19. The end of the 1870s and the beginning of the 1880s are generally considered to be the most intense period of the anti-Chinese movement.
25. The 1908 act applied to citizens as well as to noncitizens. Joe Shoong was not a U.S. citizen because of the Chinese Exclusion laws. However, noncitizens, especially of Chinese ancestry, could be punished further by deportation to China.

Roles Played by Chinese in America during China's Resistance to Japanese Aggression and during World War II
by Him Mark Lai

During the last half of the nineteenth century, many Chinese became keenly aware that China was a nation disintegrating under the incessant pressure of the great powers. It became a weak nation that was unable to protect the rights of its subjects living abroad. With the rise of nationalist feeling toward the end of the century, many Chinese abroad began to associate improvement of their status with a strong China that would be a respected member of the international community. Thus many became interested in developments in China and in building it into a strong power.

In America, Chinese had been the targets of discrimination and harassment since they settled there in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1882 these actions culminated in the Chinese Exclusion Act that for the first time barred an entire group on the basis of race and social class. Chinese as a minority facing severe discrimination in this country had a particular interest in a strong China. Many supported the reform and revolutionary movements that promised to modernize the nation and build a modern infrastructure in the ancient land. Part of this concern for the ancestral land was their support for China's resistance to foreign aggression to preserve the nation's territorial integrity. All the Western powers participated to a greater or lesser degree in infringing on China's sovereignty, but for most of the first half of the twentieth century the most aggressive nation was China's neighbor Japan. Thus every few years an act of aggression would see Chinese in America denouncing Japanese aggression and expressing their backing of the Chinese government. Events such as the Tatsu Maru Affair of 1908, the Twenty-one Demands of 1915, and the Shandong Question of 1919 all involved Japan and aroused anti-Japanese feelings among the Chinese in America.
After the establishment of the Kuomintang government in Nanjing in 1927 during the Northern Expedition, Japan stepped up encroachments on Chinese territory with increasing frequency. Accordingly, support of national salvation soon became top priority in the Chinese community in America. This phase in the history of the Chinese in America lasted from the early 1930s until the end of World War II, with a time span of approximately a decade and a half that can be further subdivided into the following periods: (1) from the Shenyang Incident of 1931 to the Lugouqiao (Marco Polo Bridge) Incident in 1937; (2) the Sino-Japanese War; (a) from 1937 to the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941, and (b) from 1941 to the surrender of Japan in 1945 (World War II). In this article I examine the roles played by Chinese American communities during this period in reaction to Japanese aggression in China and their activities in support of the ancestral land.

EARLIER CONFRONTATIONS

Most accounts of the Sino-Japanese conflict begin with the Shenyang Incident of 1931. But Japanese armed aggression in China can be traced to the Jinan Massacre of 1928 when the Japanese Army bombarded Jinan in Shandong and killed and wounded more than seven thousand Chinese. In the United States the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association of America (CCBA-USA) convened a community meeting to pass resolutions voicing support for the Nanjing government and ordering a boycott of Japanese goods. This action was soon repeated by other Chinese communities in the United States. This event and the reaction of the Chinese in America portended what was to come with increasing frequency during the next decade.

The beginning of the 1930s saw the world in the grip of a severe economic depression. In Europe the Fascists were already in power in Italy, and in Germany the National Socialists were emerging as the major political party. In the USSR Stalin was emerging as the undisputed master of the country. In China, Chiang Kai-shek had emerged at the head of the Nationalist government in Nanjing. However, his power within the Kuomintang was challenged by one rival after another, and outside the party Chiang had been waging war on the Chinese Communists ever since he purged them from the Kuomintang in 1927.

In 1930 the Chinese were a small minority in America with about seventy-five thousand on the mainland and twenty-seven thousand in Hawaii. There were a preponderance of single males with a growing number of families living usually in urban areas. Chinese immigration was severely limited by the Exclusion laws. And in America the Chinese also continued to be the target of racial prejudice and discriminatory laws. Because they were discouraged by white America from participating in mainstream America and because the great majority of the Chinese were foreign-born, most of the community paid close heed to developments in China, and political opinions in this small community reflected the divisions in China. With the accession of power of the Nanjing government in China, the influence of the Kuomintang in the United States had been rising; however, the party in America was divided. Opposing Chiang Kai-shek's domination of the party apparatus was a pro--Wang Jingwei or "Left" faction. Another group, the "Right" faction, also denounced Chiang when he detained their leader the veteran revolutionary Hu Hanmin. Outside the Kuomintang, the Chinese Constitutionalist Party and the Chee Kung Tong (Triad Society of the Americas) still wielded considerable influence in the Chinese community. There was also a small but vociferous Marxist opposition. All these factors affected actions taken in the Chinese American community in reaction to Japanese aggression.

With the world's attention engrossed in solving the deep economic crisis, the Japanese military took the opportunity to carry out its plans to conquer its giant neighbor on the Asian continent. On September 18, 1931, the Japanese manufactured an incident near Shenyang (Mukden) in Northeast China and used it as a pretext to order its army to begin occupying all three provinces in Northeast China, sometimes also known as Manchuria. To a generation of Chinese, this day of infamy became known by the Chinese acronym "9.18" standing for the month and day September 18.

At that time the Nationalist government in Nanjing was busy with internal challenges to its power. Adopting a policy of "first ensuring pacification within the country before repelling external threats," the government ordered the Northeast army not to resist the Japanese. Instead it relied on diplomatic negotiations at the League of Nations to try to force the Japanese army to withdraw. But by March 1932 Japan had installed the former Chinese emperor Henry Puyi as the head of a puppet regime governing the Northeast provinces as Manchuko.

Many Chinese intellectuals as well as students, especially in the large cities, took exception to the Nanjing government's policy of nonresistance and demanded that the nation act to repel the aggressor.
This adversarial relationship with the government was to last until the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. The Chinese in America were also quick to react. They overwhelmingly advocated armed resistance and the Chinese-language press was uniformly critical of the government's nonresistance policy. The Kuomintang's political rivals, the Chinese Constitutionalist Party and Chee Kung Tong, attacked the Nationalist government as selling out the nation. San Francisco Chinese organizations led by the CCBA cabled their support for Shi Zhaoji, Chinese delegate to the League of Nations, and also called on rival Kuomintang regimes in Nanjing and Guangzhou to "please cease internal strife and defend (China) against foreign aggression and save the nation from peril and subjugation." San Francisco was followed by similar actions by Chinese CCBA's in other communities.  

On September 24, 1931, CCBA-USA convened a community meeting in San Francisco Chinatown and passed a resolution to establish the Mei guo Huaqiao Ju Ri Ji guo Houyuanhui (Association of Chinese in America Backing Resistance to Japan and National Salvation) to distribute publicity against Japanese aggression and to raise funds to support General Ma Zhanshan, then resisting the Japanese in Northeast China. Similar groups were formed in other communities, for example, New York's Kang-Ri Hui (Resist Japan Association) and Honolulu's Huaqiao Ji guo hui (Overseas Chinese National Salvation Association), as well as among Chinese students.  

The political struggle in China was soon reflected in the association's actions. The CCBA, led by Constitutionalist Party leader Lain Chan, soon cabled a request to Chiang Kai-shek's Nanjing government to declare war on Japan and to abolish the one-party rule imposed by the Kuomintang. In spite of their differences with the Chiang Kai-shek regime, the Kuomintang "Right" faction in the United States and its organ Young China took exception to this criticism of the Nanjing government. They then led the organization of a separate Chinese National Salvation Publicity Bureau in the United States that consisted of the Chinese schools and pro-Kuomintang groups. This group published an English translation of the Tanaka Memorial, purported to be the master blueprint for Japan's conquest of China. The two rival groups then proceeded to stage their own events. For example on "Double Ten," after a parade to commemorate the 1911 Wuchung uprising that had led to the founding of the Republic, the CCBA-led group sponsored a public meeting at the Chinese Central High School, but the Publicity Bureau also scheduled a public rally at the nearby Chinese Playground at the same time.  

The same year a Funü Ju-Ri Ji guo hui (Women's Association to Repel Japan and Save the Nation) also appeared in San Francisco. In 1933 the CCBA of New York organized the Jieji Dongbei Yiyongniu Choukuanhui (Association to Raise Funds to Support the Volunteer Army in the Northeast) to ask for monthly donations to support the volunteer army fighting the Japanese in Northeast China. The internal rivalries and duplication of efforts probably had a diluting effect; however, there was little doubt that the overwhelming sentiment in the Chinese community was in favor of resistance to Japanese imperialism.  

Soon after "9.18" Japan made more demands on China, including withdrawal of Chinese troops at Shanghai. Before the Chinese government could respond, Japanese marines went ashore on January 28, 1932 (known to the Chinese by the acronym "1.28" for January 28) to expel the Chinese troops. At that time the Chinese Nineteenth Route Army under the command of General Cai Tingkai (Tsai Ting-kai) had already received orders from Nanjing to withdraw. However, when the Japanese attacked, the Chinese resisted and forced the aggressors to retreat. The fighting in Shanghai lasted slightly over a month before the Chinese were forced to fall back, but the valiant resistance of the Nineteenth Route Army captured the imagination of Chinese all over the world.  

General Cai Tingkai became a heroic figure representing the will to resist aggression. Contributions poured in to support the troops, and within the brief period of the fighting, Chinese on the continental United States donated $450,000; Chinese in Hawaii contributed another $50,000. These represented about 20 percent of the total contributions made by Chinese in all of China and abroad. That Chinese in America generally had higher incomes than Chinese in the homeland or in Southeast Asia was a factor in their generous showing. However, strong nationalist feelings among Chinese in America also played a central role, particularly since Cai was from Guangdong, the province from which most of the Chinese in America originated.  

The Japanese invasion of Northeast China also spurred Chinese in America to intensify support to build up military air power in China. "National Salvation through Aviation" had been a slogan advocated by the Kuomintang beginning with the second decade of the twentieth century. Throughout the 1920s, romantic visions of being flying heroes led Chinese in America to found a number of aviation clubs near larger Chinese communities. After they learned the elements of aviation, a number left for China to seek aviation careers in the ancestral land. Thus it was not surprising that soon after an association advocating...
resistance to Japan was founded by the CCBA in New York following the Shenyang Incident, the group passed a resolution to establish a Huajiao Hangkong Jiaguo Xuexiao (Chinese Aviation School for National Salvation). The school was to be funded with twenty-dollar contributions from each of ten thousand sponsors, and it was supposed to train three thousand aviators in six months. However, this grandiose plan was conceived with little regard for reality. In the first place, it was questionable whether three thousand qualified individuals among the small Chinese population in America who would be willing to undergo training and join the Chinese Air Force as military pilots. Also, earlier the CCBA of New York had conducted another campaign without making public a clear accounting of the funds raised, and rumors of fraud were rife in the community. Thus with Chinese in the eastern United States already feeling the effects of the deepening economic depression in the country, responses to the plan were lukewarm. After six months the effort raised only about $4,000. The funds were said to have been donated, after deducting expenses, to the volunteer army fighting the Japanese in Northeast China.

In August 1932 the CCBA of New York tried another tack, giving its support to the founding of the Huajiao Hang Kong Jiaguo Xuehui (Chinese Aviation Club for National Salvation) that established the Zhonghua Hangkong Xuexiao (Chinese Aviation School) to teach flying and maintenance skills in nearby aviation schools. The club became a social organization for its students, but the school graduated two classes with a total of thirty-five students. More than a dozen went to China to join its air force.

