang Incident, which the Japanese had used as a pretext to seize Manchuria, and to raise funds for China's Industrial Cooperative Movement. The school closed down in March 1941, after seven semesters of sensitizing the population to the importance of knowing China's national language.[65]

RELATIONS WITH CHINA

During the nineteenth century the Qing government considered Chinese abroad to be subjects of the emperor and accepted responsibility for their welfare, including their education. This provided the motivation for Commissioner Liang's mission to North America. After Liang returned to China, he registered with the Ministry of Education the eight schools that had been started during his mission and recommended that the Ministry appoint the local Chinese consul general as the principal supervising each school. Knowing the limited financial resources in the North American Chinese community, where there were few wealthy merchants and entrepreneurs, he also requested that the Ministry grant each school an annual subsidy varying from $200 to $500.[66]

After the 1911 Revolution, the continuing status of the Chinese as an unwanted minority in America led many to continue to identify with their ancestral land. They also strove to ensure that their schools in America were in alignment with the school system in China. In 1914 Mun Lun School of Honolulu was one of the earliest Chinese schools in America to register with the Republic's Ministry of Education.[67] However, the Kuomintang-run Wah Mun School did not follow its lead, probably due to the fact that the party was already in active military opposition to the government.

The Chinese government continued to attempt to give guidance to Chinese education abroad. In 1913 the Ministry of Education announced regulations giving power to Chinese consul generals to supervise local Chinese schools. In 1914 the Ministry promulgated measures to help overseas Chinese students who went to China for further education make a smooth transition into China's educational system. In 1915 the government sent a representative to inspect schools in the United States and Canada. After his trip the representative declared the Chinese School in Victoria, B.C., to be the best school in North America. He also recommended that the administrative structure of the poorly managed CCBA-operated Chinese Public School in San Francisco be reorganized.[68] However, further interactions between the Chinese in America and the Chinese government were suspended indefinitely as a series of warlords dominated the central government and the country lapsed into civil war.

After the Nationalist Party established a national government at Nanjing in 1927, the Ministry of Education revived efforts to regulate Chinese schools abroad by promulgating new regulations in 1929. In 1930 Chinese consulates in America urged Chinese schools to register with the Ministry.

In 1931 the Nationalist government issued regulations for overseas Chinese primary and middle schools. Among other conditions, the regulations required that the school be under the general supervision of the local Chinese consulate, use textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education, and instruct in Mandarin. The school principal must be a believer in the *sanminzhuyi* (three principles of the people), the basic dogma of the ruling Nationalist Party.[69]

Honolulu's Chung Shan School, under Principal Li Chengqian (Ching Chin Lai), was one of the first to comply. Because the Ministry felt that the school did not meet the standards set for elementary schools in China, it was registered in December 1930 as the Zhongshan Buxi Xuexiao (Chung Shan Remedial School). In 1934 the Chinese Nationalist government's Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission began subsidizing the school's operations with CN$180 per month. By 1936 two other schools in Honolulu, Dai Goong and Hoo Cho, under Principals Lin Zhongchi (Chung Chee Lum) and Lin Chizhong (Ki Chung Lum), had also registered.[70] San Francisco's Chinese Central High School, under Principal Chen Zhonghai (Woodrow Chan), became one of the first major schools on the United States mainland to comply with the registration requirements and was recognized by the Ministry of Education in 1939 as meeting the standards of high schools in China. The same year the Chinese consulate in San Francisco announced an annual subsidy of CN$1,800 for the school.[71]

However, most schools among the Chinese overseas remained outside the fold, and by 1941 less than 15 percent of 3,438 overseas Chinese schools worldwide had become registered institutions.[72] Schools in America, even those not registered with the Ministry, gradually accepted the approved textbooks. Due to the overwhelming Cantonese majority in the Chinese American communities, classes continued to be taught in Cantonese, although a number of schools added classes to teach Mandarin.

Another set of regulations issued in 1931 called for the formation of a Huaqiao Jiaoyuhui (Overseas Chinese Education Association), with headquarters in China and branches abroad to work on issues related to overseas Chinese education. It was also meant to facilitate ideological control of education, because only educators who "believe in the *Sanminzhuyi* [three principles of the people] and are loyal to the Republic of China" could be members. In May 1931 the Meizhou Huaqiao Jiaoyuhui (Chinese Education Association of America) came into being. Its first president was Lin Shiheng, principal of the Chinese Central High School. But Chinese schools in America were too diverse and had too many divergent interests, and there was no central authority in America with the power to pull them together. Thus, although the organization sponsored activities spasmodically, by and large it proved to be ineffective as a coordinating group. It was dissolved in 1945 due to lack of interest and operating funds.[73] Similarly, in Honolulu the United Chinese Society in 1933 and the Chinese consul general in 1934 convened meetings to establish an umbrella organization for the Chinese schools in Hawai'i, but nothing substantial came from these meetings.[74]

EFFORTS TO CURB THE SCHOOLS

Although Chinese communities had existed in America for many years, the cultural gap between them and the non-Chinese gave rise to many misconceptions and misunderstandings. Often the Chinese became the targets of nativist elements who were only too eager to play up the differences and who attacked Chinese Americans as alien and undesirable in this country. Thus it is not surprising that bigoted elements were suspicious of Chinese schools and accused them of being un-American institutions that fostered anti-American ideas. Such sentiments led to several attempts in Hawai'i and California to control or to proscribe these schools.

