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TITLE OF THESIS: A BRIEF SURVEY OF CHINESE IMMI-
GRANTS IN AMERICAN LIFE

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Mary E. Burton

DATE: JULY 15, 1938

Within the four seas all are brethren....

- Confucius

四海之內
皆兄弟也

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

A BRIEF SURVEY OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN AMERICAN LIFE

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty

Of the Graduate School of the University of Louisville

In Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Of Master of Arts

Department of Sociology

By

Chwen Kiang Djang

1938

15 Dec. '38 PM.

TO

My Wife

LILY CHOW DJANG

In appreciation of her
encouragement and devotion

47211

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A BRIEF SURVEY OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN AMERICAN LIFE

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FOREWORD

FOREWORD

The interest of the writer in the subject of this thesis has grown out of a three years' sojourn as a Chinese student and traveler in the southern part of the United States of America, and through constant contact with the Chinese immigrants. Although there are not as many Chinese immigrants in the southern states as there are in the northern states, nevertheless it is significant to contrast their characteristics, their racial and economic problems, and their living conditions with those who are living in the northern states. As it is generally agreed that the problem of racial conflict is more intense and vital in the South than it is in the North, a study of the relationships and problems existing between the Chinese immigrants and the American people in the South has therefore received much consideration.

Since the onset of the world-wide economic depression Chinese immigrants in America have been in a state of unrest. Steps have been taken by many Americans to ban the Chinese merchants, while others have tried to employ native workers instead of Chinese labor. China, not being a fighting power, is not able to extend protection to her emigrants abroad; they are left to shift for themselves, and, consequently, are subjected to discriminations almost everywhere. With the changing attitude and policy of the United States government toward immigrants since 1924, the oppressive regulations become more severe and the situation becomes more intense.

Perhaps no other problem is so keenly debated and receives so much deliberation as the present problem of unemployment. The Chinese Consulates in the different parts of the country have helped to return thousands of immigrants to China during recent years and many are making preparations to return in the future. In addition to the economic problems, there are the problems of racial conflict, social maladjustment, political discrimination, etc. To the solution of these problems this thesis attempts to offer some constructive contributions.

An attempt has been made to select descriptions of typical case study situations. These have been drawn from the immigrants themselves in so far as this was possible, and secured from other sources, especially the United States Government documents, Chinese books, newspaper clippings, reports, and other published materials. In these illustrations the writer has tried to avoid opinions, concentrating his attention upon the case study materials. These are used simply as the most feasible method of defining the attitudes of the Chinese immigrants toward the United States Government and the American people.

It is but fair to state that some of the ideas expressed in this thesis would not have been possible had it not been for the aid given by Chinese immigrants, and by many of our fellow-students who are located in different parts of this country. The writer therefore wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the more than fifty Chinese

immigrants, most of whom are laundrymen and restaurateurs, and to the many Chinese students of the different universities whose opinions and interests are reflected in the pages of this discussion.

C.K. Djang.

July 15, 1938.

Louisville, Kentucky.

Chapter I

CHINA, YESTERDAY AND TODAY

- (1) The Old China
- (2) The New China
- (3) China's Relations with the
United States

Chapter I

CHINA, YESTERDAY AND TODAY

China is the largest, the oldest and the most populous country in the world. When Abraham left Chaldean civilization behind, 1,500 years before Christ, China's sages were already defining from tradition the principles that would become written social philosophy; in the centuries when the ancestors of the Europeans were barbarians, China had already a rich heritage, a glorious history, a high civilization, and a beautiful culture.¹

Nations have come and gone, but China goes on. China does not live by rice alone. China has not tried to live by things by which other nations have died: armies, power, brute force. China lives by spirit.

Dating from approximately 3,000 B.C., the Chinese have had as contemporaries Egypt, Greece, Rome and many other empires of far-flung glory, who have ridden their proud steeds and conquered at the point of the sword but then have passed away to be remembered only as nations that were. But humble, simple, childlike China has survived them all. What is the secret of this survival? The secret is not what materialistic science calls "the survival of the fittest." It certain-

1. Carver, W.O., The Course of Christian Missions, 1932, p. 175

ly cannot be the survival of the unfit. What is it? Let the question rest for a while.

I. The Old China

One should think, however, of two Chinas, the ancient and the new. The old China began with the leader of the Shang Dynasty who gathered the scattered tribes into a united family long before the Christian era which marked the beginning of the western world. A simple division of Chinese history would define the first period as dating from 2852 B.C. to 206 B.C., during which time the empire arose from an unorganized primitive culture of the prehistoric age to a consolidated and well organized nation. This early period saw the change from a primitive form of living to a highly developed civilization. Many remains of this period, uncovered by archaeological surveys, have shown this age to be one of great development. China's philosophy began also within this period when the great leader of thought and life, Confucius, was born in 550 B.C. He is recognized today as one of the world's greatest philosophers.²

The second period, from 206 B.C. to 1644 A.D., includes the eras of the famed dynasties of Han, Tang, Sung, Yuan and Ming. This period saw the first intercourse between China and Europe opened with the visit of Marco Polo to Kublai Khan's court and his return to Venice. Throughout these dynasties, there were five classes of society arranged in the

following order: the men of letters, agriculturalists, laborers, tradesmen, and soldiers. It is interesting to note that tradesmen are second from the bottom and that soldiers were looked upon as lower than all of them. One may figure out for himself the relationship of this fact to China's survival. Many inventions were contributed to civilization in this period, notably those of porcelain, chinaware, paper, printing, compass and gunpowder. The arts, too, were of such high development that they have never yet been equaled.³

The third period dates from 1644 to the present, during which time China continued under the rule of the Ching Dynasty for nearly three hundred years and then abruptly changed overnight from a despotic imperialism to a democracy.⁴

II. The New China

The New China may be said to have its beginnings with the overthrow of the Ching (Manchu) Dynasty by Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic; but the real awakening started from the year 1900 which witnessed the Boxer Rebellion. That unhappy event started the swing away from antiquated methods and resulted in the adoption of western industrialism. Let us consider briefly the development of China along modern progressive lines:

In the field of education, the Chinese have always been considered a very literate people. However, the literacy was

3. Ibid, p. 4

4. Ibid, p. 4

among the select few only, whereas in modern American thought, a high degree of literacy means the education of the masses. In China, however, after the adoption of Mandarin as the national dialect and the simplification of the Chinese characters to 1000 basic and most common words, a mass education movement has been conducted during the past two decades. The results have been highly gratifying. In a report of the League of Nations' survey of Chinese educational activities, the statement was made that China, during the comparatively short period since the reformation of the system, has achieved a degree of progress beyond the demonstrated ability of most western nations. On the other hand, education is compulsory for children of grammar school age; and at the end of 1934, there were in 110 institutions of higher education⁵ in China over 47,000 students. In addition, thousands of students are studying in foreign lands. These are returning from their studies abroad and are aiding in the building of a new China.

Communication and transportation have also developed along progressive lines. There are radio stations of the latest type in all the large cities. Connection with the United States mainland is by direct radiophone and also by direct cables. Telephone and telegraph systems have been installed in all the provincial cities. The Chinese postal system has been highly commended by visiting foreigners. News need no longer be relayed by courier or by word of mouth

5. Report of National Council of Higher Education, Shanghai, China, 1935

into the far interiors.

Railroads in China prior to 1930 had been in a semi-neglected state of development. Transportation and communication are basic requirements of a modern industrialism, and as China has been rather slow, except during the last decade, in adopting western technique, its transportation facilities have also been quite behind the times. But since 1930, great strides in all forms of transportation have been made. According to the report of the Economic Council of the Nationalist Government at Nanking, railroad construction has almost doubled the facilities existing prior to 1930. The connecting link in the Canton-Hankow railroad was completed in 1936, and thus China is traversed by rail from north to south. Purchases of railroad materials have increased sharply in the last five years. The United States is an important source of equipment.

Highway construction has shown even greater advances than railroads because of its larger necessity and also because of its smaller capital requirements. Nearly all the provinces are interconnected by paved highways and the motor bus and truck are now common sights in the far interior regions. There were at least 100,000 miles of improved roads at the end of 1936, and the program for road construction was gathering momentum.

The latest method of modern transportation, aviation, has had a rapid and admirable growth in China. It was only natural that aviation, once adopted in China, should grow

rapidly. The great distances between important cities and remote interior regions created a demand for rapid transportation in keeping with the modern tempo. Thus a network of airways was developed mainly with government cooperation and investment by foreign groups. America has aided greatly in the growth of aviation in China. The Pan-American Airways has spanned the Pacific Ocean, thereby giving China direct air contact with the mainland of the United States. The training of both civilian and military Chinese pilots has been conducted under American leadership and many of the Chinese aviators have received their training in the United States.

To show what aviation means to China, only a few examples need be cited of the accessibility of interior cities by air. Chungking, in Szechuan Province, is 1,600 miles up the Yangtze River from Shanghai; to reach it usually required more than a two weeks journey by steamboat, but now it can be reached in two days by plane. Chengtu was a three weeks journey from Shanghai, but now by a regular air schedule one makes the trip in three days. All the coastal cities are connected by air. In 1936, contracts were entered that would enable a passenger to go completely by air to Europe via a Southern Asia route by way of India. Also a route connecting with Russia has been in advanced stages of development.

In the field of agriculture there has been made slow but definite progress in the adoption of western techniques. Experimental farms have been established and institutions of higher learning have conducted scientific research for the

benefit of agriculture. An increasing number of students of agricultural chemistry and other phases of farming, and the active encouragement given by the national government have effected great advances in crop production. Thus in 1935 China led the wheat crop production of the world. She has always been among the largest producers of cotton, rice, tea and soybeans.

In the industrial fields also, China has made rapid advances recently. For example, in 1902 there were only 17 cotton mills in Shanghai; in 1922 there were 116 mills with 1,000,000 spindles. In 1932 there were over 44,000,000 spindles operating in 128 plants representing investments of \$450,000,000. In the statistics of foreign trade, there is an indication of the progress of its industrial growth. As domestic production is not yet enough for domestic consumption, the principal imports (as illustrated by trade with the United States) are made up of machinery, metal products, railroad materials, airplanes, autos and trucks, raw cotton, paper and wood products, chemicals, cereals and flour. In return, China exports to America principally tung oil, raw silk, tea, eggs and egg products, furs and skins, bristles, tungsten and antimony. These items are entirely complementary and non-competitive.

Politically speaking, China has made great progress in the reformation of the government. Confronted with many inherent obstacles such as language, adherence to antiquity, lack of political consciousness due to traditional laissez-

faire rule during the empire, the adoption of a republican form of government over night was beset with many difficulties. During the quarter century of its republicanism, China has had to face the World War problem, a struggle against Communism, floods and famines and foreign aggression. Progress has been made and now China has developed a national unity and a national political thought. The government is nominally a democracy, but as yet it is being conducted through the bureaucracy of a party government. At the last Kuomintang Plenary Session, a national constitution was drafted and the initiation of national suffrage was contemplated. This is being made possible with the achievement of mass education and the training of civic leadership. A new spirit is being shown by the people in a national unity.

Other achievements of the national government in the last few years have been the amelioration of peasant conditions, construction of highways and railroads, improvement of public works, the fostering of industrial growth; and, last but not least, the standardization of the currency system. This last project has been accomplished in face of difficulties such as the rise and decline in the price of silver upon which the former currency was based and also the detrimental activities of Japanese smuggling of silver. The adoption of a currency system of national bank-notes was effected by the nationalization of silver and the managing of foreign exchange. Since the inception of foreign exchange control, the rate of exchange with the principal nations has

shown the highest stability. There is no doubt that a stable currency is a requisite for prosperous commerce and the industrial and commercial progress of the past few years is a witness to the success of China's currency reform.

Indeed, modern China is quite different from old China. Its industrial and political awakening shows the capacity of the Chinese people for progress. In its adoption of western industrialism, China has not forgotten the valuable training of her ancient civilization but has amalgamated the best of the East and the West. China's record as a re-born nation is one of which to be proud. She has cooperated fully, according to her ability, in the promotion of international accord and friendship. She has maintained a high regard for international treaties and China's integrity as a nation is shown by her adherence to the League of Nations' Covenant in spite of adversity. Although the recent Japanese invasion has disrupted her normal peaceful progress, China has proved that she can and will continue to contribute to world civilization and world amity. The culture of her people is a commendable one.

III. China's Relations with the United States

The United States of America should have a deep and abiding interest in China. The two countries are in the same latitude -- it is the latitude from which the rulers of the world have come. The two countries have wide coast ranges. Both are predominantly agricultural and independent; both possess vast manpower and gather around great central

river systems.

There are at present 85,000 Chinese in America who have American investments amounting to over \$100,000,000. They send annually \$25,000,000 back to China. There are 12,000 Americans in China of whom 6,000 are missionaries or persons connected with American business welfare and educational work. Over \$60,000,000 of American money has been invested in schools, hospitals, and missionary enterprises in China. This is more than the rest of the world has done in China.⁶

Americans in China have their social clubs, civic clubs, churches, educational clubs, and chambers of commerce. Ten of the leading cities of China have American Chambers of Commerce. There are more foreign students in American universities from China than from any other country in the world. Of the 650 Chinese listed in Who's Who in China in 1932, 158 have received education in America, 102 in Japan, 36 in England, 21 in France, 12 in Germany, 3 each in Russia and Switzerland, and 2 in Belgium.⁷

The most amicable relationships have continued between the United States and China since the first treaty in 1844. The one American act of restoring the Boxer Indemnity Fund of \$25,000,000 for the education of Chinese students did more to cement this friendly relationship than any other one thing. Closer relationships were formed when the United

6. Dodd, M.E., Girdling the Globe For God, 1935, p. 113

7. Kwei, C.S., The Chinese Year Book, 1935-36, pp. 429-45

States became an Asiatic power by entering the Philippines in 1898; and again, when the trans-Pacific airways were completed in 1934. Cordial relationships were further strengthened when the United States was the first world power to recognize the Chinese Republic in 1911. As a result of these amicable relationships, the United States mail to China has increased within fifteen years from one thousand packages per month to over five thousand. The United States' trade with China has increased 270 per cent while the German trade has increased only 36 per cent and the trade of Great Britain has fallen off 33 per cent during the past fifteen years.⁸

There are some interesting and striking contrasts between the United States of America and China. The population of the United States is 125,000,000⁹ and that of China is 466,000,000. America's population is 30 persons to the square mile and China's is 280 to the square mile (average). Central China, the region from which the writer comes, has 850 people per square mile.¹⁰

The average farm in the United States has 80 acres, but in China it has two to five acres. Two and one-half per cent of the Chinese farms are occupied by graves, since the

8. These figures are based on the census estimates of Chinese Post Office, 1934
9. United States Census, 1930
10. These figures are a summarization of the facts collected by the Statistical Bureau of the National Christian Council, Shanghai, China, 1933

Chinese bury their dead almost anywhere in the open fields. America has nearly 30,000 newspapers while China has less than 200 dailies. America has one copy of a newspaper to every three persons while China has only one for every 550 persons.¹¹

Railway mileage in America exceeds 250,000 miles while it is only about 11,000 miles in China. The first railroad built in China in 1876 at a distance of eleven miles out of Shanghai had to be torn up on account of the superstition of the people. The Texas of China, the Szechwan Province, with a population of 50,000,000, has not a single mile of railway.¹²

But although China is far behind in materialistic civilization as compared with the United States of America, she is endowed with wonderful possibilities. She abounds in mineral resources; gold, silver, iron, zinc, and oil, and none of these has been fully developed. She has already given to the world much of its silver. She has great manpower. Already she has the largest standing army in the world, consisting of three and one-half million men. All schools are required to incorporate military training. Indeed, Japan has forced her way into China at the point of the sword; but when China becomes universally educated, her resources fully developed, and her people become thoroughly

11. Ibid

12. Ibid

united and militarized, with an army of 50,000,000 men, Japan one day will wake up to discover that the force by which she conquered has become the means of her own self-destruction.

The one outstanding feature in the present situation in China is undoubtedly the fact that the country is undergoing fundamental transformation. The proverbially conservative, slow-moving Chinaman is going through a great change. He is changing visibly, rapidly, and radically! There never has been a time in the history of China's national development when changes were taking place on such a great scale, in so many directions, and at such a rate of speed as they are now taking place. The great national movements which are sweeping over the length and breadth of the country are but the outward indications of the deeper changes which are going on in the minds and hearts of the Chinese people. The establishment of the New Nationalist Government marks the triumph and acceptance of a new political theory, and the moving of the national capital from its traditional seat in Peiping to the new site in Nanking is a manifestation of an inward determination to break with the past. The adoption of a new flag is the signal for the nation to start anew.

Indeed, China, educated, united, developed, with its vast population, natural resources and native ingenuity, will become the world's mightiest power in the coming generation.