While the New York Chinese were still discussing setting up an aviation school, the small Chinese community of Portland, Oregon, acted. During this period a number of Chinese Americans had enrolled at nearby Adcox Aviation School to take flying lessons. Eight had graduated as early as 1930. After the Shenyang Incident, the local Kuomintang encouraged community activists to form the Meizhou Huaqiao Hangkong Jiaguo Xuehui (Chinese Aviation National Salvation Association of North America). By early November the group had raised sufficient funds to purchase a training plane. The same month the CCBA of Portland passed a resolution to establish the Chinese Aeronautical School. The school's slogan specifically stated that it was to train aviation talent to strengthen China's defenses against foreign aggression and to develop a domestic aviation industry, but never to participate in any political struggles or civil war.

While members of the first class of the aeronautical school were being trained, the Japanese attack on Shanghai occurred and the pro-Wang Jingwei faction in the Kuomintang in Portland pushed formation of the Meizhou Huaqiao Hangkong Jiaguo Yiyongtuan (Volunteer Corps of Chinese in America Saving the Nation through Aviation) to provide aviators for the Chinese Air Force. The group then taking flying lessons in Portland became members of Corps No. 1. Communities such as Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh, and Boston also organized aviator groups and sent them to China. There were a total of sixty to seventy Chinese Americans.

The Portland school graduated two classes in 1932 and 1933. Lack of funding forced discontinuation of the school in 1933. Thirty-two of the school's graduates joined the air force in China. Two female graduates of the 1932 class, Hazel Ying Lee and Wang Guiyuan, also went to China in 1933. Unfortunately, there were no roles for female pilots in the Chinese Air Force. After working in China for a short time Lee returned to her native Portland. Wang remained in China, apparently working as a typist, and died of an illness in the mid-1930s.

San Francisco was another center that had a long tradition of training Chinese American aviators who would later serve in China. Such pilot training could be traced back to the first decades of the twentieth century. The Shenyang Incident stimulated a group of Chinese American youth to establish the Zhongguo Hangkong Lianhe Yanjiuhui (United Chinese Association to Study Aviation). They sought to establish an aviation school but could not find any sponsors. In February 1933 another group established Feipeng Hangkong Xuehui (Flying Rock Aviation Society). In July of the same year the society was able to convince the CCBA-led Meiguo Huaqiao Ju-Ri Jiaguo Houyuanhui to sponsor the Li-Mei Zhonghua Hangkong Xuexiao (Chinese Aviation School of America). The school rented a plane, gave flying lessons at San Mateo airport, and used the Chinese Central High School in Chinatown for classroom instruction. The slogan of the school was similar to that of the Portland school: "to nurture aviation talent, to strengthen national defense, and never to participate in civil war." The school graduated a class in 1934 of which eleven went to China.

This flow of Chinese American aviation personnel to the ancestral land continued until the United States entered World War II in 1941. Of an estimated two hundred overseas Chinese that entered military aviation in China during the first half of the twentieth century, the largest number arrived after the late 1920s, when the Japanese military were
intensifying their encroachments on Chinese territory. Most learned the basics of aviation in the United States, since this was an advanced industrialized society where such training was readily available and there was a fairly large Chinese American population from which to recruit. Although by the time of the Kuomintang government they had become a minority in China’s Air Force, Chinese Americans continued to play important roles in the development of military aviation in China.

The situation in China continued to deteriorate. After the cease-fire in Shanghai the Japanese military turned its attention to China north of the Great Wall. In 1933 the Japanese seized Rehe (Jehol) Province and invaded Chahar. The Nanjing government, vainly hoping to buy time by nonresistance, refused to support Chinese forces fighting the advancing Japanese. In May 1933 special Chinese envoy Li Jinlun convened a meeting in Washington, D.C., of Chinese organizations in America engaging in national salvation activities and advocating resistance to Japanese aggression. Only about a dozen Chinese communities sent delegates, with the large communities of Honolulu, San Francisco, and Los Angeles noticeably absent. The meeting passed a resolution to establish a national organization, Meiguo Huaqiao Jiguo Zonghui (Chinese National Salvation Association of America). It was to be led by the Chinese envoy, who would oversee fundraising activities. However, since most of the larger and most influential communities had declined to participate, the effort was doomed to failure. Such developments along with a continued lack of positive leadership from the Nanjing government had a dampening effect on the patriotic fervor of the community leaders then in the fore of the resistance movement among the Chinese in America. This political climate probably contributed to the San Francisco aviation school’s lapse into inactivity after graduating one class in 1934.

This period also saw the first use of the radio in the larger Chinese American communities to keep the population abreast of current events. In spring 1933, Cai Rongxun, George Linquan, and Liu Huilie founded the Huaren Boyinju (Chinese Broadcasting Bureau), sponsored by the Kuomintang organ Liberty News. On April 30 the Bureau broadcast the first Cantonese-language program. This weekly hour-long program continued until October the same year, when Huang Guangyou took over the Bureau and organized it as the Huayu Boyinshu (Chinese Broadcasting Agency). That same year Pang Aixian also organized the rival Tan-Hua Boyin Xinswenjia (Hawaiian Chinese News Broadcasting Agency) to begin triweekly broadcasts on May 1, 1933. The Agency continued the programs until 1935. Others later took over to continue the broadcasts.

In the meantime in China, the Nineteenth Route Army under Cai Tingkai had been reassigned to Fujian after the Shanghai conflict. There it became part of an anti-Chiang People’s Revolutionary Government calling for resistance to Japan. The regime, however, collapsed in the face of the Nanjing government’s superior armament. General Cai resigned his command and in 1934 went abroad on a face-saving global “inspection” trip.

Cai Tingkai’s arrival in the United States gave a boost to the spirits of advocates of resistance who had been frustrated by the Nanjing government’s inaction in the face of the Japanese advance. By this time, increasing numbers of Americans were also recognizing that continued Japanese aggression in China was a threat to American interests in the Pacific. Thus public opinion was beginning to support China as a victim of aggression. Maytong Seto,19 Lain Chan, and others advocating resistance to Japan arranged for Cai to make a 160-day tour of the United States, visiting more than twenty Chinese communities in America. He received a hero’s welcome everywhere.

In New York, more than three thousand Chinese and a thousand reporters and non-Chinese well-wishers greeted Cai at the dock. A three-hundred-car entourage led by a police escort accompanied the general into the city, where the Chinese welcomed him with a grand parade. In San Francisco the mayor personally greeted Cai at the train station. The welcoming banquet was held simultaneously at six Chinatown restaurants with more than three thousand attending. Before the banquet all the restaurants and stores lit fire crackers; that night all of Chinatown was lit brightly in his honor. Three days later Cai spoke at the Chinese Playground to an audience estimated to be more than ten thousand.20 This welcome was an indication of the respect the Chinese in America held for a patriotic hero and their support for resolute resistance to aggression.

At this point the progressive Left also began to play a more prominent role in organizing protests to Japanese aggression as part of its fight against Fascism. They formed Friends of the Chinese People, which soon established branches all over the United States and attracted many people of liberal and Left persuasion. Friends of the Chinese People sponsored lectures on China, with emphasis on the Chinese revolution. The various branches also organized activities such as mass meetings and demonstrations supporting the Chinese
people's fight against imperialist aggression. In New York the organization sponsored a protest meeting attended by over a thousand people in February 1935. In April 1935 it organized a demonstration at the New York waterfront to protest selling scrap steel to Japan to provide material to build weapons for aggression. In May 1935 J. W. Philips, editor of the Friends of China magazine *China Today*, debated a Japanese apologist before a church conference. On June 20 the organization led more than two hundred people in a demonstration before the Japanese consulate. However, at this stage participants were limited to Chinese and non-Chinese progressives with minimal participation by the more conservative Chinese groups.  

C. T. Chi, one of the periodical's founders, also gave frequent lectures on the situation in China under the auspices of the Friends of China.

Chinese progressives also were active in the Chinese community. As early as 1934 Chinese Left organizations in the city formed Niuyue Huaqiao Kang-Ri Jiuguo Lianhehui (Overseas Chinese Resistance to Japan National Salvation Association of New York) to work with progressive organizations such as American Friends of the Chinese People to warn the American public about Japanese aggression. The same year Madame Sun Yat-sen and others in China organized the China Defense League. The Chinese Left in this country was quick to announce support. Later that year the Chinese Left participated in a "Hands Off China" conference in New York organized by American Friends of the Chinese People and attended by 108 delegates from fifty-four organizations. However, the participants in such activities were still largely limited to progressives and their sympathizers.

The rapid unfolding of events in China, however, soon forced different political factions increasingly to realize that they would have to shelve differences temporarily in order to concentrate on the urgent task of national salvation. The Chinese Communist Party manifesto of August 1, 1935, called for Chinese to form a united front to resist Japanese aggression. At the time Japan was promoting autonomy for North China in a transparent move to seize more Chinese territory. Beijing (now Beijing) students, defying the government ban on anti-Japanese demonstrations, mounted huge protests on December 9 and December 16, 1935 (subsequently these dates were known by the acronyms "12.9" and "12.12," respectively). Calling for cessation of civil war and unity in the nation to resist aggression, they quickly received the enthusiastic support of students in other cities. Although the Kuomintang government quickly suppressed the demonstrations, the clamor for resistance to Japanese aggression continued to grow in intensity.

Beginning with the end of December 1935, Shanghai circles established national salvation associations. These moves soon spread to other cities in China. On May 31, 1936, the Quanguo Gejie Jiuguo Lianhehui (All China Federation for National Salvation) was officially established in Shanghai, led by an executive committee of more than forty notables led by Madame Sun Yat-sen. Public opinion in the U.S. Chinese community supported these actions. Chinese community and student organizations in America all cabled encouragement to the students.

These developments in China also stimulated greater growth of the National Salvation Movement among Chinese in the United States. In fall 1935 Chinese students from the United States and Canada held a convention in Chicago to form the Chinese Students Association of North America. Led by progressive students, the conference passed a resolution calling on the Nanjing government to stop the civil war and calling for all Chinese to unite in resisting Japanese aggression.

Leaders in the traditional Chinese organizations had been reluctant to cooperate with the Left. But by late 1935 attitudes began to change. The Chicago students received the support of the influential On Leong Association. In early 1936 more than a thousand Chinese residents and students paraded in downtown Chicago protesting Japanese aggression in China, calling on American society to recognize that "Japan is the world's public enemy no. 1." In the eastern United States the small Chinese community in Washington, D.C., became one of the first to form a Kang-Ri Hui (Resist Japan Association), with a leadership consisting of the traditional organizations On Leong Tong, Hip Sing Tong, and Chee Kung Tong together with the progressive Anti-Imperialist Alliance.

In New York, Niuyue Huaqiao Zuzhi Kang-Ri Jiuguo Xiehui (New York Association of Chinese Organizations to Resist Japan and Save China) was formed on December 1, 1935; however, the participating groups were predominantly on the progressive side. There remained a need to form a more broadly based organization in order to be effective. After some preliminary discussions between progressive and traditional groups, CCBA of New York City convened a community meeting on December 18, 1935. At the meeting Li Rangnai, a respected community leader belonging to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, urged community groups to unite and organize to support resistance to Japanese aggression and national salvation. The assembled passed a resolution on the same day establishing the Niuyue Quanti Huaqiao Kang-Ri Jiuguhue (New York Chinese Community Association for
Resistance to Japan and National Salvation). By December 20, the new organization passed its bylaws. The objective clearly stated: “This association does not differentiate among political parties and factions, our aim is to unite all people within China and abroad to defend ourselves. We are against one party dictatorship and we advocate formation of a government for national defense to resist Japanese aggression and to eradicate traitors that would sell out the nation.”

