brought to light in Marlon Hom's pioneering work while Yuk Ying Lee and Paul Bowman's papers flesh out the subjects discussed by Yung and Ma.

Local and family histories—important sources of information that give us a fuller picture of the Chinese American experience—are explored in a trio of essays. Laura Wong and Lillian Lee Kim write about the Chinese in Vallejo, California, and Baltimore, Maryland, respectively, both utilizing oral history in their accounts. Closely related to these papers is Violet Lai's description of her quest to recover her family history, an effort which gives valuable guidance regarding the methodology and problems of genealogical and family history research. Kum Pui Lai's piece on Hawaiianized Chinese surnames is appended to her paper to provide further insights.

These authors have used different methods of transliteration for Chinese names—Wade Giles, Hunzi Pinyin, Cantonese, Chinese Post Office, to name a few. We have respected each author's choice, maintaining consistency only within each essay.

In closing, we wish to acknowledge the following persons for making this volume possible: Edmund Jung, who so graciously agreed to help us solicit advertisements and who assisted in proofreading; Annie Soo, who helped us raise funds for this issue and who also assisted in proofreading; Catherine Brady, who copyedited the papers; Lillian Louie, who assisted on typing and proofreading; Bob and Betty Schwendinger and Ted Wong, who proofread the galleys; Donald McCunn, who gave technical assistance; and the generous donors who gave us financial assistance.

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CHINESE AMERICAN STUDIES: A HISTORICAL SURVEY

Him Mark Lai

Chinese have lived on the United States mainland and in the Hawaiian Islands for at least two hundred years; however, it was not until they became a numerically significant minority in the West from the mid-nineteenth century to the turn of the century that they attracted much attention in this country. Early detailed descriptions of their society were written by non-Chinese observers outside the community. The first of these was San Francisco Chinatown missionary William Speer, who founded the newspaper *Oriental* in 1855. Subsequently other missionaries working in the Chinatowns, such as A. W. Loomis, Otis Gibson, Frederick Masters, and Ira Condit, contributed their observations in books and essays, as did other writers. Sojourning Chinese diplomats of the period, such as Huang Zunxian and Zhang Yinhuan, and passing travelers, such as Li Gui and Liang Qichao, contributed their commentaries on the Chinese community in letters and diaries.

During this period references to the Chinese in other newspapers and publications were voluminous, with the bulk of them being strongly colored by lack of understanding and prejudicial attitudes. Racist feelings, fueled by economic bad times, led to rising hostility against the Chinese in California, and Chinese became the scapegoats for accumulated social and economic ills. Anti-Chinese agitation finally pressured Congress into passing the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the first immigration legis-

lation in which race and social class became determining criteria for the right to enter this country.

As the Chinese population in the continental United States declined to an insignificant number within the next few decades, public attention shifted to other, more immediate political issues. During the first half of the twentieth century, the Chinese in America came to the attention of the general public only in relation to sensational events such as tong killings or slave girl cases. A few works in a popular vein were published on Chinese American history. But treatment of the subject matter in these books is, at best, simplistic and superficial. The authors, often exploiting the exotic and sensational, tended to perpetuate stereotypic images of the Chinese in America. Two examples are Eng Ying Gong and Bruce Grant's *Tong War* (1930) and Charles C. Dobie's *San Francisco's Chinatown* (1936). This genre of literature continued to be published sporadically after World War II. Works such as Alexander McLeod's *Pigtails and Gold Dust* (1948) and Richard Dillon's *Hatchet Men* (1962) are representative titles.

Scholarly works on the Chinese in America first appeared in the 1880s and 1890s. H. H. Bancroft's *History of California*, published in 1890, included numerous references to the Chinese role in California, and Stewart Culin made anthropological studies of Chinese society on the East Coast during the same period. At the turn of the century, when anti-Chinese sentiments were still strong on the West Coast, Mary Coolidge published her classic analysis, *Chinese Immigration* (1909). But during the first half of the twentieth century, the decreased importance of the "Chinese question" as a public issue was also reflected in academic research. The few studies were mostly dissertations, usually available only to researchers in academic circles. A few works, however, were made available by university presses—for example, Eliot G. Mears's *Resident Orientals on the Pacific Coast: Their Legal and Economic Status* (1928) and Elmer Sandmeyer's *Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (1939).

EARLY CHINESE AMERICAN CHRONICLERS

The Chinese Americans' interest in their own history and society developed even later, not fully maturing until after World War II. The early Chinese immigrant population did include at

least a few men of letters. But most were engaged in building a community in a new land. Furthermore, the constant struggle for survival in a hostile environment and the not uncommon attitude that their stay in this country was only a temporary sojourn meant that these individuals had neither the time nor the inclination to document the Chinese American experience.