Chapter II

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHINESE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM

- (1) Significance of Chinese Migration**
- (2) The Lure of Gold**
- (3) Early Popularity of the Chinese**
- (4) Causes of Opposition to Chinese**
- (5) Victims of Mob Law**
- (6) Early State and Municipal Legislation Against Chinese**
- (7) Early Treaties**
- (8) The Burlingame Treaty of 1868**
- (9) The Exclusion Law, 1882**
- (10) Summary of Treaties and Legislation and Their Administration**
- (11) Treatment of Chinese Immigrants at United States Immigration Stations**
- (12) Conclusion**

Chapter II

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHINESE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM

Although China is primarily an agricultural country, her trade with foreign countries has been going on for centuries and Chinese emigrants have settled in all parts of the world to the number of tens of millions. According to historical records, Chinese communications with the countries abroad began in the Ninth Year of Yen-Hsi of Han Huan Ti, approximately 100 B.C., when a special envoy was sent by Emperor Anton of Ta Chin (according to modern scholars, Ta Tsin refers to Rome). The navigable route to the East was then first discovered.¹

In the time of Han Ping Ti, India also sent an envoy to China, and thus began the communication between India and China. After Buddhism had spread eastward, many Chinese monks traveled to India through the South Seas during the time of the Tsing, Wei, Sui, and especially during the Tang Dynasties. In the Ming Dynasty, Chen Ho sailed down the "Western Ocean" seven times, a fact which marked a great triumph in voyages abroad. Then it was that the foundation of Chinese emigration was laid.²

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1. Kwei, Chung-shu, The Chinese Year Book, 1935-36, p. 430
 2. Ibid, p. 430

The causes of Chinese emigration had been twofold: (1) Overpopulation with the consequent economic distress; (2) Political oppression. The Chinese emigrants to the South Seas in the past were mostly political refugees. The movements occurred chiefly on three occasions. The first group sailed south because of the great chaos created by the notorious robber chief, Huang Chao (黃巢). The second group of emigrants went out because of the barbarian invasions which finally terminated the dynasty of Sung about 600 A.D. The loyal subjects of Sung who were unwilling to live under alien rule took refuge in Indo-China, Djambi, (占城), Cambodia, and M. Sawng Klara of Siam. The third group of emigrants departed because of the Manchu conquest of China and the defeat of Kwei Wong in Burma; as a result many Chinese soldiers and citizens settled in Siam and Burma. Koxinga also started an unsuccessful revolution in Formosa; consequently, many Chinese soldiers and citizens settled in Formosa and the Philippine Islands.

During the last days of the Manchus, mistreatment on the part of the government and economic depression made the Chinese turn their eyes abroad again; hundreds and thousands of them came to North and South America for trade and industry. The convenience of modern communication further accelerated Chinese emigration.

While accurate statistics of the Chinese emigration to all parts of the world are almost non-existent, the following

incomplete records of Chinese immigration into countries of the western hemisphere are interesting.

Mexico from 1909 to 1924 recorded 27,950 Chinese arrivals, but the fact that in 1922 there were only 3,000 Chinese in the country indicates that this movement was temporary. In 1847 some 800 Chinese came to Cuba under contract. By 1862 there were over 60,000 Chinese on the Island; by 1922 some 90,000. Of recent years few Chinese have entered Brazil, the number residing there in 1922 being only about 20,000. In 1857 there were 450 departures for Peru and in 1872 as many as 13,809. At present 45,000 Chinese appear³ to be residing there.

Overseas the Chinese are scattered almost everywhere. The total number has been variously estimated as from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000. A careful investigation by the Chinese National Overseas Affairs Commission made in 1936 from the reports of the Chinese Consulates abroad shows the grand total of overseas Chinese as 7,900,000. They are⁴ distributed as follows:

-
3. Davis, M.R., World Immigration, 1936, p. 309
 4. Kwei, C.S., op. cit. p. 446 (Statistics furnished by Chinese Nationalist Government)

The United States of America	85,000
Canada	50,100
West Indies	50,000.
Hawaiian Islands	30,000
Australia	45,000
Japan	28,000
Korea	41,000
Philippine Islands	100,000
Burma	300,000
Siam	2,500,000
British Borneo	88,000
Malay Peninsula	1,700,000
Dutch East Indies	1,200,000
Soviet Russia	340,000
Annam	400,000
British India	2,000
Union of South Africa	17,000
Cuba	30,000
Other Countries	<u>894,000</u>
Total	7,900,000

Thus the Chinese emigrants have settled everywhere in the world. They are to be found as far north as Siberia, as far south as New Zealand and as far west as the west coast of the United States. But it is in the South Seas that the peaceful penetration of the Chinese has been most successful, as may be seen from the foregoing statistics. Nearly seventy-five per cent of the Chinese settlers abroad are concentrated in the lands bordering on the South Seas.

II. The Lure of Gold

The Chinese first appeared in the immigration statistics of the United States government in 1820 when one Chinese was admitted. From 1820 to 1853 only forty-two Chinese came to this country. There are many tales regarding the first Chinese settler in San Francisco; such as the cabin-boy of Simon Bolivar who landed there in 1838; a merchant, named Chum Ming, reported to have arrived in 1847; and of the Chi-

nese woman servant who came in 1848 aboard the big "Eagle"
⁵
 with her employers.

The real beginning of Chinese immigration occurred in the Spring of 1848 when the discovery of gold in California was made known and the great rush followed in search for gold. The city of San Francisco is still known today to the Chinese as the "Old Gold Mountain" (舊金山). The movement increased each year until 1882 when 39,579 were admitted -
⁶
 the largest number ever to arrive in a single year.

Practically all the emigration from China has been from densely populated districts in the vicinity of Canton where economic conditions have been very hard. These Cantonese used a dialect not understood by a very large part of the Chinese people. Although they were underprivileged economically and educationally, they have made much progress abroad because of their independent and progressive spirit and their physical endurance. From this region in the extreme south of China have come most of the eight millions of
⁷
 Chinese who have migrated to almost every part of the world.

By 1852 it was estimated that only about one hundred Chinese had arrived in California. In 1854 the number was 13,100. From then on the annual rate varied between three and five thousand. In 1859 the number of arrivals leaped to

5. Shepherd, Charles R., The Ways of Ah Sing, 1923, p. 197
6. Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1919, pp. 53-54
7. Huie Kin, Reminiscences, 1932, pp. 116-117

12,874, and in 1870 to 15,740. Then for two years it dropped to 7,000, but reached the high peaks of 20,000 in 1873,⁸ 22,781 in 1876 and 39,579 in 1882.⁹ However, many returned to China from year to year. The United States Census of 1930 records the total number of Chinese in continental United States as follows:

1860	34,933
1870	63,199
1880	105,465
1890	107,488
1900	87,863
1910	71,531
1920	61,639
1930	74,954

The continual increase of the native-born should, however, be noted. For example, in 1930 figures show forty-one per cent of the Chinese are American-born, so that the foreign-born Chinese in the United States today are only 44,086.

III. Early Popularity of the Chinese

From the earliest days of the American settlement of California, Chinese laborers were received without prejudice and even with enthusiasm. They were honest, peaceful and industrious laborers; and the form of organization of the Chinese laborers, by which it was possible for employers to secure the services of almost any number desired through the contractor, placed a premium upon their employment. Although mostly agriculturalists at home, they adapted themselves to

8. Bancroft, H.H., History of California, Vol. XXIV, 1890, p. 336

9. United States Census of 1930, Vol. II

the new country and became not only miners but also laborers in many fields. San Francisco used to send its laundry as far as Hawaii¹⁰ to be washed; cooks were scarce and housemaids unobtainable in mining camp days, for this was a man's civilization and women were very few.

The Chinese had no prejudice against doing "women's work"; consequently, they started laundries, became cooks and housemaids, even taking care of babies, and generally substituted for women workers - so much so that when it was first suggested that they be employed in railroad building, serious doubt was actually expressed as to whether they were strong enough for such hard labor. They proved their masculine hardihood, however, and did a lion's share of the hardest work involved in completing the first great transcontinental railroad in 1869.¹¹

Before long the "China Boys," as they were then dubbed, were being approached by zealous Christian gentlemen and orders were sent back to China for Scriptures and Christian tracts with which these immigrants might be converted and edified. When these printed materials arrived, there was a celebration and three hundred "China Boys" arrived for the ceremony. These were the days when the Chinese were looked upon with favor and with "patronizing indulgence." They were welcomed in the States with open arms, with the blessing of the law and press. But, of course, this attitude did not

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- 10. Jones, "Cathay on the Coast," American Mercury, No. 8, 1926
 - 11. Testimony of Charles Crocker in 1877, United States Senate Report, No. 689

last very long.

IV. Causes of Opposition to Chinese

Soon difficulties arose and objections were raised when they came into California in large numbers. The sentiment was aroused primarily by the economic fear of competition from efficient labor with a lower standard of living. Since the Chinese were willing to work for lower wages and possessed greater physical endurance, the white laboring men feared that the Chinese would underbid them in any field they chose to enter. If given unlimited privileges of immigration which steamship companies and capitalistic employers were systematically encouraging, Chinese labor certainly was in a position to drive the white working men from the entire Pacific Coast. It was, therefore, a genuine and by no means entirely imaginary fear that rallied the working classes behind the slogan: "The Chinese must go." "We are ruined by Chinese cheap labor" ran a line in Bret Harte's familiar poem, "The Heathen Chinese," published in 1870. It was the instinct of economic self-preservation by a working class which was not at all squeamish as to its methods of securing results and which was led by Irish agitators who used tried and tested mob psychology.

But there were more than economic factors involved. The peculiarities of the Chinese racial and physical characteristics - the dress, color, language, habits, - and the inoffensive manners and general defenselessness of the Chinese also

helped to develop racial antipathy. Professor Robert E. Park, of the University of Chicago, said that the Chinese had peculiar characteristics which made for "high visibility." The earlier Chinese, under the rule of the Manchu Dynasty, had a very peculiar appearance caused by the wearing of the queue - a long braid of hair down the back, loose pajama-like clothes with baggy-seated trousers and, when working in the fields, great flat circular bamboo hats - now much prized as work-baskets or wall decorations by American women. People of other nations more or less merged into the American scene and blended with the inhabitants. But not the Chinese. He is unmistakably Asiatic and different - and there is little hope for him to be assimilated.

The whole situation was further complicated by the revulsion against certain types of vice and crime, such as gambling, opium smoking, and prostitution, which were undoubtedly greatly exaggerated in popular opinion. All these unfavorable aspects of Chinese life have caused a widespread sentiment on the Pacific Coast in favor of Chinese exclusion.

Consequently as early as 1852, the governor of California advised that Chinese coolie immigration be restricted and that Congress be urged to prohibit coolie labor in mines, giving as his arguments that the Chinese were unassimilable, that they lowered the standards of living of labor, that they came here merely for money which they would take out of the country, and that unless checked they would soon be coming in such overwhelming numbers as to endanger the public

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tranquillity and injure the interests of the people.

In 1879 California incorporated into her constitution these words: "The presence of foreigners who may not become citizens of the United States is dangerous to the well-being of the State, and the legislature shall discourage the immigration of all such aliens by all means within its power."¹³

The exclusion movement was first started in the mines, where American miners objected to foreign competition - European, Mexican, Chilean, and especially Chinese. Of all the groups involved, the Chinese were the most clannish and obviously alien; consequently, Chinese suffered mob violence in some mining districts. Centuries of social adjustment in an over-crowded country had taught them the value of yielding without a struggle. Laundry work was a non-competitive occupation, and so, in 1870, out of 2,069 laundry-men in San Francisco, 1,333 were Chinese.¹⁴ Cooking and household service also welcomed them and led them naturally into the restaurant business. Their agricultural background made it easy for them to take up vegetable gardening. The vegetables had to be sold, so they became peddlers, going about (at first) with two enormous round-cornered baskets holding several bushels and carried at the ends of a pole balanced over the shoulder.

V. Victims of Mob Law

- 12. Journal of the Senate, 3rd Session, 1852, pp. 669-675
- 13. Bancroft, H.H., History of California, Vol. XXIV, 1890, p. 210
- 14. United States Census of 1870, Vol. 1

But in spite of their effort to find marginal and non-competitive occupations, the Chinese inevitably came in contact with the white workers in some occupations, and the tragic results were that many Chinese were imposed upon, exploited, cheated, mobbed and massacred.

In 1855, for example, thirty-two Chinese were murdered in California - which happened to be the exact number of American missionaries slain during the Boxer Uprising. In 1862, this number was increased to eighty-eight. It may be said that only once did the United States pay an indemnity for any of these losses, and this was offered as an act of grace and not of right when \$147,748.74 was paid on account of the massacre at Rock Springs, Wyoming, in 1884, where in one evening twenty-eight Chinese were murdered, many were wounded, hundreds were driven from their homes and property worth that amount was destroyed.¹⁵ When we remember the heavy indemnities exacted from eastern countries for attacks upon foreigners, notably the Boxer Indemnity in China, we can understand the effect which these one-sided standards had upon Chinese officials. The United States was able to reply in every case that the individual state was responsible for disorders within its limits - and China could only reply that she had no dealings with states, but only with

15. McKenzie, R.D., *Oriental Exclusion*, 1927, p. 29
There had been other attacks; for example the Los Angeles massacre occurred in 1871, when 22 Chinese were hanged by a mob following the death of one officer and the wounding of two others who had attempted to break up a tong war. See R.G. Cleland, A History of California, The American Period, 1922, p. 418

the United States.

The situation became especially acute in periods of economic depression and social unrest. One such crisis in California occurred in 1870-71 just after the completion of the trans-continental railroad which brought a great increase of white immigration at a time when many Chinese who had been building the railroad were thrown out of work.

Another and more serious crisis began in 1876, when the effects of "the panic of 1873" really reached the Pacific Coast. The decade from 1876-1886 was one of general social unrest in California. The working man's party and the "Knights of Labor" arose, the new constitution of 1879 was adopted, "sand-lot" agitators like Dennis Kearney raised the slogan, "the Chinese must go." So the Chinese were subjected to riots, expulsions and even lynching in many places through the west - notably at Rock Springs, Wyoming, at Tacoma and Seattle, Washington, at Log Cabin, Oregon, and elsewhere. Naturally non-resistant, and without any strong government to protest effectively in their behalf, the mild-mannered sons of the Middle Kingdom were helpless before an epidemic of mob violence.

Dr. Palmer in his book, Orientals in American Life, gives a very vivid picture of the mob violence which struck one of the small cities (Snohomish) of the Northwest as fol-

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lows:

"During the year 1886 there was much agitation against the Chinese. The newly organized Knights of Labor sponsored this movement to a large extent and it became the 'burning issue.' Snohomish caught the contagion, though there were but few Chinese in the village. An anonymous call for a mass meeting was issued and the gathering was held at the Masonic Hall. A prominent citizen presided, but before the close of the meeting he announced himself as against any action. Possibly on account of the stand taken by the chairman, nothing was done. A second meeting was held, addressed by another speaker, and a committee was appointed to inform the Chinese that they must go. This committee refused to act, however, and the matter rested in abeyance for some weeks. At Seattle and other cities, however, the crusade against the Chinese rose to greater heights and early in February the Chinese were quietly told that they were not wanted in Snohomish. With Oriental fatalism they bowed to the inevitable, and, with but a few exceptions, they either sold or removed their goods and eighteen of them took boat down the river on the steamer Cascade.

"The crisis was undoubtedly brought about by the serious rioting in Seattle to quell which the troops were called out. There remained in Snohomish but three Orientals, who owned a laundry business which they hoped to sell, and had agreed to go on the following Monday. All would have been well had not the excitement of the Seattle troubles so stirred popular feeling that some misguided men placed explosives under the laundry, completely wrecking it. No one was injured and the episode would probably have been passed over lightly had the issue not been sharply drawn all over the West. Under the circumstances it was made much of and several men were indicted for conspiracy, but, as in the other cases for participation in this Chinese expulsion, they were not convicted. But the majority of the citizens, while opposed to the coolie labor in America, did not approve the unnecessary violence used."

Not all communities were so considerate as Snohomish. In Tacoma a mob took possession of Chinatown. What took place there is thus described by a Chinese author, Mr. Wu Ching Chao in his manuscript, Chinatowns:¹⁸

"They had a number of wagons with them and, as soon as the houses of the Chinese were reached, their goods were thrown into them while their owners were assembled in their neighborhood to be marched out of town. The day was cold and rainy. The Chinamen were greatly excited but none of them offered any resistance. An equal number of children could hardly have been managed more easily. Several of them were old and decrepit; a few were sick, but these were forced out of such shelter as they had and placed on the wagons with their goods The evicted Celestials, escorted by their tormentors took up their line of march through the town and out along Centre Street to Lake View where the wagons were unceremoniously unloaded and the owners of such goods as they contained left on the bleak prairie to make themselves as comfortable as they could until the following day, and it was reported that two of the sick died meantime from exposure."

Here is a document from San Francisco, dated May 13, 191876:

"Sir: I am instructed by a resolution of the Central Anti-Coolie Club of the Eleventh Ward to notify you that, unless you discharge all the Chinese now in your employ in one week from date hereof, your name will be placed on the blacklist of this club and published in the daily press of this city. All members of the Anti-Coolie Clubs of this city are prohibited from or in any manner whatever patronizing any firm or company, factory or persons employing Chinese labor."

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- 18. Wu, Ching Chao, Chinatowns, 1925, p. 375 An unpublished doctor's dissertation at the University of Chicago
 - 19. United States Senate Report, 1877, No. 689

VI. Early State and Municipal Legislation Against Chinese

This popular feeling against the Chinese soon expressed itself in state legislation and city ordinances, directed specifically or indirectly against him. "An Act of the Californian legislature in 1855 imposed a head tax of fifty-five dollars on every Chinese immigrant arrival. In 1858, a subsequent act prohibited all persons of the Chinese or Mongolian races from entering the state or landing at any port thereof, unless driven on shore by stress of weather or unavoidable accident, in which case they should immediately be re-shipped."²⁰ In 1862 another act was passed providing that every Mongolian over eighteen years of age should pay a monthly capitation tax of two dollars and a half (\$2.50), except those engaged in production and manufacture of sugar,²¹ rice, coffee and tea.

In like manner a number of city ordinances were passed for the purpose of reaching the Chinese indirectly. The San Francisco city government passed a laundry ordinance imposing a license fee of fifteen dollars (\$15.00) per quarter on laundries not using a vehicle, and vegetable peddlers were required to pay a fee of two dollars (\$2.00) if they drove a wagon, of ten dollars (\$10.00) if they went on foot. The "queue ordinance" provided that every person convicted for any criminal offense should have his hair cut to a length of

20. Smith, R.M., Emigration and Immigration, 1931, p. 238

21. Annual Report of the Commissioner-general of Immigration, 1919, pp. 53-54

one inch from his head. This was done because the loss of his queue was a lasting disgrace to the Chinaman. The "cubic air ordinance" required that no person should let or hire any tenement house where the capacity of the rooms was less than five hundred cubic feet for every person sleeping there -
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 which was enforced only against the Chinese.