By January the organization had elected its executive committee, including members of the political left, center, and right. The organization included on its executive committee such prominent personages as Maytong Seto, leader of the powerful On Leong Tong; Chen Qiuyan of the progressive Overseas Chinese Resistance to Japan National Salvation Association of New York and former central committee member of the Kuomintang; Wu Xianzi, editor of Nieuwe gong bao and leader in the Chinese Constitutionalist Party; Y. K. Chu of Chinese Journal, as well as other prominent leaders from the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and traditional organizations. However, the Kuomintang disagreed with the anti-Chiang slant of the organization and attacked it as “speaking of unity for national salvation to the world but internally in reality sowing discord and causing internal strife.” However, it was a minority dissenting voice in a rising chorus of advocacy for resistance against Japanese aggression.

In spring 1936 General Fang Zhenwu, who had led the Chinese resistance against the Japanese advance in Chahar north of the Great Wall, arrived in New York to push for resistance to aggression. Fang was connected with the anti-Chiang Kai-shek Southwest Political Affairs Committee of the Kuomintang. Thus he was supported by the pro-Hu Hanmin faction of the Kuomintang. After his visit to New York, Fang toured Canadian and other U.S. Chinese communities. When he arrived in San Francisco, then the biggest Chinese community in America, he organized Zhonghua Mingguo Guomin Kang-Ri Jiuguohui (Republic of China Nationals Association for National Salvation and Resistance to Japanese Aggression). The association’s founding manifesto declared that the organization would (1) concentrate the people’s wisdom and strength, internally to resist Japanese imperialism, and internally to work hard to develop construction enterprises; (2) call on all people of all nations having interests in the Pacific Ocean and world countries advocating peace to fight for peace in the Pacific and the world; (3) demand the government to immediately cease suppressing patriotic movements among the people and to share the responsibility for salvation from subjugation.” It further declared that “we will support the government if it resists Japanese aggression from now on to save the nation, but we pledge our opposition to any government that fawns on the enemy and thus does harm to our national interests.”

The organization was headed by Xie Zemin. When Xie passed away soon afterward, he was succeeded by B. S. Fong. Branches of the organization also sprang up in many communities in the United States, Mexico, and Canada.

Political disagreements, however, still split the San Francisco Chinese. The new organization was dominated by members of the pro-Hu Hanmin faction of the Kuomintang, but the rival group sponsored by the CCBA-USA remained in existence. Membership in the latter was on the basis of organizations, with many delegates belonging to the Chinese Constitutionalist Party, Chee Kung Tong, and the pro-Wang Jingwei faction of the Kuomintang. The Left, being relatively weak and few in number in San Francisco’s Chinese community, did not play any role in this organization.

On December 12, 1936, the Young Marshal Zhang Xueliang kidnapped Chiang Kai-shek at Xi’an and convinced him to agree to cease the civil war and to unite the country to resist Japan. The Communists and the Kuomintang called a truce in their civil war and it was none too soon, for by July 7, 1937 (known by the acronym “7.7”), the Japanese army attacked at Marco Polo Bridge in Beijing to launch the Sino-Japanese War.

Meanwhile Tao Xingzhi, a founder of the All China Federation for National Salvation, arrived in New York from Europe with Loh Tsui, delegate of the Zhongguo Quanguo Xuesheng Jiuguo Lianhehui (All China Federation of Students for National Salvation), soon after General Fang’s visit. The duo also embarked on a tour of U.S. and Canadian communities advocating resistance to Japanese aggression. They were still in the United States when the Sino-Japanese War broke out.

THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR

Fund-Raising

After the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, there was a period of uncertainty as the Nationalist government hoped to avoid a general war. However, the hope for a diplomatic solution was dashed when the Japanese
attacked Shanghai on August 13, 1937 (known by the acronym “8.13”), and directly threatened the heart of the Chinese government's seat of power. The Nanjing government then ordered its armed forces to resist the Japanese attacks. The reaction of the Chinese in America was to ask unequivocally for total mobilization of the nation to resist the aggressor. However, they did not receive any directives from the Chinese government until after the attack on Shanghai began. On “8.13” China’s Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission finally cabled a message to the San Francisco consulate telling all the Chinese community organizations: “China is menaced by a strong enemy and the only recourse is war. This will determine China’s continued existence or subjugation. In accordance with the (government’s) order, the commission is now to be in charge of contributions from all Chinese abroad. All contributions, regardless of whether they be charitable donations for refugees, wounded soldiers or some other purpose, shall be collected by our commission to pass on. The Chinese abroad are patriotic, and have always been zealous. At this critical juncture, we trust that we will all make every effort to shoulder our responsibilities.”

National salvation activities in the Chinese community had provided it with the know-how and structure for fund-raising and propaganda activities. Chinese in America quickly responded to the call for help from the ancestral land with generous contributions. Within a week a Cantonese opera troupe in San Francisco raised 7,800 Nationalist yuan. In New York, the New York Hand Laundry Alliance contributed more than three thousand silver dollars. Chinese communities all over America began to organize for fund-raising and propaganda work supporting China’s resistance to Japanese aggression. At first the Nationalist government apparently sought to place the efforts under its direct supervision. In August Chinese envoy Wang Zhengting in Washington, D.C., issued an order to Chinese in America that contributions would be sent to the Bank of China in New York and funds for weapons would be put into an account under the name of the envoy so that they might be remitted to China in a timely fashion. He also asked the Chinese to organize a Zhonghua Lü-Mei Aiguohui (Patriotic Association of Chinese in America) that enlisted the participation of all Chinese community organizations. Although the order was not unreasonable, it aroused much criticism in the Chinese community, especially from those not belonging to the Kuomintang. In New York some critics questioned why the name of the organization avoided mentioning resistance to Japan and used instead the term “patriotic.” Others pointed out that organizations advocating resistance to Japan already existed, so “why this unnecessary move?” As a result, the Chinese envoy withdrew his request and let each Chinese community organize groups supporting resistance to Japan in accordance with local conditions. During the War of Resistance, ninety-five such organizations sprang into existence in U.S. communities with more than fifty Chinese. The largest ones were in San Francisco, New York, and Chicago.

The situation in the large San Francisco Chinese community was one of the most complex in Chinese America owing to the number of political factions. In many communities the local Zhonghua Mingguo Kang-Ri Jiuguohui founded by General Fang Zhenwu and dominated by the pro-Hu Hanmin faction of the Kuomintang was reorganized for the fund-raising activities needed to support the war effort. The San Francisco branch became Lü-Mei Huaiqiao Lianhe Mujuan Jiuguo Zhonghui (General Federation of Chinese in America to Solicit Contributions for National Salvation). The existing Ju-Ri Jiuguo Houyuan Zhonghui, formed in 1931, also met twice to reorganize as Zhu-Mei Zhonghua Mingguo Jiuguo Houyuanhui (Association in America to Support National Salvation of the Republic of China). However, the Kuomintang “Right” faction and Zhonghua Mingguo Kang-Ri Jiuguohui boycotted both sessions. The Chinese consul general had to act as mediator between the two rival groups, and he persuaded them to merge on August 20 as Lü-Mei Huaiqiao Tongyi Yijian Jiuguo Zhonghui (United Association of Chinese in America for Soliciting Donations for National Salvation). Its English name was China War Relief Association of America (CWRAA). B. S. Fong from the pro-Hu group was elected to head the organization, which included representatives from all organizations in the Chinese community. It included members from the left, right, and center, including the Chinese section of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. However, positions of power were in the hands of moderate and conservative elements.

In spite of its name, CWRAA was limited to a number of small Chinese communities west of Chicago. Larger communities such as Los Angeles, Fresno, Stockton, Sacramento, Seattle, Portland, and San Antonio, as well as Chinese communities in most of Mexico, Central America, and South America organized their own groups that did not come under the jurisdiction of CWRAA. It was, however, still the largest China war relief association in North America, with forty-seven
branch organizations covering more than three hundred cities and towns.\textsuperscript{39}

In New York, then the second largest Chinese community in the United States, a coalition was formed similar to that in San Francisco. At first community organizations led by CCBA-NY met to establish the Niuyue Quanti Huaqiao Kang-Ri Chouxiang Zongji (New York Chinese Bureau to Raise Funds for Resisting Japan). It was a loose group where each member organization conducted its own fund-raising activities and remitted funds to China. Thus there was much duplication of effort. In order to improve the efficacy of the fund-raising efforts, CCBA-NY led the reorganization of the organization into Niuyue Quanti Huaqiao Kang-Ri Chouxiang Zonghui (New York Chinese Association to Raise Funds for Resisting Japan; the English name was General Relief Fund Committee of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association) in November 1937.\textsuperscript{40} The reorganized group included fifty-four community organizations and had powers similar to the San Francisco group. Similar organizations also arose in other Chinese communities in America. Although they embraced people across the political spectrum, the leadership was in the hands of moderate and conservative elements among the local community leadership. In Chicago the existing Meizhong Zhicheng Jiuguo Houyuanhui (Midwest Association to Support National Salvation) that was founded on August 20, 1934, continued to operate as the vehicle for fund-raising. The group was chaired by Mei Youzhuo, leader of the On Leong Association.\textsuperscript{41}

Soon after the Sino-Japanese conflict began, the Nationalist government lost the important cities of Beiping and Tianjin, followed successively by Shanghai, Nanjing, Guangzhou, and Wuhan in 1938. The Nationalists eventually retreated to Chongqing, sheltered behind the Yangzi River Gorges as the Japanese occupied the most economically developed parts of northern, central, and southern China. In order to bolster plummeting morale resulting from these discouraging developments, the Nationalist government ordered a Jingshen Zong Dongyuan (Total Spiritual Mobilization) campaign in May 1939. In the United States the Chinese communities pledged in meetings and rallies to continue to support a lengthy war.\textsuperscript{42}

The Nationalist government established the People’s Political Council on the first anniversary of the conflict. The council was “to function as an organ of the people’s will,” but in reality it had little political power. A few Chinese from abroad were appointed to the council. On

the first council Joe Shoong, founder of the National Dollar Stores, the most successful large Chinese business in the continental United States, was the American delegate. B. S. Fong of San Francisco and Chan Tom of Chicago were appointed council members in 1941, while Maytong Seto, influential in the eastern United States, was added to the group in 1942. Meanwhile, the Kuomintang in the United States recruited local leaders into its organization.\textsuperscript{43} Because of the close relationship between the Kuomintang and the Nationalist government, the party became influential in the war relief associations, thus helping the party eventually to extend political control over the entire Chinese American community.