Toward the end of the century, a few intellectuals educated in the United States and rooted in the community began to write about its history and institutions. During the early years, however, such authors targeted their writing primarily toward the larger society, aiming at giving a positive image of the Chinese in America or lobbying for just treatment of the Chinese. Two such writers were Walter N. Fong (Fong Kum Ngon), a student of economics at Stanford University who published magazine articles describing some Chinese American institutions, and Ng Poon Chew, publisher of *Chung Sai Yat Po*, who traced the historical development of anti-Chinese feelings in California and made an eloquent appeal for nonexclusion of the Chinese.[1]

HAWAIIAN WRITERS WHO LED THE WAY

Credit for going on to the next stage, the recording of historical materials in a systematic manner, goes to the Chinese of Hawaii. Though conditions for the Chinese during the nineteenth century were no less harsh and oppressive in the Hawaiian Kingdom than on the continent, the racist sentiments in that polyglot community were not nearly as virulent as on the mainland. Also, the United States' Chinese Exclusion Acts did not apply to Hawaii until after the latter had been annexed as American territory in 1898. Thus, in contrast to the United States mainland, Hawaii continued to receive Chinese immigrants until the turn of the century, despite some restrictions after the 1880s. The absence of a large white middle class in the island society of the Hawaiian kingdom also gave the Chinese opportunities to carve out niches for themselves as entrepreneurs and skilled workers. By the turn of the century, some Chinese had also begun to enter the professions. A Chinese middle class was therefore able to develop and thrive at an early date.

By 1913 this class had enough prominence in the islands to motivate the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* to publish a special commemorative issue, *Chinese in Hawaii: A Resumé of the Social, Indus-*

trial and Economic Progress of the Chinese in the Hawaiian Islands, with a Historical Sketch of the Events Leading to and the Foundation of the Chinese Republic. This work included short biographies of prominent Hawaiian Chinese and descriptions of Hawaiian Chinese institutions.

By the 1920s the Chinese middle class was playing an increasingly important role in Hawaii's society. The Hawaiian-born had become a majority among the Chinese and had begun making bold forays into mainstream politics. In 1926 the bilingual *Hawaii Chinese News* was founded to express their viewpoint. The Chinese community's collective quest for an equal share in Hawaii's society gave birth to feelings of ethnic solidarity and a sense of community. Such sentiments stimulated Chock Lun, a China-born intellectual, to found the Overseas Penman Club, which compiled *Chinese of Hawaii* in 1929 and again in 1936. These bilingual handbooks included historical documents and essays as well as descriptions of institutions and biographies. Typical of works of this nature, the entries are laudatory and noncritical. Nevertheless, they do provide basic historical information for researchers. The Overseas Penman Club also compiled annual handbooks and business directories. There were few corresponding Chinese publications in the continental United States for this period.

SLOW DEVELOPMENTS ON THE MAINLAND

Parallel to developments in Hawaii, a Chinese American middle class, consisting of merchants and a few Western-trained professionals, began to emerge on the mainland. Its growth, however, was crippled by strong anti-Chinese feelings, which excluded the Chinese from many sectors of American society. Nevertheless, feelings of ethnic solidarity and community were growing by the first decades of the twentieth century. In 1919 Kiang Kang-hu, a Chinese political refugee then working at the Library of Congress, decried the lack of historical documentation on the Chinese of America. He called upon the Chinese to begin recording their historical experience. In a letter to the Chinese newspapers, Kiang proposed establishing an office, headquartered in San Francisco, to compile such a handbook in Chinese and English. Three weeks later the Chinese consulate general, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce responded by jointly establishing an office. However, they grossly underestimated the scope of the effort required, as only three months were allowed for collecting materials, three months for writing and editing, and four months for publishing.[2] The task was never finished.

Fifteen years later, in 1934, scholars Wu Hsing-lien and Peng Shao-lien proposed a plan to compile a Chinese-language work on the Chinese in America which would include essays as follows: (1) an account of the Chinese Hospital, (2) an account of Western-trained doctors and pharmacies in San Francisco, (3) an account of Chinese herbalists and herb doctors in San Francisco, (4) a history of Ning Yung Association, (5) a history of Chee Kung Tong, (6) a history of Bing Kung Tong, (7) a history of the Chinatown Post Office, (8) a history of the Chinatown Telephone Exchange, (9) an account of the Chinese Unemployed Relief Office, and (10) a history of the Chinese in America.[3] This work was also not completed.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s the more immediate priority of the community's merchant leadership was to counter American society's negative caricature of Chinatown as a community of opium addicts, hatchet men, and slave girls. Thus, in 1923 J. S. Tow of the New York Chinese consulate general came out with *The Real Chinese in America.* This was followed by *Chinatown Inside Out* (1936) by Leong Gor Yun (pseudonym of C. K. Chu). Both of these books attempted to project more favorable images of the Chinese in America.

