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A VOICE OF REASON: LIFE AND TIMES OF GILBERT WOO, CHINESE AMERICAN JOURNALIST

Him Mark Lai

Hu Jingnan, better known as Gilbert Gang Nam Woo, was one of the most widely read columnists in the Chinese American press. In his forty-year career, Gilbert Woo often voiced the hopes of many Chinese Americans for equal rights in American society, a better Chinese American community, and prosperity in the ancestral land. Names in this essay use spellings normally used in the United States, except in cases of Chinese geographical terms or where only the Chinese characters of the name were known, in which case pinyin transliterations will be used. Names will be given with the surname last per Western practice, except *pinyin* transliterations, which will be given with surname first per Chinese practice.

GROWING UP IN THE VILLAGE

Gilbert Woo was born Gang Nam Woo on Christmas Day 1911 in the Old Village of Hengjiang Township in south central Taishan. Like many other Taishan villagers, the Woo family had connections with California.

Gang Nam's grandfather Hu Changquan (Choeng Kuen Woo), said to be a tong leader, was owner of the import-export firm Yixing (Yee Hing) at 764 Commercial Street in San Francisco Chinatown. Choeng Kuen Woo married a Taishan girl of the Huang (Wong) clan and, as was customary in those days, left her behind in the village when he emigrated to the United States. After he reached middle age Choeng Kuen Woo took as concubine in San Francisco a sixteen-year-old of the Li (Lee) clan who came from Xiangshan (now Zhongshan) County. Lee gave birth to one son, Gang Nam Woo's father, Hu Heyi (Yin Woo).[1] Choeng Kuen Woo died soon afterward.

When Yin Woo was six, his mother took him to China for a Chinese education. When he grew up, Yin married Zhao Lianping (Chew Shee) of

neighboring Fushi village. Chew Shee was unusual for the period in that she was literate, having been taught by her father, a scholar. After her marriage she stayed behind in her husband's village to take care of both her mothers-in-law while he left for America to ply his skills as a family cook. In her spare time she established a private school for girls in the village and also frequently wrote letters for illiterate village women.[2] Chew Shee's educated background probably played a role in instilling in Gilbert a love of books and guiding him toward a literary career.

At regular intervals Yin Woo faithfully visited his family in the village, and Chew Shee gave birth to four sons and one daughter in China - Jingmei (Gang Moy), Gang Nam (Gilbert), Jingchou (Gang Chew, later Norbert), Yaozi (Yow Gee, later Margaret) and Jingci (Gang Chee, later Thomas). However, following the practice of many Chinese immigrants under the Chinese Exclusion Act, Yin Woo also reported to United States immigration authorities the birth of a nonexistent "paper" son between Gang Moy and Gilbert to create a slot for a future potential immigrant. Thus Gilbert was the "third" son. He spent his youth in the village.

In the cluster of five villages forming Hengjiang, the Huang (Wong) clan was the most numerous and powerful. The Woos were numerically weak and often had to submit to the domination of the Wongs. This was the environment in which Gilbert grew up and it may have helped him develop a sensitivity for the underdog and a desire to right injustice in society.

Having a *gam saan haak* in the family, the Woo family's economic position in the village approximated middle-class status.[3] When Gilbert was nine, he was sent to attend a traditional village school. Around 1924 he transferred to the Houde Primary School, which had a more modern curriculum, in neighboring Caohou. Even during this early period Gilbert Woo displayed a love for books and a proclivity for writing. Already a voracious reader devouring the few books he could lay his hands on in the countryside, Gang Nam would also write essays and mount them on the school wall for all to enjoy. When he was about age fifteen, he even tried writing a Cantonese opera libretto.

While Gilbert was still a child, Yin Woo brought his wife and youngest daughter and son to San Francisco just before the American government was about to implement the 1924 Immigration Act; one of the provisions of the act banned the immigration of the alien Chinese wives of Chinese Americans. Shortly afterward their eldest son Gang Moy left to join his parents in San

Francisco. Chew Shee also gave birth to her last child, Yaoji (Katie), the only one to be born in the United States. Gang Nam, as well as his next younger brother, Gang Chew, were left behind in the care of Yin Woo's mother to continue their schooling. The situation drew the two closer together and they remained close associates for the next five decades despite the fact that they had strikingly different personalities — Gang Nam being an introvert while Gang Chew was gregarious and outgoing.

After Gang Nam graduated from primary school, he took the entrance examinations for prestigious Taishan County Middle School in 1925, but failed. At the time all Taishan primary schools were being changed over from traditional to modern curriculum, and each school was ordered to send two students to attend a one-year training course. Gang Nam was accepted into the program and after completion found a teaching position at Yuying Primary School in his native village. He had further opportunity to develop his language skills when he became assistant editor of the school publication *Yuying Jikan* (Educate outstanding people quarterly) in 1927. He also wrote short essays for *Jiangtao Tekan* (River's waves special publication), issued as a supplement to such publications as *Yuying Jikan*.

Throughout the mid-twenties Guangdong Province, which was ruled by a Chinese Nationalist (Kuomintang) regime then in alliance with the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communists, was enveloped by an atmosphere of change and reform. In 1927 this revolutionary tide ebbed when the Kuomintang turned on their erstwhile allies, broke the alliance with the Soviet Union, and arrested and executed thousands of Communists and suspected Communists. Many Communists and their supporters, however, escaped and continued their activities in areas in the countryside where the anti-Communist white terror had as yet not penetrated. For a short period Taishan was one such area.

In July 1930 Tan Xiufeng (later known as He Ganzhi) and Zhu Bolian, progressive students returned from Japan, organized a Taishan youth summer study class that recruited a number of Taishan primary school teachers and middle school students. The curriculum included discussions on the world situation and the new Chinese literature, all from a Marxist perspective.[4] By means of these activities many students became militant and radicalized.

Gang Nam was also influenced by the progressive spirit of the period. He soon became known locally as one favoring change and reform in Chinese society. One person who met him in 1930 described him admiringly as "a hero

of indomitable spirit" who had the "courage and insight to express his dissatisfaction at the current Chinese society and to attack some prominant figures who were so-called men of the times or epochal heroic personages."[5] Shortly after the meeting, progressives formed a Tujin She (Advancing by leaps and bounds society), the members of which wrote articles for submission to Taishan newspapers and periodicals. Gang Nam became a member of the group.

Gang Nam had to cut short his teaching and budding writing career in Taishan to prepare to join his parents in America. Not having any skills except writing in Chinese, and hearing that herb doctors could make a good living in America, Gang Nam enrolled in a school of Chinese medicine in Guangzhou in 1931. However, he soon quit when he discovered that he was not interested in medicine. Shortly afterward he left for Hong Kong, where he took English classes in preparation for life in America.

NEW IMMIGRANT IN AMERICA

By 1932 Gang Nam was on a passenger liner heading across the Pacific. As he reminisced sardonically two years later:

> Frankly speaking, when I started on my journey, my mind was at least half filled with the hope of becoming wealthy. Besides, my own family was there. To tell a joke, that was my country! In China I had not even attended middle school, let alone college. I had no qualifications to be an official; yet knowing no English I could not be a foreigner's flunkey. With regards to farming, the pity is that my parents had not taught me how to use the sickle. And even if I knew how to wield the sickle, I would have starved to death in a rural economy that had become impoverished. Therefore my only choice was to cross the Pacific Ocean.[6]

After the ship passed through the Golden Gate, Gang Nam was detained on Angel Island for processing by the immigration service. A fellow detainee told him that Chinatown Communist activist Xavier Dea had been detained there for about a year and had just been deported about two months before Gang Nam arrived.[7] Gang Nam, however, did not run into any difficulties with the immigration authorities. As one of the better educated new arrivals, Gang Nam was elected as secretary of the Liberty Association formed by the detention center inmates. Nothing eventful occurred during his tenure in office. After eighteen days on Angel Island Gang Nam was interrogated for three days and then landed

as a native son, ready to start a new life as a Chinese in America in summer 1932. Years later he reflected on his experience on the island.

> The agony of being detained on Angel Island was not caused by material deprivations (the three meals per day were tolerable), but was psychological. Being incarcerated for a long time in a detention facility was already a situation lamented since the ancient days. Saddest of all was that even though one had not committed any crime, he was locked up by the Westerner. That feeling of national humiliation and the sorrow of belonging to a weak nation was what filled a detainee's breast with resentment.[8]

When Gang Nam Woo landed in San Francisco, America was in the depths of the depression and his family was hard-pressed to support him. Fortunately a fellow villager friend of his father offered Gilbert a chance to go to school if he would help in the friend's restaurant in Los Angeles as a waiter.[9] Gang Nam accepted and left for Los Angeles where he enrolled in the tenth grade in Polytechnic High School. Soon he took his first step toward Americanization when he took the name his home room teacher gave him—Gilbert.[10]

Since the prevailing racist climate posed obstacles barring Chinese from most jobs except for menial service occupations, Gilbert, as he is now known in American society, had the idea that he would one day return to China to seek a career. Even though he was not particularly interested in industrial arts, he chose the curriculum with the vague hope that the knowledge might be useful in his native land. When Gilbert was not attending school, he worked at the restaurant, which was in a working-class neighborhood and served Chinese and American dishes. As a waiter his wages were ten to fifteen dollars per month, with room and board included. During this period of hard times, business at the restaurant was often slow, giving Gilbert time to do his school lessons during working hours.[11]

For Gilbert, who had been a teacher in China, with a certain amount of social status and no experience doing menial work, the adjustment to the new environment was difficult. His Chinese education appeared to be useless, and he realized that he must greatly improve his still very imperfect grasp of the English language in order to be assured of even a chance of improving his social and economic status in America society. Forty years later he confessed that the sense of inferiority he felt as a result of his experiences during his early years in this country stayed with him throughout his career.[12]

By the time his brother Gang Chew was making arrangements to emigrate to America in 1934, Gilbert no longer had any illusions of an easy path to riches in America. He wrote an essay for *Yuying Jikan* warning Gang Chew and other potential immigrants. "I have this thought: If he comes with a bosom filled with enthusiasm to become rich, then it would be better if he does not come to America, because in time he will be disappointed....On his day of his departure, I must reiterate solemnly, 'Under no circumstance should he regard America as a gold mountain.'"[13]

At this point Gilbert was still deeply interested in political developments in his native Taishan. He had kept in touch through correspondence with friends and with Gang Chew. Out of his meager wages he would purchase Chinese books and periodicals through his younger brother, who was by then attending Taishan Middle School. Ever eager to express his thoughts on paper, he also founded and provided the funds for publishing a magazine, *Shengsheng Zazhi*, which published commentaries on current developments in his home county.