During the first years of the War of Resistance, there was no standard nomenclature adopted for the various organizations that sprang up to support the war effort, and great divergences existed among the names chosen by organizations formed in different communities. Names included jiuguo houyuanhui (association supporting national salvation), kang-Rihui (association to repel Japan), jiuguo houyuanhui (association to save the nation), kang-Ri houyuanhui (association to support resistance to Japan), aiguo hui (patriotic organization), and others. In September 1943 delegates from such organizations all over America attended a weeklong meeting in New York to improve coordination and implementation of national salvation activities and to discuss overseas Chinese affairs. The conference also passed a resolution to standardize the name of each group as the “China Relief Association” of the city or town where the association was located.\textsuperscript{44}

Fund-raising by the Chinese in America was probably their most important contribution to the war effort. By far the largest amount of contributions went to the purchase of Chinese bonds. When the war started, the Chinese government promoted a first and second series of National Salvation Bonds in 1937 and 1938 for sale in the United States. In 1939 there were U.S. Dollar Bonds and in 1940 National Salvation through Aviation Bonds. However, in 1939 the U.S. government banned the public sale of foreign government bonds in the United States. The war relief associations then decided to term the bond sales “voluntary contributions” and thus skirted the law.\textsuperscript{45}

In 1941 the United States joined the war after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The Chinese, like other Americans, turned toward the purchase of U.S. War Bonds in place of Chinese bonds. Other fund-raising campaigns continued for different purposes during the eight
years of war, soliciting contributions to purchase rain wear and mosquito nets for soldiers at the front, ambulances, cotton-padded clothing, airplanes for Guangdong, and medical supplies. Other campaigns were periodic, such as calls for contributions during the Spring Festival, commemoration of the Marco Polo Bridge incident, and Double Ten national day. Collection boxes were placed at many Chinese organizations and businesses to attract loose change from passersby and visitors. Funds were also raised by selling tickets to stage dramas and operas, dances, variety shows, fashion shows, auctions, and the like. In June 1939 the Sacramento War Relief Association staged a three-evening China Night to raise money. Using a parade to attract potential donors to Chinatown, the event raised more than $24,000.46

During this period of national calamity in China most Chinese in America were consciously willing to contribute to support resistance to the aggressor. However, in order to ensure meeting their goals, the war relief associations also set individual quotas. For example, the New York Relief Fund Committee of the CCBA-NY stipulated that each individual had to contribute at least the following:

1. National Salvation Bonds, first issue: 50 silver dollars
2. National Salvation Bonds, second issue: 50 silver dollars
4. Campaign to purchase airplanes: US $10
5. Campaign to purchase ambulances: US $3

All donations were to be recorded on a card issued to each individual that could be examined at any time by inspectors of the Relief Fund Committee. The association also requested employers to verify that applicants for jobs in their firms had fulfilled these obligations.47 Other communities also set similar quotas. For example, Sacramento's war relief group required each person to contribute a minimum of $50, and in San Francisco during one campaign each person was asked to pledge contributions for two sets of cotton-padded clothing.

During the 1930s the economic status of most Chinese was lower than the average in America, and this situation did not improve until after the United States joined the conflict in 1941. Thus the levies for war relief put a heavy burden on some individuals. Some people, experiencing economic problems or for other reasons, could not or would not donate. The war relief association would put pressure on these recalcitrants. If the individual finally complied, then he or she would usually pay a fine to end the matter. If there continued to be resistance, war relief association inspectors would try to bring about compliance through peer pressure. Sometimes such efforts ended with vigilante-type actions. For example, in San Francisco three individuals in 1937 and four in 1939 who refused to contribute were publicly humiliated by being paraded around Chinatown. Similar public humiliations also occurred in other Chinese communities such as Chicago in 1937 and Los Angeles in 1940. However, since Chinese communities did not have the authority to police and judge, these actions violated American law.

Because of the relative isolation of Chinese American society in this country from the mainstream, American officials were generally ignorant of or chose to ignore such goings on unless they received complaints from the aggrieved parties, in which case the war relief association would be faced with a thorny problem. For example, there were recalcitrants in Oakland who asked for police protection. In Cleveland one Chinese who was fined for his failure to donate took his case to the courts.48 In 1940 one person in Sacramento attacked and wounded one of the fund-raisers with a knife. Often the association found that its power to impose its will was very limited. For example, in 1940 one Sacramento Chinese threatened the fund-raising team with a pistol when they tried to pressure him. He and his wife then appealed to the court for protection and instigated a federal government investigation into the actions of the war relief association. When the couple continued to refuse to cooperate with the fund-raising effort, all the association could do was to call a "community" meeting to pass resolutions to report the couple's actions to the Chinese envoy in the United States, put articles in the Chinese newspapers exposing their actions, order all Chinese to cease having any transactions with them, and request the Guangdong and Zhongshan county governments to confiscate their property in China. However, during a period when the ancestral land was engaged in a struggle for survival, public opinion in the Chinese community largely frowned on expressions of dissent. Thus the war relief associations, by appealing to patriotism and by using peer pressure and informers to deal with reluctant individuals, were able to persuade as much as an estimated 70 percent of the Chinese community to comply with their demands.49

The following list shows the twenty-two cities or areas with the largest amount of contributions collected by China war relief associations in the United States:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Amount Raised</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>$5,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>3,295,047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>2,400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>2,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New England</td>
<td>2,100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honolulu</td>
<td>846,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacramento</td>
<td>800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockton</td>
<td>411,132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seattle</td>
<td>400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Antonio</td>
<td>373,973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresno</td>
<td>360,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>310,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>280,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>180,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittsburgh</td>
<td>170,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>170,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbus, Ohio</td>
<td>70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston</td>
<td>57,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Orleans</td>
<td>52,435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$21,936,057</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is estimated that during the eight years of the War of Resistance, Chinese in America contributed approximately $25 million. This sum averages out to about $300 per capita in the continental United States. If women and children as well as the elderly and the ill are excluded, then only about half had the means to contribute. Assuming that about 70 percent of these consistently donated all the required levies, the per capita donation then exceeds $800. The individual contributing the most was millionaire Joe Shoong.

In the Territory of Hawaii the Chinese contributed toward war relief in a separate effort. Chinese in Honolulu organized the Zuguo Shang-bing Nannin Jiuji Zonghui (Association for Relief of Wounded Soldiers and Refugees in the Ancestral Land) on August 8, 1937, contemporaneous with similar groups founded by their compatriots in the continental United States. A few days later Chinese women also founded a Fund Xianjinhu (Women's Association for Donating Funds).

Chinese in Hawaii were mostly concentrated in Honolulu, the largest city. However, unlike mainland communities, the Chinese lived scattered all over the city. Also the proportion of women and children in the Chinese population of twenty-eight thousand was much higher than on the mainland because of the high proportion of families. Subtracting also the elderly and the ill, there were only an estimated six thousand with the ability to donate. Nonetheless, contributions and bond purchases by Hawaii Chinese averaged $141 per donor.

Chinese in Hawaii and the continental United States also contributed materiel and supplies to support the war effort. There had long been interest in donating airplanes. As early as 1933 Honolulu Chinese established a Huaqiao Gouzhi Feiji Chouban Weiyuanhui (Chinese Committee to Arrange for Airplane Purchases) to raise funds. But raising sufficient funds proved to be a long and difficult task. In 1942, swayed by wartime patriotic fervor, the War Relief Association of Oregon proposed to donate a Mustang fighter for China. However, the association could only raise about half of the $60,000 purchase price. The War Department then advised Kalfred Dip Lum, chairman of the association and prominent Kuomintang party leader, to purchase three trainers, after agreeing to add sufficient funds to reach a total of $100,000. In 1945 the three airplanes were delivered to Arizona for use in training Chinese pilots. However, the high price tags placed on airplanes stopped most Chinese communities from taking similar steps.

Other donations were earmarked for humanitarian purposes. One well-known example was the donation of four ambulances, medical supplies, and cotton-padded clothing by the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance, half of which went to the Communist areas and half to the Nationalist areas.

Chinese in America also cooperated with mainstream society to raise funds for war relief. When the War of Resistance began, an increasing number of non-Chinese American intellectuals, missionaries as well as labor and business leaders, saw Japan as an increasingly dangerous threat to American interests in the Pacific. They were deeply sympathetic toward the heroic struggle waged by the Chinese people against a formidable foe and very early on organized such
groups as the United Council for Civilian Relief in China and United China Relief, the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China, the China Aid Council, and Friends of the Chinese People. These organizations in mainstream society often worked with people in the Chinese community launching fund-raising campaigns. The best known of these were the Bowl of Rice events. The Bowl of Rice campaign was first promoted by New York’s United Council for Civilian Relief in China in 1938. It became an annual event up to the time America entered the World War II in late 1941. China war relief associations in a number of cities with large concentrations of Chinese also participated in these events by creating festive atmospheres in the Chinatown accompanied by cultural performances and exhibitions to induce visitors. Chinese and non-Chinese alike, to contribute toward war relief. San Francisco’s China War Relief Association organized major Bowl of Rice events on June 17, 1938, February 9 to 11, 1940, and May 2 to 4, 1941, and raised $50,000, $80,000 and $100,000 respectively.

Another group active in war relief was the China Aid Council sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy. This group, working through Mme. Sun Yat-sen’s China Defense League, donated medical supplies and equipment and other relief supplies to the guerrilla areas and the resistance bases led by the Chinese Communists. In 1938, it sent a medical team to Shanxi and Shaanxi war zones. After the truce between the Kuomintang government and the Communists was broken by the New Fourth Army Incident in early 1940, the Nationalist government clamped a blockade on aid to the Communist-led guerrilla areas. The China Aid Council as well as progressive China aid groups in other countries, working through the China Defense League under difficult conditions, managed to send a trickle of much-needed medical supplies to the guerrilla areas. Some Chinese sympathetic to the Communists also sent contributions via this means. These contributions helped to support the resistance activities of the guerrillas; however, the total amount was only a small fraction of the contributions sent to the Nationalist-ruled areas.

China’s Chinese Industrial Cooperatives (Indusco) was also the recipient of contributions. During the Sino-Japanese conflict the American Committee for Chinese Industrial Cooperatives chaired by Rear Admiral Harry E. Yarnall was able to raise more than $3 million for the movement. Although most donors came from mainstream America, a number of contributors were from the Chinese community. In February 1940 the Kong Gin Dramatic Club of Honolulu raised enough funds to establish a Hawaii Chinese Industrial Cooperative in Anhui Province. In September of the same year the Chinese National Language School in the same city staged the first vernacular dramas in Mandarin ever to be presented in the Islands, raising $1,243 for the same cause.

Chinese in America sacrificed to aid the ancestral land in its hour of need, and the contributions played an important role supporting China’s resistance against a strong enemy. After 1941, when Japan occupied Southeast Asia, where more than 90 percent of Chinese abroad lived, contributions from America’s Chinese became one of the few remaining significant sources of foreign exchange available to the Nationalist government.

When Japan surrendered in 1945, signaling the end of World War II, many war relief associations still were holding funds awaiting remittance to China. In many communities, they were set aside for community-run Chinese schools. In Chicago the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association used the money together with additional funds raised in the Chinese community to erect a headquarters building in Chinatown. In San Francisco, the Chinese War Relief Association of America decided to use its surplus of $210,335 to remodel the community-run Chinese Central High School as Victory Hall and also to purchase another building to provide rental income for the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association of the U.S.A. (Chinese Six Companies).