In the meantime a generation of American-educated Chinese who increasingly identified with their native America was growing up. In 1935 Thomas W. Chinn and Chingwah Lee founded the San Francisco English-language weekly *Chinese Digest.* For the first time community activities were reported from the perspective of the Americanized, mainly English-speaking generation. A number of articles in the journal described community organizations and also urged the preservation and recording of the Chinese American heritage.[4]

One year earlier, influenced perhaps by the effort of Wu and Peng mentioned above, William Hoy spearheaded the formation of a California Chinese Pioneer Historical Society. Limited to a small interested circle, the group existed for only a few years. Hoy was research editor of the organization. His position as a social worker for the State Relief Administration helped him to

build up a network of elderly informants. He also traveled throughout California collecting historical materials on Chinese in the state and interviewing Chinese pioneers. Hoy became associate editor of the *Chinese Digest* from 1935 to 1939 and then started *Chinese Press* in 1940 with newspaperman Charles Leong. He was the author of a number of historical articles in these publications. Hoy wrote two historical pamphlets in the popular vein targeted at the English-speaking public. The first was *Kong Chow Temple*, (1939) but his best known work is *The Chinese Six Companies* (1942). Written as a public relations document during World War II, the essay has been widely quoted by scholars. Another of Hoy's legacies is a series of photographic essays on smaller California Chinatowns, published in San Francisco's *Young China Pictorial* in 1939. Most of these communities have since been obliterated. Hoy continued to pursue his interest after World War II, but this pioneer historian passed away in 1949 at the early eage of thirty eight.[5]

POST–WORLD WAR II HISTORIANS WRITING IN CHINESE

When the United States entered World War II in 1941, many Chinese Americans served in the United States armed forces, and the resulting manpower shortages offered better job opportunities for Chinese Americans. In 1943, as a friendly gesture toward an ally (China), Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Laws. Chinese Americans came out of the war with improved political, social, and economic status in American society. Many Chinese Americans furthered their education, most often in technical and professional fields. Others started small businesses. These factors fostered the growth of the Chinese American middle class, which looked forward to further improvement in its status in American society. This feeling, accompanied by strengthened feelings of community, was reflected in the publications of several Chinese-language handbooks on the Chinese of America, which included biographical and institutional information as well as brief descriptive histories of the Chinese in America.[6] Hawaiian Chinese also published a third volume of *Chinese of Hawaii* (1957).

By this time the Chinese American community was receptive to more knowledge of its past history. In 1954 S. Y. Wu published *One Hundred Years of Chinese in the United States and Canada*,

the first book-length work on Chinese American history. Based mostly on English-language sources but written in Chinese, the book first ran as a series in San Francisco's *Chinese Times* newspaper. Wu's work was followed by Jun T. Sun's *Meiguo Huaqiao Shilue* (A brief history of the Chinese in America) (1962) and Y. K. Chu's *History of the Chinese People in America* (1975). The most comprehensive of these historical works in Chinese was Pei Chi Liu's three-volume set, *A History of the Chinese in the USA* (vol. 1, 1976, and vol. 2, 1981) and *An Anecdotal History of the Chinese in the USA* (1984). Liu was editor of the Kuomintang party organ *Kuo Min Yat Po* during the Sino-Japanese War and after. His role in the Chinese American community gained him great familiarity with community politics and Chinatown institutions and facilitated his access to informants and records. His works make extensive use of Chinese primary sources, including the records of the Chinese Six Companies and other Chinatown associations. However, Liu's works cover only the Chinese in the continental United States and there has been no corresponding work on the Chinese in Hawaii.

Another outstanding historical researcher was Yuk Ow, who had meticulously culled a wide range of English and Chinese sources for historical information on the Chinese of California since the 1950s. His research was especially strong with respect to biographies and institutions. Ow's major work was *A History of the Sam Yup Benevolent Association in the United States, 1850–1974* (1974), which includes biographies of notable Sam Yup individuals in America. This work, based primarily on his research notes and the records of the association dating back to 1881, is an excellent example of the possibilities of scholarly research using published documents, primary sources, and oral histories. Ow's death in 1982 deprived the Chinese American community of further results of his research.

The above-mentioned historians were few in number and worked as individuals. There was no continuity in their research efforts. Since they wrote in Chinese only, few in the larger society in the United States were aware of their efforts. However, their extensive use of community sources, particularly Chinese sources, makes their works far richer in details of Chinatown events and personalities than any general history thus far published in English. Their work added a human dimension to Chi-

nese American history that would have been difficult to convey by compiling statistics and quoting official documents.

POST–WORLD WAR II HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

During the post-war period the Chinese American middle class began to participate in mainstream society in increasing numbers and to press for recognition as equal partners in America's pluralistic society. Ethnic awareness was especially heightened after the black-led civil rights struggle that began in the late fifties. The American-born Chinese expressed increased interest in the Chinese American heritage, and the time was ripe for the appearance of an organized historical group.