But all these restrictive state laws were held to be ineffective by the California Supreme Court and finally in 1876 were declared unconstitutional by the Federal Courts. The issue therefore became a federal one and an appeal was made by the State of California to Congress for national legislation to put a stop to Chinese immigration.

VI. Early Treaties

In order to summarize the legislative history of Chinese exclusion, a study of the early contacts between the United States and China will be profitable. The American colonies were almost unknown to China during the Revolutionary War. Not one Chinese in a million had probably ever heard of them. The first contact was made by an ex-artillery officer in the United States Army, Major Samuel Shaw, who went to Canton in 1786 and later served in the capacity of merchants' consul until 1794. Shaw inaugurated two policies which have served as a basis for America's relation with China: namely, coop-
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 eration and most favored nation treatment. During the peri-

22. Smith, R.M., op. cit., 1931, p. 240

23. American Foreign Relations, published by the Council on Foreign Relations, 1930, p. 8

od of 1786-1844 the United States had no political relationship with China and was only represented by merchants' consuls who depended on trade for income. About half of the time, there was no representation at all. Many Chinese, however, became friends of American traders and placed a great trust in them due to the fact that Americans were not supported in the Far East by naval vessels as were the British. They had to depend on Chinese favor which they undertook to cultivate. The Chinese often went to great lengths in explaining the differences between the Americans and the English - they preferred the Americans to the British. This²⁴ principle still holds today.

The political relations between the United States and China began in 1844 when Caleb Cushing arrived at Macao to negotiate a treaty following the Opium War. His negotiations were based on four principles which have played an important part in formulating American policy toward China: namely

- (1) National equality,
- (2) Extra-territorial privileges,
- (3) Most favored nation treatment, 25
- (4) Maintenance of China's independence.

In 1858, a new treaty was negotiated, known as the Reed Treaty, providing for non-molestation of missionaries in the interior of China, and for the right of foreign diplomats to reside in Peking and freedom to travel through the country.

24. Hoffman, W.G., Pacific Relations, 1936, p. 414

25. Miller, Hunter, Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America, Vol. IV, 1934, Document 109, pp. 559-662

But neither of these two treaties said anything about the rights of Chinese trading or residing in the United States. Under the United States laws at that time they were allowed to come and go freely, to engage in any occupation they pleased, and if they committed crimes they were subject to the jurisdiction of the United States courts. In other words, the Chinese during those days were coming to the United States under exactly the same conditions as the citizens of any other nation and enjoyed exactly the same privileges.²⁶

VIII. The Burlingame Treaty of 1868

The appointment by President Lincoln of Anson Burlingame as American Minister to China in 1861 marked the beginning of the official negotiation between the United States and China on immigration problems.

The signing of the Burlingame Treaty, according to McKenzie,²⁷ was largely due to the completion of the two great systems of transportation; namely, the Trans-continental Railroad and the Pacific Mail Service, which aroused a spirit of optimism. Visionaries saw possibilities of tremendous trade between the United States and China. Accordingly, an outburst of sentiment and consideration for the feelings of the Chinese paved the way for the signing of this treaty, which was concluded at Washington, July 28, 1868. The treaty

26. Garis, Roy L., Immigrant Restriction, 1927, p. 288

27. McKenzie, R.D., op. cit., 1927, pp. 26-27

provided that the citizens and subjects of each country could move freely from one country to the other for the purpose of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents. The articles relating to the immigration problems are as follows:

"Article V. The high contracting parties formally recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from the one country to the other for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents, 'they therefore join in reprobating any other than an entirely voluntary emigration for these purposes'; and, consequently agree to pass laws making it a penal offense for a citizen of the United States or a Chinese subject to take Chinese subjects either to the United States or to any other foreign country, or for a Chinese subject or a citizen of the United States to take any citizen of the United States to China or to any other foreign country without their free and voluntary consent, respectively.

"Article VII. But nothing herein contained shall be held to confer naturalization upon citizens of the United States in China, nor upon the subjects of China in the United States." 28

Burlingame was so successful that he was subsequently requested by the Chinese to represent them abroad. He accepted the invitation and, with a considerable retinue of Chinese officials, undertook a mission to the most important countries of the West in the interest of the Chinese. His labors, however, were cut short by death from pneumonia in St. Petersburg in 1870 and his policy was soon subjected to criticism by the increasing agitation against the Chinese on the Pacific Coast.²⁹

28. Garis, Roy L., op. cit., 1927, p. 289

29. Hoffman, W.G., op. cit., 1936, p. 243

IX. The Exclusion Law, 1882

As a result of the violent anti-Chinese agitation, Congress was induced to investigate the matter in 1876-77. The California legislature sent a Memorial to Congress protesting against the Chinese and setting forth many charges. Among the assertions made were: that the Chinese were practically all coolies or labor slaves, that they were highly immoral and vicious; that they had secret tribunals which inflicted the death penalty without due process of the law, that they displaced native labor, that they could not be Christianized, that they had no intention of remaining as permanent residents of the country and would not assimilate with the natives, that they sent money out of the country, etc.

The Memorial was a gross misrepresentation of the facts, but it expressed the feeling of many of the Americans of the Pacific Coast at that time. The one who presented the matter before the Congressional Committee said: "The Chinese are inferior to any race God ever made. These people have got the perfection of crimes of 4000 years . . . I believe the Chinese have no souls to save, and if they have, they are not worth saving."

As a further example of bias and of the unreasoning attitude of many Californians there is reported the following conversation between a native Californian and a French

30. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Immigration, 1919, pp. 53-54

31. Ibid, pp. 53-54

tourist who inquired the reasons for the opposition to the Chinese:

"The Chinese are not productive."

"Why?"

"They make a lot of money and take it back to China."

"What else is the matter with them?"

"They won't become citizens."

"Why?"

"Because we won't let them."

"What else?"

"They are corrupt."

"How so?"

"They tried to influence the State Legislature not to pass the Exclusion Bill." 32

Congress, however, was influenced and biased by the California Memorial, and the investigating committee reported that Chinese immigration was wholly undesirable for the main reasons that the Chinese were vicious (which was not true) and that they competed with American labor (which was partially correct).

In 1879 Congress passed a bill limiting the number of Chinese who could come to the United States in any one vessel to fifteen, and repealed the favored-nation clause in the Burlingame Treaty of 1868, which provided for free immigration and emigration between the two nations. President Hayes, however, vetoed the measure on the ground that it would have meant the violation of the Burlingame Treaty. Instead, a commission of three members, Messrs. Angel, Swift and Trescott, was sent to China to negotiate a treaty which would replace that of 1868,³³

32. Mears, E.G., "California's Attitude Toward the Oriental," Annals, American Academy of Political & Social Science, 1925, p. 9

33. Treat, Payson J., op. cit., 1937, p. 524

On October 1, 1880, the American commissioners laid before the Chinese commissioners, Messrs. Pao Chun and Li Hung Chao, a memorandum exhibiting the difficulty and dangers attending the free immigration of Chinese laborers into the United States and the desire of the United States to revise the treaty stipulations between the two countries on the subject.³⁴

The Chinese commissioners in a memorandum of October 7, 1880, intimated that they were ready to enter upon negotiations to prohibit the emigration of four classes: coolie laborers, criminals, prostitutes and diseased persons. They also pointed out that there was no compulsory emigration from China to the United States; that China rejoiced in the freedom which her subjects enjoyed in America. The American commissioners intimated that this proposal was insufficient and asked that the Chinese Government consent to such a modification of the free immigration clauses of the Burlingame Treaty as would avoid the raising of questions that might disturb the friendly relations of the two countries. To this end the American commissioners submitted a project of a treaty which stated that the Government of the United States should have the right to regulate, limit, suspend or prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers, by which term was to be understood all immigration other than that for teaching, trade, travel, study and curiosity. The terms of the Treaty were

34. Garis, Roy L., op. cit., 1927, p. 292

agreed to on November 6, 1880, in which China gave to the United States the right to "regulate, limit or suspend" the immigration of Chinese laborers but not "absolutely to prohibit it." Article I stated:

"Whenever in the opinion of the Government of the United States or their residence therein affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country or of any locality within the territory thereof, the Government of China agrees that the Government of the United States may regulate, limit or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers, other classes not being included in the limitations. Legislation taken in regard to Chinese laborers will be of such a character only as is necessary to enforce the regulation, limitation or suspension of immigration and immigrants shall not be subject to personal maltreatment or abuse." 36

After the Treaty of 1880 was concluded, Congress sought to take advantage of the new treaty's provisions and passed a bill to execute certain stipulations contained therein. However, on April 4, 1882, President Arthur returned the bill with his veto, his principal reason for refusing to sign it being that the passage of such an act, prohibiting Chinese immigration for twenty years, was a practical violation of the treaty. But he approved an amended act fixing a ten-year term which might be considered only a suspension of immigration of Chinese laborers. No one believed that the gates would ever be opened to them again. It was generally

36. Ibid, p. 294

realized that "suspension" really meant "permanent exclusion." Since that year, 1882, the exclusion of Chinese laborers³⁷ therefore has been a national policy.

The next legislation on the subject was the Act of July 5, 1884, when another immigration law was passed at a time of great stress with regard to the Chinese. In 1883, the Northern Pacific Railway was completed. In 1885 the Canadian Pacific was finished. In both cases large numbers of Chinese laborers were thrown out of work. Lack of employment forced them into competition with white labor over a wide area. It was at this time that some of the most serious race riots occurred (see section on "Victims of Mob Law"). The law amended several sections of the Act of 1882. For instance, (1) that it is unlawful for Chinese laborers to come to the United States from any foreign port or place; (2) that the certificate of identity of a laborer, instead of being "prima facie" evidence, should be the only evidence permissible to establish his right of re-entry; (3) that every Chinese person of the exempt classes, claiming a right to enter, should obtain the permission of and be identified as so entitled by the Chinese Government, or of such other foreign Government of which at the time such Chinese person shall be a subject, and that the certificate thus required should be visaed by the American diplomatic representative in the foreign country from which such certificate issues or by the American consular representation at the port or place

37. Ibid, p. 295

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of departure.

The Act of 1884 was carried out with extreme harshness and gave rise to a number of cases of individual hardship. This law was renewed in force for ten years by the Act of May 5, 1892, and was further continued in force by the Act of May 5, 1902.

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Opposition to the Chinese in the United States continued, so that in 1886, the Chinese Government informed the United States Minister at Peking that China of her own accord proposed to establish a system of strict and absolute prohibition of her laborers coming to the United States, and likewise to prohibit the return to the United States of any laborer who had at any time gone back to China "in order that Chinese laborers may gradually be reduced in number and the causes of danger averted and lives preserved." After some negotiations a treaty was concluded by Secretary Bayard and the Chinese Minister under date of March 12, 1888. The Treaty gave the United States the right to prohibit absolutely the immigration of laborers for twenty years, the only exception being that Chinese laborers who had returned to China might reenter the United States if they had there a lawful wife, child and parents or property or debts to the amount of one thousand dollars (\$1,000). The treaty did not affect the right of the Chinese non-laborers - such as offi-

38. "National Origins," Outlook, May 5, 1926, Vol. V., 143:10
 39. Reed, David A., Remarks in Senate, April 9, 1924

cials, merchants, travelers and students. They would be admitted on certificates issued by the Chinese Government and visaed by the American representatives at the port of departure. The treaty was sent to China for ratification in May, 1888, but was delayed due to the fact that the Chinese Government desired to lessen the term of twenty years and to gain for Chinese laborers having property less than one thousand dollars (\$1,000) in value the right to return. The United States Congress grew impatient and passed the Act on September 13, 1888, without the ratification of the Chinese Government and much controversy followed as to whether the law could be enforced.

On October 1, 1888, President Cleveland signed a bill making it unlawful for any Chinese laborer "who shall at any time heretofore have been, or who may now or hereafter be, a resident within the United States and who shall have departed, or shall depart therefrom, and shall not have returned before the passage of this Act, to return to or remain in the United States, and all certificates of identity under the Act of 1882 were declared to be void and the issuance of such certificates in the future was forbidden."

The Chinese Government protested against this legislation, but with very little success. Finally, on December 8, 1894, a treaty was signed at Washington in which it was

40. Parker, A. Warren, "The Quota Provisions of the Immigrant Act of 1924," 1926

41. Garis, Roy L., op. cit., 1927, p. 303

agreed that for a period of ten years from the date of the exchange of ratification, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, except under the conditions specified in the treaty, should be "absolutely prohibited." Those going back to China were allowed to return to the United States providing they had a wife, child or parent or property worth one thousand dollars (\$1,000) somewhere in the United States.⁴²

On January 24, 1904, the Chinese Government gave notice of the termination of the Treaty of 1894 and refused to continue the Treaty after December 7, 1904. But the United States Congress, by the Act of April 27, 1904, omitted the reference to treaty obligations and enacted, "that all laws regulating, suspending or prohibiting the coming of Chinese persons . . . are hereby enacted, extended and continued without modification, limitation or condition."⁴³ So the absolute prohibition of Chinese laborers was continued until 1924, when the immigration law was passed which provided no quotas for races ineligible to naturalization (and the only eligible races are the white and the black). This has not only closed the door but slammed it shut. This act violated the treaty with China whereby the United States Government had agreed only to regulate, limit, or suspend such immigration. This arbitrary action by Congress, regardless of treaty rights and diplomatic procedure, created wide resent-

42. Ibid

43. United States Bureau of Immigration Hearings, 1925

ment on the part of the Chinese. There has also been bitter criticism of the way in which the law has been administered. Without any doubt the treatment accorded to the Chinese nationals was the principal cause of the boycott of American goods in South China in 1905, and it will always occasion resentment until Chinese immigrants and travelers are treated exactly the same as Europeans.

X. Summary of Treaties and Legislation and Their Administration

(1) The Burlingame Treaty of 1868 reflects the early favorable attitude toward the Chinese brought about by the need for labor for railroad construction and menial labor in mines.

(2) The Treaty of 1880 showed the growing opposition to the Chinese. It allowed the United States to regulate, limit, or suspend immigration temporarily and in a reasonable way.

(3) In 1882, the first of the Federal exclusion laws was passed. Additional legislation passed since 1882 has led to the adoption of a policy of complete and permanent exclusion of Chinese labor. The matter is thus no longer dependent chiefly on treaty regulation.

(4) For some time, both before and after the exclusion laws, stringent state laws were passed discriminating against the Chinese in numerous ways. Although most of these were declared to be unconstitutional, they reflect the bitterness and the political significance of the opposition to the Chi-

nese.

(5) Finally in 1924, the exclusion of immigrants ineligible to citizenship, although aimed at Japanese, formed a second line of defense against the Chinese as well.

Exclusion laws create problems of enforcement, interpretation and administration. Exclusion increases the desire to enter. Hence, "throughout the forty-five years of Chinese exclusion from the United States, there has been a continuous struggle on the part of the administrative officials to guard against illegal entry and to detect fraud among those applying for entry."⁴⁴ Much annoyance to officials and often serious hardship to the Chinese have resulted. Problems of administering the laws with respect to the entry of Chinese have included the following:

(1) The definition of classes exempted from exclusion has been difficult.

(2) Organized smuggling has been especially difficult to combat in the case of the Chinese.

(3) Genuine hardships were formerly produced by the fact that while domiciled Chinese merchants might legally bring in their alien wives, Chinese who were American citizens could not.

(4) Long delays and tedious hearings caused hardships and often meant that respectable Chinese were detained for considerable periods in unsightly jails.

44. McKenzie, R.D., op. cit., 1927, p. 16 This book gives sufficient information on the administration of laws restricting the entry of Orientals in general.

(5) The admission of foreign-born American citizens of Chinese ancestry has at times produced an absurd situation. Whereas Americanized alien Chinese may never become citizens, foreign-born children of American citizens of Chinese ancestry, though entirely alien in culture and attitude, may enter and enjoy the privileges of citizenship.

(6) The Chinese exclusion laws have resulted in the separation of families.

(7) The exclusion of alien wives of citizens is a serious bar to marriage of the Chinese with members of their own race.

(8) Both fraud on the part of some Chinese and hardship for many honest members of the race have resulted from difficulties in administering the provisions of the law which permits entry for temporary visits.

(9) Chinese students who have entered have experienced somewhat greater difficulties than have white students because of their ineligibility to citizenship.

(10) It has often been difficult for Chinese returning from temporary visits abroad to prove their former merchant status.

(11) There has been much resentment over the racial basis of exclusion itself. "It is hard for a high-class Chinese to see the logic of being excluded from the United States on the basis of color when Africans, Mexicans and Filipinos are free to enter. The discrimination has been further accentuated by the decision of the Supreme Court that

even service in the United States overseas forces does not make possible the reward of citizenship, a reward which is⁴⁵ given to other aliens, white or colored."

In conclusion, there can be no doubt that some sort of adequate protection to save the Pacific Coast from an inundation of Asiatic labor was necessary. Unrestricted immigration would have been a kindness to no one - not even to the Chinese. But what a pity that it had to be done in such a crude and bungling manner! What a shame that sound diplomatic procedures were so ruthlessly disregarded! Would the United States have dealt thus with England, France, Germany or any other European power? It could have been done so much better. With patient, diplomatic approaches the cooperation of the Chinese Government might have been secured and a policy followed which considered and respected the sensitive character of the Chinese people; and the administration of the laws might have been carried out with courtesy, humanity and generosity. But none of these things was done. As so often happens in history, a necessary result was achieved in the crudest possible way because of inflamed passions and impatient, ruthless prejudice.