In the Armed Forces and on the Home Front

The threat of hostilities between Japan and China during the late 1930s renewed interest in providing aviators to help strengthen China’s military air force. By this time Chinese in America, based on their experiences in the early 1930s, realized the high cost of running an aviation school. Faced with the economic hard times and the limited resources of the period, San Francisco became the only community to have such a program. In early 1937 Feipeng Hangkong Xuehui of San Francisco persuaded CCBA-led Meiguo Huaqiao Ju-Ri Jiuguo Houyuanhui to reactivate the flying instruction program the group had previously sponsored and recruited the school’s second class. In 1938 the school also received from Sam Yup Association of San Francisco a training
plane that the organization had purchased for Chen Kunshou of Los Angeles, who had subsequently joined the Chinese Air Force, to use in exhibitions supporting the National Salvation Movement.

The aviation school graduated thirteen cadet pilots in 1938. By this time the original sponsoring organization had become part of the Chinese War Relief Association of America. CCCA-USA then inherited sponsorship of the school to recruit the third class that began instruction August 1938. In late 1938 a representative of the Nationalist government's Zhongyang Hangkong Weyuanhui (Central Aeronautics Commission) selected twelve outstanding students to go to China for further training. The remaining students graduated in May 1939, and seventeen aviator cadets and sixteen aircraft mechanics went to China. By this time, the sponsors realized that the school could only teach the students the elements of aviation. They still had to undergo much more training before they could be useful in the military air force. Fund-raising to support the school, as with the Portland aviation school, was difficult. Therefore the school ceased operation in 1940 and sold its assets by early 1941.59 But of all the aviation schools sponsored by Chinese in America, the San Francisco school was the largest and had the longest history.

A number of Chinese American pilots, including those who had gone to China earlier, served with distinction during the Sino-Japanese War. Among them was Arthur Tin Chin from the aviation school in Portland. Chin downed six Japanese airplanes between 1937 and 1939 before he was shot down and suffered severe burns. Afterwards, Chin worked as an interpreter and then returned to the United States around 1944 for further medical treatment. Others from the Portland school who became "ace" fighter pilots were John Wong and Clifford Louie. Louie later became a general in the air force on Taiwan. However, Chinese Americans in the outgunned and outnumbered Chinese Air Force also suffered heavy casualties in engagements with the enemy.60

After the United States entered the war, it was no longer possible or necessary for Chinese Americans to travel to China to offer their services. Like all other Americans they were subject to selective service to fill the needs of the war. At this time racial prejudice against Chinese was pervasive in American society, and the situation was not any better in the armed forces. Chinese Americans' resentment of this treatment was partially offset by the realization that America and China were allies fighting against a common enemy. Thus many Chinese were ambivalent about serving in the military. Because a high percentage of the Chinese in America were males eligible for the draft, a high proportion were inducted. About sixteen thousand served, representing about 20 percent of Chinese on the continent, as compared to 8.6 percent of the general population. In Hawaii, where the male/female ratio was closer to parity than on the mainland, the two thousand who served, only about 7.2 percent of the Chinese, was closer to the percentage of the general population.61

Chinese Americans served in all war theaters in the army in practically all capacities. A few, especially medical and dental personnel and specialists, to break these racial barriers, became officers. The number of Chinese Americans was far fewer in the Navy, where racial prejudice was more pervasive. George Chan of Houston was one of the few who became a naval officer. In the Air Force a few became pilots, including some from Hawaii. Henry K. W. Wong was the first islander and probably the first Chinese in America to be selected for student aviation training. Another early Chinese in the air corps was Mun Chun Wong, who served in Europe. P-39 pilot Stanley Lau flew over fifty missions in the European theater and accounted for seven Nazi Messerschmitts. He was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross. In 1944 Major Dai Ho Chun was in command of the Seventh Fighter Wing, which was directly charged with the aerial defense of Hawaii. Because of their smaller physiques many Chinese Americans were chosen to man guns or were navigators and bombardiers in the cramped quarters on bombers flying in Europe. Others became maintenance personnel. About three or four hundred in the armed forces made the ultimate sacrifice. Some became war prisoners. Honolulu-born Ambrose C. Lum was captured at Wake Island during the early stages of the war and spent forty-five months in Japanese prison camps, while George Lau of Visalia became a German prisoner at the Battle of the Bulge.62

Approximately 10 percent served in the Pacific and China-Burma-India theaters fighting the Japanese. The largest group was 1,100 men of the Fourteenth Air Service Group who gave support to the Fourteenth Air Force (Flying Tigers) in South China air bases in 1944 and 1945. Even though most Chinese in the Army served in integrated units, possibly because they were relatively few in number, the Air Service Group was all Chinese except for some twenty officers and one staff sergeant pilot. It was organized into nine groups, including the 407th and 555th Air Service Squadrons, the 107th Quartermaster Company, the 115th Signal Company, the 1544th and 1545th Ordnance Companies, the 2121st and 2122nd Trucking Companies, and the
Fourteenth Air Force Service Group Headquarters Squadron. A smaller group was the 987 Signal Operations Company (Special) that went to China in 1944. The unit was broken down into small detachments to handle communications for the American Liaison team attached to Chinese army divisions and regiments guarding the French Indo-China border. There were others who served in various integrated units.63

Their history is only beginning to be researched in recent years and remains a largely untold part of American military history. For example, Harold Lau and Leonard D. Y. Wong from Hawaii, John Young from San Jose, and others were liaison officers in various parts of China; Kwan Heen Ho of Honolulu commanded and operated several army hospitals throughout the China-Burma-India theater; Won-joy Chan from Tulare was part of the intelligence staff of General Stilwell’s field-combat headquarters.64 A few served first China and then the United States. Pak On Lee, George Leo Wing Shee, and L. F. Wu were among the few Chinese who were engineering helpers in the American Volunteer Group, better known as the Flying Tigers, that later became the China Air Task Force of the United States of America Air Force in 1942 and expanded to become the Fourteenth Air Force in 1943.65 Jack T. Young from Hawaii joined the Chinese Army and served in the Zhandi Fuwutuan (Combat Area Service Group) that maintained liaison with Soviet and American volunteer airmen flying for China. Young was inducted at the end of 1943 into the U.S. Army and was sent into Japanese-occupied territory in 1944 to gather intelligence.66

After the war, the American Legion granted a charter in 1945 to establish Lt. B. R. Kimlau Chinese Memorial Post 1291 in New York City, dedicated to the memory of Lt. Benjamin Ralph Kimlau, who was killed while flying a mission against the Japanese in New Guinea in 1944. In 1961 the post obtained permission to rename Chatham Square in New York Chinatown to Kimlau Square and to erect a memorial on the site to honor Chinese Americans who died serving America.67 There are also memorial plaques in Seattle (dedicated in 1950) and San Francisco (dedicated in 1954; the list of names also includes one person killed in World War I) to honor Chinese Americans who died serving in the U.S. armed forces during the Second World War.68

Chinese American women also served in armed forces auxiliaries and as nurses. A few became pilots. Hazel Ying Lee, who had not been allowed to be a military pilot in China, joined the Women’s Airforce Ser-

vice Pilots (W.A.S.P.) and flew planes for the air force across the Atlantic to England. She was killed in 1944 when her P-38 crashed in Montana.69

About fifteen thousand Chinese served in the British and American merchant marine, a portion of whom were recruited in America. Few of these were involved in the China war theater.

Chinese American civilians also participated in numerous activities to support the war effort, such as organizing social events for members of the armed forces, participating as air defense wardens, and serving as members of local selective service boards. Since so many people were inducted into the armed forces, there was a serious labor shortage. This shortage offered numerous opportunities to Chinese Americans to demonstrate their talent in skilled, clerical, and professional occupations previously not open to them. Many worked in aircraft plants, shipyards, munitions plants, military bases, and other sectors. In San Francisco, Chinese American investors founded China Aircraft Corporation in 1943. In 1944 the factory began manufacturing rear sections for bombers and in one year produced parts for one thousand airplanes.70

These activities of Chinese Americans involved the Sino-Japanese War only to the extent that they were supporting a war effort of which the conflict in China was a part. The improved economic status enjoyed by many Chinese Americans due to these better-paying occupations as well as the general wartime prosperity in America also enabled them to continue to donate generously to China war relief.

A few Chinese Americans served in China in nonmilitary capacities. Some of these people were already working in China at the time. When the Japanese invasion began in 1937, Jun Ke Choy, originally from Honolulu but by then head of the China Merchants Steamship Company, directed the successful escape of part of the Chinese merchant fleet south to Hong Kong and west up the river to Chongqing to escape capture by the Japanese Navy. In Hong Kong, Choy also played a role in protecting six other Chinese ships from the clutches of Japanese captains and officers.71 During the war, Professor Chen Futian, also formerly of Hawaii and by then head of Yenching University’s Foreign Languages Department, organized a program to train three thousand refugee university students to be interpreters in American units in China.72 Other Chinese Americans were in China because of the nature of their work. For example, Norman Soong from Honolulu was a correspondent in China. During the Japanese bombing and sinking of the
U.S.S. Panay on the Yangzi River on December 12, 1937. Soong was on the scene recording the event on film. Congress awarded him a gold medal for this act of bravery. Later, he became editor of China Fortnightly published by China’s Central News Agency in Hong Kong during the period before the United States entered World War II. Soong was also the only Chinese American accredited to the United States Pacific Fleet, and he was present when the Japanese surrendered to General MacArthur on the U.S.S. Missouri.73

There were also those who answered the call and in a spirit of idealism and patriotism voluntarily returned to serve the ancestral land. John Jan of Sacramento went to his ancestral land in 1940 to contribute his knowledge of mining engineering to help China's Industrial Cooperative (Indusco) Movement.74 However, few can match the long journey of Chi Chang. Chang was a Fudan Middle School graduate who came to the United States for further study in 1918. He matriculated at the universities of California and Minnesota and then became a mining engineer at a Michigan iron mining company. Chang joined the American Communist Party and in 1937 was one of the Chinese recruited by Chinese Vanguard to serve on the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War. In Spain Chang was variously a driver in a transportation unit and a construction engineer. When the Republicans went down in defeat Chang was with the few surviving Chinese who retreated to France and went on to China to participate in China's War of Resistance against Japan. In 1940 Chang was translator of Mao Zedong's "Lun xin jieduan" (A discourse on the new phase) into English when he was sojourning in Hong Kong while on his way to China.75

Reaching the Public

The Media. Propaganda was a necessary component of the war effort to influence and guide the public. During the Sino-Japanese War, there were two target audiences: the Chinese community and the general public in American society.

The propaganda effort targeted at the Chinese community was spearheaded by the Chinese news and broadcast media. Due to the deep interest in political developments in the ancestral land during the first half of the twentieth century, Chinese in America had established numerous Chinese-language newspapers. The principal newspapers existing in 1937 and their political affiliations are shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Political Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>San Min Morning Paper</td>
<td>Kuomintang “Right” faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honolulu</td>
<td>Liberty News</td>
<td>Kuomintang “Left” faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New China News</td>
<td>Chinese Constitutionalist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>United Chinese News</td>
<td>Kuomintang “Right” faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Chinese Journal of Commerce</td>
<td>No party affiliation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Nationalist Daily (Mun Hey Yat Po)</td>
<td>Kuomintang “Left” faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>Chinese Nationalist Daily of America (Kuo Min Yat Po)</td>
<td>Kuomintang “Left” faction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Times</td>
<td>Chinese American Citizens Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chung Sai Yat Po</td>
<td>No party affiliation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Young China Morning Paper</td>
<td>Kuomintang “Right” faction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Honolulu Chinese newspapers went from triweekly to daily publication during the war owing to the increased interest in war news and, after 1941, the need to inform the Chinese population about changes in regulations issued by the military government established in Hawaii. In New York, the Kuomintang “Right” faction purchased Chinese Journal of Commerce in 1944 and the paper, published as Chinese Journal, became its organ. Personnel who left New York's Chinese Nationalist Daily as the result of a power struggle founded the nationally distributed news magazine Chinese-American Weekly in 1942 and the daily newspaper China Tribune in 1943. While these changes were occurring, People's Foreign Relations, a semiofficial propaganda organization founded in Hankou in 1938, established a New York office in 1942 headed by N. C. Chan. In 1943 the association began publishing
Guomin waijiao yuebao (People's foreign relations monthly), a pro-Nationalist government periodical.