Gilbert wrote two articles for this periodical using pseudonyms. In these essays he urged his readers to study the "new doctrine" and to use it as a guide to organize and to take action to bring about a new order in Taishan and in Hengjiang. Although he did not mention the "new doctrine" by name, Gilbert's description of it left little doubt that he was referring to Marxist theory.[14]

Gang Chew, who was active in Taishan progressive circles, was the editor of *Shengsheng Zazhi* and was also responsible for soliciting other articles to round out the issue. The magazine's one and only issue came out in spring 1934 published by a Taishan Hengjiang Qingnian Xiejinshe (Association for the advancement of youth in Hengjiang, Taishan). It launched blistering attacks on local tyrants as well as existing inequities, corruption, and abuse of power in Taishan, especially in Hengjiang. When leaders of the dominant Wong clan at Hengjiang learned of the attacks, they were highly incensed and looked about for the editor to bring him to account. Gang Chew prudently left for Guangzhou to go into hiding until the situation had cooled off somewhat.

Fortunately by this time Gang Chew was ready to depart for America. Upon his return from Guangzhou, he slipped into the village briefly to pick up his personal effects and then left for Hong Kong. After an uneventful voyage across the Pacific, he was admitted to the United States in fall 1934. Shortly afterward he adopted the name Norbert.

In the meantime Gilbert had also returned to San Francisco to be reunited with his entire family. At this time he was still obsessed with the idea that he should acquire some technical skills. He enrolled in a six-month course in radio at Heald's College while supporting himself by working part-time as a family cook with a monthly salary of around twenty dollars. Gilbert was now living with his family, which included his American-born sister, Katie. This more normal life helped to facilitate Gilbert's accommodation to the American environment. Through his contacts with Katie, who liked to be in her elder brother's company as she was growing up, he gained a better understanding of the psychology of the American-born Chinese. He also acquired some American habits and behavior as well as a greater appreciation of Western culture.[15]

Because the Woo brothers had been active in progressive circles in Taishan, some of their earliest contacts in this country were Chinese progressive and American Communists party (CPUSA) members. While in Los Angeles Gilbert became friends with Communist party member Benjamin Fee when he submitted a manuscript to a publication edited by Fee. Soon after Norbert landed, he was contacted by Chinatown progressive Lawrence Lowe, who asked him about the revolutionary situation in the Taishan countryside. He also was recruited to be one of the performers in a pantomine in a program commemorating Lenin. However, Gilbert and Norbert would soon show that they preferred to be pragmatic liberals.

The thirties were a period of crisis in America when many had doubts concerning the efficacy of the existing economic system and a swelling chorus called for change. Gilbert too was looking for answers and read a wide assortment of publications in Chinese, and in English also, as he began to master the language. He soon became a regular reader of American liberal magazines, especially *New Republic*. His favorite daily newspaper was the *San Francisco News*, then the most liberal paper in the city.[16] Gilbert gradually became convinced that the policies of New Deal liberalism showed more promise for building a better society in this country. He began to take a more pragmatic and evolutionary approach to change in society and, as his point of view evolved, he also influenced his younger brother Norbert.

In spite of his acceding to the idea that a technical education was highly desirable for a Chinese in America, Gilbert much preferred to write and was itching to find an outlet for his literary efforts in America. Since Gilbert did not have middle school credentials, he asked Norbert, who was an alumnus of

Taishan Middle School, to approach D. Y. Mah, editor of *Kuo Min Yat Po* (*Chinese Nationalist Daily of America*), about starting a weekly literary supplement in the paper. On February 3, 1935, *Wenxue Zhoukan* (Literary weekly), edited by the Xin Huaqiao Xuehui (New overseas Chinese learned society), whose membership consisted of the two brothers, began as a supplement in this organ of the Kuomintang left-wing faction.[17]

Many of the articles were contributed by Gilbert. They were written in the vernacular language even though his education had been in classical Chinese and his skill in the vernacular was self-taught. This use of the vernacular was a bold move, since at the time Chinese daily newspapers customarily used the classical language. It indicates how much Gilbert was influenced by progressive Chinese intellectuals who had long advocated use of the vernacular for literature for the masses.

The publication of *Wenxue Zhoukan*, however, brought on criticism from the brothers' friends on the left, who charged that this action, during a period when the Kuomintang and the Communists were adversaries in China, was tantamount to helping to bolster the Kuomintang. But Gilbert felt he was doing the right thing and persisted. *Wenxue Zhoukan* also soon came under attack from the Kuomintang conservatives as being left leaning. In this no-win situation, there could be no middle ground. *Wenxue Zhoukan*'s demise soon came on May 12, 1935. In subsequent years Gilbert and Norbert were to have other differences of opinion with their friends on the left, but they remained on speaking terms.

Keeping his foot in the door on the technical side, in 1935 Gilbert also joined the Chinese Radio Club; many of the club's members were graduates of radio courses at Heald's College.[18] While Gilbert was a member, the club made a short wave broadcast of Chinese music for the first time to surprised listeners in the Chinatown area. The year was 1936. For a time Gilbert applied his writing skills in translating and editing lecture notes in Chinese for use in a short-lived correspondence course established by the club. Gilbert also wrote an article describing the club, which was published in the *Chinese Student* in early 1937.[19]

In 1936 Gilbert first became involved with Chinatown's traditional associations. A member of the Woo clan was expected to take a turn as English secretary of the Ning Yung Association, the district association for people of Taishan ancestry. A fellow clansman from Gilbert's village had been nominated, but for some reason he became piqued at gossip about him spread by fellow villagers and refused to serve. The position was then offered to young Gilbert,

who had never had much to do with the organization. But he accepted the position, which paid a monthly stipend of fifty dollars, a significant improvement over his wages as a family cook. During Gilbert's term in office his principal duties were to collect the exit permits from departing Taishanese at the pier.[20] During that year he also helped the Ning Yung Association arrange for the exhumation of bones for shipment to China.

His rather leisurely post at the Ning Yung Association gave Gilbert the time and opportunity to meet many people and attend political and social events. He met Chinese students from the Midwest as well as Gen. Fang Zhenwu, who came to San Francisco to advocate resistance to Japanese aggression in China.[21] He found time to attend a conference convened by writers of the West; the theme was the worldwide struggle against fascism. The keynote speaker was author Sinclair Lewis who had just been defeated in his reformist campaign for governor of California. Gilbert attended a memorial service held for the well-known Soviet writer Maxim Gorki.[22] Gilbert evolved a growing belief in the liberal philosophy. He came to believe in improving society by democratic means. In 1936 he expressed this outlook at the polls by voting as a New Deal Democrat in his first participation in an American election.

After completing his one-year term of office at Ning Yung Association, Gilbert earned the praise of one key leader of the association for his conscientious work, but he also realized that it was time to move on.[23]

> Regardless of whether I was honest or corrupt, after the one-year term was up, I had to leave office. I again had returned to a crossroad. After leading a leisurely and carefree life as an organization functionary with nothing to do, how could I go back to washing dishes for others? One day a fellow worker of an uncle, a restaurant cook, was out sick and the uncle asked me to work as a substitute for a day. After I came back from work that day, my entire body ached. As I lay on the bed going off into wild flights of fancy, suddenly I felt that this country was not the place for me. I immediately decided to visit the ancestral land to try my luck.[24]

Gilbert left for Hong Kong in early 1937. Before his departure he asked Woodrew Chan, principal of Chinese Central High School, for a letter of introduction to enable him to find a teaching position in Hong Kong. He subsequently was hired by Dongfang Middle School to teach mathematics. In

Hong Kong Gilbert married Li Yown Kong of Taishan, who studied English in the same class with him when he was preparing to come to the United States.

In midyear Japan's attack at Lugouqiao started the Sino-Japanese War. By 1938 the flames of war were engulfing Guangdong. Many Chinese Americans in China hastened to return to the United States, while others sought entry for their China-born offsprings. Unfortunately for Gilbert, existing immigration laws banned the entry of alien Chinese spouses of American citizens, and his infant daughter Lucy, born at the end of 1937, still needed her mother's care. Thus Gilbert reluctantly had to leave behind his pregnant wife and baby in the relatively safe haven of Hong Kong. He returned alone and entered the country at Seattle in September 1938. After he left, his wife gave birth to a daughter, Nancy, in early 1939. Gilbert was not to see his family again until three more decades had elapsed.

JOURNALISM, RADIO AND DRAMA: THE WAR YEARS

When the Sino-Japanese War broke out, many young people in Guangdong were brought over to America by worried parents. Like Gilbert, most of these youths were better educated than their forebears. Many had also participated in national salvation activities in China. When they settled down in this country, they began to form clubs for social and cultural activities. Thus the war years saw a proliferation of youth clubs, made up of young immigrants and some American-born. Many of them took an active role in the propaganda effort to support the war in their ancestral land.

One of the earliest clubs to appear in San Francisco was Chick Char Musical Club; Gilbert's younger brother Norbert was one of the founders.[25] Gilbert, being somewhat older than typical youth club members and more of an introvert and a loner, did not join any of these clubs but continued to maintain a deep interest in their activities. When he returned from Hong Kong, Chick Char had been in existence for almost a year. Gilbert became an advisor to the group and offered to write fifteen-minute radio propaganda dramas for the club.