In 1962 Thomas W. Chinn, H. K. Wong, Chingwah Lee, C. H. Kwock, and Thomas Wu met and planned a Chinese historical society. On January 5, 1963, the Chinese Historical Society of America (CHSA) held its first organizational meeting and became the first major scholarly group formed to document and disseminate information on the history of the Chinese of America. In 1966 the Shoong Foundation provided a small building for the society to establish a headquarters and a museum. The museum, open to the public, is still the only facility in the United States with a permanent exhibit devoted solely to the history of the Chinese of America.

By the late sixties and early seventies, the civil rights movement had led to the gradual acceptance by the larger society of ethnic history and culture as valid components of a pluralistic, multicultural America. During this period CHSA expanded its activities. At the centennial of the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1969, CHSA presented plaques at Sacramento, California, and at Promontory Point, Utah, to commemorate the contribution of Chinese railroad workers. That same year CHSA organized a seminar on Chinese American history for educators and published *A Syllabus, A History of the Chinese in California*, which filled a need for a basic reference work on the subject.[7] In 1975, in observation of the United States bicentennial, the society organized the first national conference on Chinese American studies in the country. In 1980 CHSA co-sponsored a second national conference with the Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco. Since 1966 CHSA has published a monthly bulletin with historical items of interest to the membership. In

1987 the society also published its first annual collection of historical essays, *Chinese America: History and Perspectives*.

The increasing ethnic awareness among Chinese Americans during the 1970s stimulated the formation of similar historical groups in other Chinese communities. In 1970 Irma Tam Soong, Larry F. C. Ching, Dr. Bernhard C. Hormann, and others met to discuss the possibility of founding a Chinese historical society in Honolulu.[8] The Hawaii Chinese History Center (HCHC) was incorporated in 1971. HCHC focuses on the Chinese in Hawaii. It particularly emphasizes research on family history and genealogy, and in 1985 it sponsored a conference, "Researching One's Chinese Roots." HCHC is also planning a conference on Chinese Hawaiian history to be held in Honolulu in 1988 to commemorate the bicentennial of the first arrival of the Chinese in the islands. The center has co-sponsored publication of several historical works on the Chinese of Hawaii with the University of Hawaii Press. HCHC's best-known historical writers are probably the husband-and-wife team of Tin Yuke and Wai Jane Char. Their works include *The Sandalwood Mountains* (1975), *Chinese Historic Sites and Pioneer Families of Kauai* (1980), and *Chinese Historic Sites and Pioneer Families of Hawaii* (1983).

In November 1975 Ann Lau, Stan Lau, Emma Louie, Paul Louie, Gerry Shue, and twenty-two other interested individuals from the greater Los Angeles area organized the Chinese Historical Society of Southern California (CHSSC).[9] CHSSC activities are similar to those of CHSA. In 1976 it dedicated a plaque to honor Chinese laborers who built the Southern Pacific Railroad and the San Fernando Tunnel in southern California. In 1978 it worked with UCLA's Asian American Studies Center on an oral history project that resulted in the publication of *Linking Our Lives: Chinese Women of Los Angeles* (1984). Currently the society is helping to develop a Chinese American historical museum at El Pueblo de Los Angeles State Historic Park. CHSSC periodically publishes historical essays in its *Gum Saan Journal*.

The New York Chinatown History Project (NYCHP) is the only major Chinese American historical research group in the East. It began in 1976 when John Tchen coordinated the Asian American Resource Center (AARC) as part of New York City's Basement Workshop. In 1980 Tchen and Charles Lai inherited the AARC collection and founded NYCHP.[10] NYCHP gathers information on New York City Chinese community life and

history and applies it to a wide range of activities such as radio docudramas, historical slide programs, and video documentaries. Since 1980 NYCHP has been conducting historical interviews with New York residents, particularly members of the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance. In 1983 it organized a prize-winning exhibit, *Eight Pound Livelihood: Chinese Laundry Workers in the U.S.* Three times per year NYCHP publishes *Baogaoban*, which includes historical information and news of NYCHP activities.

Another organization formed in 1980 is the Chinese Historical Society of the Pacific Northwest (CHSPNW). The founders include the late Willard Jue and other individuals from Seattle's Chinese community and Prof. Douglas Lee and others from academic circles. In 1984 CHSPNW co-sponsored a traveling exhibit of Chinese herbal medicine with the Wing Luke Museum of Seattle. The society has published two collections of historical essays entitled *The Annals of the Chinese Historical Society of the Pacific Northwest* in 1983 and 1984, respectively.