On the Left, the organ of the Chinese Communist Party in Paris, National Salvation Times, moved to New York in 1938 on the eve of the outbreak of the war in Europe and replaced Chinese Vanguard, a weekly publishing since the early 1930s. Soon the necessity for reaching a wider audience led to the founding of China Daily News in 1940, backed financially by members of the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance. The publisher was Eugene Moy and the first editor was Kung-chuan Chi. In Honolulu and San Francisco, there were also Chinese American English-language weeklies that were unaffiliated with any of the Chinese political factions.

The Chinese community's increased interest in world events also led to the introduction of Chinese-language broadcasts to Chinese on the U.S. mainland for the first time. In April 1939 businessman Thomas Tong founded the Golden Star Chinese Hour, broadcasting nightly Cantonese-language programs with news, commentaries, and music.

Chinese news and broadcast organizations were loyal supporters of the war effort. They were consciously circumspect in their reporting, with much self-censorship. Thus most of the reporting in the Western press critical of the Nationalist army and corruption in China did not get into the Chinese press. Although reporting on China favorable to the Nationalist government was assured by the great number of Kuomintang party organs in Chinese American communities, the local war relief association dominated by the Kuomintang also operated as a watchdog to preclude publication of news detrimental to the war effort. Such news included articles considered unfavorable to the war relief effort, to Kuomintang leaders, and to the Nationalist government.

Gilbert Woo, an editor at San Francisco's Chinese Times, once wrote a piece in which he placed the Chinese equivalent of quotation marks around the "Generalissimo" title of Chiang Kai-shek, thus appearing to question its validity. He was summoned by the Propaganda Section of the China War Relief Association to explain his intent to representatives of the group, whom he apparently satisfied. On another occasion, after the Bowl of Rice event in 1941, the Chinese Times published an article from a reader criticizing the program as being too commonplace. Two days later a representative from the China War Relief Association contacted the publisher, Walter U. Lum, and pointed out that people had contributed effort and money to the program. It was not right for Chinese Times to splash cold water on it so as to discourage people from participating in the future. He requested that the newspaper publish an apology. After several discussions, the newspaper and the association achieved a compromise, and the Chinese Times published a short piece saluting those who had made the effort to stage the event.

By discouraging the expression of critical and dissonant voices as being harmful to the war effort, the Kuomintang government and its supporters successfully gained control over public opinion in the Chinese American community. During the eight years of the War of Resistance, except for a few scattered dissidents, few had the temerity to criticize deficiencies and inadequacies in the performance of the war relief associations and the Kuomintang government. Thus the shock of the Chinese in America was so much the greater when the realities in China were revealed toward the end of the war and afterward.

Cultural Activities. Cultural activities played an important role in supporting the war effort. Local talent was augmented by a small but steady stream of artists and artistic works that arrived on these shores from China. One of the most popular patriotic songs was March of the Volunteers (today the national anthem of the People's Republic of China), written by Nie Er for a Shanghai feature film during the 1930s. The song was introduced to the Chinese in America near the beginning of the war. This inspiring piece of music was sung or performed at practically every Chinese war rally held in the United States during the war.

Few Chinese in America came from China's literati elite or were known artists. However, their background did not prove to be an obstacle to their participation in cultural activities, particularly in the performing arts, as part of the war propaganda effort. In this sector it was the youth who played the principal role.

The war in China, especially the Japanese occupation of Guangzhou and parts of the Pearl River delta after 1938, spurred an exodus abroad. Among the new immigrants were numerous youths whose families sought to bring them to the relative safety of the United States. By the end of the 1930s young Chinese between the ages of fifteen and nineteen comprised some 11.1 percent of the Chinese population in America, partly as a result of this immigration. In the continental United States, San Francisco led in youth population with 4,500, second only to Honolulu's 5,400; the proportion of immigrants was probably higher in San Francisco. New York and Los Angeles also had approximately 1,100 and 800 Chinese youths respectively among their populations. Many of
these immigrant youths had had some education under the Nationalist regime in China as well as exposure to or direct participation in national salvation activities. They arrived in a Chinese community that lacked activities for youth. Thus those with similar interests, mostly immigrants but also some American-born, began to form clubs and organize activities. Since cultural activities were a necessary part of many propaganda campaigns, this became the area in which many of these clubs developed. The San Francisco Bay Area, with its large immigrant youth population, led in the number of these clubs at more than twenty. Several of these clubs became active participants contributing to support for the war effort.

One of the earliest youth clubs was San Francisco’s Chizha Yinyueshe (English name, Chick Char Musical Club) founded in December 1937, soon after the conflict had begun. The name came from the phrase chizha fengyun (commanding the wind and the clouds). The club began as an informal get-together of youth to perform the folksong “Fengyang huagu” (Flower drum song of Fengyang), with lyrics as revised by Tao Xingzhi. When Tao arrived in San Francisco to urge resistance to Japanese aggression, he met the group and encouraged them to organize to perform songs advocating national salvation. Its activities later expanded to include the performance of Cantonese songs and music and broadcast drama. At its height it had more than fifty members. Most were immigrants, but some were American-born, mostly females. Chick Char and similar youth cultural groups were often important performers at activities and functions to support the war effort such as Bowl of Rice events, the SS Kwang Yuan affair, and the demonstrations against shipping scrap steel to Japan mentioned below.

Vernacular drama also blossomed as a vehicle to convey the message of national salvation. One of the earliest such groups was Minduo Xiju Yanjihui (People’s Bell Society for Study of the Vernacular Drama) established by members of the Kuomintang and sympathetic intellectuals. In 1939 a performance by this group raised about $3,000, said to be the highest amount raised by similar fund-raising events up to that time. Another group was Lufeng Huajushe (Lufeng Vernacular Drama Society), founded in 1940. The name was derived from the phrase “Lugouqiao [The Chinese name for Marco Polo Bridge] fenghuo” (Beacon at Marco Polo Bridge). The society produced several stage and broadcast dramas in 1940 and 1941.

On the Left the New Chinese Alphabetized Language Study Society was founded in 1940. Its appearance was inspired by the Alphabetized Language Movement that proposed to use romanized Chinese to help eradicate illiteracy in China. The group in San Francisco had ostensibly the same objectives; however, cultural activities such as vernacular drama, choral singing, and mouth organ performances soon were favored by the young members over language study. By 1943, the society had combined with the Lufeng Huajushe and the Yehuo She (Fire in the Field Society) to form the Jiasheng Huaqiao Qingnian Jiugutuan (Chinese Youth National Salvation League of California; the English name was Chinese Youth League). By this time the United States had entered the war and the League’s target audience became Chinese Americans in the armed forces. It put on several cultural performances to raise funds for gifts to Chinese American service personnel and also performed other services for them such as sending letters and publications to keep up morale.

The second most active area was New York, where one of the earliest Chinese Youth League clubs was founded in 1938. This group, allied to the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance, was an active participant in many events staged by the Left. Its members formed the core of Liu Langmo’s Chinese Youth Chorus that participated in many war rallies. The chorus also made a recording of Chinese War of Resistance songs, including The March of the Volunteers. Famous progressive singer Paul Robeson was featured as a soloist. Other cities such as Honolulu, Los Angeles, Washington D.C., and Seattle also had youth activities, but they operated on a much smaller scale than in San Francisco and New York.

The height of youth group activities in support of the war effort was between 1937 and 1942. After the United States entered the war, many members were inducted into the armed forces, which curtailed their activities. In all, there were more than twenty youth organizations in San Francisco during the war years. In other communities where the Chinese population was either smaller or not concentrated within a relatively small area as in San Francisco, there were correspondingly fewer youth cultural activities. Practically all of the youth clubs were local organizations. The only nationwide group was the San Min Chu I Youth Corps of the Kuomintang. This group was a part of the organization by the same name formed in China in 1938. American branches were formed in San Francisco, New York, and Chicago in 1940 and 1941.

Anti-Japanese Actions. After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese conflict, the Chinese communities intensified the boycott on Japanese goods. With the war relief associations as watchdogs enforcing the
bans, violators who were detected were fined. In San Francisco, where there were a number of import-export firms, the War Relief Association levied fines on a number of merchants. Under this vigorous enforcement Japanese goods disappeared from the shelves of practically all Chinese stores.

This strict enforcement of the prohibition on Japanese goods led to an unexpected consequence in San Francisco. When the U.S. government incarcerated West Coast Japanese Americans in internment camps after the Pearl Harbor attack, some thirty Japanese American stores on Grant Avenue that controlled the gift and art goods business were available at giveaway prices. However, because of the boycott no Chinese merchant would buy the businesses. After the war Chinese bought the properties from the businessmen who had purchased them, with the latter earning substantial profits.83

The community also tried to give maximum publicity to incidents that could help sensitize the American public to the Japanese aggression in China. One incident capturing the headlines at the beginning of the conflict was the case of the SS Kuang Yuan. In 1937 the American shipping firm Sudden and Christenson had sold a three-thousand-ton freighter to Wing Yuan Company of Yantai, China. In August the San Francisco agent of the firm went to the Chinese consulate for certification of the ship’s registration as a Chinese ship in order to be able to sail the ship to China. The Chinese consul general Huang Chao-chin found out, however, that the boat had a cargo of 2,100 tons of scrap steel destined for Osaka, Japan. Also, although the crew and the second mate were Chinese, the captain and the first mate of the ship were Japanese. Suspecting that Wing Yuan might be a Chinese firm fronting for Japanese interests, Huang refused to issue the necessary certificate. Without that, the U.S. Customs Service could not issue a permit for the ship to leave the port. This led to a legal stalemate. Lawsuits over ownership of the vessel’s cargo and the conflict between the crew and the Japanese captain and mate soon were filed in court.

Chinese on the West Coast enthusiastically supported the consul’s actions. Workers at the shrimp camp in nearby Hunters Point took on the task of keeping watch over the vessel lest it surreptitiously weigh anchor and leave port. They also provided food, fuel, clothing, and sundries to the crew.