XI. Treatment of Chinese Immigrants at United States Immigration Stations

Chinese immigrants of the privileged classes were often

45. McKenzie, R.D., op. cit., 1927, p. 74 A law passed in 1935 has apparently remedied this last injustice.

subjected to unnecessary and at times unpardonable treatment at the seaports of the United States, especially those at the Western Coast. Many criticisms have been made of the physical conditions of the immigration stations where applicants for admission sometimes have to be detained for months. Grave errors in tact and judgment have been made from time to time, which have created great bitterness among the Chinese.

Here is a letter from a high-grade young man, born in Hawaii of Chinese parents, but an American citizen by birth-right. He was graduated from the University of Hawaii and came on to the Chicago Theological Seminary for graduate study. In August, 1931, he attended a Y.M.C.A. Conference in Toronto, Canada. This is his description of the way he was treated at the border, as printed in the Honolulu Star Bulletin of August 26, 1931:
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"I was detained at Windsor, Canada, for eight hours, just on account of my being of Chinese descent. The fault was of the Canadian official. He was dumb, and he didn't follow instructions to allow delegates to the Conference to go through. Anyway I was impressed with the fact that I am a Chinese. My American citizenship didn't mean a thing. It was just a scrap of paper. If a Negro says he is an American, and has no paper to show, he will be allowed to go through, no matter how ignorant he is, but if I am a Chinese with all my papers to prove that I am an American citizen, I am still taken off the train.

"The situation that burned me up the most was the treatment I received from the American officials at Niagara Falls. I was impressed more there that I am a Chinaman. I, an American citizen, was not allowed to visit the Falls because I was of Chinese descent. That takes the cake for insult

and discrimination. I was too mad to do anything. I could have torn up my citizenship papers right then and there. If my Government is not going to protect my rights and treat me as any other citizen, I would rather be a Chinaman and be treated like hell than be hypocritical about it.

"Yes, that is the thing I got out of the Conference at Toronto. We talk a lot about internationalism, but if these realities of discrimination are going to exist, all the conferences in the world and all the talk will not make me internationally minded.

"First thing they ought to do is to clean house and do away with this discrimination. Treat us all alike and don't pick on nations that are weak.

"American citizen of Chinese ancestry! What does it mean? Well, I am going to find out."

Here is another article written by a Chinese student who is now studying in the United States, published in the Chinese Student, Volume I, No. 4, 1936. The immigration service referred to is the one at Seattle:

"Nowhere is discrimination against the Chinese more obvious than in the United States Immigration Service. The Japanese, the Hindus, etc., are shown far more courtesy. In examining the passport of third-class passengers, for instance, the officers always attend first to the Japanese and the others; the Chinese come last. This has become an established practice! Whole categories of Chinese passengers are liable to be detained, while the Japanese and the others, with the same immigration status, are free from it (except in cases of obvious violations of United States laws). The average number of Japanese held for investigation in one week is about three; and others together (not including the Chinese) about twenty. And although the number of Chinese coming in within a week is not higher than the number of incoming Japanese, yet about thirty Chinese are detained each week. The place of detention is a veritable prison. As you step down the boat, you are hustled into a van and taken directly to it. At a side entrance, a ponderous iron door is drawn up, let down, and locked behind you.

"The Chinese are segregated from the others. The detention room for the Chinese has a floor space of thirty by forty feet. As you go in by a wooden door at one end, you come to a grill through the bars of which you have a full view of the room. It is all solid cement, with a tremendous number of double-decked steel cots crowded together; some chairs and benches, and a lavatory walled in one corner. The gate in the grill is locked with a tremendous lock.

"The daily routine, too, is not unlike that of a prison. You are wakened at 6:30 a.m. Dressing for all takes about half an hour; then you make up your own bed. Meals come at the same hours. Under the watchful eye of the guards, you march over to the mess-room and back, passing through a long corridor which is locked every ten feet. The mess-room is common to the detained of all nationalities, but the Chinese are served last. Nominally each is allowed fifty cents a day, however, the miserable fare in the name of 'Chinese food' could not have cost the commissar more than fifteen cents. The dining tables are long wooden structures, and the Chinese are served by groups of four, i.e., two on each side opposite each other. Very often the two or three unpretentious dishes meant for four persons are shared by one or two additional mess-mates. Once the Chinese petitioned to the officials to have the same food as the others, but this brought them only a storm of bad language and insult, and the cooks threatened to go on a strike if 'the Chinese' were to be served the same food as the others. You can order 'American food' from the kitchen through the guards, but what you get is often the remains of the meals of the officers or what is left over from several days before, and you must pay for it at exorbitant prices.

"The detention room is in very crowded condition. There is always a dense cloud of tobacco smoke hanging over the room. The windows are barred on the inside; you use a rod to open and close them. In the winter it is not always feasible to leave a window open very long. The room is simply stuffy and smells. You can ring for attendants, but if it is the Chinese room, the bell may be pressed a dozen times without any response. If there should be any fire or similar accident, it would be simply disastrous. One night the room was insufferably warm, but on the radiator there was no wooden knob with which

the inmates could turn down the heat. They rang the bell and rang again, intermittently for several minutes, till an attendant finally came, but he only reprimanded the inmates for their insistence! When one of them tried to argue, the attendant beat him with his fists. One Mr. Chen (from Shien-hui district, Kwangtung) was one day making a phone call, and during his conversation the guard who was watching him had a visitor downstairs. Immediately Chen was ordered to hang up the phone, and when he tried to argue, the guard beat him up and dragged him by his shirt collar to the room. In such cases their protests to the officers, as a rule, get nowhere. The Immigration Service even has solitary cells to punish the unruly.

"For the people of the other nationalities there is a separate lounge room, and it is furnished with a phonograph and records, etc. The Chinese, in their one common cell, are denied the use even of books and magazines, let alone music. The Chinese also have to provide their own soap, towel, and stationery.

"The most amazing thing is the method of questioning by the officials. A student from Chih-nan University, Shanghai, was questioned if he knew Latin. A Chinese born of parents with United States citizenship who comes to the country for the first time is regularly detained for investigation, while a Japanese, or a Hindu with the same immigration status, is free from it. To establish the identity of a person in such a case, he is asked questions so minute and trivial about his home and its locality that it is quite beyond human mentality to answer them perfectly. One person was questioned about the boats his father used to take to go home to China, the dates of the voyages, the number of his baggages; the brand of cigarettes he used to smoke; the number of times he had sent money home, the dates of transaction, and what bank; the description of a certain time piece, its position on the wall, etc. One Mr. Wong (from Tai-shan, Kwangtung) was asked about the size and description of a lake near his village, the kinds and quantity of fish it produced; the distance between his village and a certain trading place, the scenes on the way to that place and so on and so forth. Disagreement between the statements of the father and the son, even on details, is considered enough ground to refuse the son's landing. That was what happened to Wong.

"In the questioning very often the pretence of a 'fair trial' is abandoned. One woman (about thirty-five) was given too short a notice to appear one morning, and was consequently late by about four minutes. She was so brutally reprimanded that she all but broke down. Hour after hour one goes through such a grilling. The examining officers take turns. If the questioning is not completed in one day, it is continued on the next day. One may be detained a long time before his preliminary questioning; Wong waited three weeks, and then further investigations may be necessary before the final verdict is made known. Weeks may pass and then months, and there is no word. One may be detained as long as a year! Your family are detained in a different room from yours; you are allowed no visitors; your letters are read, and may even be seized. The women very often cannot conceal their tears. We are guilty of no crimes, why are we treated like this?"

XII. Conclusion

The history of the treatment of Chinese immigrants by the United States Government and people certainly is not a matter in which the citizens of the United States can take any pride. Race prejudice, bigotry, ignorance and political ambition have played a prominent part in the agitation and have been instrumental in securing much of the legislation. The attitude and conduct of the United States contrasts unfavorably with the position of China, which has been one of patient, courteous, dignified but emphatic protest and willingness to cooperate in securing reasonable regulation. The Chinese are industrious, intelligent and thrifty people. Their vices are no worse than those of the white man, and they have a smaller percentage of crime.

It is, however, probably true that the exclusion of

Chinese laborers has been of benefit to the United States. Since the characteristics and standards of living of these Chinese immigrants (most of them came from underprivileged families) are so different, they are hard to be assimilated. But one should bear in mind also that the failure of such assimilation has been due more to race prejudice and exclusiveness on the part of Americans than to unwillingness to be Americanized on part of the Chinese. It is significant that marriage between whites and Chinese or other Mongolians⁴⁷ is prohibited by nine states, eight of which are west of the Mississippi River and include the states where the Chinese are most numerous. Unless Americans are willing to fraternize on terms of social equality with members of any race, there is great danger to national institutions in the presence of large numbers of other races within the country.

47. Inter-marriage between Orientals and whites is prohibited in Arizona, California, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, Oregon, South Dakota, and Wyoming, according to the United States census, 1930

Chapter III

A BRIEF SURVEY OF CHINESE IMMIGRANT LIFE IN AMERICA

- (1) Home Life
- (2) Rise and Decrease of Chinese Population
- (3) Concentration of Chinese Immigrants
- (4) Physical and Mental Ability
- (5) Occupation and Economic Status
- (6) Education
- (7) Press and Public Bodies: Professional and Social
- (8) Religious Affiliations
- (9) Chinese Immigrants and National Relief

Chapter III

A BRIEF SURVEY OF CHINESE IMMIGRANT LIFE IN AMERICA

Before outlining some of the vital problems concerning the Chinese residents of the continental United States, a general survey of the Chinese immigrant life in the American communities is necessary. To obtain a great variety of these facts will help to secure an accurate picture of the Chinese population and tend to remove also many misconceptions which have resulted from the propaganda of interested agitators. The materials of this survey are obtained largely from the following sources: the United States Government documents, newspaper and magazine clippings, unpublished dissertations and studies made by students who have specialized in the various phases of this study.

I. Home Life of Chinese Immigrants

The Chinese, like most other immigrants, came at first as groups of single men and made a labor force that easily moved about wherever it was needed. But, unlike the Japanese who soon began to bring wives and families with them, most of them remained celibate and had no family life. The 1930 United States Census reports that there are 143.3 men for every 100 women among the Japanese but 394.7 men for every 100 women among the Chinese. During recent years,

many Chinese have brought their wives and families and set up normal homes, but most of these cases were confined to the Pacific states. For instance, there are at present 12,033 men to 4,270 women in San Francisco, and at Oakland 2,011 men to 1,037 women; the ratio is almost two to one. (See Table I)

TABLE I
SEX DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE IN AMERICAN CITIES *

	Male	Female	Total
Boston, Mass.	1,346	249	1,595
Chicago, Ill.	2,408	349	2,757
Los Angeles, Calif.	2,228	781	3,009
New York, N.Y.	7,549	865	8,414
Oakland, Calif.	2,011	1,037	3,048
Philadelphia, Penn.	1,474	198	1,672
Portland, Ore.	990	426	1,416
San Francisco, Calif.	12,033	4,270	16,303
Seattle, Wash.	969	378	1,347

TABLE II
REGIONAL SEX DISTRIBUTION OF CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES *

Districts	Male	Female
New England	3,233	561
Middle Atlantic	12,503	1,502
East North Central	5,421	919
West North Central	1,431	307
South Atlantic	1,477	392
East South Central	589	154
West South Central	1,237	345
Mountain	2,675	577
Pacific	31,236	10,395
	59,802	15,152

* United States Census, 1930

The ratio on the Atlantic coast is, however, still low. New York City has 7,549 Chinese men but only 865 women; Boston, Massachusetts, has a total Chinese population of 1,595; only 249 of whom are female. Such unequal sex distribution is largely due to the effect of general political and economic forces, and to the immigration laws enacted by the United States Government which have prevented the union of the many Chinese families. There are children living in China who cannot join one or both of their parents living in the States; similarly, there are many parents, mostly mothers, who cannot join their American-born children who live in the United States. The sad situation of broken families is one of the tragic problems facing the Chinese immigrants, and the abnormal home life has caused many moral and social problems in Chinese communities.

It is interesting to notice here the Chinese marriage system. In China, and the Orient generally, marriage is ordinarily not a matter decided upon by the two individuals most concerned, but is arranged by their elders and is a family matter. The young man or woman dutifully accepts the mate chosen and provided by the family. Hence, if a Chinese in America desired to marry, it was hardly necessary for him to take the long and expensive journey to China and conduct a courtship. All that could just as well be arranged by the two families concerned and his bride could make the journey and meet him in America. This marriage system is commonly practiced among Chinese immigrants and is of course resented

by popular American opinion.

The Chinese, like all immigrant groups, have larger families than Americans. This is partly due to the fact that Chinese women who have come to the United States are mostly of child-bearing age. The statistics as to the Chinese birth rate is therefore normally high. These American-born Chinese children are citizens by birthright, regardless of the fact that their parents cannot be naturalized. They attend the United States public schools and become readily Americanized - many cannot read, write or speak Chinese - yet they meet with discrimination and race prejudice in their effort to earn a living and in social contacts. Being "marginal men," that is, persons not able to participate fully in either culture group, that of their parents or that of American society, they present the real problem today.

II. Rise and Decrease

The Chinese numbered 74,954 in the Continental United States in 1930. According to the 1924 Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, only 42 Chinese are recorded as entering the United States prior to 1853, 42 more during 1853 and 13,100 in 1854. From then on the annual rate varied between three and five thousand until in 1859 the number of arrivals leaped to 12,874, making a total of 34,933 Chinese immigrants in Continental United States in 1860. But starting with 1860 the Chinese population increased rapidly, reached 63,199 in 1870; 105,465 in 1880;

and 107,488 in 1890.¹

TABLE III
NUMBER OF CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES AND RATE OF INCREASE
1860 - 1930 *

Census Year	Number	Decade	Percentage In- crease or Decrease
1860	34,933		
1870	63,199	1860 - 70	80.9
1880	105,465	1870 - 80	66.9
1890	107,488	1880 - 90	1.9
1900	89,863	1890 - 00	16.4
1910	71,531	1900 - 10	20.4
1920	61,639	1910 - 20	13.8
1930	74,954	1920 - 30	21.6

* Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, Vol. II, p. 32

In Table III which shows the number of Chinese in the United States at each census year since 1860, it is interesting to note that the Chinese population increased in number up to 1890 and then steadily declined until 1920. In the decade 1920-30 it showed a substantial increase, although there were still appreciably fewer Chinese in the United States in 1930 than there were in 1890.

Various reasons account for the decline of the Chinese population. In the first place, Chinese immigrants with very few exceptions have been excluded since 1882 when the first drastic exclusion law was passed. In the second place the number of departures has often exceeded the number of arrivals. For instance, according to the Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration of 1924, 228,899

1. Based on the United States Census

Chinese arrived between 1853 and 1880. But the United States Census for 1880 gives only 105,465 in the country; thus something like 120,000 must have returned or died in the intervening years. During 1880-90, 61,711 are reported entering; about 60,000 must have returned in order to leave but 107,488 in the country in 1890. In the third place, the disproportion of the sexes among the Chinese in America prevents any rapid natural increase. In 1930, among the Chinese in the United States, there were 394.7 males per 100 females; in earlier years this disproportion was even greater, being 1,430.1 in 1910, and 695.5 in 1920. In 1910, there were fewer than 3,000 Chinese females fifteen years old and over; in 1920, the number was 4,407; in 1930, 8,169. Finally, many of the Chinese here are of advanced age and the death rate has been comparatively high.

The increase of some 13,000 in the Chinese population in the decade 1920-30 is difficult to explain, since both the immigration figures and the vital statistics for the period register a net loss in this group.² It may be accounted for on the basis of illegal entry - and there has long been a problem of smuggling Chinese into the country - or it may arise from the increased proportion of females in the Chinese population which caused an excess of births over deaths. In 1920, the foreign-born among the Chinese made up

2. Woofter, T.J., Races and Ethnic Groups in American Life, 1933, p. 21

seven-tenths of the total; in 1930, less than three-fifths.³ There is a further possibility of some error in the census enumerations.

III. Concentration of Chinese Immigrants

The Chinese immigrants are potentially the most static of the country's labor group. They are not mobile because of culture traits which have made them closely attached to the home and have emphasized the accumulation of stabilizing possessions. The kinds of occupations which they follow have also helped in making them increasingly permanent residents.

During the early days, the Chinese immigrants were concentrated along the Pacific Coast. In 1880, on the eve of exclusion, the Chinese in California numbered 71,244 out of the total population of 864,696, or almost nine percent (8.68%). Thus the Chinese immigration problem was originally a Pacific Coast problem or primarily a California problem. But since the passage of the Exclusion Law of 1882, there has been a tendency toward the diffusion of the Chinese population throughout the states of the Union. Between 1880 and 1920, the number of Chinese residents in California was reduced from 71,244 to 24,230, or from 8.68 percent of the population of the state to 0.65 percent. (See Table IV).

3. United States Census

TABLE IV.

TOTAL POPULATION OF CALIFORNIA FOR THE YEARS 1850-1930 AND
TOTAL CHINESE *

Year	Total Population	Chinese	Percentage of total Population
1850	92,259		
1860	379,994	33,149	9.19
1870	560,247	45,404	8.79
1880	864,696	71,244	8.68
1890	1,213,398	69,382	5.97
1900	1,485,053	42,297	3.08
1910	2,377,549	23,003	1.52
1920	3,426,861	24,230	0.84
1930	5,677,251	27,988	0.65

* Based on the United States Census

The greater diffusion of the Chinese population and changes in occupation account for the disappearance of the Chinese immigration problem and the vastly different attitude of the American people toward the Chinese as contrasted with the Japanese. The United States Census in 1930 shows a marked increase of Chinese population in New England, the Middle Atlantic, and the East North Central States. The Southeastern Central States have the smallest number of Chinese immigrants (See Table II). The total Chinese population is therefore so generally distributed that it does not appear menacing in any particular spot.