Other groups are still being formed. The Chinese Historical Committee of Stockton began in spring 1985 as a special project of the Stockton Cathay Club, with Dr. Yi Po Anthony Wu appointed as head of the group.[11] Later the Chinese Cultural Society of Stockton also joined as co-sponsor. The society publishes a quarterly newsletter. Eve Armentrout Ma and professors Donald Gibbs, Gary Hamilton, and Benjamin Wallacker of the University of California, Davis, initiated the Chinese/Chinese American History Project around 1979.[12] In 1986 the group was reorganized as the Chinese and Chinese American History Association (CCAHA). CCAHA publishes a newsletter, *Chung-Hsi Liao-wang T'ai*, which reports items of interest on Chinese and Chinese American studies. The Chinese Historical Society of Greater San Diego and Baja California, was founded in 1986 as the result of efforts to preserve historical sites in San Diego's old Chinatown. An active leader is Dorothy Hom, member of a pioneer San Diego Chinese American family.

Chinese American historical groups are basically volunteer organizations, and thus the level of activity attained by each group is as much dependent upon the continued participation of a core of active members as on the available funding. The membership is diverse, with Chinese and non-Chinese, academic and nonacademic people, and lay and professional historians. As part of the local community, the organizations are in particularly ad-

vantageous positions to disseminate knowledge of Chinese American history to the general public through exhibits, speakers, field trips, and publications. Their interest in sensitizing the larger society to Chinese American contributions in the development of America has led to efforts to preserve historic sites such as the Angel Island Immigration Detention Station, China Camp, the town of Locke, and Hanford's Chinese temple with varying degrees of success. Having many links to the Chinese American community also facilitates access to informants and historical records. Hence, historical societies can be effective at the grass-roots level in recording oral history as well as in collecting and preserving historical documents and artifacts. However, their historical writings are generally descriptive in nature.

CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CHINESE AMERICAN WRITERS

Some Chinese cultural organizations have also played significant roles in disseminating information on Chinese American history. In this they often work with the historical societies. The most prominent of these is the Chinese Culture Foundation (CCF) of San Francisco. Founded in 1965, only two years after the founding of CHSA, this organization established a Chinese Culture Center (CCC) in 1973. CCF has worked to develop activities and exhibits to introduce Chinese and Chinese American culture and history to the public. Major CCC Chinese American historical exhibits, some organized in cooperation with CHSA, include *Three Generations of Chinese: East and West* (1974); *Island: History of the Chinese Immigrants Detained on Angel Island, 1910–1940* (1980); *Chinese of America, 1785–1980* (1980); and *Chinese Women of America, 1834–1982* (1982). Texts based on each of these exhibits were also published. In 1982 CCF also co-sponsored with other community organizations an exhibit and seminar to commemorate the centennial of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act.[13]

The exhibits *Island*, *Chinese of America*, and *Chinese Women of America* have traveled to several American and Canadian cities, reaching a wide audience. In 1985 *Chinese of America* was sent to the People's Republic of China and was the first exhibit on Chinese American history and society to be shown in

that country. It was seen by the public in Shanghai, Beijing, Guangzhou, Jiangmen, Taishan, and Zhongshan.

New York City's China Institute, Boston's Chinese Culture Institute, Seattle's Wing Luke Museum, and Santa Ana's Chinese American Historical and Cultural Council also have from time to time organized activities connected with Chinese American history. Another group active in the field of Chinese American history is The Association of Chinese Teachers (TACT) of San Francisco, which developed audiovisual materials on Chinese American history for use in the schools. Articles in community newspapers such as *East/West* and *Asian Week* and in periodicals such as *Bridge* (now defunct) have also helped to popularize Chinese American history.

The same factors stimulating the proliferation of organized historical and cultural groups also stimulated the publication of works on Chinese American history for the general public. In 1967 Betty Lee Sung published *Mountain of Gold: The Story of the Chinese in America.* Other works of this nature are Ruthanne Lum McCunn's *Illustrated History of the Chinese in America* (1979), Jack Chen's *Chinese of America: From the Beginnings to the Present* (1980), Diane Mark and Ginger Chih's *A Place Called Chinese America* (1982), and Judy Yung's *Chinese Women of America: A Pictorial History* (1986).

RESEARCH BY ACADEMIC SCHOLARS

The civil rights movement that began in the late fifties also revived interest in the study of the history and community of minority groups in this country, including Chinese Americans. More funding became available for research. Although much of the effort went toward master's theses and doctoral dissertations or studies largely inaccessible to the general public, enough papers and books were published to add substantially to the storehouse of information on the Chinese in America.