Before World War II

Hawai'i. The origin of the first action against Chinese schools in the Islands can be traced to World War I, when fervent nationalist, anti-foreign feelings flourished in America. In Hawai'i these feelings were vented on the Asian population, especially the large Japanese population, whose culture and language were greatly different from those of the West. Opportunistic politicians seized on such feelings to accuse foreign-language schools of being dangerous propaganda vehicles and to propose curbs on them. After a campaign in the press attacking foreign-language schools as being detrimental to the American education system, the Territorial Legislature passed a law in 1920 to supervise all foreign-language schools, including Chinese ones. Each teacher in these schools was required to pass an annual examination that included knowledge of the English language as well as United States history and the Constitution in order to receive a teaching credential. School hours were limited to one hour a day and six days a week. In 1923 the legislature revised the law, further restricting attendance to students who were third grade and above in English-language schools, and decreeing that each foreign-language school student be assessed one dollar annually to support the Education Department's supervisory activities. The Japanese-language schools fought the law in court and won a judgment in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in March 1926. In January 1927 the U.S. Supreme Court finally ruled the law unconstitutional.[75]

California. Similar feelings in California, targeting the great number of Japanese-language schools in the state purportedly teaching loyalty to Japan and the emperor, led to the passage of a state law in 1921 to control foreign-language schools. The law required that schools submit

translations of their textbooks and their daily class schedules to the state government. Before they were given teaching permits, all teachers in such schools had to pass a state examination, given annually, that tested applicants' knowledge of the history and Constitution of the United States. The law also applied to the Chinese schools, even though they were not its specific targets. Examinations were given from 1921 through 1924 in San Francisco and Los Angeles before the law was ruled unconstitutional in 1927.[76] There were subsequent attempts by state legislators in 1937 and 1945 to introduce similar legislation, but lobbying by interested groups, including the CCBA, succeeded in killing these proposals in committee.[77]

During World War II

During World War II, foes of Asian-language schools in Hawai'i were offered a golden opportunity to strike a devastating blow. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, Hawai'i was placed under martial law. The military authorities closed all schools in the Islands, but within a few weeks the authorities permitted almost all except foreign-language schools, including Chinese-language schools, to reopen. In 1943 martial law was lifted. However, wartime patriotic fervor had whipped up strong anti-foreign sentiments. The population was encouraged to speak English only. Influential political elements accused Japanese-language schools of being centers for propaganda that taught loyalty to the imperial Japanese government. They also charged that these institutions hindered the students' assimilation of American ideas and practices.[78] The educational committees of both houses in the legislature issued reports that included such statements as:

> In the first place those languages are picture languages. . . . Secondly, the order and paging is exactly the reverse of that which obtains in our system. It follows that the simultaneous mastery of two diametrically opposed systems of language is extremely difficult for children of tender years.

And:

> The mental health and well-being of young children, as well as their ability to absorb their English language and other required studies, can be seriously affected by the emotional disturbances, conflicts and maladjustment which are caused by compelling them to be learning two languages at the same time in their earlier years.[79]

The Territorial Legislature thereupon passed a bill banning any instruction, public or private, in any language but English until students completed the fourth grade, and to those under fifteen years of age unless they made above-average grades in the English-language school. All foreign-language schools, including Chinese schools, remained closed. After the war ended Yum Sinn Chang, the principal of Mun Lun School, was allowed to open a private class teaching Chinese for one hour a day, five days a week. He took in 180 pupils and taught for two years. He was the only one teaching an Asian language within Hawai'i's Asian communities.[80] Chinese schools were not to resume until March 1948, two and a half years after the war ended, and then only after many legal and legislative battles.[81]

On the mainland Chinese schools were not closed during the war, although their operations were adversely affected by the abnormal conditions. After the United States entered the war, the manpower shortage made it difficult for schools to recruit qualified teachers as many Chinese Americans forsook meager teachers' stipends for better-paying jobs in the wartime economy. In San Francisco, with the largest number of schools on the U.S. mainland, class hours were almost halved, decreasing from eighteen hours over six days to ten hours over five days. Schools in other communities made similar adjustments.[82]

CONCLUDING WORDS

The Chinese American community expended much time, effort, and money over many decades on schools that would pass on their ancestral heritage. The results were, however, limited by certain factors. In large communities, such as San Francisco and Honolulu, there were relatively large population bases to support schools. Some of the faculty and facilities in those communities rivaled those found in schools in China. But in parallel with these were numerous smaller schools, frequently equipped only with the barest essentials, in which a single teacher divided his time among students of two to several grade levels in the same classroom. Institutional rivalries, and political and other considerations, often became deterrents to the pooling of resources to enable larger facilities and better teaching conditions.

In a Chinese America, where there were few who were extremely wealthy, financial resources for Chinese schools were necessarily limited. Hence practically all schools required each student to pay a monthly tuition. During the 1930s this varied from fifty cents to $2 a month in different San Francisco schools, to as much as $10 a month in small towns. Teachers' salaries were also kept low in order to reduce costs within tight bugets. In San Francisco and Honolulu, respectively, where there were numerous applicants for teaching positions, the remuneration ranged from $25 to $70 a month in 1935. Many teachers supplemented this amount with income from concurrent jobs, such as working on the staff of a Chinese newspaper, being a shopkeeper, running a practice as an herbal physician, working as a bookkeeper at a merchandising establishment, or even writing lottery tickets for customers at a Chinatown store. Salaries in Chinatowns east of the Rockies, such as those in Chicago and New York, ran slightly higher. Since teachers had difficulty earning additional income in small towns, the pay scale was highest there, at $70–$120.[83] Even so, most schools periodically had to

raise funds from the local community to supplement their operating budgets.

Many teachers were graduates of middle schools or even universities in China, or were attending universities in the United States, but they were often untrained in pedagogy and child psychology. Their traditional teaching methods—usually rote learning—often failed to motivate or inspire their charges and sometimes even promoted distaste for the Chinese language and Chinese culture. And even if a teacher did come up with innovative ideas, there were few financial resources and little enthusiasm forthcoming from conservative boards of directors, which were usually composed of businessmen more interested in managing the budget than in venturing into uncharted waters.