Aside from the geographical distribution of the Chinese throughout all the states, which results in a minimum of irritation among the whites, there is also a correspondingly marked tendency on their part to segregate themselves in the heart of a few large cities - the Chinatowns. Such segrega-

tion of the Chinese near the centers of the largest cities gives them an impersonal relationship in the community structure and permits them to live less in contact with the native Americans. Instead of being considered as a disturbing element in the American commercial life, the Chinatown is looked upon as a commercial asset - a point of attraction for tourists.

Another reason for the favorable attitude of Americans toward the Chinese is that the Chinese have gradually withdrawn from most of the competitive occupations. They are no longer engaged in agriculture, lumbering, or mining, and they participate to a very limited degree in types of business in which Americans compete. Their sphere in business is confined almost exclusively to transactions with their own people or to supplying wants in American communities not catered to by whites.⁴

More than any other racial or nativity group, the Chinese are an urban people, 81.1 percent of them living in cities in 1920 and 87.7 percent in 1930. In this respect they differ radically from the other colored immigrant groups in the population. This is probably due to the fact that practically all the Chinese immigrants are in urban occupations. The following Table shows the rate of increase of Chinese inhabitants in cities during the thirty years, from 1900 to 1930:

4. McKenzie, R.D., "The Oriental Invasion," Journal of Applied Sociology, Vol. X, Nov.-Dec., 1925, pp. 125-126

TABLE V.

INCREASE OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN AMERICAN CITIES *

City	1930	1920	1910	1900
Chicago, Illinois	2,757	2,353	1,778	1,186
New York City	8,414	5,822	3,609	6,321
San Francisco, Cal.	16,303	7,744	10,582	13,954
Los Angeles, Cal.	3,009	2,063	1,954	2,111
Oakland, Cal.	3,048	3,821	3,609	950
Seattle, Washington	1,347	1,351	924	438
Portland, Oregon	1,416	1,846	5,699	7,841

* Published in The Chinese Student, Vol. I, Nos. 7-8, 1936, p. 27 Based on United States Census

In the above Table, it is interesting to note that the Chinese population in Eastern and Mid-western States has increased much faster than it has in the cities on the Pacific Coast. The city of Chicago has trebled her Chinese population in thirty years while in Portland, Oregon, Chinese have decreased from 7,841 in 1900 to 1,416 in 1930. Here is a clear indication that the Chinese immigrants have moved eastward due to the biased racial attitude of the people in the Pacific States. The significant increase in the Chinese population of the larger cities during the decade 1920-1930 is probably due to the fact that the depression caused many Chinese who have not been able to continue earning a living in the country or smaller towns to move to the larger cities where they could depend on their relatives and friends for their support.

IV. Physical and Mental Ability

There are very slight differences in physical and mental capacities between the whites and those Chinese who are born in this country and educated in the same schools. In fact, the differences are so slight that there is no warrant for supposing that Chinese and whites should enter different occupations

A. Height and Weight

The Caucasians as a group are taller and heavier than the Mongolians. The Chinese being one of the Mongolian types are generally shorter in stature and weigh less than the Americans, although they are taller and heavier than the Japanese.⁵ So far there has been no study made to show the difference in height and weight between the American-born Chinese and the Chinese born in China; although data accumulated by Kanzaki⁶ indicated that American-born Japanese are taller and heavier than Japanese born in Japan.

B. Physical Strength

Porteus presents comparative strength-test results between the Chinese, the whites and several other racial groups (See Table VI).

5. Strong, E.K., The Second Generation Japanese Problem, 1934, p. 167
6. Kanzaki, "Is the Japanese Menace in America a Reality?" Annals, The American Academy of Political & Social Science, Vol. XCIII, January, 1921, p. 88
7. Porteus, S.D., The Psychology of a Primitive People, 1931, Chapter XX; Annotations from pages 345 and 347

TABLE VI.
*
STRENGTH-TEST RESULTS

Races	No.	Index of Strength	Right Grip (K.g.)	Left Grip (K.g.)	Vital Capac- ity (cu.in)	Back Lift (K.g.)	Back & Leg Lift (K.g.)	Arm & Shoulder (K.g.)	Stature (c.m.)
Filipinos	53	397.5	44.4	42.2	177.0	138.3	172.6	25	159.6
Japanese	86	399.5	46.0	41.9	207.2	118.5	192.8	34.8	161.5
Australian Aborigines	108	432.0	46.6	45.3	180.0	139.0	201.0	23.6	169.5
Chinese	52	438.7	50.0	45.3	211.1	123.2	220.2	37.0	166.8
White (students)	35	484.6	54.0	48.6	277.0	139.3	242.7	50.4	175.8
White (Smedley & Hastings)			49.0	49.0		151.0	189.5		
Part Hawaiians	78	493.1	53.5	48.5	228.9	138.3	252.8	45.2	

* Based on the results of the comparative strength-
test made by Porteus in 1931

According to these findings, the Chinese have less muscular strength than the whites and Hawaiians; but they have much more than the Japanese and Filipinos. The significance of these findings, however, is very difficult to determine. Evidently, as Porteus has pointed out, muscular strength is not necessarily an indicator of muscular performance, for in the Hawaiian Islands the Hawaiians far exceed the Chinese and Japanese in strength tests but are notoriously poor workers, while the Japanese, despite their poor muscular equipment, are doing very efficient industrial work. This, therefore, indicates that the mental or temperamental attributes which go with industrious habits are much more important than the original physical equipment.

Although the whites are superior in muscular strength, the Chinese show superiority in endurance and patience, in quickness of reaction, and are not so easily exhausted. The demonstrated speed and accuracy of muscular co-ordination of the Chinese, together with their recognized ability to work long hours, leads one to the conclusion that their physical abilities will not be found insufficient for almost any type of work they may wish to undertake in competition with the whites.

C. Health Conditions

The Chinese have been accused by popular tradition of being somewhat lacking in cleanliness, in spite of their signal success in the laundry business. This is not, however, due to the fact that Chinese are necessarily inferior

physically to the whites, rather because of the peculiar economic and social position in which they have been placed.

After having become adapted to one type of civilization for centuries, they suddenly find their environment radically changed. The result is a period of maladjustment during which the older modes of adaptation to the problems of physical health are inappropriate, while the newer modes, suitable to the conditions of twentieth-century America, have yet to be learned. Low economic position adds greatly to the difficulties of the immigrants. This applies not only to the Chinese, but also the foreign-born Europeans, the Mexicans, the Negroes and the Indians.

The Chinese living in the Southwestern and Pacific States are mostly working-class people, separated entirely by nationality and race from the rest of the community; thus many are living under conditions which make proper regard for health very difficult. In the Mississippi delta, the Chinese usually live behind their grocery stores. They live cheaply and humbly in order to save money for their trips back home. Many first-generation Chinese, being superstitious, believe that if they die away from their old home, their spirits will wander forever without finding rest. So while they are here in this country, they try to live in very humble ways in order to cut down expenses and save money to go back.

There has undoubtedly been improvement in health conditions during recent years among these under-privileged Chinese due largely to the influence of Chinese students, but

how much or how extensive the improvement has been it is impossible to say. According to Dr. Woofter,⁸ the death-rate for the Chinese immigrants is not as high as for many other immigrant groups; and there is a steady decline in the rate of infant mortality. The deaths among the Chinese are generally caused by the following principal diseases:

Tuberculosis has long been the most prevalent cause of death among Chinese. The Chinese have been considered to be inherently susceptible to tuberculosis; but recently medical science has tended to emphasize social and economic factors rather than purely racial factors as being responsible for tuberculosis. So the matter of checking the spread of tuberculosis among Chinese is mostly dependent on better wages, better nutrition, shorter hours, a larger degree of rest and recreation, and better working conditions, particularly with respect to a reduction in dust, and an improvement in light and ventilation.

Heart disease is rapidly becoming one of the chief causes of death among Chinese. The primary factor for this disease is that of environment. Chinese are to a large extent manual laborers, doing work of a heavy and tiresome nature which is conducive to the development of this disease.

Venereal disease among Chinese is estimated to be high among those who live in urban communities. This is, of

8. Woofter, T.J., op. cit., 1933, p. 146

course, due to unequal sex distribution and social disorganization, incident to the urbanization of the Chinese.

The cancer rate for the Chinese has been rising in recent years, but it is still well below that for the whites. However, cancer of the heart and of the genital organs seems to be considerably higher among Chinese women.

The infant mortality rate is high among Chinese immigrants due largely to ignorance and poverty. This is, however, true also of Indians and Negroes.

One of the most prevalent disease among Chinese is trachoma, which, though not fatal, frequently leaves permanent injury to the eye and may finally result in blindness.

Since the Chinese are scattered all over the country, it has been hard to obtain accurate figures concerning birth and death rates. But it is generally agreed that Chinese colonies in large cities lie within the field of municipal public agencies which have done much in reducing mortality rates.⁹

D. Intelligence

Three lines of investigation have been followed in the search for evidence on comparative mental ability of Chinese and other racial groups:

1. The Relationship of Head Size and Brain Capacity to Intellectual Ability

Many anthropologists suggest that there must be a relationship between brain capacity and intelligence.

9. Ibid, 1933, p. 146

According to the studies made by Porteus and Babcock, the Anglo-Saxons have brains with larger cubic capacity than the Chinese and Japanese, and therefore it is assumed that Anglo-Saxons have superior intelligence. However, such a conclusion is very arbitrary. In view of the present limited state of our knowledge, we cannot draw any conclusion as to the significance of these differences in terms of intellectual capacity until we know more about the relationship between bodily size and cranial capacity or about variations in head shape and skull thickness and other similar factors among the various races.

2. Measurement of Intelligence

Perhaps the most complete study of the intelligence of Chinese children made with the basic Binet Scale¹¹ (Stanford Revision) is that of Graham, made in 1925. Her subjects were Chinese children attending the Oriental School in San Francisco, a public school attended exclusively by Chinese and Japanese (see detailed description in Chapter III - Education). Only about one-fifth of the seventy-three children tested were born in China, but all were of Chinese parentage and came from Chinese-speaking families. All were twelve years old, and as every twelve-year-old in the school was tested, the group was as unselected as it was possible

10. Porteus and Babcock, Temperament and Race, 1926, p. 168

11. Graham, V.T., "The Intelligence of Chinese Children in San Francisco," Journal of Comparative Psychology, Vol. VI, 1926, pp. 43-71

to make it and should be reasonably "representative of the population of the school."

Miss Graham used a wide variety of tests, including: a series selected from the Cornell scale for determining mental age; the Kohns block-design test; group tests which included Mentimeter School group 2a; Thorndike-McCall Reading Scale; the National Intelligence Scales; and the Stanford Revision of the Binet Scale. She gave the same series to a white public school group for purposes of comparison.

Miss Graham analyzed her data by an inter-correlation technique as well as by comparison of score results and mental and educational ages. She concludes:

" . . . we have found that in pure memory processes of the visual type, where meaning and language are kept at a minimum, the Chinese is fully the equal of the American . . . He evinces superior ability in certain types of concrete problem-solving where the nature of the response may be described as a sensori-motor one. In solving other types of problems, however, he is inferior . . . When we come to a broader conception of intelligence, whether as the so-called common factor existing in and influencing all performances, or as the complete integration of processes, and compare the Chinese with the American in respect to totality of performance, the advantage always rests with the American.

"The results of our investigation show a decided language disability in the case of the Chinese, which is so complex that it cannot be localized by parcelling out various language elements . . . in consideration of the close interrelationship existing between language and intelligence, it is fair to say that these same language limitations are a result of, or at least are concomitant with, mental limitations.

"This is by no means equivalent to saying that the Chinese are mentally inferior . . . The Chinese come well within the lower border of the

limits which have been empirically found to include the normal Americans . . . It is well to point out that our results bear out the oft-repeated verdict that there is no more difference between racial intelligence norms than there is between the norms of varying social strata within a given race." 12

13

Wolcott in 1918 measured the intelligence of seniors in the higher schools of Tsing Hua College, using the technique employed in the Stanford Revision of the Binet test as outlined in Terman's Measurement of Intelligence, but without using any of the test materials commonly used. He made his own vocabulary test, which he used only at the fourteen-year level. On the scale thus arbitrarily modified, he obtained for the sixty-three subjects examined IQ's ranging from 81 to 122, of which 44 exceeded 100 and 18 were below 100. His results, of course, are merely suggestive.

14

Young in 1921 tested 109 Chinese children in San Francisco by means of the Stanford-Binet test, translating the tests into Chinese "whenever it was necessary." He found a medium IQ of 97 for his group. He believes that the intelligence of Chinese children is not far inferior to that of American children.

Certain inferences seem to be clear from the above studies summarized in this measurement of intelligence:

12. Graham, V.T., op. cit., 1926, pp. 68-70

13. Wolcott, C.O., "The Intelligence of Chinese Students," School and Society, Vol. XI, 1920, pp. 474-80

14. Young, K.T., "The Intelligence of Chinese Children in San Francisco and Vicinity," Journal of Applied Psychology, Vol. V, 1921, pp. 267-74

a. It is highly probable that the innate mental capacity of Japanese and Chinese children is greater than their Binet I.Q.'s ascertained on scales administered in English would indicate. There is reason to believe that mental ages so derived are at least two to four months too low.

b. Chinese and Japanese children seem definitely inferior to American white children in mental processes involving memory and abstract thinking based on meanings or concepts represented by the verbal symbols of the English language.

c. Chinese and Japanese children are probably at least equal and possibly superior to American whites in mental processes involving memory and thinking based upon concrete, visually presented situations of a nonverbal character.

With one exception the comparative studies so far made indicate that Chinese and Japanese are retarded somewhat in school with respect to subjects of a linguistic nature, but in arithmetic and spelling seem to be superior to whites. However, one extensive study shows equality of performance in reading tests as well as in arithmetic. In conclusion, one should recognize that in practically every study made the Chinese were able to obtain scores approximating those made by the whites.

3. Evaluation of Educational Achievement

The third set of studies was concerned with

educational achievement, as recorded in achievement-test scores, teacher's ratings, and age-grade distribution. The data relating to this phase of studies are somewhat conflicting. The earlier studies (Darsie, Bell, Graham)¹⁵ show a distinct educational retardation of children of Chinese and Japanese parentage manifesting itself in lower achievement-test scores in school subjects calling largely for linguistic ability; but in arithmetic and in spelling they are superior to whites. However, all studies in general show equality of performance on reading tests as well as on arithmetic.

E. Ability to Use English Language

It is generally agreed that the Chinese can master the English language much more easily than can the Japanese. The writer, for example, has met many Chinese who speak beautiful English, but has never met a Japanese who was free from accent, always used the article correctly and did not occasionally employ the Japanese order of words in the sentences. Many data pertaining to linguistic ability support the hypothesis that the Chinese are very capable of learning languages and that the Japanese are deficient in linguistic ability. An editorial in The Oriental Outlook¹⁶ supports this view:

15. Strong, E.K. Vocational Aptitudes of Second-Generation Japanese in the United States, 1933, pp. 39-44
16. The Oriental Outlook, Vol. I, March, 1933, p. 4

"Without being aware of it, perhaps, Japan has prejudiced public opinion in America against herself by what may seem to be a trivial thing. But none the less it has been a potent factor in the determination of our foreign policy in Oriental affairs. It is the atrocious manner in which, with few exceptions, the spokesmen for Japan have handled the English language. Add to this the further offense committed by the Japanese in the crudely worded and ungrammatical printed documents with which the country has been flooded, and you have the answer to why the United States is not more sympathetic to her next-door neighbor across the Pacific. The average American is prone to look upon one who speaks English haltingly as an ignorant and uncouth foreigner. The facility with which Chinese diplomats express themselves in flawless English, together with the fluency of practically all Chinese leaders who have appeared in this country, has without question helped to mould public opinion in China's favor."

F. Personality Traits - Honesty and Trustworthiness

The Chinese have long been known as very honest people while the Japanese have been accused of being tricky and unreliable. A well-known American legend stated that the Japanese are such a dishonest race that they cannot even trust one another but must employ honest Chinese cashiers in their banks. The basis of this story lies probably in the fact that the Chinese have been for ages the bankers and money changers of the Orient and when the Japanese suddenly came out of their seclusion and had to develop commercial methods and institutions almost over night they naturally at first employed Chinese tellers to deal with foreign money, for no one else knew the shifting values of the many currencies of the Asiatic world.

It is also probably true that commercial procedures had been more highly developed among the Chinese through their

merchant guilds, and the idea of a contract was better understood and more strictly adhered to, than among the Japanese, who had only recently emerged from feudalism and to whom personal relationship and mutual respect, honor and good-will were more important than abstract contractual relationships. At any rate, popular opinion in America has it that "the honest Chinaman" is more likely to keep his contracts than the Japanese.

In a study of credit ratings made by John Hall, a graduate student of business at Stanford University, in the San Francisco and Los Angeles areas, it was discovered that the Chinese made a better showing in retailers' credit ratings than did whites and Japanese. They paid more promptly, took discounts more often and paid slowly or very slowly less often than did the other two groups.

17

18

During 1929-30, Strong made a survey of the ratings of housewives living in Berkeley, Los Angeles and San Francisco for efficiency and trustworthiness of servants. His studies reveal that housewives rate Chinese indoor servants very highly for both efficiency and trustworthiness (see Table VII). Although they are not rated as highly as are Scotch and Scandinavian servants, yet they are rated considerably higher than American servants.