The first drama, *Linyi Yi Laofu* (An old woman of Linyi), was followed each Saturday by others. The dramas, along with patriotic songs and speeches exhorting support for the Chinese war effort, were broadcast over loudspeakers aimed at Chinese gathered in adjacent Portsmouth Square.[26] The club's enthusiasm dampened, and the broadcast was silenced after the San Francisco Police

Department complained that the noise disturbed jail inmates in the Hall of Justice east of the square.

By this time Gilbert had decided a career in the technical or industrial sectors was not for him and cast his lot for Chinese journalism. When he first returned from Hong Kong, David Shew, a friend from Heald's College who had started a short-lived weekly in Chinatown, requested that he submit several commentaries, which Gilbert entitled "Jinmen Za Gan" (Miscellaneous thoughts by the Golden Gate). A friend from the Ning Yung Association then recommended him for a position at *Chinese Times*, organ of the Chinese American Citizens Alliance. At that time at least half the editorial staff of Chinese newspapers were students from China, particularly as writers of commentaries on international events and as translators of news items, because they were fluent in both Chinese and English. Yet there were many shortcomings to using these intellectuals, some of which were pointed out by Gilbert:

> Students from China were preparing for a return to China to become officials.... They entered the newspaper office to work...only to get from the newspaper several tens of dollars per month to help with their living expenses. It was as straightforward and simple as that.
>
> They were isolated from the Chinese community in America: (1) they formed a class by themselves, and did not wish to be contaminated by the Chinese in America's "chop suey" flavor; (2) they regarded most developments in the Chinese community in America as a disgrace to the prestige of China and therefore kept their distance; and (3) they might have had a language barrier so that they could not be close to Chinese in America even if they wanted to. To be a newspaperman and be completely isolated from the local people, that is almost laughable. But that was the situation in Chinese journalism in America.[27]

The *Chinese Times* managing editor, Walter U. Lum, made a bold decision. There was no job opening, but Lum laid off a student from China to create a position for Gilbert. Three months later, in 1939, Gilbert began at the newspaper as proofreader. Gilbert's excellent work soon showed Lum that he had made a sound decision. He was quickly promoted to translator and then also became editor of both the Chinese news and literary sections. This hiring of a member of the Chinese American community was an indication of the changes in the Chinese American community. Bilingual intellectuals were becoming more available, thus lessening the dependence on students from China. Whatever the

reason, Lum did not hire another student from China during Gilbert's six years at the paper.[28] Gilbert soon proved himself a conscientious journalist. At this time news from China dwelled almost exclusively on the war. Most items were stereotyped propaganda pieces, replete with hackneyed phrases, and worse yet, the news was often falsified. As a responsible newspaper reporter Gilbert tried to rectify this by publishing more factual articles translated from major English-language newspapers and magazines and thus improving the paper's coverage.

The Sino-Japanese War had greatly stimulated Chinese cultural activities in the United States as part of the war effort, especially among the increased number of recent immigrants. As editor at *Chinese Times* Gilbert was in an advantageous position to meet many of the intellectuals among these immigrants. Yuk Ow, a colleague at the paper who was also interested in modern Chinese culture, became his close friend and associate. In 1940 the two were among the founding members and officers of the Huaqiao Wenhua Jianshe Yanjiu Hui (Overseas Chinese cultural construction research society), which promoted cultural activities among the Chinese in America. Another member of the group was Ping Kun Shao, a teacher at the Kin Kuo Chinese School. The society lasted only for a short period, but during its brief life it sponsored the first radio drama broadcast in Chinatown and also organized a forum discussing the desirability of latinized Chinese (Sin Wenz) as a tool for eradicating illiteracy.[29]

Another friend with literary interests was Albert Lim, a Chinatown businessman who had matriculated in Nankai Middle School in Tianjin. One of his classmates had been the Chinese playwright Cao Yu. While in China, Lim had been impressed with the latter's highly successful anti-feudal tragedy, *Thunderstorm*. He suggested to Gilbert and Ping Kun Shao that a group be organized to stage the play in San Francisco. Shao became the director for the production since he had directed several plays at Kin Kuo School. Gilbert, as deputy director, assumed the task of shortening the play. (The abbreviated version still took some three and a half hours to perform.) He also translated the lines into Cantonese so that they would be intelligible to Chinatown audiences. The four performances of the drama, two on January 3 and one each on February 12 and 13, 1942, by the Yeyu Xiao Jutuan (Amateur little drama troupe), as the group came to be called, were among the best vernacular dramatic presentations in San Francisco Chinatown up to the time. But they were a financial disaster. The group had intended the performances to raise funds for the Red Cross, but fate

intervened when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor shortly before opening night. Understandably people were jittery and attendance was sparse. After the scheduled performances the loosely organized group soon dispersed.[30]

In 1942 Gilbert was called up for military service but was rejected because of his poor eyesight.[31] Gilbert thus was able to concentrate on his chosen career as a journalist. Gilbert continued to try to improve the *Chinese Times* literary section. He encouraged young Chinese Americans writers to submit articles for publication. He also wrote commentaries, usually entitled "Jinmen Za Gan" or "Jinmen Ou Gan" (Chance thoughts by the Golden Gate), or just simply "Ou Gan" (Chance thoughts). At first these were occasional pieces, but they began to appear more frequently as Gilbert found he had a readership.

After the United States entered World War II, newspapers from the Far East were cut off. Gilbert decided to write commentaries on current events on a regular basis. On March 9, 1943, he started a column using "Qizhe" (Cantonese "Kaijae"; "I wish to inform you," a phrase often used at the beginning of a Chinese letter) as a title. In his initial essay he declared his intentions:

> Let me volunteer my services as the Chinatown reporter for soldiers in the battle zones and cover for them local events, gather some important international news, or select some information on political and economic developments. Using my own interpretation and words, I will write a daily letter, first publishing it in the literary section *Shiqu* [Thing of interest in the *Chinese Times*] and then clipping it out and mailing it overseas or to military camps far away. It would seem that this would be better than mailing a big bundle of magazines and newspapers. At least it will lessen the burden on the Post Office.[32]

His commentary soon became one of the most widely read in the Chinese press in America and helped greatly to increase the circulation of *Chinese Times*. Gilbert's essays were characterized by a straightforward, folksy style, often using many Cantonese and Sze Yup idioms, which appealed to many readers. His point of view was also objective and independent minded. His essays covered a wide range of subjects, from Chinatown housing concerns to social problems in American society and famine in Taishan. He addressed economic, political and social issues in the local, national and international arenas.

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, when anti-Japanese feelings bordered on hysteria and Japanese and Japanese Americans were being rounded

up and put into detention camps, Gilbert was one of the few in the news media to decry this wartime treatment of the Japanese in America. In one article he remarked that while it was reasonable to detain alien Japanese loyal to the emperor, Japanese Americans should not be incarcerated unless there was proof that they engaged in espionage activities. He further stressed that he did not believe that they were spying for Japan. A few days later he received an unsigned letter attacking him and declaring him not "above suspicion as being traitorous."[33]

Gilbert steadfastly held to his position on the unjust treatment of Japanese Americans and discussed facets of the issue at different times in his column. In 1944 he commented:

> With regard to the barbaric acts of the Japanese authorities, we should seek an early victory so that we can punish the criminals, but we absolutely cannot use it for personal benefit ourselves. There should not be acts of revenge within the United States, as those are not the real criminals. (The Japanese authorities are the real criminals.) Such acts will, on the other hand, change us into murderers, and we ourselves will then be guilty of a serious crime, committing barbaric acts.[34]

On another occasion he wrote an article 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 to the China War Relief Association to explain his intent.[35]

Gilbert's commentaries eventually led to conflict with *Chinese Times* managing editor, Walter U. Lum. When he began "Qizhe," Gilbert had not consulted with Walter Lum. Somewhat later Lum called Gilbert into his office and rebuked him for initiating the column without his consent. Lum felt that writing a daily essay would surely adversely affect Gilbert's performance in his other responsiblities, translating news articles and editing the literary section.

Since Gilbert was doing these original essays without any additional remuneration, he felt hurt that his effort to improve the literary section was unappreciated. He was ready to resign but was finally dissuaded by a friend. Later, in May 1944, Gilbert was in trouble with Lum again. Gilbert had stopped writing his "Qizhe" commentary and begun a new column "Zhongguo Wenti Pingyi" (Discussion of China issues). Lum took exception to this change; he felt that the title implied that the articles would now become editorial in nature.

He told Woo that he should have discussed this with him before he began. Gilbert's temper flared and he left the office before Lum could even finish speaking. He immediately submitted his written resignation and left three days later, on May 16, 1944. The conflict became well publicized in the community when Gilbert broadcast his side of the story on Golden Star Chinese Hour, where he was a news commentator. Walter Lum took exception to his remarks and responded with an editorial in *Chinese Times* denouncing Gilbert's action.[36] The editor who succeeded Gilbert at *Chinese Times* also took potshots at Gilbert in his commentaries. Gilbert did not respond in kind, and the tempest in a teapot soon subsided.[37]

Gilbert had been attending Lincoln University since 1940 with the thought of increasing his legal knowledge so as to avoid lawsuits arising out of his writing activities. He needed a steady income to pay for tuition and books. He recalled that about six months earlier Albert Lim, now manager of *Kuo Min Yat Po* in San Francisco, had attempted to recruit him to join the paper. Now Gilbert accepted his offer and became editor of the paper's *Minfeng* (People's ballads) literary section. Gilbert also continued his "Qizhe" commentary.[38]

Gilbert also kept working as a Chinatown radio news commentator. In 1939 Chinatown businessman Thomas Tong had conceived the idea of starting a radio program to advertise the products of his company, the Golden Star. This nightly program, known as "The Chinese Hour," consisted of Cantonese operatic and musical numbers and fifteen minutes of news.[39] Gilbert entered the picture around 1943, when he began writing scripts for a daily fifteen-minute newscast by Tong's wife, May. Soon afterward Tong asked him to be a weekly news commentator. At first Gilbert was hesitant. He was afraid that he might not have the time and that he might have stage fright before the microphone. And he was self-conscious about his Cantonese, which he spoke with a Taishan accent. But after much thought he finally accepted the challenge. During his career as a Golden Star Radio commentator Gilbert had the memorable opportunity to interpret for Harry S. Truman when he was campaigning for the vice-presidency in 1944. In 1945 Gilbert was part of a team broadcasting on the program a community memorial service for President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who had just died. But his most notable assignment occurred when the United Nations was founded in San Francisco, when he covered the event both for the Golden Star Radio Chinese Hour and *Kuo Min Yat Po*.[40] Gilbert was to serve Golden Star Radio until mid-1948.