Stability in the administration was also a chronic problem. In many community-run institutions, the principals did not stay long at their posts, with changes sometimes as frequent as once a year. Thus these individuals did not view the position as a permanent career and lacked the incentive or power to make and implement long-range plans. It is worthy to note that Mun Lun School became the largest Chinese school in Honolulu under the guidance of Yum Sinn Chang, who became principal four years after the school opened and who remained at that post. This was no mean accomplishment in light of the fact that the Chinese Constitutionalist Party to which the school had ties had been eclipsed by the Kuomintang since the 1911 Revolution. Similarly, on the mainland Zhao Chaochang (Chew Shong Chu) became principal at St. Mary's Chinese School in 1921and remained at the helm for thirty-five years, while at Hip Wo School, Liang Bingyi (B. Y. Leong) accepted the post in 1930 and served for thirty years. This stable leadership was one of the factors enabling these two schools to develop rapidly. By the eve of World War II, they rivaled or surpassed the CCBA-run Chinese Central High School, where the hiring of teachers and principals was subject to annual review by the Board of Trustees.[84]

However, despite all their shortcomings, Chinese schools left a legacy among many students. During the entire period before World War II, the principal objective of the Chinese schools was to inculcate knowledge of Chinese language and culture so that students could function in a Chinese environment and, if they so desired, continue their education in China without undue difficulty. Chinese Americans who applied themselves to their studies could, by and large, attain an adequate level of scholastic achievement. This was especially true up through the first quarter of the twentieth century, when racial discrimination against Chinese was virulent in American society and many Chinese Americans considered seeking careers in China. Up to the eve of World War II, many students from Chinese schools in America, especially those from major schools in San Francisco and Honolulu, could and did successfully continue their education in China, although some had to take remedial courses when they first arrived. The two most popular schools were Lingnan University (Canton Christian College) and Pui Ching Academy, a middle school, both located in Cantonese-speaking Guangzhou.[85]

Some graduates of the Chinese schools absorbed enough knowledge of Chinese language and culture that they qualified as Chinese school teachers—no mean feat in a community with numerous immigrants educated in China. For example, in 1936 nine out of thirty current teachers and fourteen out of a list of forty-one former teachers at Honolulu's Mun Lun School were alumni of the school. In 1966, when Yum Sinn Chang retired as principal of Mun Lun, his successor was Hawai'i-born Zheng Zihou (Dai Chuck Chang), a graduate of the class of 1924. Chang had learned all his Chinese in Hawai'i and never set foot in the Far East until long after World War II![86] Another Hawai'i-born Chinese, Lin Die (Kalfred Dip Lum), learned his Chinese at Honolulu's Jackson Institute and graduated in 1917 to become founder and teacher of Min Hon Chinese School in Honolulu. Lum served as the school's principal from 1920 to 1922 and then became commissioner of Chinese schools of the Territory of Hawai'i.[87] Teachers on the mainland, however, where there were many more candidates for teaching positions among students from China studying at American universities, had usually been educated in China.

The schools offered organized social activities for the younger generation of Chinese Americans during an era when few felt comfortable participating in similar activities in the public schools, where they still faced much racial discrimination. The networks initiated in the Chinese schools sometimes lasted a lifetime. Such ties were reinforced by the alumni associations that many schools established. In general, attending the schools—particularly the better-equipped schools in San Francisco and Honolulu—enabled many students to acquire the fundamentals of Chinese language and culture, albeit sometimes inadequately. In this way many Chinese Americans developed an ethnic awareness and pride that became part of their psyches as they launched their careers.

However, working in the opposite direction were the dynamic changes that took place among the Chinese American population over this entire period. From the early years, Chinese American youth had been subjected to forces tugging at them in different directions. In one direction was the wish to retain parts of their ancestral heritage. The pull in this direction was aided greatly by America's rejection of the Chinese as equal partners in American society during the entire pre–World War II period. Tugging in the opposite direction was the Chinese Americans' desire to become acculturated in the West and accepted as part of mainstream American society. The fact that the Chinese population was very small compared to the non-Chinese was a big factor pushing their development in this direction. The relative waxing and waning of these two factors shaped the dynamics of the development of Chinese-language schools in America.

By the 1920s and 1930s, after several decades of influence from English-language public schools and from institutions such as the Christian churches, the YMCA, and the YWCA, Western culture was prevalent among young Chinese Americans, even though prejudice against them had not abated in society at large. They were adopting mannerisms and customs popular in American society and were losing their knowledge of the Chinese language and customs. This process was fastest in communities where a small Chinese minority had to live intermingled with a numerically vastly larger non-Chinese population. However, the same phenomenon occurred in larger Chinese communities like those in Honolulu and New York, where many Chinese lived dispersed among the general population.

The process was slowest in San Francisco, where hostile racial feelings kept most Chinese segregated in Chinatown. For this reason Chinese Americans raised in pre–World War II San Francisco Chinatown had the reputation—perhaps an exaggerated one—of being more fluent in Chinese than their cousins in other American communities. Even there, however, youth took to Western culture, and the use of Chinglish, a patois of Cantonese and English vocabulary, became common.

The upshot was that many students in Chinese schools found it increasingly difficult to comprehend the educated vocabulary commonly used by their teachers or to understand and relate to the contents of textbooks intended for use by students in China. This difficulty was compounded by the fact that parents taught rural dialects to their children, and these were often strikingly different from the Cantonese of urban Guangzhou used in class.

Many young Chinese Americans attended Chinese school because they were ordered to do so by their parents. Understandably, they were reluctant to spend more time in class after a long day in the English-language schools. Moreover, during the pre-war period China was a weak nation in the international community, so learning and knowing Chinese did not have the aura of respectability and acceptability accorded to the major Western European languages taught in American schools. Thus many Chinese Americans did not take Chinese school seriously and were not motivated to apply themselves to their lessons. On occasion some rebellious pupils would even disrupt classes with their defiant and mischievous behavior. Students were often unwilling to give Chinese school teachers the same respect they gave teachers in the English-language schools. When some hapless teachers tried to maintain control in the classroom by imposing strict discipline, including corporal punishment, some students would not hesitate to play pranks and practical jokes, and even commit acts of physical violence on their teachers.[88]

Thus by World War II the Chinese schools were faced with a formidable challenge: the younger generation's increasing acculturation to American society. Chinese community leaders were not unaware of the problems; however, faced with limited resources and still harboring a hope that their progeny would retain some Chinese heritage, the prevailing attitude was that having half a loaf was better than having no loaf at all.