17. Strong, E.K., op. cit., 1933, pp. 142-146

18. Ibid, 1933, pp. 147-153

TABLE VII

EFFICIENCY AND TRUSTWORTHINESS OF INDOOR SERVANTS *

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Efficiency</u>		<u>Trustworthiness</u>	
	Number	General Rating	Number	General Rating
Scotch	15	4.6	15	4.8
Scandivanians	66	4.5	65	4.6
Japanese	86	4.4	83	4.7
Chinese	51	4.1	51	4.4
Colored	70	4.1	68	4.2
Irish	41	4.0	41	4.4
Filipinos	25	3.9	26	4.0
Canadians	30	3.8	30	4.3
Americans	147	3.6	143	4.3

* Based on Strong's Survey of the ratings of housewives in 1929-30

G. Crime and Delinquency

1. Crime: Almost every study made regarding Oriental crime in America proved that the Chinese have established an enviable record. According to Professor Walter G. Beach of Stanford University, the actual criminal record of the Chinese is remarkably low. Some interesting facts may be found in his book, Oriental Crime in California. For instance, the proportion of serious to minor crimes, that is, of felonies to misdemeanors, is remarkably low. We would summarize his data as follows:

"During the entire period studied (1900-1927) there was a total of 71,626 Chinese arrests, of which only 1,026 were for crimes punishable by death or imprisonment in a state prison." This is only 1.44 percent of the total volume of

19. Beach, W.G., Oriental Crime in California, 1932, pp. 92-93

Chinese crime. "During this period the total of all commitments to San Quentin penitentiary was 55,508 of which 978 were Chinese or 1.8 percent." In other words the Chinese commitments for serious crimes against the person and against property were only slightly above their proportion of the population; which was 1.5 percent; indeed, if an equalization were made on the basis of the proportion of males in the population, the Chinese would have a rate of crime below the average. In 1910 there were 33,003 Chinese males out of a total male population of 1,322,978 or almost exactly 2.5 percent. In other words, with 2.5 percent of the male population, the Chinese provided only 1.8 percent of the prison population of the State.

The great proportion of Chinese offenses as carefully analyzed by Professor Beach, prove to be what are classified as "offenses against public policy and morals." Thus 44% of them grow out of Chinese lotteries, 22% out of other forms of gambling, 11% out of opium smoking, 5% out of vagrancy (which covers almost anything) and 4.75% out of violations of miscellaneous city ordinances. It is noteworthy that violations of traffic laws constitute 1%, and drunkenness one-third of one percent of the total offenses reported. Beach points out also that there was a decline in the number of commitments of Chinese criminals to the prisons between 1900-1920 although the rate of decrease in commitments was smaller than the rate of decrease in population. Furthermore, many of these crimes are not considered as

crimes in China, nor are they antagonistic to Chinese public sentiment. So the defects of their conduct do not have quite the same meaning that they would have if they had been violating their own standards.

The secret of this splendid record probably lies in the high esprit de corps of the Chinese community, their strong family loyalty, their wholesome individual purity and their high educational ideals. During recent years, there has been a growing enthusiasm among the Chinese to take part in all civic enterprises in the leading cities of America, such as community chest movements, etc., and to make a good record in all community welfare and charity programs. They excel in pageants and parades and are coming more and more to be depended upon for colorful and beautiful additions to all community celebrations. Even in Chicago, when an international program is put on, it is usually the Chinese or Japanese group that draws the crowd.

2. Juvenile Delinquency The Chinese have also²⁰ contributed very few juvenile delinquents in America. Strong has examined the files of the Probation Departments and of the Juvenile House of Los Angeles, San Francisco, Alameda, and Fresno Counties for the last ten years and found records of 338 Chinese juvenile delinquency cases (see Table VIII). Of the 338 cases, 123 are for dependency, 32 for traffic violation, 5 for investigation, and 3 for charges unknown.

20. Strong, E.K., op. cit., 1933, pp. 155-158

This leaves but 175 actual delinquency cases in ten years in the four largest counties of California where more than half of the Chinese population of California live. Of the 175 offenses, larceny is the most common among them (23%), then vagrancy (14%), stealing (12%), truancy (11%), incorrigibility (10%), and burglary (9%).

TABLE VIII.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE CHINESE OFFENSES ACCORDING TO THEIR NATURE IN FOUR COUNTIES FOR THE LAST TEN YEARS (1920-1930)*

Offense	Los Angeles County	San Francisco County	Alameda County	Fresno County	Total	%
Stealing	1	9	11		21	12
Truancy	4	13	2		19	11
Incorrigibility	13	2	3		18	10
Burglary	3	10	2		15	9
Sexual Immorality	1	2	1		4	2
"Sub. 11" **	7	2	2		11	6
Forgery	3				3	2
Vagrancy	8	13	3		25	14
Assault	2		1		3	2
Battery			1		1	1
Wright Act			1		1	1
"Sub. 13" ***	4	4	2	1	11	6
Hold-up			2		2	1
					175	100
Dependents	14	89	20		123	
Traffic Violations	29	1	2		32	
Investigation		4	1		5	
Charge Unknown		3			3	
Grand Total					338	

* Based on Strong's study of Juvenile delinquency records in California, 1920-1930, op. cit., 1933, p. 157

** "Sub. 11," "Who is leading, or from any cause is in danger of leading, an idle, disolute, lewd, or immoral life," California Juvenile Court Law, 1919

*** "Sub. 13," "Who violates any law of this state or any ordinance of any town, city, county, or city and county of this state defining crime," ibid

The age distribution of these juvenile delinquents is shown in Table IX. The average age is 14.3 years for major offenses and 16.1 years for traffic offenses. More cases occur at fourteen years than at any other age. The records of the Los Angeles County Juvenile Hall show that ages 13-15 for boys and 14-17 for girls are critical periods as far as delinquency is concerned.

Table IX.

*
CLASSIFICATION OF OFFENSES ACCORDING TO AGES

Age	<u>Japanese</u>		<u>Chinese</u>	
	Major Offense	Traffic	Major Offense	Traffic
6			1	
7				
8	2		3	
9	3		3	
10	2		10	
11	5		11	
12	3		19	
13	6		19	
14	10	3	27	3
15	8	11	26	6
16	5	17	21	9
17	8	17	17	7
18	2	2	4	4
19	-	-	-	-
20	-	-	1	-
Unknown	9	-	13	3
Total	63	50	175	32
Mean age	14.3	16.1	14.3	16.1

* Based on Strong's study of Juvenile Delinquency records of Los Angeles, San Francisco, Alameda, and Fresno Counties, op. cit., 1933, p. 158

During the school year 1928-29, the attendance officers of Los Angeles made 55,717 investigations, as presented in Table X; among them only 117 Chinese boys and 18 Chinese

girls were investigated. This is also true in other cities. For instance, during the school year 1929-30, only five cases were investigated in San Francisco and nine cases in Oakland for two years (1928-30), and only four cases in Fresno during the last 23 years.

TABLE X.

INVESTIGATION MADE BY THE LOS ANGELES ATTENDANCE OFFICERS
*
DURING 1928-1929 SCHOOL YEAR

Cases	Senior High School	Junior High School	Elementary School	Total
Boys				
Negro	408	341	1,082	1,831
Mexican	863	1,871	5,791	8,525
Japanese	63	55	52	170
<u>Chinese</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>117</u>
Girls				
Negro	207	281	459	940
Mexican	640	1,743	4,618	7,001
Japanese	30	21	34	85
<u>Chinese</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>18</u>
Total number of cases				55,717

* Strong, E.K., op. cit., 1933, p. 160

It is difficult to compare the number of Oriental delinquents with that of other racial groups since the custom of segregating figures into different racial groups was abandoned in Los Angeles some years ago. Although incomplete, the data in Table XI show clearly that Oriental delinquents are comparatively few and that the ratio to the whole school population also is small. The "1929 Census" gives the number

of children up to 18 years of age in Los Angeles for the various racial-national groups; the "number of delinquents" constitute the number handled during the fiscal year at the Juvenile Hall in Los Angeles. From the ratios it appears that the Chinese make the best showing with only 1.9 delinquents per 1,000 children up to 18 years of age. The Japanese are a close second in this respect (2.1 delinquents per 1,000). American families contribute over four times as many delinquents as do the Orientals; Filipinos about six times as many; Russians, Italians and Mexicans about thirteen times as many; and Negroes about twenty-five times as many.

TABLE XI.

RATIO OF DELINQUENTS TO WHOLE SCHOOL POPULATION FOR VARIOUS RACIAL-NATIONAL GROUPS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY *

Groups	Number of Delinquents	Census of 1929	School enroll- ment for 1930	Ratio per one thousand	
				1929	1930
American	2,043	233,580	-	8.7	-
Negro	374	6,973	-	53.6	-
Chinese	2	1,031	783	1.9	2.5
Japanese	19	8,682	7,290	2.1	2.6
Italian	220	-	6,834	-	32.1
Mexican	963	40,646	-	23.6	-
Filipino	6	486	-	12.3	-
Russian	56	-	2,110	-	26.5
Spanish Speaking Mexican	1,055	-	39,099	-	26.9

* Reports of Los Angeles County Juvenile Hall, 1929, fiscal year

3. Causes of Small Number of Chinese Crimes and Delinquencies

There are a number of reasons which have contributed to the low rate of crime and delinquency among the Chinese. They are:

- a. Close home control and discipline
- b. General educational care by parents
- c. Close supervision by adults in general over the second generation
- d. Moral influence of Chinese language schools
- e. Feeling of inferiority or social consciousness
- f. Social isolation from the American community
- g. Small number of children over 14 years of age
- h. Many cases settled outside of Juvenile court

The home discipline, according to Oriental custom, is generally strict, especially that over the girls. The Chinese families feel that if something reprehensible happens it is a disgrace not only to the individual but also to the whole family. The daughters are expected to attend to house-keeping and cooking as well as to attend public schools. They are seldom allowed to go to parties other than those sanctioned and chaperoned by church or school authorities.

It is commonly admitted that the Chinese immigrants have an intense desire for their children to get knowledge and education. Scholarship is always looked upon as an honor to the family. This will of course have a great influence upon children prior to the period in which delinquency is likely to appear.

Although Chinese do not have a feeling of racial prestige like the Japanese, they do have a racial consciousness. When they are in an American community, they feel something pressing and hostile. The atmosphere is heavy and alien. Naturally they refrain from mingling with Americans and confine themselves to their own racial group. Since the Chinatowns are small, offenses are easily detected, and this, along with the close supervision of adults, minimizes the chances for crime.

The fact that relatively few of the Chinese population are between 12-18 years of age is another important factor in explaining the small total number of juvenile delinquents. And as this number increases, the number of delinquents is bound to increase. But so far the ratio between delinquents and either total population or the population within juvenile delinquency ages has been remarkably low. There is some evidence that the ratio is increasing, but very slowly.

The last explanation, that many cases are settled outside of courts, is of an entirely different sort. Although the cases cannot be many, there is a great possibility of their existence since the Chinese are accustomed to settle their disputes by the arbitration method and to save their faces by keeping shameful acts from being disclosed.

On the whole, we must conclude that as far as crime and delinquency are concerned, the Chinese have made a fine record in the United States.

V. Occupation and Economic Status

A. Occupational Distribution

When Charles W. Ward, who was sent by the Inter-church World Movement to China many years ago, was asked whether he knew anything about the Chinese, he answered that he did not, but was going to China to find out whether they were a nation of four hundred million laundrymen. It is very unfortunate that the majority of the Chinese in this country are from strata which are not representative of the Chinese nation.

The occupational status of the Chinese immigrants varies in different parts of the country. In the East (in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, etc.) the Chinese are mostly laundrymen; but they are being forced rapidly out of business by Jewish competition and well-organized, better financed, native steam laundries employing modern methods. In the West, for generations the Chinese have been serving as cooks around mining camps and outlying ranches. Further out, in California the Chinese have recently been employed as domestic servants to replace the Japanese, who are no longer in favor for that kind of work; the Japanese have
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become too independent to suit their employers.

In the Southern States where Chinese settled in relatively large numbers (especially in Mississippi, Texas, Louisiana, etc.) most of them are engaged in the grocery

business. In Cleveland, Mississippi, we find approximately 150 Chinese inhabitants, the largest Chinese colony in the South. Their chief occupation is the grocery business; a few are interested in gardening. There are, at present, nine Chinese grocery stores within the city limits of Cleveland, a town of some 4,000 population. As there are a great many more negroes than white people in the Mississippi delta, much of the Chinese trade at the smaller stores is with Negroes; a few modern ones are patronized by the leading citizens of the city.

Those who are gardeners own many acres of land where they raise cotton and Chinese vegetable products, such as Chinese cabbage, mustard, and beans. They ship these vegetables to Chicago and many other cities where there are Chinese restaurants. In the earlier days, many Chinese immigrants engaged in agricultural work in the Pacific States; but as the older immigrants died out and the second-generation have distributed themselves to the cities, they have virtually eliminated themselves from the agricultural field and have left the Japanese and the Filipinos as the chief Oriental contributors to the Pacific Coast farm.

It is not easy to find the factors that have determined the choice of such occupations as the grocery business among the Chinese immigrants in the Southern States. However, we may be almost certain that most of the Chinese in the South were brought to the United States as laborers on the Southern Pacific Railroad. When the railroad work was over they ob-

tained work on steamships sailing between San Francisco and New Orleans. In New Orleans they were offered work on interior boats plying the Mississippi. Then they began to drift inland from the river. Probably some individual discovered he could make money running a grocery store, and, therefore, all the others followed after him. It is of course natural that when one Chinese makes a success of a business all the other Chinese in the community will set up in the same business. This principle holds true in other places; in Mexico and Cuba all the Chinese are dry goods importers.

There are a number of Chinese women merchants in the Mississippi delta - widows who found it necessary upon the death of their husbands, to continue the business in order to support their children. This is not found in other sections of the country. Usually the wife and children will go back to China upon the death of the husband. Most of the young Chinese merchants today are born in America but have received their education in China.

While recent statistics are not available regarding the actual percentages of Chinese immigrants engaged in various professions, the following report of the Commissioner-General on the number of Chinese seeking admission to the United States by classes will give some light to the subject.

TABLE XII.

SUMMARY OF CHINESE SEEKING ADMISSION TO THE UNITED STATES BY CLASSES *

Class Alleged	Admitted	De- barred	Died	Es- caped
U.S. Citizens	4,754	313	3	
Wives of U.S. Citizens	396	23		
Returning laborers	1,340	49		1
Returning merchants	1,229	28	1	
Other merchants	452	8		
Members of Merchants' family	1,096	195	4	
Students	642	17		
Travelers	105	4		
Teachers	39			
Officials	149	4		
Miscellaneous	492	110	1	
Granted or denied the privilege of transit in bond across land territory of the U.S.	8,513	300	1	2
Total	19,267	1,051	9	3

* Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the fiscal year, 1924, p. 156

The following Table gives the 1920 distribution of the Chinese and Japanese gainfully employed in 1920:

TABLE XIII.

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF CHINESE AND JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS *

Occupation	Chinese	Japanese
Machinists and Mechanics	54	315
Skilled laborers	2,319	3,753
Semi-skilled laborers	310	578
Carpenters	47	191
Domestic and Personal Service	26,450	12,723
Professions	462	1,295
Trade (Grocery, etc.)	8,270	5,750
Fishermen	24	1,081

* United States Census of Occupation, 1920, published in Woofter's Races and Ethnic Groups in American Life, 1933, p. 141

B. Changes in Occupational Status

It is interesting to study how the Chinese entered the various sections of the country and how they shifted from one job to another. The following Table (Table XIV) reveals the effect that the quest for a clear occupational field had upon the ten highest vocations followed by the Chinese in 1870 and in 1920:

TABLE XIV.

CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF THE CHINESE IMMIGRANTS *

1870		1920	
Miners	17,609	Laundry operatives	11,534
Laborers	9,436	Cooks	6,943
Domestic Servants	5,420	Waiters	2,766
Laundry Operatives	3,653	Farm Laborers	2,305
Agricultural Laborers	1,766	Restaurant Keepers	1,688
Cigar Makers	1,727	Salesmen in Stores	1,606
Gardeners & Nurserymen	676	Other Servants	1,406
Traders and Dealers	604	Grocers	1,267
Employees of Railroads	568	Laundry Owners and	
Boot and Shoe Makers	489	Managers	980
		Building Trades	939

* United States Census of Occupation, 1870 and 1920

The Census of 1870 reveals the fact that out of 1,551 people employed in making boots and shoes in San Francisco, 296 were Chinese, and out of 395 employed in woolen mills, 253 were Chinese. The cigar trade was almost entirely taken over by the Chinese, who numbered 1,657 out of a total of 1,811 employed in that industry. Thus in 1870, the Chinese were fitting in very well in agricultural work and in infant industries. But just fifty years later, owing to the conflict and competition with the white laborers, many Chinese

were thrown out of work and a great change was made in their occupational status. It is interesting to note, according to the Census of 1920, that boot and shoe making, which used to be monopolized by Chinese labor, was not even mentioned in the list of 50 occupations, while only 61 cigar makers appear instead of 1,727 as in 1870. This clearly indicates that white labor had regained control of the manufacturing field except for fish packing and fruit canning, which industries employed 860 and 637 Chinese respectively.

C. Financial Institutions

The Chinese immigrants in the Continental United States have supported a goodly number of Chinese-owned-and-managed banking institutions. However, most of these are small, some being but mercantile establishments engaged in the business of transmitting packages and money to China as a side line because it is lucrative. Some of the larger of the Chinese-owned banking institutions are: The Canton Bank of San Francisco; The Bank of China, New York Branch; Overseas Chinese Banking Corporation, in New York.