One pioneering researcher is sociologist Stanford M. Lyman, whose essays on Chinese institutions in America have been influential in sociological and Chinese American studies. Around 1957 at the University of California's San Francisco Extension Division Lyman also initiated one of the earliest courses on the Asian American experience.[14] Another work based on substantive historical research is Gunther Barth's controversial *Bitter*

Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850–1870 (1964). One reviewer praised it as an "altogether fine contribution to history, sinology and sociology,"[15] while another charged the author with an "anti-Chinese bias."[16] Other noteworthy contributions to historical literature are Stuart Miller's *Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785–1882* (1969); Alexander Saxton's *Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (1971); and Sandy Lydon's *Chinese Gold: The Chinese in the Monterey Bay Region* (1985). The increased need for reference works in the field has also led to the publication, sometimes revised, of older dissertations such as Carl Glick's *The Chinese Migrant in Hawaii: A Study in Accommodation*, originally written in 1938 and revised and published in 1980 as *Sojourners and Settlers: Chinese Migrants in Hawaii*, and Stanford M. Lyman's *Structure of Chinese Society in Nineteenth-Century America*, written in 1961 and published in 1986 as *Chinatown and Little Tokyo: Power Conflict and Community Among Chinese and Japanese Immigrants in America.*

During this same period growing ethnic awareness also spurred greater interest among Chinese American scholars, resulting in more publications by Chinese Americans. Often having roots in the Chinese American community, many of these authors display sensitivity and insight in their works. Of interest are Rose Hum Lee's *Chinese in the U.S.A.* (1960); S. W. Kung's *Chinese in American Life: Some Aspects of Their History, Status, and Contributions* (1962); Ping Chiu's *Chinese Labor in California* (1963); Victor and Brett Nee's *Longtime Californ': A Documentary Study of an American Chinatown* (1972); Peter Kwong's *Chinatown, New York: Labor and Politics, 1930–1950* (1979); Victor Low's *The Unimpressible Race: A Century of Educational Struggle by the Chinese in San Francisco* (1982); William Wu's *Yellow Peril: Chinese Americans in American Fiction, 1850–1940* (1982); Lucy M. Cohen's *Chinese in the Post Civil War South: A People without a History* (1984); and Henry Shih-shan Tsai's *Chinese Experience in America* (1986).

Within the last decade archaeologists have also entered the Chinese American field. Different Chinese sites in the Western states have undergone field excavations, and workers in this discipline in California have formed a professional organization, the Overseas Chinese Research Group. However, this field of inquiry

is still in its infancy, and much of the findings have not been incorporated into historical analyses. An exception is the report published in 1987 by the Great Basin Foundation on its major archaeological-historical investigations on Riverside's former Chinatown. Entitled *Wong Ho Leun, An American Chinatown*, the work comprises two volumes. Volume One includes twenty essays on various aspects of the history of the Riverside Chinese while the second volume reports on the excavated finds.

ASIAN AMERICAN STUDIES

The civil rights movement stimulated the development of a student movement on the campuses, which in the late sixties led to the rise of the Asian American movement and the founding of Asian American studies. After a long students' strike the first School of Ethnic Studies with Asian American studies as a component was initiated at San Francisco State College (later California State University, San Francisco [CSUSF]) in 1969. The same semester CHSA members Philip Choy and Him Mark Lai taught the first course on Chinese American history in the country at this institution.

Asian American studies spread to other universities in the San Francisco Bay Area, up and down the West Coast, to Hawaii, and to the East Coast. However, the center of gravity has remained in the West, especially in the San Francisco Bay Area. Asian American studies have consisted of the study of several groups, usually Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos, the so-called "older" Asian Americans. To an increasing extent, however, many programs are now including Koreans, Vietnamese, and other newer groups.

Asian American studies were established as part of a wider movement for social change that sought the participation of Asian Americans as equal partners in American society. For this reason both curriculum development and research in this new discipline reflect an orientation of protest against and criticism of the existing order. As part of the reexamination of American society and history, some Asian American studies researchers have sought to reinterpret the Asian American historical experience using interdisciplinary approaches. Research on Chinese American history and society is also a part of these new inquiries; however, since there are several ethnic groups represented in Asian American studies,

the degree of emphasis depends very much on the individuals involved and varies greatly from one institution to another.

The Asian American Studies Center (AASC) of the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) is currently the only Asian American studies program designated as a research center. Specifically related to Chinese American research are AASC's pioneering efforts with Guangzhou's Zhongshan University to conduct field research in Taishan emigrant villages (1979) and a later working arrangement with Zhongshan University and Hong Kong University to compile bibliographies on overseas Chinese historical materials (1981). The primary mission of most other Asian American studies programs is class instruction; the major programs are at the University of California at Berkeley and CSUSF. Many of the faculty members in the programs, however, are also engaged in research.

Due to the decades of inattention, materials for research on minorities have not been collected systematically and consistently. Thus, source materials for research in Asian American studies are widely scattered, and locating them is a challenging task for any researcher. One major accomplishment of researchers in Asian American studies has been the compilation of bibliographies to facilitate historical research on Chinese Americans. Most such bibliographies are included as part of Asian American bibliographies; for example, the University of California at Davis's *Asians in America: A Selected Annotated Bibliography* (1971; revised, 1983) and the University of Washington's *Asians in the Northwest: An Annotated Bibliography* (1978).