POST-WAR YEARS: FOUNDING A PAPER

During the post-war years racial discrimination in American society was often the subject of Gilbert's commentaries. When property owners in the San Francisco Bay Area tried to prevent Chinese from living in certain areas, Gilbert editorialized:

> The eviction of Chinese tenants in recent days also came to my mind. On the surface we were forced, but in reality it also was our new generation of younger people who were courageously striding into the Caucasian's forbidden territory and facing those who had racial prejudice in head-on confrontations, posing the question whether racially restrictive clauses were valid, and forcing everybody to find a solution that would be good for all time.[41]

With all the post-war changes in American society and in Chinese American society, the time appeared to be ripe for the founding of a newspaper to speak from the perspective of the Chinese Americans and to advocate for change in the community. Earlier, about the time that Gilbert left *Chinese Times*, Norbert was serving with the United States Signal Corps in the China-Burma-India war theater. There he met a fellow soldier who had been a typesetter at the San Francisco newspaper, *Chung Sai Yat Po*. In conversations with him, Norbert became intrigued with the possibility of starting a newspaper. He wrote of this to Gilbert, planting the seed in his brother's mind. Gilbert in turn talked to other friends about the idea.

When Norbert returned from the war in 1945, concrete plans to establish a weekly newspaper moved ahead. The brothers were joined by like-minded young Chinese American intellectuals Yuk Ow, James Wong, and John Hall. Each member of the group invested fifteen hundred dollars to purchase a printing business from Li Junheng. Norbert was assigned to learn the printing trade. At first these young liberals thought to name the new newspaper *Pacific Weekly*, to emphasize the fact that the paper was published on the West Coast. But as there was already a newspaper by that name, the new newspaper had to add the word *Chinese* to the title to avoid copyright infringements.

At that time there were five dailies in San Francisco Chinatown, none of which published on Sundays; therefore the new weekly decided to fill the gap by publishing on Saturday night to attract Sunday readers.[42] The first issue of *Chinese Pacific Weekly* appeared in Chinatown newsstands on October 5, 1946.

And so began the venture that was to be identified with Gilbert for the rest of his life.

Gilbert was the chief editor and the dominant personality on the paper from the beginning. The newspaper soon acquired the attributes that distinguished it for the next three decades.

> In our forward to the first issue, we stated that we have no [political] background, no [political] backers; we do not misrepresent facts and do not have distorted views. We are not inconsistent, but neither are we die-hards....
>
> ...We had stated that our "attitude will be mild," and because of this many have censured us. Even our own comrades also see it as giving too much of an impression of weakness. They feel that in society today, a mild attitude can only attract bullying and also cannot provide leadership to younger people to change society. We should accept these censuring remarks, but our original intent was not to preach with the patience of Buddha or an old lady; we only reject being swayed by emotion or acting like a shrew, shouting abuse in the alley. We would rather use reasoned arguments to convince others and do not wish to heap abuse on others until they are a mass of bruises....
>
> We deeply believe that freedom of speech is not only the right of the newspaper, but also the right of the reader. Only through receiving information from all sides can a person make a correct evaluation of a situation and carry out the duty of being a citizen in a democracy. We do not believe that a policy of keeping the people in ignorance is a means that should be used in a democracy....[43]

Chinese Pacific Weekly was unusual in that it was nonpartisan, neither pro-KMT nor anti-Communist. The paper did not claim to be politically neutral, but attempted to be impartial and factual in its reporting. The coverage also possessed its own distinctive perspective, reflecting the concerns of its relatively liberal Chinese American constituency.

At this time civil war had broken out in China. Inflation, corruption, and political repression had led to increasing disaffection and war weariness among the people in China. But Kuomintang control of the Chinatown media ensured that nothing critical of the Chinese government was printed. *Chinese Pacific Weekly*, however, published translations of independent, more objective critical reports from English language newspapers such as *Christian Science Monitor* and *New York Times*. For this the paper was accused of being pro-Communist,

which made it difficult to get advertisements, subscribers, and even dealers. For example, news vendors handling the paper in Sacramento changed some four to six times in as many weeks. Thus it was an uphill struggle for the new weekly.

During the paper's first year Gilbert continued working at his paying job at *Kuo Min Yat Po*. The *Chinese Pacific Weekly* staff worked without pay and the partners had to subsidize the paper, taking money from their own pockets. Two of the partners, Yuk Ow and John Hall, were of Sam Yup origin and solicited advertisements from Sam Yup-owned businesses, which helped to ease the paper's financial deficit during this period.[44] On publication days everyone, including the Woo family and friends and even nieces and nephews who were old enough, pitched in to help.

By the second year, however, *Chinese Pacific Weekly* had started its own printing business, which brought in enough supplemental income to support the paper. Gilbert resigned from *Kuo Min Yat Po* in order to devote all his time to the *Chinese Pacific Weekly*. Starting in the paper's third year, Gilbert was paid fifty dollars per month as the principal reporter, but the paper for many years still relied on family labor for many tasks.[45]

The first weekly in San Francisco to be established in the post-war period, *Chinese Pacific Weekly*, was published in a tabloid format. It was the first Chinese newspaper to use real names of individuals when reporting in court actions, community and social news and controversial local issues, a bold move in a community where people were still very sensitive to negative publicity and loss of face. As there was time for the news to develop in a week, the paper also could report issues in depth, a luxury not usually available to dailies.[46]

The initial partnership of five sensitive individuals with strong opinions did not last long. By 1950 John Hall, Yuk Ow, and James Wong had withdrawn from the newspaper. However, the corporation also added new partners, of whom the most active at the paper were Moon Yuen and Gar Cheung Hom. The Woo brothers remained in control, with Gilbert eventually holding about 40 percent of the shares and Norbert another 33 percent.

When *Chinese Pacific Weekly* began publication, the political situation in China was changing rapidly. By the late forties Kuomintang-ruled China was beset with runaway inflation and rampant corruption. On the battlefield Kuomintang armies in China were disintegrating before the onslaught of the Communist-led People's Liberation Army and the end appeared to be in sight. In May 1949 Henry Tsoi founded the pro-PRC *China Weekly* and entered into

an agreement with *Chinese Pacific Weekly* to print the paper. A few months later a victorious Mao Zedong declared the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) on October 1, 1949, at Beijing's Tian'anmen. On October 9, San Francisco supporters of the new government used the occasion of the Chinese Workers Mutual-Aid Association's twelfth anniversary to celebrate the event at the Chinese American Citizens Alliance Hall. However, Kuomintang-hired hoodlums broke up the public program soon after it began, beating up some members of the audience in the process. The next night a group known as Chujian Tuan (League for Elimination of Traitors) distributed leaflets naming fifteen Chinese Americans on a blacklist and calling for their eradication. Gilbert had not been present at the anniversary gathering, nor was he named on the list. However, friends with KMT connections informed him later that his name had originally been included on the list, and had been removed only after an influential Kuomintang leader who had known Gilbert at *Kuo Min Yat Po* and had had a favorable impression spoke up for him.

Following the assault at the Chinese American Citizens Alliance Hall, an anonymous telephone call warned *Chinese Pacific Weekly* not to publish anything on the incident. Since the police refused to provide protection, Gilbert felt it prudent to go into hiding for several days. His friend Donald Young, whom he had known at *Chinese Times*, had to drive him to appointments and to the newspaper office. During those tense days the man delivering the paper to the news vendors resigned. Some newsstands even refused to accept the paper.

Some Chinatown leaders who disagreed with the use of violence against the political opposition offered protection to the blacklisted individuals and to the principals of *Chinese Pacific Weekly*. Gilbert joined Ying On Association, while Norbert and many of the others became members of Suey Sing Association. Suey Sing Association also sent members to protect and deliver the paper. Heartened news vendors resumed handling the paper. After several weeks the tense situation eased. However, right-wing elements in the Chinese community continued to spread rumors accusing the paper of being pro-communist and during the years of the McCarthy-inspired anti-Communist hysteria, some Chinese Americans were actually scared off from subscribing to the paper.

TROUBLED FIFTIES

Other clouds soon appeared on the horizon during the Cold War years. The new PRC government aligned itself with the USSR, while the United States continued to maintain relations with the Kuomintang regime which had fled to Taiwan.

In June 1950 war broke out in the Korean Peninsula when North Korean armies pushed south across the thirty-eighth parallel to attack South Korea. United States armed forces, under the aegis of the United Nations, came to the relief of South Korea. At the same time President Truman ordered the Seventh Fleet to patrol the Taiwan Straits to prevent the PRC from attacking Taiwan. By September allied forces under Gen. Douglas MacArthur made a surprise amphibious landing at Inchon to trap a large part of the North Korean Army. The victorious allied armed forces then pushed north across the thirty-eighth parallel into North Korea and came menacingly close to the Chinese-Korean border despite a number of warnings from the PRC. By November PRC troops had arrived to give support to the shattered North Korean army and it was soon apparent that the two main adversaries now confronting each other in the Korean Peninsula were the PRC and the United States.