One of the most picturesque and interesting banking institutions on the Pacific Coast is the Chinatown branch of the Bank of America in San Francisco. It is a branch of an American bank run entirely by Chinese women. Miss Dorothy Gee, the manager, passes on all loans and is the responsible head. The story was told that many years ago, her father, Charles Gee, was hired by the main bank in San Francisco to handle its Chinese accounts. He built up the business to

such an extent that in 1915 the bank hired his 15-year old daughter, Dorothy, to help him. She started with the salary of \$30.00 a month, but in three months was raised to one hundred dollars. In those three months, they took in \$300,000 in deposits, which by the end of the year, had risen to a million dollars. In 1923, it was decided to open up a branch in Chinatown and Miss Gee was made its manager; and in 1928, the bank moved into its present elegant and artistic quarters.

In most of the centers of Chinese population there is a Chamber of Commerce. The following list gives the location of some of these commercial bodies in North and South America: New York, San Francisco, Honolulu, Havana, Trina, Mexico City, Quito, Panama City, Tampico, Victoria, Vancouver.

D. Unemployment

Since 1930, the number of Chinese immigrants has been dwindling; each day witnessed the departure of ever-increasing numbers of Chinese who were compelled to return to their homeland. The return of Chinese emigrants from America as well as from other countries may be attributed largely to the world-wide economic depression and partly to highly discriminatory governmental regulations. There has been also some increase of European immigrants in the United States who are supplanting the Chinese in fields of industry, and an influx of Mexicans and Indians has rapidly displaced Chinese laborers.

According to Mr. Koliang Yeh, recently retired Chinese Consul-General at New York, out of the 85,000 Chinese in the United States, 32,000 lost employment as a result of the depression. Although no steps have been taken in the United States to ban Chinese merchants as has been done in Panama, Cuba, Peru, and elsewhere, many employers have preferred to employ native workers instead of Chinese.

E. Recent Relief Activities of Chinese Government

In view of the acute unemployment conditions among Chinese immigrants in the United States and elsewhere, the Chinese Nationalist Government has developed a relief scheme which was duly acted upon and approved by the Executive Yuen. A part of the proposed program has already been put into effect. The plan is composed of two parts, namely relief
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measures abroad and relief measures in China.

The object of relief measures abroad is the maintenance of the favorable position already attained by Chinese settlers in foreign countries. The plan includes: minute investigation of the unemployment situation among the Chinese immigrants so that intelligent measures of relief may be taken; organization of relief organs and bodies in the different centers of Chinese population; government loans to assist the Chinese settlers to recover their economic power; support to well-established Chinese industries and factories

22. Kwei, Chung-Shu, The Chinese Year Book, 1935-36, p. 448

23. Ibid, 1935-36, p. 452

to enable them to carry on; extension of vocational education.

The object of relief measures in China is to prevent the increase in the rank and file of the already huge army of unemployed at home by the return of the overseas Chinese. The plan includes: creation of suitable employment for the returned immigrants; diversion of overseas Chinese capital and labor into home industries; development of natural resources; reclamation of frontier regions; program of highway building; establishment of factories; encouragement of recruitment of Chinese laborers for work abroad under the supervision and protection of the Chinese Government.

The Chinese Government has promulgated also a set of regulations prohibiting Chinese laborers from proceeding abroad unless they possess employment credentials from overseas Chinese of good standing. Offices of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission have been established in the principal ports of the country to direct and guide the inflow of overseas Chinese and, in case of need, to provide transportation from the port cities to their respective home towns in the interior.

"Happy Village" in Anhwei, constructed by the Commission as a refuge for indigent overseas Chinese was formally opened on June 15, 1935, by Chou Kai-Keng, Vice-Chairman of the Commission for Overseas Chinese Affairs. It is situated in the heart of rich farm lands. The place was chosen partly because several Chinese who had returned from America had been

successful in farming in the vicinity.

To remove all possibility of mis-appropriation regulations for the receipt of donations from overseas Chinese to the national cause and the segregation of these funds have been promulgated by the Chinese Government. Appropriate recognition has been made from time to time for generous contributions; recently the Overseas National Salvation Association and the Overseas Relief Association of Burma were recipients of a gold medal each for their generous donations to the nation.

F. Decrease in Remittance of Overseas Chinese

The Chinese immigrants occupy a very important position in the economic life of China. They have rendered very considerable help in balancing China's international trade. So the prosperity of the Chinese immigrants bears an intimate relation to their mother country. With the recent large decrease of the number of Chinese in foreign countries, including the United States of America, there is an equally sharp decline in the amount of the remittances from them. According to estimates of the Bank of China these remittances, which heretofore amounted to a great sum of money each year and had been an important factor in the balancing of international payments, were reduced in 1934 to \$250,000,000.

VI. Education

The degree of education possessed is a fairly good index today of social position. Possibilities of advancement, for

either an individual or a racial group may be judged in terms of ability to assimilate educational advantages. Let us divide our discussion under two main divisions: namely, the education of the first-generation Chinese and that of the second-generation.

A. Educational Standards of the First-Generation Chinese

Generally speaking, the educational status of the first-generation Chinese is rather low. These pioneer immigrants had found farming or wage labor in South China unattractive and decided to seek new opportunities abroad. A few of these immigrants may have come from the well-to-do middle class, but the majority of them were from the poor and under-privileged class. The educational system in China during the early days was inadequately developed and many of them had little schooling except what they claimed to have received under the old fashioned private tutorial²⁴ system.

According to the United States Census of 1930, the rate of illiteracy of the Chinese in the United States was 20.4% as contrasted with 4.3% for the country as a whole and 9.9% for the foreign-born white. Of the foreign-born Chinese ten years old and over, 27.8% were reported as being unable to speak English; this included nearly half (45.1%) of the females and about a quarter (25.6%) of the males.

24. Ibid, 1935-1936, p. 453

During recent years, the Chinese Government has cooperated with the Chinese merchants in the United States in reducing the illiteracy rate by promoting mass education and the teaching of "3,000 characters." Therefore, the situation has been improved considerably. The knowledge of English on the part of the first-generation Chinese is still, however, very limited; especially among those who are over sixty years of age, and who came to America a long time ago. Many first-generation Chinese women have practically no knowledge of English, since most of them were married upon arrival and very shortly afterward began to raise children, and undoubtedly had no time to attend schools of any sort. There has been a little increase in recent years on the part of the first-generation Chinese in public schools, especially those between ages of twenty and thirty years of age.

B. Education of the Second-Generation Chinese

The Chinese immigrants, as compared with other immigrant groups, have suffered little discrimination in sending their children to public school and have been given good facilities all over the United States. Although many efforts have been made to place them in segregated schools on the Pacific Coast or to send them to the Negro schools in the Southern States, in general the treatment has been very gratifying.

Since most of the Chinese immigrants live in cities, their sons and daughters have been able to take full advan-

tage of public school education. Practically all the American-born Chinese have received their education in this country - only very few have had part or all of their schooling in China. There is, however, still a decided preference for Chinese culture on the part of the Chinese immigrants and many of them are eager to send their children back to China (if their finances permit) to get such education in order to be loyal and ideal Chinese citizens.

1. The Chinese Language Schools

Like many non-English-speaking peoples who have come to America, the Chinese have established private schools where their children may learn the parents' native language and some of the history, traditions and customs of their native land. According to Chinese Government statistics, there are at present nine high schools and one hundred and nine elementary schools in the United States and its ²⁵ possessions. All of them are privately owned by the Chinese merchants. Since 1934, the Chinese Government has undertaken to cooperate with Chinese merchants in supporting and administering these schools and an annual appropriation of \$330,000 has been allotted as grants-in-aid for these schools. Many government educational experts have made extensive tours investigating the conditions at these schools at first hand and elaborate reports and recommendations are being prepared and sent to the Chinese Government.

25. Kwei, Chung-Shu, op. cit., 1935-36, p. 455

These language schools are divided into two different types: (a) Schools conducted after the regular public school hours in the form of parochial schools. These schools are merely supplementary to the public schools and not a substitute for them. So, while the American boys and girls are playing games and enjoying themselves after school, the Chinese children are back in school, studying how to read and write Chinese characters and learning the language of their ancestors. (b) The other type of school is the regular elementary or high school, with the standardized curriculum of the Chinese Government. It is a substitute for the American public school system, provided for those who have come from China directly, and who have very little knowledge of the American language. The Chinese school at Sacramento, California officially named "Chung Wah Public School," is a typical example of such a school. The school now owns its building and property, built by Chinese merchants in California under the leadership of Mr. Fong Yao Pu, Chairman of the Sacramento Chinese Chamber of Commerce.

The teachers in these language schools are graduates of public Senior High Schools or Normal Schools in China who have had one year's training under the National Overseas Affairs Commission of the Chinese Government. In accordance with the California State Law (effective June 30, 1921), these teachers must also pass an examination in American

history and show ability to read, write and speak English. Each school was required to secure a permit from the Superintendent of Public Instruction which could be withdrawn at any time if the law was broken.²⁷ These schools are found not only in California, but also all over the country in cities where there are concentrations of Chinese population.

Judging from the survey made by the Chinese Consulate in San Francisco and published in the Chung Sai Yat Po, about 65% of both sexes of American-born Chinese have attended these schools for an average of two years for the entire group. In other words about one-third of the Chinese children in California have not attended these schools at all and the remainder have spent about four years in them.

The arguments in favor of the Chinese-language schools are as follows:

a. The language school helps the parents and children to understand each other's problems better; with the result that parents can keep the children straight on the moral side and give them advice. In other words, the common language tends to bind the first and second-generations more closely together.

b. The language school helps to eliminate the illiteracy among the Chinese immigrants. Those who did not have much education in China and are not able to go to the American public school on account of language difficul-

27. Strong, E.K., op. cit., 1934, p. 127

ties can be enrolled in these schools and enjoy educational advantages.

c. The language school serves as a unifying social organization in the community. Among Americans the Boy Scouts, Girl Reserves, religious groups and other similar organizations develop social and moral ideals and standards. In many Chinese communities, the language school is the dominant factor in these respects. Here the children are taught, in addition to the Chinese language, the moral and cultural principles underlying Chinese civilization and the common practices of American life.

d. Knowledge of the Chinese language, especially the Mandarin, is helpful in many cases, in securing work. (Mandarin is the official Chinese dialect).

e. Finally, the language schools raise the self-esteem of both generations of Chinese. In a country where they have been looked down upon and ill-treated, it is natural for them to develop inferiority complexes. A study of what China stands for and what she has accomplished, a knowledge of her literature and art, an appreciation of her ancient culture and recent advancement, all tend to increase the student's respect for his race and so for himself. Such study causes the young people to appreciate their parents' background and point of view and so decreases the too-numerous opportunities for misunderstanding and conflict.

All these advantages may be conceded and yet there may

remain the practical objection to these schools on the ground that they are attempting the well-nigh impossible, as far as the majority of Chinese are concerned. There is no question but that the superior child could successfully carry on the work required in the public school and still find time to learn the Chinese language. But the evidence seems to be quite conclusive that the average and inferior child cannot do this. Although there has been no study made so far along this line, there are clear indications that few Chinese are mastering the English language to such an extent that they will not be handicapped in mingling with the white population, and the evidence seems to be equally clear that they are not obtaining a real mastery of the Chinese language. ²⁸ Smith finds that Oriental children attending foreign-language schools make lower scores on reading and general English tests even when paired with children of equal intelligence scores:

"Intelligent study of the errors made by Oriental children in reading seems to point toward a definite confusion of Orientation among those children that attend two schools, which is probably a factor in their delayed progress in reading. Children may not be quite so disturbed by the different reading directions if they do not enter both schools at the same time."

On the other hand, those who attend the Chinese schools alone are segregated entirely from American community life. It is also true that not all these schools are conducted in

28. Smith, M.E., "The Direction of Reading and the Effect of Foreign-Language School Attendance on Learning to Read," Journal of Genetic Psychology, Vol. XL, No. 2, June, 1932, p. 449

the modern scientific manner. Some of them are still under the strong influence of the old private tutorial system. They are called "the new-type school" in name, but in actual practice, little change and improvements have been achieved. Such were the Pei Ying Academy in San Antonio, Texas, and many schools in California. The inefficiency of these schools is due largely to the following defects: (1) loose and unhealthy organization, (2) too little administrative power and lack of control, (3) unsatisfactory curriculum, (4) no cooperation between schools. In fact clannishness and jealousy were the dominating attitudes. In spite of all these defects, the following outstanding achievements during recent years have been made: (1) the prevalence of the use of Mandarin for class instruction, (2) emphasis on vocational education, (3) normal courses in the girls' schools aiming to be of service in the advancement of primary education, and (4) the development of high school education. So on the whole, the Chinese language school for immigrants has entered upon a new age due to the intensive interest of the Chinese Government, which wants to encourage international cultural cooperation and to give the overseas Chinese a sense of nationalism.

2. Some Recommendations Regarding the Acquisition of the English and Chinese Languages

As it has already been pointed out, some knowledge of Chinese appears desirable for all of the second-generation Chinese. It is needed in order to insure proper

morale within the family and the Chinese group. It is this relationship which is seemingly so largely responsible for the low rate of juvenile delinquency reported in the previous section. Furthermore, the second-generation Chinese need to know of the achievements of their race, its history, literature, art and recent economic development. They need this knowledge, among other reasons, in order to offset the feeling of inferiority which any second-generation individual is apt to acquire in a new environment.

The Chinese language, however, is an exceedingly difficult one to acquire. For that reason, it would seem best to plan that the rank and file of the second-generation should acquire real facility in English and only sufficient Chinese to meet the needs of ordinary family and group activity. The more intelligent and industrious may, in addition, acquire a far better grasp of the language of their ancestors. But this will necessitate more time than can be given to the subject during grammar school days.

In the light of these considerations, it seems to the writer that the best possible solution is to be obtained in some such way as this:

First, the work of the Chinese language schools should be continued. In this way the Chinese language and culture will be transmitted to the second-generation. But the conduct of these schools should be controlled in the light of developments to be brought about as soon as possible, as outlined below.

Second, study of Chinese should be introduced into certain junior or senior high schools as a substitute for French or German.²⁹ This will provide instruction at the age when most of the second-generation drop out of the language schools, and would make possible more advanced instruction, which is badly needed. It will also, give an opportunity for some whites to study the language, which from many angles seems to be desirable. (The writer knows several missionaries' children who have studied the Chinese language in China and who asked the university where they studied in America to accept their Chinese as the modern language to meet the requirement for their college degree).

Third, a course in the geography, history and economic development of China and Japan, with proper consideration of their art and literature should be given in certain high schools. Such a course is badly needed for the best development of American citizens of Chinese ancestry and it is equally desirable for other citizens growing up on the Pacific Coast. The writer has studied American geography and history since his early school days in the junior high school in China.

Fourth, the present courses in American Universities which deal with Chinese language and culture need to be strengthened materially. There are almost 500 courses offered in some 200 American colleges and universities

29. Bulletin of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, Nov. 3, 1933

which treat China either as a major subject or as a subject that occupies a significant portion of the course. But a majority of these courses are given in institutions on the Pacific Coast in the departments of political science, sociology, and history and only a few colleges are offering courses in the Chinese language. One is offered at Stanford University, eleven at the University of California, and ³⁰four at the University of Washington.

Such recommendations appear to be about as valuable as any which can be presented from the standpoint of aiding the Chinese immigrant children to earn a satisfactory living in this country. Success in many occupations is dependent upon the minimizing of differences. Mastery of good English is within the power of the Chinese-Americans, but the educational system of the country should be adapted so as to aid them in this respect.

VII. Press and Public Bodies

The newspaper is one of the directing forces of modern culture. Hence the cultural standard of a city or a racial group can always be judged by its journalistic enterprises. Following is a list of the Chinese newspapers published in ³¹foreign countries:

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30. Carter, E.C., China and Japan in our University Curricula, 1929
 31. Kwei, Chung-Shu, op. cit., 1935-36, p. 459

TABLE XV.

CHINESE NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Locality	Number of Newspapers
The Malay Peninsula	8
Burma	2
India	1
United States of America	18
Java	5
Cuba	3
Panama	3
Peru	2
Jamaica	1
The Philippines	4
Canada	4
Australia	4
Indo-China	3
Africa and Maritimus	4
Hongkong	12
Siam	7
Celebes	1
Sumatra	2
	<hr/> 74

Out of the 74 Chinese newspapers published abroad, 18 are published in the United States and its territorial possessions.

Ng Poon Chew is the father of Chinese journalism in America. He arrived at San Francisco in 1881 when he was only fifteen years of age. He soon found a job as a house-boy and was permitted to go to school at night. In 1883, he became a Christian and entered the San Francisco Theological Seminary from which school he graduated in 1892. In the same year, he was ordained and became pastor of the Chinese Presbyterian Church at San Francisco. It was not long, however, before he came to feel that the opportunities in the

ministry were limited; and accordingly he commenced to seek activities of a wider scope in which to serve his people. The idea of a newspaper appealed to him since there was no Chinese newspaper in America at that time. In 1898, with the financial cooperation of a few friends, he established in Los Angeles the Wah Mei Sun Po, a weekly; and in 1900 in San Francisco the Chung Sai Yat Po, the first Chinese daily in America, which, with the exception of a week after the San Francisco earthquake and fire, has been in continuous publication ever since. Thus this courageous spirit led the way which others later followed. In 1912, the University of Pittsburgh conferred upon him the degree of Litt. D. in recognition of his pioneering work in journalism among Chinese in America.