Unbeknownst to such leaders, the changes forced by the war were defining a divide in the development of Chinese American society and Chinese-language schools. After the war, as the status of the Chinese in America improved, their attitudes toward this country and their ancestral land underwent a great transformation, and so did their thinking about the rationale and necessity for their progeny to acquire a knowledge of Chinese language and culture.

NOTES

1. In 1853, the Reverend William Speer established the Presbyterian Mission at the edge of San Francisco Chinatown. Soon after the Mission built a permanent headquarters in 1854, it began offering English evening classes there for the Chinese. In 1859 the city officially established a Chinese School using a room at the Mission. Subject to the whim of a superintendent of education prejudiced against the Chinese, this school sputtered along for a decade. The school was closed permanently in 1870 on the pretext that the State Law of 1870 did not provide for the education of Chinese children. See Victor Low, *The Unimpressible Race: A Century of Educational Struggle by the Chinese in San Francisco* (San Francisco: East/West Publishing Co., 1982), chapter 2.
2. Thomas E. LaFargue, *China's First Hundred: Educational Mission Students in the United States, 1872–1881* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1987), 41. In the early 1870s the Chinese government formed a Chinese Educational Mission that sent four groups of young students, totaling 120, to New England to study the ways of the West. Conservative opposition, together with emerging anti-Chinese legislation in America, led the mission to be abolished in 1881. The bulk of the students returned to China in 1882.
3. Low, *The Unimpressible Race*, 62.
4. *Baguwen* was a literary composition style, noted for its rigidity of form and poverty of ideas, that was prescribed for the imperial civil service examinations during the Ming and Qing dynasties.

   In this essay, all transliterated Chinese geographical names, except for widely accepted ones such as Hong Kong and Macao, are given in Hanyu pinyin. For institutions and individuals, the spellings customarily used in America are preferred. When the spelling of the name a person customarily uses in America is known, it is given with surname last, as in Western practice, but when only the Chinese characters are known, transliterations are used. Individuals' names transliterated from Mandarin are given with the surname first, as in Chinese practice. The English title of a book or essay that has both a Chinese and English title is used preferentially.
5. Pei Chi Liu, *A History of the Chinese in the United States of America* (Taipei: Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the Legislative Yuan, 1976), 355.
6. In 1884 Joseph Tape tried to enroll his daughter Mamie at San Francisco's Spring Valley School and was turned away. Tape brought suit against Principal Jennie Hurley of the school, Superintendent of Education Andrew Moulder, and the San Francisco Board of Education on behalf of his daughter. The

Court ruled in his favor on the basis that the city had violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution by not providing the Chinese with equal facilities for education. Rather than integrate Chinese students into the public schools, however, the state government revised the Education Code to allow segregated schools for Chinese children. San Francisco opened such an institution in Chinatown, the Chinese Primary School, on April 13, 1885. After the 1906 earthquake and fire, the school's name was changed to the Oriental School in preparation for its use as a segregated facility for all students of East Asian descent, although it remained a segregated school for Chinese students. In 1924 the Chinese American Citizens' Alliance spearheaded a successful effort to change the school name to the less discriminatory Commodore Stockton, but it remained a de facto segregated facility until after World War II. In 1999 the name was changed again, to Gordon J. Lau School, in honor of the late attorney, a pioneer in increased Chinese participation in American politics.

7. Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States*, 355–356.
8. Ibid., 355–357. For details on the life of Oi-won Jung, see Him Mark Lai and Edmund D. Jung, "A Tale of Two Brothers: Jung Oi-won and Ming S. Jung," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives, 1995* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1995), 29–73.
9. Yan Zhiyan, "Huaqiao jiaoyu zhi xin yanjiu" (second installment), *Chung Sai Yat Po*, December 27, 1947.
10. Pei Chi Liu, *A History of the Chinese in the United States of America, II* (Taipei: Liming wenhua shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 1981), 334, 348; Y. K. Chu, *History of the Chinese People in America* (New York: The China Times, 1975), 62.
11. Kum Pui Lai, "The Natural History of the Chinese Language School in Hawaii" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1935), 49.
12. Diane Mei Lin Mark, *Seasons of Light: The History of Chinese Christian Churches in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Chinese Christian Association of Hawaii, 1989), 16.
13. Clarence E. Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers: Chinese Migrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hawaii Chinese History Center and University Press of Hawaii, 1980), 173; Mark, *Seasons of Light*, 40.
14. Kongsun Lum, ed., *Hawaii Chinese in the Foreign Language School Case, a Memorial Publication* (Honolulu: Hawaii Chinese Educational Association and Chung Wah Chung Kung Hui, 1950), 31.
15. Ibid., 32; Mark, *Seasons of Light*, 42–43.
16. Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers*, 173–174; "Tanshan Huaqiao" [Chinese of Hawai'i], 20, in Chun Kwong Lau and Kum Pui Lai, eds., *Chinese of Hawaii, Volume II* (Honolulu: Overseas Penman Club, 1936), referenced hereafter as Lau and Lai, *Chinese of Hawaii, Vol. II.*
17. "Tanshan Huaqiao" [Chinese of Hawai'i], 55, in Dormant Chang and Min Hin Li, eds., *Chinese of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Overseas Penman Club, 1929), referenced hereafter as Chang and Li, *Chinese of Hawaii*; Lum, *Hawaii Chinese in the Foreign Language School Case*, 32.
18. Lum, *Hawaii Chinese in the Foreign Language School Case*, 32.
19. Dai Hongci, *Chushi jiu guo riji* [Diary of a diplomatic mission to nine countries] (Changsha: Hu'nan renmin chubanshe, 1982), 71.
20. Pei Chi Liu, *An Anecdotal History of the Chinese in the United States of America* (Taipei: Liming wenhua shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 1984), 287–294, 408; Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States*, 361–366; *Chung Sai Yat Po*, February 9, 1909. After the 1906 earthquake and fire destroyed San Francisco Chinatown, contributions came in from China to aid Chinese refugees. However, the funds proved to be unneeded because relief funds from American sources were adequate. Afterward the CCBA petitioned the Chinese legation to release part of the money to fund construction of a replacement for the destroyed CCBA headquarters. In 1907 Chinese minister Liang Cheng, then in Washington, D.C., approved a loan of $30,000 from the surplus funds, of which $15,000 was earmarked for a Chinese school to be administered by the CCBA. Repayments of the loan for building the CCBA headquarters were to be deposited to generate interest to be applied toward operating funds for the school and for the Tung Wah Dispensary, a medical facility operated by the Chinese community that later became the Chinese Hospital.
21. Liu, *Anecdotal History of the Chinese in the United States*, 408.
22. Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States*, 361–366; David T. H. Lee, *A History of the Chinese in Canada* (Vancouver, B.C.: Jia'nada ziyou chubanshe, 1967), 321–322.
23. Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States II*, 340, 349–350.
24. Lum, *Hawaii Chinese in the Foreign Language School Case*, 232–233.
25. Ibid., 220–221, 233.
26. "National humiliation days" were days, identified by acronyms, that commemorated times when Japan had committed aggression against China. Examples are "nine-one-eight" for September 18, 1931, when the Japanese Army seized a pretext to invade Northeast China; "one-two-eight" for January 28, 1932, when the Japanese Navy attacked Shanghai; "seven-seven" for July 7, 1937, when the Japanese Army attacked at Marco Polo Bridge to start the Sino-Japanese War; and "eight-one-three" for August 13, 1937, when the Japanese attacked Shanghai.
27. Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States II*, 326–328.
28. Ibid., 328–329.
29. Ibid.; Huang Xiqiong, "Ben Xiao Shilüe," in *Meizhou Jinmen Zhonghua Zhongxuexiao Xueshenghui* (Students' Club of the Chinese Central High School, San Francisco in the Americas), ed., *Zhonghua xiaokan* [School publication of Chung Wah] (San Francisco: Chinese Central High School, 1934), 18–19.
30. Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States II*, 341–343.
31. Ibid., 343–344.
32. Ibid., 344–345, 353; *Quan-Mei Ningyang diyi jie kenqindahui shimoji* [The story of the first convention of the Ning Yung community in America] (San Francisco: Ning Yung Benevolent Association, 1928), 67–70; *Quan-Mei Ningyang dier jie kenqindahui shimoji* [The story of the second convention of the Ning Yung community in America] (San Francisco: Ning Yung Benevolent Association, 1933), 86–87.
33. Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States II*, 345–349.
34. Ibid., 341–347.
35. T. Y. Chon, et al., *Survey of Social Work Needs of the Chinese Population of San Francisco* (Sacramento, Calif.: State Relief Commission, 1935), 7, 35–37. Chinese enrollments in the English-language schools were 2,400 in elementary grades, 494 in junior high schools, and 349 in senior high schools. Page 7 gives the populations of various age groups as follows: ages 6–9, 857; ages 10–14, 1,189; and ages 15–21, 1,162. Sponsors and founding dates of most of the schools are from Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States II*, 340–356. The sponsoring party and founding date of the Chinese Baptist Chinese School are from Guofang, "Meizhou Sanfanshi Huaren Jinxin Jiaohui shilüe" [A short history of the First Chinese Baptist Church of San Francisco], in Liu Yuesheng, *Meizhou Huaqiao jiaohui* [Chinese churches in America] (San Francisco: Quan-Mei Huaqiao Jidujiao dahui [Conference of Chinese Protestant Churches of America], 1933), 68–74, 102.
36. Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States II*, 345–346.