In Chinese American studies English-language sources from the nineteenth century are abundant. These sources have been heavily utilized in much of the research done thus far, leading to an overemphasis on aspects such as the role of Chinese labor, the anti-Chinese movement, and anti-Chinese legislation. For the period after the turn of the century through the present, however, Chinese-language sources are more abundant in certain subject areas. Much material is to be found only in publications and oral histories collected from the community. One glaring weakness of both lay and academic Chinese American scholarship in the English language has been the underutilization of such sources, with the inevitable result that research on the

twentieth century Chinese Americans has largely been ignored, except for some studies on contemporary society.

In 1986 AASC published H. M. Lai's *History Reclaimed: An Annotated Bibliography and Guide to Chinese Language Materials on the Chinese of America*, the first work in English to introduce this category of materials. This work, used together with Karl Lo and H. M. Lai's *Chinese Newspapers Published in North America, 1854–1975* (1975), will give necessary guidance to these resources and thus facilitate their use to help fill a gap in Chinese American research.

Under the auspices of Asian American studies a number of oral history projects have recorded historical, sociological, and bibliographical information. Major projects are the University of Hawaii's Ethnic Studies Oral History Project (ESOHP), CSUSF's Combined Asian American Resource Project (CARP), and the Oral History Project co-sponsored by UCLA's AASC and CHSSC.

The establishment of Asian American studies as a field of study has stimulated an increasing number of research papers shedding light on different aspects of Chinese American history and society. UCLA publishes the semiannual *Amerasia*, the scholarly journal of the field. Other scholars have come out with interpretative book-length works in the Asian American context that include numerous references to the Chinese American role. Some examples are Elaine Kim's *Asian American Literature: An Introduction to the Writings and Their Social Context* (1982); Ronald Takaki's *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii* (1983); and Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich's *Labor Immigration under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States before World War II* (1984). Specifically on the Chinese American experience are Sucheng Chan's recently published *This Bittersweet Soil* (1986), a ground-breaking study shedding new light on the Chinese role in California agriculture, and Marlon Hom's *Songs of Gold Mountain* (scheduled for late 1987), an analysis of selections from a unique early twentieth-century collection of San Francisco Chinatown folk rhymes.

The founders of Asian American studies programs perceived that collaboration between academic circles and the ethnic communities would be necessary to develop certain aspects of the programs. Academic scholars, lay historians, and historical societies each can play roles suited to their circumstances. Academic circles, with their professional expertise, are in a somewhat better position to organize and interpret the materials. On the other hand, lay historians and historical societies, being at the grass-roots level, usually have better contacts and access to certain community resources. The latter can also function better in outreach to the general public. Thus, development of the field should be facilitated if the various groups function to complement each other.

Over the years there have been some successful cooperative efforts. As mentioned above, CHSSC worked with UCLA's AASC on an oral history program, while the Asian American studies program at the University of California at Berkeley co-sponsored a conference and a seminar with the Chinese Historical Society of America (CHSA) and the Chinese Culture Foundation. In 1978 the Asian American Studies Library at the University of California at Berkeley accepted part of the CHSA's archival and publication holdings, mostly in the Chinese language, as part of a special collection of Chinese American research materials. This move helped make it possible for the university to develop one of the most comprehensive collections of materials relevant to Chinese American research.

The experience of the past two decades, however, has shown that despite the rhetoric about the desirability and necessity for Asian American studies programs to work with the ethnic community, such cooperation has occurred in Chinese American research only in specific instances when both groups have common interests. Beyond that, self-interest has prevailed. A further handicap is that the campuses are usually located at some distance from Chinese American communities. There are also gaps in expertise and perception as well as in political and social outlook between the academically trained professionals and the lay historians in the Chinese American communities. Thus, each group generally has tended to go its own way. A similar situation also exists in the relations among the various historical groups.

Nevertheless, despite the lack of cooperation and coordination among groups, there have been significant developments in Chinese American studies in the last two decades. As the Asian American group with the longest history in this country, Chinese Americans are the group with the largest number of historical societies. Research by academic and lay scholars has covered an increasingly wide range of topics. These efforts have brought

growing understanding of the many facets of Chinese American history and society. We can confidently predict that this storehouse of knowledge can only expand with time. Mainstream America has also begun to be more sensitized to the Chinese American role in the development of America's pluralistic society, although much more remains to be done. The knowledge gained in the study of Chinese American history and society has led to better understanding of historical and social processes in America. Some of these lessons can surely be applied one day to the enactment of suitable public policies for the betterment of American society as a whole.