In 1938 the Nationalist government conscripted the ship for its own use and thus the ownership became indisputably Chinese. The court then ruled that whatever occurred on board the vessel was out of the scope of jurisdiction of American courts. Thus the Chinese won on both counts. The fact that by this time relations between the United States and Japan were deteriorating probably played a role in influencing the court’s decision. Later, Chinese on the West Coast contributed more than $2,200 to help the Chinese crew return to China.84

Progressives in American society began working with Chinese in America to advocate aid for China’s fight against Japan well before mainstream America took up the cause. On October 1, 1937, the American League against War and Fascism, Friends of China, and other groups held an aid-to-China rally at Madison Square Garden in New York City that was attended by fifteen thousand. Among the participants were more than two thousand Chinese, including important community leaders. The meeting urged a boycott of Japanese goods.85 When the League held another meeting in Pittsburgh in 1937, delegates from a number of Chinese war relief associations also attended. During that meeting the name was changed from American League against War and Fascism to American League for Peace and Democracy, out of which later sprang the China Aid Council.86

Progressives also applied their experience in organizing mass demonstrations to push for support for China and to denounce Japanese aggression. For example, in October 1937, when Japan sent “envoys of good will” to visit the United States to influence American public opinion, the Northern California chapter of the American League against War and Fascism met with progressive unions and organizations as well as representatives from the Chinese community to discuss a boycott of Japanese goods. When the Japanese delegation arrived and disembarked at the San Francisco pier, it was greeted by more than one thousand hostile demonstrators, including two hundred Chinese. Later, when the envoys reached New York, the American Friends of the Chinese People and the American League against War and Fascism massed two hundred pickets at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, where the group was staying. On the same day the Chinatown section of the International Workers’ Order also mobilized two hundred members to picket the Japanese consulate in San Francisco.87

In December 1937 and again in December 1938, Friends of China organized more than a thousand Chinese and non-Chinese to march in demonstrations in New York calling for a boycott on Japanese silk stockings.88 On May 9, 1938, there was a large-scale demonstration in New York with fifteen thousand participants protesting Japanese aggression in China. Anti-Japanese demonstrations also occurred a
States entered the conflict and the Sino-Japanese War became part of the general war against Fascism.

Using the Media to Influence Mainstream America. An important means of supporting the war effort involved telling the American public about Japan's aggression. In 1937 the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association of San Francisco published Japan in China, edited by Victor K. Kwong, and in 1938 it published Analyses of the Sino-Japanese Conflict, edited by Churchill T. Chu, for distribution to American leaders and politicians as well as the public. However, this effort was not continued in later years.

More widely distributed was The Chinese Mind, published by the People's Foreign Relations Association of China to enable the American public to understand traditional Chinese culture. Another pro-Nationalist publication was Chinese Monthly, with a board of directors headed by Cardinal Yu Pin. Its first editor was G. Barry O'Toole of the Catholic University of America. He was followed by Father Mark Tsai. This influential periodical laid the foundation for the China Lobby that so greatly influenced the China policy of the United States after World War II.

On the progressive side there was Amerasia, founded in 1937 by C. T. Chi of China Today and others. The periodical was targeted at intellectuals and its politically diverse editorial board included a number of well-known scholars in East Asian Studies. Amerasia had a very small circulation that peaked at around two thousand, but it was influential in that approximately a third of the seventeen hundred subscriptions came from government agencies all over the world. Another third of the subscribers were libraries, teachers, and the news media.

In early 1937 Ji also joined the research staff of the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations in New York, where he worked until 1941. A scholar on Chinese agrarian problems, Chen Han-sheng (Chen Han-seng), was assistant editor of the Institute's Pacific Affairs from 1936 to 1939. Ji and Chen were frequent contributors of scholarly essays analyzing China's social and political situation published in Pacific Affairs and another Institute publication, Far Eastern Survey, and were widely read in scholarly and policy-making circles.

In the literary world, one of the best-known Chinese writers in America was Lin Yutang. Lin had come to the United States from China in 1936, when his book My Country and My People, written in the English language, was published and became widely read. It was followed in 1937 by the best-selling The Importance of Living. In both books Lin
promoted idealized versions of Chinese culture much influenced by Taoist philosophy. These books molded many Americans', particularly intellectuals', perceptions of China and Chinese civilization. Lin visited wartime China twice briefly but returned to the United States. He became a staunch supporter of Chiang Kai-shek and in his many writings and speeches became a defender of the Nationalist government.

Other activities were also staged to win mainstream public support. In 1937 Sam Yup Association of San Francisco purchased a trainer for fellow townsman Chen Kunshou to use in exhibitions to promote the National Salvation Movement. After Chen left to join the China Air Force, the association donated the plane in 1938 to CCBA-USA's aviation school. In 1939 the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China invited Ya Ching Lee, who had learned to fly in Oakland in the mid-1930s before returning to China, to give exhibitions in her monoplane Spirit of New China to help the group raise funds. In 1940 she flew to South America with a similar mission. One source indicated that she was killed in an air accident around 1940 or 1941.100

The fine arts and performing arts also were called upon. A small stream of visiting traditional artists such as Zhang Shanzi, Zhang Kunyi, and Zhang Shuqi lent their names and talent to fund-raising campaigns for war relief. In 1938 Jack Chen, then in England, brought an exhibit of modern Chinese art and woodcuts by himself and other young Chinese artists to New York as part of a world tour to rally support for the Chinese people.101 When Liu Liangmo, who pioneered the use of choral works to arouse patriotic sentiments among the Chinese people, arrived in the United States in 1940 to study, he brought along a score of the Yellow River Cantata, which had just been completed by composer Xian Xinghai in 1939 in Yan'an. This composition, expressing the Chinese people's will to resist the invaders, was translated into English and first performed at a college in New York City in 1941. Liu also organized a chorus at the Chinese Youth Club in New York, and the group performed at many functions.102

Another visiting artist was film actress Wang Ying (Wang Yung, Wang Yong), who came in 1942 to participate in an international youth congress in Washington, D.C. Afterward she, together with representatives from the Soviet Union, Britain, and the Netherlands, went on a nationwide round of wartime rallies. At these gatherings she would talk to the audience about the situation in China. After the tour Wang stayed to study writing, drama, and dance. For a while she was connected to the East and West Association (founded by Pearl Buck) and headed the group's China Theater Group, which toured the country for a year presenting modern Chinese plays, songs of the War of Resistance, and other performances in English at factories and college campuses. On March 15, 1945, Wang and the troupe were invited to the White House to perform folksongs, songs of the War of Resistance, and the famous Chinese wartime skit Fangxia ni de bianzi (Lay down your whip).103 Such visits of Chinese activists were rare and their primary target was the larger society. However, they also reached many in the Chinese American community.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor signaled America's entry into the war. From then on, all China war relief activities became part of the general war effort. However, one event in particular reminded Americans of the war in China. That was the visit of Madame Chiang Kai-shek to the United States.

After America entered the war, President Franklin Roosevelt extended an invitation to Madame Chiang to visit the United States. She arrived in November 1942 to seek more support for China's war against Japanese aggression. On February 28, 1943, she spoke before a joint session of Congress and then embarked on a one-month tour to New York, Wellesley (her alma mater), Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Speaking perfect English with a slight Georgian drawl, Madame Chiang captivated the hearts and minds of Americans. Her mission was a failure in that her visit did not lead to any change in the Allies' emphasis on the European war theater; however, her visit helped cultivate a positive image of China and the Chinese, and helped lay some of the groundwork leading to the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts.104

CONCLUSION

The relationship of the Chinese in America to the War of Resistance against Japan and World War II can be viewed from two perspectives: (1) the role played by the Chinese in America in support of resistance to aggression and the war effort and (2) the effect of the war on Chinese American society. During the eight years of the War of Resistance against Japan, the Chinese in America gave expression to their deep-rooted feelings toward their ancestral land. Their situation as a minority suffering discriminatory treatment in this country was a major factor that motivated them to work toward a strong, modernized
China that could help improve their status in this country. This hope was expressed in their steadfast advocacy of resistance to foreign aggression and their demands that China stop its civil war and be united to face the common foe.

Since the Chinese in America were at a distance from developments in their ancestral land and their numbers were minuscule compared to the population of China, it was not possible for them to play a pivotal role in policy decisions in China. But they were able to render valuable service in support of the ancestral land. Their crowning effort came during China’s hour of greatest need when the nation was fighting for its very survival.

In examining this role of the Chinese in America, however, it is evident that, as members of a small minority, their actions were controlled and circumscribed by external factors not under their control. The war led directly and indirectly to qualitative changes in Chinese American society as well as in the relationship between the Chinese government and the Chinese in America. The Kuomintang as the representative of the ruling political party in China grew in prestige and power. By the war’s end, it was in control of most outlets for public opinion in the Chinese community.

The war also led to an improved image and greater acceptance of Chinese Americans in America. China’s heroic resistance against a strong enemy, climaxd by the tour of Madame Chiang Kai-shek in the United States also created a situation wherein Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act. Although the legislation was passed primarily to counter Japanese propaganda against Western imperialism and racism, and to encourage China to continue the war against the Japanese, and although many existing restrictions against Chinese remained in place and new ones were even added, it opened the door to expectations of further improvements in the status of the Chinese in America. Thus although during the war the Chinese American support for the ancestral land was firm and unequivocal, changes in the U.S. and Chinese political scenes as well as in U.S.-China relations would erode these feelings within a few short years after the war.

After the war there were great expectations among Chinese overseas for the reconstruction of China into a strong modern nation. But widespread corruption and inflation in China along with a civil war dashed their hopes. In 1949 the People’s Republic arose to displace the Nationalist regime that fled to Taiwan. Internationally, the United States became embroiled in the Cold War with the Communist bloc, and in the Korean War United States-led armed forces fought the Koreans and the Chinese. Subsequent to a truce in Korea, tense relations continued to exist between the United States and mainland China’s government for more than two decades, while in the United States there was an anticommunist hysteria that allowed the Kuomintang to strengthen its grip on the Chinese community. Political excesses in emigrant areas in the People’s Republic of China also caused disaffection among many Chinese Americans.

In the meantime, restrictions and discriminatory laws against Chinese and other minorities were gradually lifted in America, thus allowing more opportunities. These developments played important roles in lessening Chinese American feelings of alienation toward America and weakening their ties with China. Thus Chinese Americans increasingly felt that they were becoming an integral part of mainstream American society. From that perspective, the show of Chinese American patriotism exhibited in supporting China’s resistance against Japanese aggression became, as two Chinese American historians phrased it, the “last look back”.

NOTES

1. The Japanese ship Tatsu Maru was smuggling a consignment of munitions from a Macao Chinese merchant named Ke. It was intercepted near Macao by a Chinese gunboat and its cargo confiscated. The Japanese thereupon forced the Chinese to pay damages and to issue an official apology. The Chinese in America instituted a boycott of Japanese goods.
2. While the European nations were preoccupied with World War I, Japan pressed twenty-one demands for special concessions and privileges on the Yuan Shikai government in China. Chinese in America called for a boycott of Japanese goods. Rather than patronize Japanese lines for shipment of goods across the Pacific, Chinese merchants in San Francisco pooled their capital to found a shipping company, the China Mail Steamship Corporation.
3. After the end of World War I, the Allied nations in the Versailles Treaty assigned German concessions and privileges in the Shandong Peninsula to Japan. Students in China staged demonstrations in protest in the famous May Fourth Movement. Denunciations of the treaty also spread to Chinese abroad.
4. In 1927 the Nationalist armies had just completed the first phase of its Northern Expedition to unify China when its armies defeated the Yangzi River Valley warlords. After regrouping, columns continued northward to complete the unification of the nation. As forces sent by Chiang Kai-shek
from Nanjing entered Shandong and occupied Jinan. Japan sent in its army with the pretext of providing protection for its citizens. The Japanese army soon came into conflict with the Chinese troops. They then bombarded and occupied the city.


10. *DishijiuJu Jun Zongzhihuiyu shouru kang-Ri wellaojin baojiaoшу* [Report by the main headquarters of the Nineteenth Route Army on contributions to comfort the troops] (Shanghai, 1932).