37. Ibid., 346–347.
38. John Yehall Chin, "Shengmai Zhongxuexiao shilüe" [A short history of St. Mary's Chinese School], in *St. Mary's Chinese School: Fiftieth Anniversary, 1921–71* (San Francisco: St. Mary's Chinese School, 1971), n.p., referenced hereafter as Chin, "Short History of St. Mary's Chinese School"; *Meizhou Zhonghua Zhongxuexiao biyesheng jinian kan, Zhonghua Minguo erjiu nian* [Chinese Central High School graduating class commemorative album, 1940] (San Francisco: Chinese Central High School, 1940), 56, referenced hereafter as *Chinese Central High School Album, 1940*; and *Meizhou Zhonghua Zhongxuexiao biyesheng jinian kan, Zhonghua Minguo sanshi nian* [Chinese Central High School graduating class commemorative album, 1941] (San Francisco: Chinese Central High School, 1941), 48, 49, 51, referenced hereafter as *Chinese Central High School Album, 1941*.
39. *Lufeng zhounian jinian tekan* [Special anniversary publication of the beacon fire of Marco Polo Bridge] (San Francisco: Lufeng Huaju Yanjiushe, 1941); Jingnan, "Jinmen yiyu" [Reminiscences by the Golden Gate], *Chinese Pacific Weekly*, June 19, June 26, and July 3, 1975.
40. *Chinese Times*, June 29 and September 14, 1943; Chin, "Short History of St. Mary's Chinese School"; *Jinghua*, published by the Chinese Central High School Club, May 20, 1943.
41. Pei Chi Liu made a list of information apparently taken primarily from news items published in the Chinese newspapers on the founding and opening of schools, and included it in tabular form on pp. 349–354 of his *History of the Chinese in the United States II*. The total number of schools Liu listed should be viewed as a lower limit only because the founding of a school was not always accompanied by an announcement in the Chinese newspapers. For example, his tabulation does not include the schools sponsored by the Chinese Independent Baptist and Chinese Baptist churches listed in Table 1 of this essay. However, his tabulation probably includes the great majority of the schools.
42. Lin Shiheng, "Meiguo Huaqiao jiaoyu gailun" [An introduction to Chinese education in the United States], *Qiaowu yuebao* [Overseas Chinese affairs monthly], February 1936, 1–10, referenced hereafter as Lin, "Introduction to Chinese Education in the United States."
43. Robert Seto Quan, *Lotus Among the Magnolias: The Mississippi Chinese* (Jackson: Mississippi State University Press, 1982), 46–47.
44. Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States II*, 349–354.
45. Huang Zhuhan and Kuang Yaopu, "Ben xiao shilüe" [A short history of our school], *Shajiamiandu Zhonghua Xuexiao biye tekan* [Graduation album for the Zhonghua school in Sacramento] (Sacramento, Calif., 1945), n.p.
46. Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States II*, 352–353.
47. Shih-shan Henry Tsai, "The Chinese in Arkansas," Report prepared for the Arkansas Endowment for the Humanities under Grant No. 001–112–79, May 1981.
48. "Biyesheng" [Graduates], *Mun Lun School Golden Jubilee, 1911–1961* (Honolulu: Mun Lun School, 1961), 101–120; *Mun Lun Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, 1911–1986* (Honolulu: Mun Lun School, 1986), 169–171.
49. Lum, *Hawaii Chinese in the Foreign Language School Case*, 238–239; *Mun Lun Seventy-Fifth Anniversary*, 43.
50. Lin Sen had been sent by Sun Yat-sen to inspect Nationalist Party affairs in Hawai'i and mainland North America. He arrived in Honolulu and stayed in Hawai'i for six months, after which he left for San Francisco to tend to party affairs there.
51. *Tanxiangshan Zhongshan Xuexiao ershisan zhounian di-shisan jie biye jinian tekan* [Special publication commemorating the twenty-third anniversary and thirteenth graduating class of Chung Shan School of Hawai'i] (Honolulu: Chung Shan School, 1934), 236–239, 242, referenced hereafter as *Special Publication of Chung Shan School of Hawai'i*.
52. Lum, *Hawaii Chinese in the Foreign Language School Case*, 220–226; *Special Publication of the Chung Shan School of Hawai'i*, 247, 262.
53. "Tanshan Huaqiao," 60, in Chang and Li, *Chinese of Hawaii*. Jackson Hee was the principal of Xunzhen Shushi. After fire destroyed Honolulu's Chinatown in 1900, he taught in Hilo (Hawai'i), Lahaina (Maui), and Honapepe (Kauai) before returning to Honolulu in 1910 to establish the Jackson Institute. Hee retired to China in 1922, and the institute ceased operations a few years later.
54. Lai, "Natural History of the Chinese Language School in Hawaii," 55–56; "Tanshan Huaqiao," 54–55, in Chang and Li, *Chinese of Hawaii*. In 1921 the enrollment in Chinese-language schools was only 24 percent of Chinese students attending English-language private and public schools. The number dropped to 19 percent in 1925. However, this ratio is distorted by the fact that most students dropped out of Chinese school once they reached fifteen or sixteen years of age, i.e., when they began attending middle school. Thus the percentages increase somewhat when only children below middle-school age are considered.
55. *Tanxiangshan Huaqiao yu Zhongguo pingmin jiaoyu* [Hawai'i's Chinese and China's Mass Education Movement] (Beijing: Zhonghua Pingmin Jiaoyu Cujinhui Zonghui [General Headquarters, Society for the Promotion of Mass Education in China], 1928), 68.
56. *Special Publication of Chung Shan School of Hawai'i*, 262. The United Chinese Society corresponds to the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in mainland Chinese communities. The Chinese name for both is identical, Zhonghua Huiguan.
57. Lum, *Hawaii Chinese in the Foreign Language School Case*, 254–255. There is little information on the Youths' Mutual Assistance Society. Issue no. 8, dated April 1, 1926, of *Huzhu* [Mutual aid], published by Honolulu's Youths' Mutual Assistance Society, is in the Beijing (Peking) University library collection.
58. Lai, "Natural History of the Chinese Language School in Hawaii," 102–104. From 1927 to 1932, 2,733 American citizens of Chinese ancestry from Hawai'i departed for foreign ports, chiefly in China, as compared to 1,992 who arrived in Hawai'i during the same period. A preliminary survey by Lai revealed that in the mid-1930s approximately 105 Hawai'i-born Chinese were employed in some capacity in China.
59. "Tanshan Huaqiao," 17, in Lau and Lai, *Chinese of Hawaii, Vol. II*; Lai, "Natural History of the Chinese Language School in Hawaii," 51, 102, 104. In 1935 the enrollment in Chinese schools was 42 percent of the enrollment in English-language schools. Using the same rationale as that in notes 35 and 54 above, the percentage can be expected to increase somewhat when only students below middle-school age are considered.
60. Andrew W. Lind, *Hawaii's People*, 4th ed. (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980), 34.
61. The populations of Honolulu and San Francisco in 1930 and 1940 were as follows:

	1930 Chinese population	1940 Chinese population
San Francisco	16,303	17,782
Honolulu	19,334	22,445

62. Lai, "Natural History of the Chinese Language School in Hawaii," 57. Information on sponsors and founding dates are from "Tanshan Huaqiao," 52–61, in Chang and Li, *Chinese of Hawaii*; "Tanshan Huaqiao," 17–23, in Lau and Lai, *Chinese of Hawaii, Vol. II*; and *Hawaii Chinese Annual, Vol. 4* (Honolulu: Overseas Penman Club, 1933), 11–16.
63. Mark, *Seasons of Light*, 60, 195, 226, 249, 271.
64. *Tanxiangshan Huaqiao Guoyuwen Xuexiao yanju chouzhu Gonghe tekan* [Special publication of the drama presentation by the Chinese National Language School to raise funds to support the industrial cooperatives] (Honolulu: Chinese National Language School, 1940), hereafter referenced as *Special Publication of the Chinese National Language School*; "Tanshan Huaqiao," 23, in Lau and Lai, *Chinese of Hawaii, Vol. II*.
65. *Special Publication of the Chinese National Language School*; *Hawaii Chinese Journal*, September 26 and November 7, 1940, February 13, 1941.
66. Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States*, 364. The subsidy to each school was as follows: $500 for San Francisco; $300 each for New York and Victoria, B.C.; $250 for Portland; and $200 each for Sacramento, Seattle, Chicago, and Vancouver, B.C. From the amount of subsidy one can roughly judge the relative size of each school at the time.
67. "Linian dashiji" [Chronology of important events], *Tanxiangshan Minglun Zhongxuexiao ershiwu zhounian jiniance* [Twenty-fifth anniversary commemorative album of Mun Lun Middle School of Hawai'i] (Honolulu: Mun Lun School, 1936), 1–39, referenced hereafter as *Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Album of Mun Lun Middle School*.
68. Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States II*, 326; Zhu Jingxian, *Huaqiao jiaoyu* [Education of Overseas Chinese] (Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 341–342, referenced hereafter as Zhu, *Education of Overseas Chinese*.
69. Zhu, *Education of Overseas Chinese*, 346–355.
70. Lum, *Hawaii Chinese in the Foreign Language School Case*, 220–226; *Special Publication of the Chung Shan School of Hawai'i*, 252, 261–262; *Hawaii Chinese Annual, Vol. 8* (Honolulu: Overseas Penman Club, 1937), 10, 12.
71. Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States II*, 325–330; *Chinese Central High School Album, 1940*, 38; *Chinese Central High School Album, 1941*, 60.
72. Yan, "Huaqiao jiaoyu zhi xin yanjiu" (fifth and sixth installments), *Chung Sai Yat Po*, January 6 and 7, 1948.
73. Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States II*, 356; Zhu, *Education of Overseas Chinese*, 356–361.
74. "Tanshan Huaqiao," 17, in Lau and Lai, *Chinese of Hawaii, Vol. II*; Lai, "Natural History of the Chinese Language School in Hawaii," 16.
75. Lum, *Hawaii Chinese in the Foreign Language School Case*, "Tanshan Huaqiao," 40–52, in Lau and Lai, *Chinese of Hawaii, Vol. II*.
76. Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States II*, 360–361.
77. Ibid., 361.
78. English section, 2–3, in Lum, *Hawaii Chinese in the Foreign Language School Case*.
79. English section, 4–6, in ibid.
80. Yum Sinn Chang, "Benxiao jinxi xiaoqing zhi huigu yu qianzhan" [Glancing back and looking forward at the golden anniversary celebration of our school], *Mun Lun School Golden Jubilee*, 20–21.
81. English section, 2–3, in Lum, *Hawaii Chinese in the Foreign Language School Case*; Chinese section of the same publication, 160, 200–208, 269–274.
82. Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States of America II*, 358.
83. Lin, "Introduction to Chinese Education in the United States"; Chon et al., *Social Work Needs of the Chinese Population of San Francisco*, 37; Lai, "Natural History of the Chinese Language Schools in Hawaii," 132.
84. Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States II*, 331–333, 345–346.
85. Leong Gor Yun, *Chinatown Inside Out* (New York: Barrows Mussey, 1936), 120. Lingnan University was founded in 1888 by American Presbyterian missionary A. P. Happer as Christian College in China. In 1900 the name was changed to Canton Christian College. The institution became Lingnan University in 1927, when the American sponsors handed over administration of the school to the Chinese. In 1952 Lingnan University was merged with Sun Yat-sen University, which moved onto the campus. See Huang Juyan, ed., *Modern Education in Guangdong and Lingnan University* (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1995, vii, 24, 28).

    Chinese Christians founded Pui Ching Academy in Guangzhou in 1889. It became a middle school in 1916. In 1933 a campus was established in Hong Kong, which in 1952 became the Pui Ching Academy of Hong Kong. In 1938, during the Sino-Japanese War, the Guangzhou school also established a campus in Macao. In 1946 the middle-school section returned from Macao to Guangzhou while the primary school section stayed behind. The Macao campus added a junior-middle-school section in 1947 and a senior-middle-school section in 1953 to become a full middle school. In the meantime the Guangzhou school became a public school. After several changes in name it resumed the old name in 1984. See Gu Mingyuan, *Jiaoyu dacidian* [Comprehensive dictionary of education] (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1992), vol. 4, 463–464, 547, 559.
86. "Xianren zaizhi jiaoyuan yilanbiao" [Table of current teachers] and "Qianren jiaoyuan yilanbiao" [Table of former teachers], in *Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Album of Mun Lun Middle School*; *Mun Lun Seventy-Fifth Anniversary*, 171.
87. "Tanshan Huaqiao wenrenlu" [Biographies of notable Chinese of Hawai'i], 131, in Chang and Li, *Chinese of Hawaii*.
88. Liu, *History of the Chinese in the United States II*, 328–329; Leong Gor Yun, *Chinatown Inside Out*, 118–119.