NOTES

1. See Walter N. Fong, "The Chinese Six Companies," Overland Monthly 23 (May 1894): 518; idem, "Chinese Labor Unions in America," Chautaquan 23 (1896): 399; and Patrick J. Healy and Ng Poon Chew, A Statement for Non-Exclusion (San Francisco, 1905).
2. Chinese Republic Journal, Aug. 7, 8, 27, 1919.
3. Kuo Min Yat Po, April 6, 1934.
4. Chinese Digest articles urging the preservation of Chinese American history include Samuel D. Lee, "Some Suggestions for a Study of the History of the Chinese in America" (June 1937); Ching Wah Lee, "Instant Action Needed To Record the History of the Chinese in America" (August 1938).
5. H. K. Wong, "William Hoy, Historian and Writer," Gum Sahn Yun: Gold Mountain Men (San Francisco, 1937), 209-36; Chinese Press, September 2, 1949.
6. N. C. Chan, Handbook of Chinese in America (New York, The People's Foreign Relations Association of China, 1946); Ling Lew, The Chinese in North America, A Guide to Their Life and Progress (Los Angeles, East-West Publishing Co., 1949); Chen Kwong Min, The Chinese in the Americas (New York, Overseas Chinese Culture Publishing Co., 1950).
7. "Some Highlights of the First Decade," Tenth Anniversary 1963–1973, Chinese Historical Society of America (1973), 7–17.
8. Executive Director's Report, Hawaii Chinese History Center, First Annual Membership Meeting, Dec. 12, 1971.
9. Annual Report, Chinese Historical Society of Southern California, 1976.
10. Charles Lai and John K. W. Tchen, "How We Began," Baogaoban, Summer 1984.
11. Chinese Historical Committee of Stockton Newsletter 1, no. 1 (Jan. 1986).
12. Communication from Eve Armentrout Ma, July 25, 1987.
13. Him Mark Lai, "Eighteen Years of the Chinese Culture Foundation and Ten Years of the Chinese Culture Center," Chinese Culture Center, Tenth Anniversary (1983).
14. Stanford M. Lyman, The Asian in North America (Santa Barbara, ABC-Clio, 1977), xi.
15. Lyman, "Review of Bitter Strength," The Asian in North America, (Santa Barbara, Calif.: American Biographical Center -Clio, 1977) 239–41.
16. Linda P. Shin, "Review of Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850–1870," in Counterpoint: Perspectives on Asian America, ed. Emma Gee et al (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1976), 36–38.

THE CHINESE AMERICAN CITIZENS ALLIANCE: AN EFFORT IN ASSIMILATION, 1895-1965

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AUTHOR'S NOTE: This essay is based on the research done for my senior honors thesis for the history department at the University of California, Los Angeles, June, 1965, written under the guidance of Prof. Roger Daniels. A travel grant from the university permitted me to do research in San Francisco at that time.

In San Francisco in 1895 a small group of American citizens of Chinese ancestry established the United Parlor of the Native Sons of the Golden State (NSGS), which later was renamed the Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA). The group's purpose was to improve the position of Chinese Americans and to work toward political, economic, social, and cultural integration—assimilation. Sociologists Raymond Teske, Jr., and Bardin Nelson, in an excellent summary of scholarship on acculturation and assimilation written before 1973, have defined assimilation as a dynamic process that may be treated as an individual or group process involving direct contact, changes in values, a change in reference group, and internal change—all in the direction of the majority society and, most importantly, requiring acceptance by the host society.[1] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the members of the NSGS/CACA were not the only Chinese Americans working towards assimilation, but their efforts as a group in working with the majority society—particularly in the area of politics, in adopting many American values and ideas, in celebrating American, rather than Chinese, holidays, and in encouraging other Chinese Americans to

assimilate—were broader and have been well documented in their publications. They were aided in their efforts by changes in the political, social, and economic milieu of American society. By the early 1960s they essentially had achieved their goal of assimilation. This study, based primarily on oral interviews and CACA documents published before 1966, is a history of the NSGS/CACA and the efforts of its members to assimilate during the seventy years after the founding of the organization.

The members of the NSGS/CACA probably were responding to criticism from the majority society, including sympathetic observers like Reverend Otis Gibson of the Methodist Episcopal Church in San Francisco, who felt that the Chinese were too slow in assimilating in the late nineteenth century.[2] Sociologist Rose Hum Lee, a leading authority on the subject of Chinese Americans, proposed in 1960 that only complete and unreserved acculturation, assimilation, and integration could bring a final solution to the problems of the Chinese Americans.[3] By the 1960s, when this goal was approximately achieved by NSGS/CACA, the members would discover that this was not the final solution to the problems of the Chinese Americans.

BACKGROUND

From the arrival of the first Chinese in San Francisco in February 1848, the majority of nineteenth-century Chinese immigrants experienced minimal communication with the host society because most of them were unfamiliar with the language, laws, and customs of the United States. These sojourners,[4] who maintained a homeland orientation because their main objective was to return home however long they worked and lived abroad, were visibly and culturally different from the majority society and remained aloof from that society. They formed organizations to satisfy their immediate economic and social needs. Stanford Lyman, in *Chinese Americans*, has traced the homeland forerunners of these community organizations and their manifestations in the United States.[5] By the late nineteenth century community organizations had developed in the major Chinatowns in the United States and their representative was the Chinese Six Companies, more formally called the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), which eventually included not only the leaders of the district associations (*huiguan*) but also other