In the United States this news was greeted with dismay by Chinese Americans. Many feared that they would suffer the fate of Japanese Americans during World War II and be incarcerated in relocation camps. The management of *Chinese Pacific Weekly* realized that in the current situation a liberal weekly was particularly vulnerable to political attacks from the right. To ward off this threat, they immediately stopped printing *China Weekly*. The prevailing anti-Communist, anti-PRC mood enabled the Kuomintang right-wing and ultra-conservative elements in the traditional organizations, led by the Chinese Six Companies, to silence the political opposition and to control public opinion in the Chinese American community. As the anti-Communist crusade mounted, with Senator Joseph McCarthy leading the attack, Gilbert decried the rising hysteria. In one essay he pointed out the threat to the American nation:

> American public opinion, except for a few liberals, if not openly or secretly supporting McCarthy, remains as silent as a cicada in cold weather. (Naturally, if it were not for the press, which ran about on behalf of McCarthy, his slanderous words would not have had any force.) The history of the United States is short; the people do not understand the great calamity that can be caused by slanderous talk against loyal and good people....
>
> The crime of treacherous court officials during the decline and fall of dynasties [in ancient China] was not in their directly selling out the country to the enemy without, because they knew that after they sold out their country, the enemy would not have any use for them. Rather, it was that they themselves were blinded by greed and elbowed out completely all able people with foresight and sagacity. Weak-minded rulers either believed completely the words of the treacherous court officials, or they were silenced by fear. As a result, when the enemy from without invaded, there was nobody to defend the country, and another tragic page was added to history.[47]

But *Chinese Pacific Weekly* was a small paper with only limited influence. Gilbert's warnings had little effect. On the contrary, as the lone surviving liberal Chinese newspaper, *Chinese Pacific Weekly* had to be more circumspect in its reporting of political news, particularly news of China.

More problems continued to plague the Chinese American community. At the beginning of the decade the federal government had begun to intensify its investigation of Chinese immigration fraud, which had its origins during the Chinese Exclusion era and was still widely practiced by Chinese immigrants to evade stringent immigration laws. A number of prominent Chinese in America were implicated. Some were indicted and prosecuted. In 1955 Everett Drumright, United States Consul General at Hong Kong, submitted a report charging wholesale fraud by the Chinese. In February 1956 the Department of Justice sought to subpoena the records of all Chinese organizations in San Francisco, a move that was disallowed by a Federal judge after the Chinese went to court. But as Chinatown jubilantly celebrated, Gilbert warned:

> If you think that the crisis has passed and from now on we can sleep without worry and resume the "peaceful" life before February 25—that is, scramble for power and profit, fish in troubled waters — then you are dead wrong. The ninety-page report released by the State Department before Judge Carter gave his judgment should cause you to tremble with fear.... When the government releases this type of report, then you have to be aware. Speaking frankly, I have never seen a government release such a report, which pointed the finger at a specific ethnic group and declared that that group had committed all the serious crimes in the world.[48]

When the federal government realized the impossibility of prosecuting all Chinese immigration fraud cases, the Justice Department proposed a "confession" program to solve the problem. Most of the Chinatown press was initially cool to the idea, but *Chinese Pacific Weekly* supported it editorially and reported it positively as a means for Chinese to rectify a problem inherited from the period of Chinese exclusion. Subsequent events substantiated the soundness of this position, as many Chinese Americans adjusted their status and freed themselves from the constant fear of discovery of their fraudulent immigration status.

During these critical times *Chinese Pacific Weekly* played an important role in informing the Chinese American public. When the paper began publication, Gilbert had just about completed his law courses. Although his grades in school were satisfactory, Gilbert could not quite make passing grade when he took the state bar examination in 1947. He tried twice more, but the results were not much better.[49] Nevertheless, this legal education enabled Gilbert to provide in-depth reports on legal matters, especially on court and immigration news, and interpret their implications for the Chinese American community. Thus when the Chinese American community was harried by the immigration fraud investigations, readers came to look to *Chinese Pacific Weekly* for guidance and reliable information.

During this period, through fellow Democrat Lim P. Lee, Gilbert also became friends with a young lawyer, Phillip Burton, who had extended sympathetic help to the Chinese in the immigration cases. After Burton entered politics and became an influential Democratic Congressman in Washington, he maintained close contact with Gilbert. *Chinese Pacific Weekly* became a voice in the Chinese community friendly to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

BUILDING READERSHIP

Once the financial situation of the paper had stabilized in the late forties, Gilbert and his partners tried different methods to enlarge the paper's circulation. Besides editing the front page news, Gilbert, writing under his own name, wrote a weekly commentary of about a thousand characters that was eventually titled "Suibi" (Informal essays). He often also wrote another satirical or humorous thousand-character essay using a variety of pen names, the most frequently used of which was Nuo Shu ("Uncle Nou," Cantonese "Nok Suk").

Another regular feature of the weekly, a first for Chinese newspapers, was a gossip column called "Xing guo Dubanjie" (Passing by Dupont Street). This consisted of short items, sometimes gossipy, dwelling on events and personalities in the Chinese community. During the early fifties the paper was one of the earliest Chinese newspapers to publish articles on Chinese American history. The paper also ran a series of biographical sketches of Chinatown businesspeople and professionals, mostly written by Moon Yuen. For a period Yuen's wife, Ruby, using the pseudonym Wenjing, was responsible for a column giving advice on family and social problems. Briefly around 1950 each issue of the paper also included a pictorial supplement. Taking a cue from the Chinatown daily *Chinese World*, which had established an English supplement in 1949, *Chinese Pacific Weekly* also tried to reach out to the English-speaking American-born Chinese. An English supplement was published in cooperation with Thomas Tong in 1952. But the effort was aborted when circulation did not show any significant improvement, and the paper remained targeted at an audience that read Chinese.

The support base for *Chinese Pacific Weekly* consisted largely of Chinese Americans who had had some Chinese as well as Western education. Many belonged to the Chinese American middle class, which had increased in numbers and influence in the Chinese American community since World War II and had spearheaded Chinese American efforts to become part of the American mainstream. These people generally had more open-minded attitudes regarding Chinese traditions and often favored change in the Chinese American community. One category of readers consisted of professionals and businesspeople around Gilbert's age or older. Many were active in the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and in civic affairs during the fifties. They advocated modernizing Chinatown and improving Chinatown business opportunities by attracting more tourists into the area. Gilbert early became one of their supporters. In 1953, when Henry Lem (publisher of *Chinese Times*), Paul Louie, Jack Chow, H. K. Wong, and other Chinese American businesspeople organized the first Chinese New Year Festival for the public, Gilbert participated in the publicity work. During this period Gilbert's friends Albert Lim and Bing Wong would often drop in to chat with Gilbert at the newspaper office or lunch with him, discussing topics ranging from politics to cultural affairs. By 1955 these informal meetings had evolved into the Tea Forum, a periodic noon or evening gathering during which invited guests spoke on different subjects of current interest.[50] Members

of the organization included Chinatown businesspeople and professionals such as Paul Louie, H. K. Wong, Rev. T. T. Taam, Kem Lee, and others. For many years Gilbert had a close relationship with this group of Chinese Americans and their names and deeds were often mentioned in *Chinese Pacific Weekly*.

Another group of supporters were those who had been active in the cultural clubs that sprang up during World War II. Many of these were somewhat younger than Gilbert and often treated him as a mentor. Some of the most active people connected with the paper during its early years were drawn from this group. Because members of the group had many interests in common, they wanted to gather for group activities.

In the summer of 1954, the weekly's staff organized an outing to Yosemite National Park in which members of several youth groups—Mandarin Club and the wartime youth groups Xianfeng Drama Club, Lufeng Drama Club, and Chick Char Musical Club—participated. The next year the group was also joined by members of Yehuo Club on a weekend trip to Camp Lagunitas, where the United Outing Association was officially founded. This loose-knitted group used *Chinese Pacific Weekly* to announce planned activities.

For almost three decades the association provided a vehicle for friends and readers of the paper to gather periodically for social events. One of its founders, Philip Eng (pen name Feili), also often wrote for the paper during the fifties. Another founder, Blossom Fong (Bailixin, pen name Weiwei), wrote a regular column dwelling on problems faced by Chinese Americans in their family and social life.

Both the United Outing Association and the Tea Forum were nonpolitical. Even though they were not officially part of *Chinese Pacific Weekly*, the paper reported the organizations' activities regularly in great detail, so that they remained strongly identified with it.

Chinese Pacific Weekly under Gilbert also had a continuing interest in promoting Chinese American writing. For example, in 1954 the paper solicited manuscripts describing personal experiences at work and at school; in 1955 the paper printed articles from readers on their most memorable experience during the time they were in the United States; during the fifties there were frequent articles on aspects of Chinese American literature; and in 1960-61 *Chinese Pacific Weekly* solicited short story manuscripts from readers and published five. However, manuscripts from these sources began to dry up by the mid-sixties as former contributors became more engrossed in pursuing careers or were busy raising families.

From 1960 on *Chinese Pacific Weekly* became a member of the San Francisco Press Club, which provided it with access to the courts and to governmental agencies. Gilbert also forged relations with government officials. These ties became helpful as sources of background information, giving his reporting more depth and adding to the credibility of the paper among its readers.

While Gilbert was consolidating his friendship among the up-and-coming Chinese American middle class and forging ties to various news sources, his stature was also growing among his fellow villager-clansmen. In 1951 the Woo Family Association elected him president. Later in 1954 Gilbert joined fellow villager-clansmen in forming the Dune Yep Corporation to purchase the property at 740-742 Commercial Street, which in 1964 became the headquarters for Woo Shew Kee Association, his fellow villagers' club.

HOPEFUL SIXTIES

During the fifties and the sixties the paper's financial condition improved and the corporation bought a building on Stockton Street.