Chinese Glossary

Names and Terms

Aheong, S. P. 蕭雄

baak waa kek 白話劇

baguwen 八股文

Baijiaxing 百家姓

Bing Kung Tong 秉公堂

Canton Christian College 嶺南學堂

Cao Yu 曹禺

Chan, Woodrow 陳中海

Chang, Dai Chuck 鄭帝積， 鄭子厚

Chang, Yum Sinn 鄭任先

changshi 常識

Chao, Rulan 趙如蘭

Chao, Y. R. 趙元任

Chee Kung Tong 致公堂

Chen Xinfu 陳馨甫

Chinese Baptist Chinese School 浸信會學校

Chinese Central High School 中華中學校

Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association 中華會館， 中華公所

Chinese Constitutionalist Party 中國憲政黨

Chinese Educational Mission 幼童出洋肆業局

Chinese Empire Reform Association 中國維新會

Chinese Independent Baptist Chinese School 自理浸信會中文學校

Chinese Public School 中華僑民公立學校

Chinese Times 金山時報

Ching Nin Ke Lok Bo 青年俱樂部

Ching Nin Mo Hock Ke Lok Bo 青年務學俱樂部

Ching Nin Mo Hock Wui 青年務學會

Chu, Chew Shong 趙超常

Chun, Yee Um 陳宜菴

Chung Mun School 中文專科學校

Chung Sai Yat Po 中西日報

Chung Shan School 中山學校，中山補習學校，中山中學

Chung Wah School 中華學校

Confucian Society 孔教會

Cumberland Chinese School 金巴侖中文學校

Dai Goong School 大公學校

Dai Hongci 戴鴻慈

Daqing Qiaomin Gongli Xiaoxuetang 大清僑民公立小學堂

Daqing Shuyuan 大清書院

Datong School 大同學校

Episcopal Mission Chinese School 聖公會中文學校

Fook Hing School 福興學校

Fook Quan School 福群學校

guowen 國文

Hawaii Chinese Journal 檀華新報

Hee, Jackson 許蟄晨

Hip Sing Tong 協勝堂

Hip Wo Chinese School 協和學校，協和中學

Ho Boshu 何伯述

Hon Mun School 漢文學校

Honolulu Anglo-Chinese Academy 中西學堂

Hoo Cho School 互助學校

huaju 話劇

Huang Shaojing 黃紹經

Huawen zazhi 華文雜誌

huiguan 會館

Huzhu 互助

Jackson Institute 直臣學校，蟄晨學校

Jinghua 菁華

Jinghua She 菁華社

Jinshan Xuetang 金山學堂

Jung, Oi-won 張藹蘊

Kam See School 今是學校

Kin Kuo School 建國中學

Kiu Ying School 僑英學校

Kong Chow Benevolent Association 岡州會館

Kong Chow School 岡州學校

Kongjiao Free School 孔教義學

Kung Kao Chinese School 孔教學校

Kung Yick School 公益學校

Kuo Min Yee Moo School 國民義務夜學

Kuomintang 中國國民黨

Lai, Ching Chin 黎程千

Lau, Tit Wun 劉鐵魂

Leiyu 雷雨

Leong, B. Y. 梁炳彝

Li Guan 李館

Liang Cheng 梁誠

Liang Qinggui 梁慶桂

Liao Zhongkai 廖仲凱

Lin Sen 林森

Lin Shiheng 林始亨

Lingnan University 嶺南大學

Lufeng Huaju Yanjiushe 蘆烽話劇研究社

Lum, Chung Chee 林仲池

Lum, Kalfred Dip 林疊

Lum, Ki Chung 林其忠

Mai Shui 麥水

Mei Yueyun 梅躍雲

Meizhou Huaqiao Jiaoyuhui 美洲華僑教育會

Min Hon School 明漢學校

Morning Bell School 晨鐘學校

Morning Bell Theatrical Society 晨鐘劇社

Moy, Back Hin 梅伯顯

Mun Lun School 明倫學校，明倫中學

Nam Hoy Fook Yum Benevolent Society 南海福蔭堂

Nam Kue Chinese School 南僑學校

National Humiliation Day 國恥紀念日

Ning Yung Association 寧陽會館

Ning Yung School 寧陽學校

On Leong Association 安良堂，安良工商會

Ou Gongpei 區公沛

Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission 華僑事務委員會

Peking University 北京大學

Pui Ching Academy 培正中學

Qianziwen 千字文

Qinding xuetang zhangcheng 欽定學堂章程

Qinghua She 青華社

St. Mary's Chinese School 聖瑪利中學校

Sam Yup 三邑

Sanminzhuyi 三民主義

Sanzijing 三字經

Shiqi 石岐

si gaa gwun 私家館

Sishu 四書

sishu 私塾

Sit Moon 薛滿

Sun Chung Kwock 新中國報

Sun Chung-shan 孫中山

Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙

Sun Yat-sen University 中山大學

Sze Yup 四邑

Tai Chung School 大中小學校

Tan Cheng 譚成

Tan Kwong School 檀光學校

Tanxiangshan Huaqiao Guoyuwen Xuexiao 檀香山華僑國語文學校

Tanxiangshan Qingnian Huzhushe 檀香山青年互助社

Tape, Joseph 趙洽

Tiansheng Theatrical Society 天聲劇社

Tongmenghui 中國同盟會

tongxianghui 同鄉會

Tung Wah Dispensary 東華醫局

Wah Mun School 華文學校

Wujing 五經

Xianfeng Juyishe 先鋒劇藝社

xiangsheng 庠生

xiucai 秀才

xiushen 修身

xuetang 學堂

Xunzhen Shushi 尋眞書室

Yan Xianyan 顏顯炎

Yang Buwei 楊步偉

Yen, Y. C. James 晏陽初

Yi Qiqian 易綺茜

Yingwu Yinyueshe 鸚鵡音樂社

Young Wo Benevolent Association 陽和會館

Young Wo Chinese School 陽和學校

Youxue qionglin 幼學瓊林

Zeng Guan 曾館

Zhang Dunpei 張敦培

Zhang Yinhuan 張蔭桓

Zhang Zhaoxiang 張兆祥

Zhonghua Huiguan Penmin Xuexiao 中華會館貧民學校

Zhonghua Huiguan Pingmin Xuexiao 中華會館平民學校

Zhonghua Jiuwang Geyongtuan 中華救亡歌詠團

Zhonghua Qiaomin Xuetang 中華僑民學堂

Zhongshan Buxi Xuexiao 中山補習學校

Zhong-Xi Xuetang 中西學堂

Zhou Song xiaoshe 周崧校舍

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