19. Maytong Seto (1866–1955) was a leader of the Chee Kung Tong and one of the founders of On Leong Tong. During the thirties, he was a strong advocate of resistance to Japanese aggression and a critic of the Kuomintang (KMT) government. In 1945, the Chee Kung Tong reorganized as a political party, Zhongguo Hongmen Zhigondang, and sent Seto to China heading a delegation to attend a political consultative conference convened by the KMT government. Afterward the delegation went to Shanghai to attend a convention of world Triad organizations to discuss organization of a new political party in China. However, pro-KMT elements, who had infiltrated the Triad organization, dominated the convention. In 1947 the delegates founded the Zhongguo Hongmen Minzhidian, in which Seto was shunted to figurehead status. The disappointed Seto withdrew from the party and retired to Hong Kong, where he joined the Zhongguo Zhigondang, a group related to, but separate from, the Zhigongdang formed in America, which supported the Chinese Communist Party’s (CCP) political program. In 1948 he openly broke with the KMT government and supported the CCP. After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, Seto served in several minor posts in the central government. Zhongguo fin-zianzandai renming da cidian [Biographical dictionary of modern and contemporary China], ed. Li Shengping et al. (Beijing: Zhongguo ziyi gujue chubanshe, 1989), s.v. “Seto Maytong” (hereafter cited as Li, *Biographical Dictionary*); Ye Hanming, “Huajiao huidang yu Guo-Gong tongzhan—Meizhou Hongmen de li,” *Overseas Chinese secret societies and the united fronts formed by the KMT and the CCP—the example of the Hongmen of the Americas*, in *Zhanhou huaqiao Huaren bianhua guoji xueshu yantao hui lunwenji* [Collection of papers from the international symposium on changes among overseas Chinese after World War II], ed. Guo Liang et al. (Beijing: Zhongguo Huaqiao chuban gongsi, 1990), 251–57.


31. When Hu Hanmin challenged Chiang Kai-shek’s power in 1931, the latter ordered Hu to be detained at Tang Shan. Hu’s followers then joined Kuomintang leaders in Guangdong and Guangxi to form the Xi’an Zhixingbu (Southwest Executive Department) and the Xi’an Zhengwu Weiyuanhui (Southwest Political Affairs Committee) that challenged Chiang’s role as leader of the nation. Although the Nanjing regime later patched up its differences with the group and the latter officially dissolved in 1936, there continued to be much antagonism and rivalry between the group and those loyal to Chiang.


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44. Chan, Handbook of Chinese in America, 404–05.
46. Record of Income and Disbursements, 6–8.
49. "Kangzhuan banian benhui lici yi'an zhaiyaolu" [Summary of various resolutions passed by this association during the eight years of the War of Resistance], in Record of Income and Disbursements, 11–25; Liu, History of the Chinese in the United States of America, II, 579. For example, the minutes of the China War Relief Association of Sacramento included the following additional entries: July 21, 1938—Kuang Xian and Kuang Senguang came to the association to apologize for verbally attacking the association and pledge that they would do their best to contribute in accordance with their ability. June 26, 1939—Situ Xu, who had verbally attacked the association, was asked to pay a fine of $100, apologize to the association, and erect a sign in the Chinese community apologizing to soldiers and compatriots killed during the War of Resistance. March 14, 1940—A resolution was passed to severely punish (punishment unspecified) Zhu Jinpei, who wounded a knife an inspector who was checking whether Zhu had contributed his quota.
50. Chan, Handbook of Chinese in America, and Chen, The Chinese in the Americas, both reported the contribution of Chinese in the Americas to be $96 million. However, Liu, A History of the Chinese in the United States of America II, 581–83, gave final figures announced by war relief associations in twenty communities as totaling $19, 287,000. Making allowances for contributions from miscellaneous communities and individuals not included in the list, Liu estimated the total to be around U.S. $25 million, or $31 million less than figures quoted by Chan and Chen. It is improbable that $31 million more could have been raised from other sources. Thus, Liu's figures appear to be closer to the actual numbers.
53. Chen Houfu, "Niuyue Huaiqiao Xiyigu Lianhehui de zuzhi he huodong [Organization and activities of the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance of New York], Guangdong wenxian ziliao [Guangdong literary and historical materi-
als], 14th collection (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1964), 88–105.
54. Chinese Digest, July 1938; China Today, Nov. 1939; Kuo Min Yat Po, June 17, 1938; Feb. 9, 1940; May 3, 1941.
55. When the Nationalists retreated from East and Central China in face of the Japanese advance, Communist guerrillas expanded their activities into the Nationalist government's former seat of power. Soon friction occurred between the two forces, and beginning in mid-1939 scattered fighting began to occur between Nationalist troops and the Communists' New Fourth Army. After negotiations with the Nationalist government, the New Fourth Army agreed to withdraw north of the Yangzi River. Approximately a thousand sick and wounded were sent ahead, followed in January by the remainder of the army, numbering about eight thousand. As the army was traveling in southern Anhui, it was surrounded and attacked by Nationalist troops. After a week of fighting, only somewhat more than a hundred finally broke through to safety, leaving almost seven thousand casualties. Their commander Ye Ting was captured by the Nationalists. This event shocked Chinese abroad everywhere. They called for continued unity to face the common enemy, Japan.
57. Canhui, Hongsheng, and Jingping, Song Qinglei nu kang-Ri jiuyang yundong [Song Qinglei and the Resist Japan national salvation movement], 196–215; Hawaii Chinese Journal, Sept. 26, Nov. 7, 1940; China Today, Nov. 1940; Tanxiangshan Huaiqiao Guoyuwen Xuejiao yuan jinhou chouju Gonghe tekan (Special publication for drama performance by the Chinese National Language School to raise funds for Indusco) (Honolulu: 1940). When China's major industries in Shanghai were bombarded and destroyed during the first year of the war, New Zealand Rewi Alley, American Edgar Snow, his wife, and a group of concerned Chinese discussed a proposal to build industrial cooperatives in unoccupied China to develop small-scale manual and semi-mechanized industries to supply civilian and military needs. The Zhongguo Gongye Hezuo Xiehui (China Industrial Cooperatives Association) was formed in August 1938. Its executive director was Liu Guangpei, who had formerly studied in the United States. The board consisted of representatives of the Kuomintang government, the Communist Party, and other Chinese. Madame Sun Yat-sen was honorary chairperson. By 1941 the movement had spread to eighteen provinces with more than eighty field offices and more than 2,200 cooperatives. There were more than two hundred thousand cooperative members, workers, and administrative personnel. The movement was most successful in North China. The American army sang guang-ho was derived from guanghe, the Chinese term for industrial cooperative.
60. Liu Jiantao, "Kang-Ri kongzhuan Huaiqiao yongshi Chen Ruitian" [Chen Ruitian, an overseas Chinese hero in the war of resistance against Japan], San
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Chung Sai Yat Po, Sept. 11, 1938; Chinese World, Sept. 25, 1938.

Kuo Min Yat Po, July 10, 1939.

Yan Dishing, "Benshe zhuaannilai gongzuo baogao" [Report on activities of our society for the past year], Lufeng zhoubian jinian tekan 1941: 8–13.

Jianfu, "Sanfanzhi Huaqiao qingmian de dongxiang [Trends among Chinese youth in San Francisco], Chinese Youth 1940, no. 3: 12–14; "Nianyulai de huiwu gaishu" [Summary of club affairs for the past year or so], Yuwen yenju [Studies in language], ed. by New Chinese Alphabetized Language Study Society (San Francisco, 1942), 9–10.


Chao-chin Huang, ed., The Case of the S. S. Kwang Yuan (San Francisco: The S S Kwang Yuan Publication Committee, 1939).


Japan was poor in natural resources and used scrap steel as raw material for its industries. At that time it was estimated that the annual supply of scrap steel from the United States was enough to supply 40 to 60 percent of Japan's needs to manufacture weapons.

Chinese Vanguard, Jan. 27, 1938.


"Cujin geguo jinyun jinhuo junxu fu Riben" [Push all nations to ban munitions and military supplies to Japan], China Salvation Times, Dec. 15, 1938.

Peng Fei, "Dui Sanfanzhi jiuchu yun-feite fu-Ri zhi yiyi jingguo yu piping" [The significance, events and a critique of the movement to demonstrate against scrap steel to Japan in San Francisco], Huxue 4 (Jan. 1939): 7–10.

Chan, Handbook of the Chinese in America, 406.


Alfred N. Wold, “Contributions of the American Chinese to the United States (1848–1958)” (unpublished manuscript). According to Wold, the number of Chinese inducted into the armed forces from September 1940 to October 1946 was army, 14,377; navy, 1,621. This number plus 2,060 from Hawaii makes a total of 18,058. According to research by William F. Strobridge in July 28, 1930, during World War II up to December 31, 1945, 13,311 Chinese were inductected, but Strobridge did not give any information on the number serving in the Navy. He estimated that about twenty thousand altogether served in the army and the navy.


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Chinese Vanguard, June 26, 1937; Jan. 13, 1938; Zou Jingyao, “Xibanya neizhan guoji zhiyuanjun xiezhen [Sketches of international volunteer


101. Arthur Clegg, *Aid China, 1937–1949: A Memoir of a Forgotten Campaign* (Beijing: New World Press, 1989), 32; Jerome Klein, “Review of Modern Chinese Art,” *China Today* 4, no. 5 (Feb. 1958): 17. Jack Chen was the son of Eugene Chen, Foreign Minister of the Kuomintang regime in Wuhan in 1927. Jack Chen was one of the new Chinese school of woodcut artists. In 1938 he went with Ding Ling’s group of actors, writers, and artists to Yan’an, where he worked at the Luxun Academy. Afterward he was active in England, speaking and raising funds to support the Chinese war effort.


BOOKS AND ESSAYS

Him Mark Lai

Roles Played by Chinese in America


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Chinese Fishermen of Santa Barbara and Santa Rosa Island
by Linda Bentz

Chinese fishermen made an important contribution to the history of California. They were the pioneers of the commercial fishing industry in nineteenth-century California, involved in the harvesting, cooking, drying, and marketing of fresh fish and mollusks. These industrious and persistent men occupied a niche that was undesirable to Euro-Americans. Their story is one of ingenuity and success.

Many Chinese pioneers settled along the California coast and set up fishing villages. An abalone fishing camp was established as early as 1853 at Monterey. Chinese fishing activities expanded, and by the 1870s fishing villages could be found from the Oregon border to Baja California, as well as along the Sacramento River Delta. At the height of the commercial fishing industry, in the last century, the Chinese comprised one-third of the fishery workers in California.1 The Chinese fished for everything they could get in a methodical and industrious manner.2

A combination of several events contributed to the decline of the Chinese fishing industry in California. The primary factor was the series of exclusionary acts brought about by the anti-Chinese sentiment that began in the early 1880s. Two of the most damaging pieces of legislation for the Chinese fishermen were the Geary Act of 1892 and its amendment of 1893.

According to provisions of these acts, foreign vessels, including Chinese junks, were not allowed to leave United States waters and return.3 These provisions greatly hurt the Chinese fishermen who traveled hundreds of miles into Baja California to work the fisheries of Mexico. This harsh restriction forced the sale of many junks to Euro-Americans, and by 1893 the abalone fishery in San Diego was almost completely abandoned.4