The sixties also saw the beginning of change in the political climate in the Chinese American community. The decade started off on a positive note for Gilbert when he was invited to a conference on the elderly called by President Dwight Eisenhower. After the conference he visited New York for the first time in his life.

At this time the ultra-right was still in firm control in the Chinese community. *Chinese Pacific Weekly* was well aware of its own delicate situation, but as responsible journalists the staff at the paper still tried to report the news objectively, especially that on the PRC. During one period in the sixties the paper published a series by Siming, a correspondent in Hong Kong, dwelling on news from mainland China. Such reports were welcomed by the paper's readers, many of whom were interested in objective reports on developments in their ancestral land.

This liberal attitude did not endear *Chinese Pacific Weekly* to right-wing elements. When Gilbert suffered his first heart attack in 1962 and had to recuperate at home, he received a number of anonymous harassing calls that finally forced him to change his telephone number. The right also persisted in

spreading rumors that the paper was pro-Communist. They even passed along this type of slander to the ultra-right in the white world. In 1964 an article in *Parade*, a magazine section included with the Sunday edition of the *Oakland Tribune*, charged that *Chinese Pacific Weekly* promoted the Beijing political line. However, when *Chinese Pacific Weekly* threatened to sue for libel, the *Tribune* and *Parade* published a public apology and admitted the story was in error.[51]

Gilbert was a consistent advocate of efforts to modernize the Chinese community but was often disappointed. In the late fifties he had been supportive of the National Chinese Welfare Council as a national advocacy group for the Chinese in America, but his enthusiasm quickly cooled when the organization became controlled by Kuomintang elements who used it for partisan propaganda. In the sixties Gilbert was often critical of other Chinatown associations, such as the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, which were being used for political purposes to the neglect of their original objectives:

> I believe that the reason that the Chinese Chamber of Commerce has given people a bad impression in the last few years is that the chamber itself projected an image that was not very pleasing. The person on the street in Chinatown feels that some chamber directors are not into business, nor do they talk about business. They only use despicable political methods...seeking to control all and eliminating those not in agreement with them. Their aim is not to fight for the interests of merchants or Chinatown businesses and industries, but only to ensure that [the chamber] be a "loyal and steadfast Chinese" organization; that it not be allowed to be too independent, nor to cooperate too much with white society; and that it emulate existing Chinatown associations by retreating into a cage and performing the same functions of welcoming and seeing [important visitors] off, so members can have their photographs taken with young ladies, to be published in the newspapers.[52]

Regarding the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA, Chinese Six Companies), he remarked:

> If the CCBA only knows how to welcome and to see [important visitors] off and does not change its bylaws, and remains in a rut, without any capability of doing anything for the welfare [of the community], then even if the Fah Yuen Association donated a million dollars, or the Tung Hua Association donated a building, the Chinese American on the street...will not benefit. On the other hand, if the CCBA does not accomplish anything for the community, then those affected adversely will be all the Chinese in America.[53]

Although many people in the Chinese community probably agreed with him, most had neither the power nor the will to take any action. Thus Gilbert often was a lonely and ineffective voice in the wilderness, a situation that spoke to the overwhelming influence of the traditional conservative forces and revealed the relative weakness of liberal elements in the Chinese community.

This situation in Chinatown, however, provided the springboard for the launching of other organizations that proposed to provide leadership for the benefit of the community where the traditional organizations had failed. Thus the sixties also saw the rise of middle-class-based groups such as San Francisco Greater Chinatown Community Service Association and Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco, which promised to serve the Chinese American community free of a partisan right-wing political agenda. Gilbert and *Chinese Pacific Weekly* took a positive view of these newly established Chinese American community organizations.

The rise of the African-American-led civil-rights movement during the decade portended even greater changes. Gilbert immediately recognized that the Chinese American struggle for equal status in the United States was part of this movement:

> We must sympathize with and support the Negroes' fight for equality. That is the only road, there is no other choice. Our interests and the interests of the Negroes fighting for equal rights are identical. We cannot wallow in the mire together with the white men who have a sense of [racial] superiority. If it were not for the Negroes fighting for equality, I am afraid that even now we would not be able to buy property outside Chinatown. Right now they [whites] have the Negroes as their adversaries and they do not have time to deal with us. They are even slightly more courteous to us, but that is not their real intention. If one day the white people in the South and the ultra-right form a united front and force the Negroes into submission, the Chinese will also suffer the same fate. Our future is closely linked with the future of the other ethnic minorities in America.[54]

As part of the minorities struggle for equal participation in American society, Chinese Americans were becoming increasingly active in American

politics and breaking down racial barriers. In 1964 Gilbert was invited by President Lyndon Johnson to attend a reception in Washington, D.C. Through the efforts of Rep. Phillip Burton, Gilbert's fellow Democrat and friend, Lim P. Lee, was appointed postmaster for San Francisco in January 1966. He was the first Chinese American in the continental United States to hold that position. The same year also saw fellow Democrat Harry W. Low appointed as the first Chinese American municipal court judge in San Francisco.

When President Lyndon Johnson launched a nationwide War on Poverty during the mid-sixties, San Francisco Chinatown was targeted as one of the poverty areas with many social and economic problems. The War on Poverty eventually failed to achieve its goal, but under this program federal funds were channeled into the Chinese American community to maintain existing social agencies and create new ones.

CHANGING SEVENTIES

Beginning in the late sixties there was a resurgence of ethnic pride and identity among minorities in America as part of their effort to achieve equal status in American society. Chinese Americans felt a renewed interest in their Chinese heritage and their community. Many younger Chinese American professionals became active in the Chinatown social agencies and organizations. In 1969 Chinese American students participated in founding the Asian American Studies programs in San Francisco State College and the University of California at Berkeley. Students became more aware of their heritage and of community issues. That same year L. Ling-chi Wang, Germaine Wong, and others founded the civil rights organization Chinese for Affirmative Action. These new groups became political forces pressuring for change in the Chinatown status quo. Gilbert assessed their role approvingly:

> The American-born attending middle school and college have reversed the trend of twenty-five years ago and begun to be aware that they are of the yellow race and Chinese. One generation ago the American-born were so afraid that they could not assimilate that every time they opened their mouths it was to assert they were American.... Now it is different. They flaunt themselves as Chinese....
>
> ... Twenty-five years ago when the American-born wished to carry out a 100 percent Americanization program, they even "sold out" Chinatown and showed no interest in it, leaving it to the older generation to be involved.

> But now this new generation of American-born has developed an interest in Chinese American history and Chinese American society. They are not just looking across the river enjoying the fire, but wish to return to be active. Those who do all they can to maintain the status quo are sure not to allow others to encroach upon it. Thus an internal contradiction develops in the Chinese community and conflict is unavoidable.[55]

Gilbert had intended to retire in the early seventies, but the changing situation so encouraged him that he changed his mind and continued editing *Chinese Pacific Weekly*. Around 1969 Gordon Lau, L. Ling-chi Wang, Harold Yee and others assumed leadership in the Chinese American Democratic Club (CADC) and changed it into a more activist organization. Gilbert's niece Betty Lim was also one of the activist Democrats and through her he became close to CADC. His paper often gave support to programs advocated by these Chinese American liberals.

In a community still controlled byconservatives, this was sometimes politically risky. For example, in 1971 the San Francisco Board of Education announced a plan, supported by Chinese American liberals, to bus children to various schools to achieve better ethnic balance. *Chinese Pacific Weekly* and *East-West* were the only Chinatown newspapers supporting the plan. Conservative elements, feeding on the fears and anxieties of Chinatown parents, encouraged a mass defiance of the plan. Busing opponents organized Chinese women garment factory workers to demonstrate against Chinese American supporters of school integration. They picketed the office of *Chinese Pacific Weekly* for a few days.

The continuing activism of the Chinese American middle class as they fought for equal rights in American society and for improvements in Chinese American society remained a source of encouragement to Gilbert to do more. Thus in 1971, when Chinese for Affirmative Action sponsored the weekly Hon Sing Chinese Community Hour on radio station KQED-FM, he once again became a regular news commentator, giving listeners his insights on events. At one point he also wrote several skits based on Chinatown problems for the program.

Gilbert also was inspired to begin thinking seriously about writing a book on Chinese American history, a task for which he was eminently qualified due to his long involvement as a journalist in the Chinese American community. For a while he worked with Him Mark Lai, interviewing various Chinese Americans

for oral histories. However, being a person temperamentally more suited to writing and interpreting current events rather than doing tedious documentary research, he soon lost interest. But as an offshoot from this project Gilbert began, on September 5, 1974, writing a regular column, "Jinmen Yi Yu" (Reminiscences by the Golden Gate), which was autobiographical in nature but which also included much background historical material.

This series also coincided with the changing of the *Chinese Pacific Weekly* to offset printing as Norbert finally retired from running the paper's tired printing presses. At that time the partners also sold their building for a tidy profit.[56]

The United States' hostile attitude toward China softened by the late sixties. After President Nixon went to China in early 1972, the Chinese table tennis team came to the United States in April. As relations between the two nations improved, the strident Kuomintang anti-Communist rhetoric of the fifties and sixties became less and less effective. Chinese Americans resumed contacts with relatives and friends and made business deals on the Chinese mainland. *Chinese Pacific Weekly* also played a role in these developments. In his column Gilbert remarked on the divided loyalties of Chinese Americans:

> As for Chinatown, naturally there are those who are happy and those who are sad [over the turn of events]. But the common people should breathe easier.... The Chinese here is like a child with two sets of parents. One set gave birth to him, while the other set is his adopted one. When the two are quarreling, we not only worry, we also cannot return to visit our former home, we cannot taste food prepared in the style of our home village. Now that they are talking of friendship, why shouldn't we breathe easier?[57]

In 1972 Gilbert was invited to visit the PRC. It was the first time he was able to visit parts of China other than his native Pearl River Delta. In China he was reunited with daughter Lucy and met his younger daughter Nancy for the first time. Lucy and Nancy had been in China since 1957 and 1958, respectively, when like many other young Hong Kong Chinese in the fifties, they had left the colony to pursue their further education in mainland China. They subsequently married and settled in China. During this trip Gilbert was also asked by the Hong Kong-based *Week End News* to submit some articles on Chinese American community activities. He wrote several essays using the pen name "Qiuhong"

(Autumn wild goose) and turned the honorarium over to his wife, who was still living in Hong Kong.

This and two subsequent trips to China provided Gilbert with material to write a series of newspaper articles based on his travels. As usual Gilbert's reporting was factual and was characteristically enlivened with human interest details. The articles showed his love for his native land and its people. Coming at a time when Chinese Americans were curious to know more about a China that was just emerging from isolation, the articles attracted many readers and helped them to gain a more realistic perception of the PRC.

In 1974 he visited New York with the family of his friend Victoria Chun. Unlike two previous trips to the city when he spent very little time in the Chinese community, this time Gilbert and his friends lived near Chinatown. They often visited that eastern center of the Chinese in America and Gilbert became better acquainted with the New York Chinese community. Gilbert shared these experiences with his readers with articles in the paper.[58]

Gilbert visited China again in 1976 as part of a group of fifteen, several of whom had been volunteers on the Hon Sing Community Hour program. In 1976 political tensions were high in China. Premier Zhou Enlai had passed away earlier that year. When the group reached Tianjin, they heard of Zhu De's death. Soon after they returned to the United States came the news of the death of Chairman Mao Zedong and the subsequent fall of the "Gang of Four." In 1978 he visited the PRC for the third time. He promised his grandchildren in China that he would be back to visit them in two more years. He never made it.

Gilbert was a shy person who seldom made speeches in public. But in September 1979 he gave one of his rare public speeches when he accepted an invitation to be the keynote speaker at a Chinatown banquet commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the PRC. That proved to be his last appearance at a major public function. A month and a half later, at about 3 a.m. on November 17, 1979, Gilbert died alone at home after suffering a heart attack. His body was discovered the next day by his niece Betty Lim. Betty had gone to his home after receiving a call from L. Ling-chi Wang, who had became alarmed when Gilbert had not appeared at the Hon Sing Community Hour to record the weekly news commentary.[59] Gilbert's memorial service, held on the morning of December 1st at Chinatown's Commodore Stockton School, was attended by three hundred people. Congressman Phillip Burton made a special trip from Washington, D.C. Gilbert's widow and youngest daughter Nancy also

flew in from Hong Kong, but his daughter Lucy could not get an American visa in time to attend the services. In accordance with instructions in his will, there were no ceremonies at Gilbert Woo's funeral. His body was cremated and the ashes deposited at Woodlawn Cemetary.

The operations of *Chinese Pacific Weekly* were taken over by his close friend David Shew. But it was Gilbert Woo's unique style of journalism that had attracted readers. For all practical purposes, Gilbert Woo was the heart and soul of *Chinese Pacific Weekly*. Without him the paper lost its distinctive quality. Shew published the paper for about a year and suffered losses. He then turned it over to Gordon Lew of the bilingual weekly *East-West* in January 1981. However, continuing declining circulation forced Lew to combine the weekly with the Chinese section of *East-West* on August 3, 1983.[60] This format was retained until October 16, 1986 when *East-West* was redesigned and the name *Chinese Pacific Weekly* was dropped from the title.

Gilbert Foo and others tried to continue the United Outing Association after Gilbert Woo's death, but the effort petered out after Foo passed away in the early eighties. Tea Forum, however, was still being convened sporadically up to the late eighties.

CHINESE AMERICAN JOURNALIST

Separated from his family in Hong Kong and China during his four-decade career as a Chinese American journalist, Gilbert Woo lived a simple life. His greatest love was to go fishing with friends at places such as Clear Lake. He was a great lover of classical music. At one time in the fifties and sixties he was also a devotee of Western folk dancing.

Outwardly Gilbert Woo was a mild-mannered, unassuming journalist known to a wide range of people within and outside the Chinese American community. But his close friends also knew him to be independent and strong-willed with deep convictions. He also had a sensitive, introverted personality and admitted to having feelings of inferiority, which often made it difficult for him to work with potential rivals. Thus he was at his best when working alone. He himself was probably well aware of these quirks in his personality. This perhaps was one of the reasons why he apparently was content to run a one-man editorial operation and did not seek to expand *Chinese Pacific Weekly* to daily publication, which, with more staff and greater budgets, would have meant much more complex interpersonal relationships and greater demands for establishing a bureaucratic structure.

Gilbert Woo's life spanned a period when great changes occurred in China and in the United States. He himself was the progeny of a transitional stage in the development of the Chinese community, when attitudes were evolving from those of an overseas Chinese sojourner to those of an American of Chinese descent. Few other journalists were better qualified to interpret these changes and mold the opinion of the Chinese American public. Equally fluent in Chinese and English and well versed in both cultures, Gilbert Woo interpreted the world from the point of view of an American citizen of Chinese descent. He felt deeply that Chinese Americans should be an integral part of American society. On the other hand, he believed just as strongly that they should have pride in and preserve certain positive aspects of their Chinese heritage.

Espouser of a pragmatic liberal political philosophy, Gilbert sought always to be the voice of reason, neither confrontational nor strident. Never a fiery militant or an opinionated dogmatist, his basic ideology was evolutionary, not revolutionary. For this, doctrinaire members of the Left charged him with being wishy-washy and opportunistic, while the Right attacked him as being soft on communism. But Gilbert Woo's political beliefs were consistent from early in his career until the day he died. He was an advocate for better conditions for the person on the street. He actively supported moves to improve the Chinese American community. He unfailingly championed the cause of the Chinese in America, supporting efforts to improve their economic, social and political status and achieve equality in America's multicultural, multiethnic society. Equally aware of his roots in his native land, he also continued to be interested in the building of a modernized, democratic China. His writings show especially a great love for his native Taishan.

His writing style and his principled political stands evidently struck sympathetic chords among many Chinese Americans, for Gilbert Woo was one of the most widely read columnists of his day. His readers included professionals and businesspeople, intellectuals, community leaders, politicians, government officials, and ordinary working people. He can be considered one of the influential Chinese American journalists of the twentieth century. This indeed was a remarkable accomplishment for someone who had not even been admitted to middle school in Taishan!

NOTES

1. Norbert Woo, interview with author, Feb. 28, 1991. Norbert Woo stated that Choeng Kuen Woo and the concubine were married in San Francisco. Gilbert Woo, however, claimed that Choeng Kuen Woo married her in Xiangshan. See Jingnan [Gilbert Woo], "Suibi" [Informal essays], *Chinese Pacific Weekly*, (Feb. 7, 1958). The "Informal Essays" were a regular feature of the paper, all written by Gilbert Woo. [Hereafter they are cited as "Informal Essays" with the appropriate date of the *Chinese Pacific Weekly* (*CPW*).]

2. Much of this biography is based on a series of weekly interviews with Norbert Woo in Dec. 1988 and Jan. 1989.

3. Gam saan haak (jinshan ke, visitor to the Gold Mountains) is a Cantonese term referring to emigrants who went to the United States. The term Gold Mountains refers to California.

4. Chen Zhongmei, "Shixuejia He Ganzhi" [He Ganzhi the historian], in *Taishan renwu zhi* [Biographies of Taishan personalities] (Taishan: Huaqiao shushe, 1988), 114-16. Tan joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1934 and became known as He Ganzhi. During the Sino-Japanese War He was a history professor at Huabei Lianhe Daxue (North China United University). After the founding of the PRC, when the university was reorganized as Renmin Daxue (People's University), He became head of the History and Communist Party History departments. During the Cultural Revolution He was attacked as a "reactionary authority" and put under house arrest. He died in 1969.

5. Guan Jilian et al., "Lin Jilu," in vol. 9 of *Zhong Gong dang shi renwu zhuan* [Biographies of personages in the history of the Chinese Communist Party], ed. by Hu Hua (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1983), 76-106. Lin Weiliang, known more familiarly as Lin Jilu, was a native of Taishan. In his earlier years Lin was active in progressive activities in Taishan. Lin was fourteen when he met Woo, and he recorded his impressions in his "Lüxing Guanghai, Haiyan riji" [Diary of a trip to Guanghai and Haiyan]. Lin joined the Communist Youth League and the Anti-Imperialist Alliance of China in 1933 and the Chinese Communist Party in 1935. In 1938 he and several others were sent by the party to Xinjiang to help the warlord Sheng Shicai. When Sheng decided to switch his allegiance to the Kuomintang government he turned on the communists. Lin was imprisoned and executed by Sheng in 1943.

6. Gilbert Woo, "Jingchou lai Meiguo le" [Gang Chew is coming to America], *Hu Jingnan wenji* [Selected essays of Gilbert Gang Nam Woo] (Hong Kong: Heungkong Publishing Co., 1991), 5-6. (Cited hereafter as "Gang Chew is coming to America." Whenever I have quoted Gilbert Woo's published work, the translation from the original Chinese is mine.)

7. Gilbert Woo, interview with author, Oct. 1976.

8. Jingnan, "Jinmen yi yu" [Reminiscences by the Golden Gate], *CPW*, Dec. 5, 1974. ("Reminiscences by the Golden Gate" were a regular feature of *CPW*, all written by Jingnan. Hereafter they are cited as "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate.")

9. "Informal Essays," *CPW*, June 13, 1975.

10. Gilbert Woo, interview.

11. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Dec. 19, 1974.

12. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Dec. 12, 1974.

13. Woo, "Gang Chew is Coming to America."

14. Xiaoxing [Dawn star], "Ping Hengjiang Jiucun Huang Liang liang xing zhi jiufen" [Comments on the dispute between the Wong and Leong clans of Hengjiang old village], and Yanqiu [Wild goose autumn], "Jing gao Hengjiang de xiaoxue jiaoyuan [Respectful declaration to primary school teachers in Hengjiang]," *Shengsheng zazhi*, 3-7 and 13-20 respectively.

15. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Jan. 9, 1975.

16. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Oct. 24, 1974.

17. After Chiang Kai-shek's 1927 coup d'etat, other factions within the Kuomintang arose to oppose him. In the United States the party was split into left- and right-wing factions, with separate party headquarters and news organs in many Chinese communities.

18. The club was founded in 1933 by Tan Guangzhong, then president of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, and others. They were inspired by the KMT government slogan "National Salvation through Science."

19. Hu Jingnam, "Sannian lai zhi Zhonghua Wuxiandian Xuehui" [The Chinese Radio Club during the last three years], *Liu-Mei xuesheng yuekan* [*The Chinese Student*], vol. 1, no. 10/11 (Jan. 1937): 29-30.

20. Prior to World War II, Chinese from a given locality in China leaving the United States for China had to pay an exit tax to the corresponding district association for support of the association's various activities. The association would then issue an exit permit entitling the holder to leave the country. When a passenger boarded a ship, he or she had to show this exit permit to the association's agent, stationed at the dock. This system was established during the early days of Chinese immigration to California during the nineteenth century, probably to ensure that Chinese leaving the country would have satisfactorily discharged all their financial obligations, including repayment of debts.

21. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Aug. 10 and 17, 1974.

22. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Oct. 24 and 31, 1974.

23. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Sept. 5, 12, and 19, Nov. 7, 1974.

24. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Nov. 7, 1974.

25. Formation of the Chick Char Club in 1937 was inspired by the visit of Tao Xinzhi, a Chinese educator who had come to the United States to urge the Chinese to support resistance to Japanese aggression.

26. *Chinese Times*, July 11, 1940.

27. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Mar. 27, 1975.

28. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Jan. 16, 1975.

29. *Chinese Times*, July 11, 1940; Jianfu, "Nian yu lai de huiwu gaishu" [A narration of society affairs in the past year or so], in *Ymen Ingau* [Language study] (San Francisco: New Chinese Alphabetized Language Study Society, 1942), 9-11.

30. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, June 19 and 26, July 3, 1975.

31. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, July 31, 1975.

32. *Chinese Times*, Mar. 9, 1943.

33. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Aug. 21, 1975.

34. *Chinese Times*, Feb. 1, 1944.

35. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Feb. 20, 1975.

36. *Chinese Times*, May 22, 1944; "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Oct. 23, 1975.

37. *Chinese Times*, July 10 and 14, 1944. Gilbert wrote in "Qizhe" that he will not engage in editorial exchanges. (*Kuo Min Yat Po*, July 12, 1944.)

38. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Oct. 30 and Nov. 6, 1975.

39. "Cathay by the Bay," *Chinese Press*, June 16, 1950.

40. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Nov. 13, 1975.

41. *Kuo Min Yat Po*, Mar. 23, 1946.

42. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Feb. 19, 1975.

43. "Editorial," *CPW*, Oct. 4, 1947.

44. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Mar. 11, 1976.

45. "Reminiscences by the Golden Gate," *CPW*, Mar. 11, 1976.

46. *East-West*, Aug. 3, 1983.

47. "Informal Essays," *CPW*, Aug. 11, 1951.

48. "Informal Essays," *CPW*, Mar. 23, 1956.

49. "Informal Essays," *CPW*, May 17, 1966; Feb. 11, 1971.

50. "Informal Essays," *CPW*, May 21, 1954.

51. "Informal Essays," *CPW*, Mar. 12, 1964.

52. "Informal Essays," *CPW*, Oct. 8, 1964.

53. "Informal Essays," *CPW*, June 25, 1964.

54. "Informal Essays," *CPW*, June 6, 1963.

55. "Informal Essays," *CPW*, Apr. 3, 1969.

56. "Informal Essays," *CPW*, Aug. 15, 1974.

57. "Informal Essays," *CPW*, Apr. 22, 1971.

58. "Informal Essays," *CPW*, Oct. 17, 1974.

59. Lanshi, "Fu yu nü" (Father and daughter), *CPW*, Jan. 10, 1980.

60. *East-West*, Aug. 3, 1983.

Glossary of Chinese Terms

1. Names

Bailixin 白麗心
Caohou 曹厚
Cao Yu 曹禺
Chan, Woodrew 陳中海
Chew Shee 趙氏，趙鶯鶯
Chick Char Musical Club 叱咤音樂社
China War Relief Association 旅美華僑義捐救國總會
China Weekly 《金門僑報》
Chinese American Citizens Alliance 同源會
Chinese American Democratic Club 華裔民主黨協進會
Chinese Central High School 中華中學校
Chinese Chamber of Commerce 舊金山中華總商會
Chinese Pacific Weekly 《太平洋週報》
Chinese Radio Club 中華無線電學會
Chinese Times 《金山時報》
Chinese Workers Mutual-Aid Association 加省華工合作會
Chinese World 《世界日報》
Chow, Jack 周植榮
Chun, Victoria 陳愛璇
Chung Sai Yat Po 《中西日報》
Dea, Xavier 謝創，謝榮創
Dongfang Middle School 東方
Dune Yep Corporation 俊業公司
East-West 《東西報》
Eng, Philip 伍飛力
Fah Yuen Benevolent Association 花縣會館
Fang, Zhenwu 方振武
Fee, Benjamin 張恨棠
Feili 飛力
Fong, Blossom 方麗娥
Foo, Gilbert 胡玉生
gam saan haak 金山客
Golden Star Radio Chinese Hour 金星華人廣播電台
Hall, John 何振雄
He Ganzhi 何幹之
Hengjiang Old Village 橫江舊村
Hengjiang Qingnian Xiejinshe 橫江青年協進社
Hom, Gar Cheong 譚稼祥
Hon Sing Chinese Community Hour 漢聲廣播節目
Huaqiao Wenhua Jianshe Yanjiuhui 華僑文化建設研究會
Jiangtao Tekan 《江濤特刊》
"Jinmen Ou Gan" 《金門偶感》
"Jinmen Yi Yu" 《金門憶語》
"Jinmen Za Gan" 《金門雜感》
Kin Kuo School 建國中學校
Kong, Li Yown 鄺麗容
Kuo Min Yat Po 《美洲國民日報》
Kuomintang 中國國民黨
Lai, Him Mark 黎禮謙
Lau, Gordon 劉貴明
League to Protect the Great Republic of China 大中華民國護國團
Lee, Kem 李少吟
Lee, Lim P. 李泮霖
Lem, Henry 林康惠
Lew, Gordon 劉池光
Li Junheng 李均衡，李七
Lim, Albert 林登
Lim, Betty 林淑琪
Lin Jilu 林基路
Lin Weiliang 林爲樑
Linyi Yi Laofu 《臨沂一老婦》
Louie, Paul 雷滄海
Low, Harry 劉百昌
Lowe, Lawrence 蔡滄淇
Lufeng Drama Club 三凡市蘆烽話劇社
Lugouqiao 蘆溝橋
Lum, Walter U. 林華耀
Mah, D. Y. 馬典如
Mandarin Club 國語社
Minfeng 《民風》
Nankai Middle School 南開中學
National Chinese Welfare Council 全美華人福利總會
Ning Yung Benevolent Association 寧陽總會館
Nuo Shu 諾叔
"Ou Gan" 《偶感》
Ow, Yuk 區寵賜，區玉
Qiuhong 秋鴻
"Qizhe" 《啟者》
San Francisco Greater Chinatown Community Service Association 三凡市華埠服務總會
Shao Bingkun 邵丙昆
Sheng Shicai 盛世才
Shengsheng Zazhi 《聲聲雜誌》
Shew, David 蕭棣偉
Shiqu 《時趣》
Siming 司明
sin wenz 新文字
Suey Sing Tong 萃勝工商會
Suibi 《隨筆》
Taam, T. T. 譚祖鈿
Taishan County Middle School 台山縣立中學
Tan Guangzhong 譚光中
Tan Xiufeng 譚秀峰，譚毓均
Tao Xingzhi 陶行知
Tea Forum 茗談會
Thunderstorm 《雷雨》
Tong, May 陳杏媚
Tong, Thomas 唐才，唐憲才
Tsoi, Henry 蔡苻洲
Tujin She 突進社
Tung Hua Association 東華社
United Outing Association 郊聯社
Wang, L. Ling-chi 王靈智
Week End News 《週末報》
Weiwei 薇薇

Wenjing 文静
Wenxue Zhoukan 《文學週刊》
Wong, Bing 黃炳昌
Wong, Germaine 黃少薇
Wong, H. K. 黃定國
Wong, James 黃培正
Woo, Cheong Kuen 胡昌權
Woo, Gang Moy 胡景梅
Woo, Gilbert; Woo, Gang Nam 胡景南
Woo, Katie 胡瑤姬
Woo, Lucy 胡露施
Woo, Margaret; Woo, Yow Gee 胡瑤姿
Woo, Nancy 胡蘭施
Woo, Norbert; Woo, Gang Chew 胡景儔
Woo Shew Kee Assocation 胡肇基堂
Woo, Thomas; Woo, Gang Chee 胡景賜
Woo, Yin 胡和毅
Xianfeng Drama Club 先鋒劇藝研究社
Xin Huaqiao Xuehui 新華僑學會
"Xing guo Dubanjie" 《行過都板街》
Yee Hing store 怡興店
Yehuo Club 野火社
Yeyu Xiao Jutuan 業餘小劇團
Ying On Labor and Merchant Association 英端工商會
Young, Donald 楊華超
Yuen, Ruby 鄺霞蓮
Yuen, Moon 袁文慶
Yuying Jikan 《育英季刊》
Yuying Primary School 育英小學
"Zhongguo Wenti Pingyi" 《中國問題評議》
Zhu Bolian 朱伯濂

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