There are at present 18 Chinese newspapers, published in the following American cities: New York 6, Chicago 2, San Francisco 5, Honolulu 5. They are:

<u>New York</u>	6
Chung Kwok Jit Po	
Chung Kwoh Vai Siu Po	
Min Kee Jit Po	
New York Cheng Po	
Ming Kwok Kung Po	
Kung Wo Jit Po	
Chicago.	2
San Ming Cheng Po	
Kung Sheng Jit Po	
San Francisco.	5
Ming Kwok Jit Po	
Sai Fai Jit Po	
Chung Sai Ji Po	
Chinese Times	
Young China	

32. Shepherd, Charles R., "Father of Chinese Journalism in America," The Chinese Christian Student, Silver Anniversary Bulletin, 1934, p. 30

Honolulu 5
 Chung Hwa Kung Po
 Tan Hwa Sin Po
 Chu You Sin Po
 Han Min Po
 Sin Chun Kuo Po

Each of these papers has an average circulation of 4,000 copies, serving not only Chinese immigrants in the Continental United States but also in Canada and South America. All these papers are published in the Chinese language; Chung Hwa Kung Pao of Honolulu, publishes an English and Chinese edition. The purpose of these papers is to maintain contact with the old country and adapt the aliens to the new community. Some of these papers were founded by political leaders who were exiles in this country. They used the press to preserve the nationalistic spirit of the immigrants who expected to return home to participate in the Nationalist Revolution. So these papers are usually generously supported by those Chinese immigrants who are intensely patriotic. But the difficulty of getting up-to-date and reliable information from China, coupled with the impatient attitude of many overseas leaders with the policies of the Nationalist Government, make it hard for these papers to help in developing a sound and intelligent viewpoint on the part of their readers. Thus instead of promoting unity in political thought and outlook, many of them unfortunately caused unnecessary misunderstandings and dissensions in the Chinese colonies.

The contents of these papers are not completely given

to problems of China; some of them discuss trade, commerce, and other items of interest. Space is usually allocated among five major divisions: (1) American news, (2) world news, (3) home country news, (4) group life and interests, and (5) editorial features. The first page is usually given over completely to news items. A number of papers devote the first and second columns to "world news," the last two to American news and the middle three columns to news of the homeland.

The second page is given over to editorials, very often on American subjects, and to feature stories which are more likely to deal with the life and problems of the home country. All available space on the third and fourth pages is devoted to group interests, such as reports of societies, letters to editors, local reports, and notices.

Most of these papers are, however, predominantly radical. This tendency is probably due to the fact that practically all of them serve labor groups and are naturally friendly to the cause of labor.

The "Americanization" of the Chinese press is illustrated by the increased use of press matter from American syndicates, including sporting news, feature stories, cartoons, and comic strips. The characters in these "comics" most popular in America seem to have failed to make an impression upon the Chinese-born readers. Chinese editors show a decided preference for picture strips embodying the spirit of adventure; "Tarzan of the Apes" has been widely

used.

Political cartoons are winning their way into these Chinese papers; most of them carry syndicated American or imported cartoons. On the whole, the Chinese treasures his own language as being not only his counselor and friend but also that intellectual ferment which makes it possible for him to adjust his life to the complicated structure and environment of America.

Other cultural enterprises managed by the Chinese immigrants in America are: the China Institute, the Chinese Four Arts' Association, and many others. The China Art Club gives an annual exhibit at the Club's gallery at 175 Canal Street, New York City, New York. According to a survey of public bodies among overseas Chinese made recently by the Commission for Overseas Chinese Affairs of the Chinese Government, there are some 756 organizations, 72 of them in the United States - among which 33 are professional organizations and 39 social organizations.³³

VIII. Religious Affiliation

Since the Chinese came from a country where Buddhism and Confucianism are the dominant religions, the first-generation Chinese usually prefer to remain as Buddhists or Confucianists. But the second-generation Chinese clearly tend to transfer their allegiance to Christianity. This tendency is probably due to the fact that many churches in

33. Kwei, Chung-Shu, op. cit., 1935-36, p. 454

the larger cities have Sunday School classes for Chinese children. Chicago has eleven Chinese Sunday Schools and more than 500 Chinese children have enrolled in these Sunday School classes.³⁴

Preference for Christianity instead of Buddhism or Confucianism is associated with better education, better use of the English language, urban life, and greater ownership of homes or businesses. When there is a Buddhist and a Christian element in a Chinese community, it usually appears that the Christian is more Americanized than the Buddhist element.³⁵

Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the religious life of minority groups is the tendency to organize separate churches for these groups. All over the United States there are many Chinese Christian churches headed by Chinese native pastors. In Seattle, for instance, there are two Chinese churches, Presbyterian and Baptist. The latter is large, and well-equipped and maintains an active program with night school and Daily Vacation Bible School. The newly ordained pastor is a graduate of the University of Shanghai and has had training at the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary at Fort Worth, Texas. At Chinatown in San Francisco, there are nine denominations working

34. Lee, Philip, Yearly Calendar and Members' Directory, Chinese Christian Union Church, Chicago, Illinois, 1937, p. 6
35. Tentative Findings of the Survey of Race Relations, 1925, p. 32

among the Chinese - the Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Methodist, Baptist, Independent Baptist, Cumberland Presbyterian, Salvation Army, Episcopalian, and Roman Catholic. In addition to these denominational forces, there are also a strong well-equipped Y.M.C.A. in a commodious building, and a Y.W.C.A. which is a perfect gem of Chinese architecture. Here also is located the famous Presbyterian Mission Home presided over by Miss Donaldina Cameron whose thrilling adventures in combating the Chinese under-world are recorded by Carol Green Wilson in Chinatown Quest. She has rescued from slavery not less than fifteen hundred girls in twenty years. No wonder Chinese high-binders, (see Chapter IV) call her Fa Hu Quai, "Barbarian Devil," while those who know and love her call her Lo Mo, "The Little Mother."

The work of the Y.W.C.A., presided over by Miss Rose Chew, is particularly appealing. It enrolls 550 members but serves many others, including 150 children, 80 of them in their teens. One of its valuable services is to give recreational opportunity to Chinese girls who have very few privileges in this direction and who, as a result, tend to become in-grown and clannish. "Many Chinese girls, also," says Miss Chew, "have never had an opportunity to go into American homes and so tend to pick up only the more superficial aspects of American life." It may surprise American

36. "High-binder" means a member of an organized band of Chinese criminals in the Chinese quarter of an American city who may be hired to commit assassinations or other outrages

readers, however, to learn that "when the Girl Reserves Conferences have discussions about boy and girl problems our girls don't know what hip flasks are! When we have parties we don't feel that we have to chaperon them." This is in line with the testimony of the steward of a Seattle club sometimes rented out to parties, that the Oriental young people were the most orderly of all the groups that came and that they left no whiskey bottles behind.

Not in Chinatown itself, but serving it, is the Chung Mei Home, conducted by Dr. C.R. Shepherd of Berkeley, California. This cares for about sixty under-privileged Chinese boys who otherwise would be adrift in the world. The boys attend the Berkeley public schools. An excellent composite picture of a Chung Mei boy is to be found in Dr. Shepherd's very readable story of Chinese boy life, Lim Yik Choy.

In Los Angeles much good work is also being done. Vigorous services have been carried on by the Baptists, the Methodists, the Reformed Church in the United States and the Episcopalians. The Christian work among the Japanese in Los Angeles, however, is more advanced than that among the Chinese. But Christian work for Chinese has not been confined to the Pacific Coast. Many things can be said about the work of Miss Mabel Lee, a Ph.D. from Columbia, who has given up many attractive positions to take up Christian work in Chinatown in New York City. She now has two hundred volunteer teachers helping in the Chinese Baptist Center. The Presbyterians also have been active there and

and have promoted several centers for Christian work among Chinese. The last Oriental Missions Directory (1936) listed a grand total of 446 places where religious work of some sort was being carried on for Orientals, 330 in the Continental United States and 116 in Hawaii. Of the 330 in the Continental United States, 182 were on the Pacific Coast and 148 were scattered throughout the country, 29 in New York, 26 in Massachusetts, 15 in Pennsylvania. Many of these are doubtless very small, perhaps not more than a Chinese Sunday School or evening class in many eastern cities. Home Missions Today and Tomorrow, published in 1934, lists 294 missionary workers among 16 denominations not including those who are working in Hawaii.

Divided racially, there are 180 centers of Chinese work, 59 of them on the Pacific Coast of which 32 own their own property. The Japanese come next with 127 centers, 101 of them being on the Pacific Coast, 39 owning their own property. Twelve are Korean, all in California, ten are Filipino, all but one on the Pacific Coast, and one in Hindu, a Baptist work at Elcentro, California.

In Chicago there is a Union Chinese Christian Church, located at 2301 South Wentworth Avenue, in the heart of Chinatown. The church was organized in the year 1915, under the leadership of Rev. Frank Li, who is now the Ambassador of the Chinese Nationalist Government to Denmark. Before that time, there were Sunday Schools in the city but the members multiplied so rapidly that they decided to organize

their own church. In 1924, they bought their own church building and already ten ordained ministers have served as pastors of this church. The present program of work of the church is as follows:

- Sunday worship services
- Graded Sunday School with all departments
- Bible class and evangelistic meetings
- Chinese language class
- Mid-week prayer meeting
- Women's Missionary Society
- Boy Scouts
- Girls Glee Club
- Dress-making Club
- Boys Clubs
- Sewing Class
- Church choirs - giving irregular sacred concerts

The church has at present a membership of 150, 80 of whom are resident members. Recently, the Church has been convinced that a more adequate church structure is urgently needed and desires to erect a new church building in 1939. Under the excellent leadership of their present pastor, Rev. Philip Lee, \$5,000 have already been raised and their final goal is \$50,000.

The Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention has recently taken up work among Chinese living in the Mississippi delta. In 1933, Pastor Li Shu Yen was appointed as Chinese missionary to this largest Chinese Colony in the South. In addition to his duty as missionary, he is also helping to establish a school for Chinese children. (See Chapter IV).

While the Protestant churches are interested in missionary work among Chinese immigrants, the Roman Catholic Church has also taken an interest in the work, especially

in the Pacific States. In San Francisco where nearly 12,000 of the 75,000 Chinese immigrants live, we find a Catholic parochial school for Chinese children. The school has at present an enrollment of 400 Chinese boys and girls, most of them American born. A third of them are Catholics when they enter kindergarten. By the time they reach the 8th grade, another third have been converted. These boys and girls spend five hours a day and nine years of their lives in learning to read, pray, sing in the Catholic manner under the tutelage of black-clad nuns of the St. Joseph Order.

Mention must be made of the three great International Houses which have recently arisen on the campuses of Columbia University, the University of Chicago and the University of California. While not religious institutions, they are great centers of inter-racial understanding, and are largely patronized by Orientals.

Turning now to questions of future policy and development, the question arises as to whether there should be separate churches for Chinese at all or whether they should be merged into the regular churches of the American community. As with all immigrant peoples, there seems to be a temporary place, at least, for the racial and national group churches, provided they are safe-guarded in certain ways.

It is generally agreed that the separate Chinese church must continue for a generation or so, since these churches can minister to the older people as an American church could not, and also, if conducted with sufficient insight into the

needs of the rising generation, they may provide for the young people of the second and third generations opportunities for leadership and self-expression which they could not obtain in the ordinary American churches. There are, however, many improvements to be made in the present scheme. The following are some of the suggestions.

First of all, as in so many other phases of Protestant work, wasteful and ineffective competition should be eliminated. Chinatown, San Francisco, for example, is altogether too competitive. Too many denominations work in the territory and among the same people. Here we have something to learn from the Roman Catholics. While they have come into the Oriental work late in the day and they have by no means so many institutions as the Protestants, those which they do have are very strong, well located, well housed and well manned. It is time to rise above denominational rivalries and think constructively in terms of a united Protestantism and the welfare of the Oriental.

A second question which may well be raised about the Chinese churches is as to whether they are not in danger of what the sociologists would call "cultural lag," that is, of remaining too first-generation-minded in the presence of a situation where strategy calls for making the strongest kind of a bid for the second-generation. One sees this in the use of language - the most important services tend to be in Chinese, although English is the language of the second-generation. An American addressing an Oriental

audience on the Pacific Coast soon finds that they follow him very well, laugh at his jokes and respond to his appeal. The need of interpretation will grow steadily less. But it is not merely language; equally dangerous is a lag in ideas and attitudes. One wonders if, possibly, too large a proportion of the ministers have been trained in China.

The third question is the matter of training of ministers. Too many Chinese ministers serving Chinese churches have little scholastic and theological training. The result is that many American-born Chinese professional men are not getting anything religious out of the church services, because the pastor's theological ideas are too old-school and his preaching is either below the intellectual level of the second-generation or is just aimed at the children or the high school group. Many churches have failed to hold the young married people, often college educated, since they do not have up-to-date preaching, book reviews and discussions of living issues. There has been, however, some progress made in this direction during recent years. The Baptists report that of their fifteen pastors five can preach in English; some of them are graduate students at the nearby universities. The young people in some churches are organizing themselves vigorously and pioneering their own way under the leadership of young, educated pastors.

Another thing needed in this whole Chinese religious situation is the establishment of closer contact with the American churches. If the Chinese are not to develop into

a separate caste, it must be the Christian churches of America that lead the way to prevent it. This can be done in two ways.

First, where there are enough Chinese in the community to have churches of their own, great responsibility rests upon the American churches to keep the paths of fellowship open between them. They can welcome and entertain young Chinese in their homes. Such hospitality would help to cause many barriers to crumble, particularly if it were not insisted upon or untactfully demanded, but simply assumed as a matter of course. "One of the great indignations of my life," says Pearl Buck "was to find certain women in Christian churches in America who would give money and time to a foreign missionary society for work among peoples ten thousand miles away but who would not open the doors of their homes to persons of other races in their own cities, strangers and foreigners in America. What is the use of preaching Christ abroad when we deny Him by such acts as these at home?"

Second, churches located in areas where Chinese are few have opportunity to bring these people right into the warm glow of American church life. Do not put them all together in a special class; that is exactly what they do not want. Mix them in with everybody else. Treat them exactly as you would all other human beings and you'll find how responsive and appreciative they are.

IX. Chinese Immigrants and National Relief

The Chinese immigrants in general show much genuine feeling of loyalty and patriotism toward their mother-country. While it is impossible to give a complete story in this monograph, a few illustrations will suffice to show how loyal the overseas Chinese are. For instance, during the Shanghai hostilities in 1932, the Chinese in a small Canadian town contributed as much as \$10.00 per person, one prominent doctor giving \$2,000! The Chinese community in Portland, though less than 2,000 in number, spent enormous sums of money during those days to train native-born Chinese aviators. For this purpose they even purchased a special plane. Subsequently several of the men trained have been sent to Europe for advanced study. Today a number of them are helping the National Government of China in building up a modern air force.

Shortly after the beginning of the struggle between China and Japan in August, 1937, the Chinese all over America, from New York to California, from Canada to Mexico, plunged themselves into all kinds of patriotic activities - the chief interest being the huge campaign for the "National Emergency Fund." The campaign is divided under two main divisions; namely, the war fund and the relief fund. The Consolidated Benevolent Association was organized to solicit funds among Chinese immigrants throughout Continental United States. Many cities have responded generously. The Chicago Chinese alone have raised \$850,000 since September, 1937.

250 Chinese in St. Louis have raised \$120,000, an average of \$400.00 each. Chinese immigrants in the south, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas, have placed contributions on a compulsory basis. Each able-bodied man was assessed \$6.00 each month and each store owner \$12.00, with large stores expected to give more.

Thus by December, 1937, Chinese immigrants in Continental United States had raised a total fund of over \$4,000,000 to help fight China's undeclared war with Japan. Nearly forty percent of this amount was raised in San Francisco.

The first-generation Chinese have shown much enthusiasm in promoting these activities. The American-born Chinese have also participated in raising war relief funds in order to help the stricken refugees and non-combatants throughout the war areas of their ancestral land. Although they are citizens of the United States, yet culturally and racially they are Chinese. By right the American-born should be neutral because the American Government pursues a policy of neutrality in the Far East; but when neutrality is not neutral, how can they support the policy of the United States. In enforcing one section of the Neutrality Act the Government of the United States forced the freighter Wichita to dump in California the planes which were bound for China and then allowed it to proceed to Japan with a load of scrap iron which was turned into enough ammunition³⁷ to blow a Chinese village to pieces. How can one be neutral when neutrality works the wrong way?

37. The Chinese Christian Student, Vol. XXVIII, Numbers 4-5, March-April, 1938, p. 7

In September, 1937, a group of Chinese girls in San Antonio, Texas, started a drive for funds and clothing for aid of Chinese refugees in the war-torn districts. This campaign has spread to many southern cities, including Birmingham, Alabama; Shreveport, Louisiana; New Orleans, Louisiana; San Antonio, Houston and Galveston, Texas. Permanent local headquarters were established in Mobile, Alabama.

The overseas Chinese have never failed to respond with generous contributions for relief work whenever there was flood or famine in China. A friend of the writer who lives in Honolulu estimated that during the last fifteen years the Chinese in the territory of Hawaii must have remitted at least \$200,000 for various relief activities in China.

So, in conclusion, we must recognize without hesitation that the Chinese immigrants in Continental United States are enterprising people who have become successful in spite of seemingly insurmountable obstacles. Unlike the Europeans in the Oriental countries these "Chinamen" have never relied upon gunboats or extra-territoriality in competing with the local population. They have been able to stand on their own feet in spite of language difficulties, much social discrimination and other adverse conditions. Their success was chiefly due to their strong character, business acumen and diligent work. The following are a few

of the noble, worthy examples:

"There is a leading restaurant owner in Honolulu, who having saved his earnings on a plantation farm, ventured into the chop suey business with a small capital of \$275. Through clever planning and hard work he has today developed and owns the most popular and most luxurious rendezvous in all Hawaii, estimated to be worth nearly \$200,000.

"Then there is the man who once had a small dry goods store in Sacramento but during the last two decades he has assiduously built up 38 others in various cities of the United States, and has now organized them into a national system of dollar stores.

"They sell to the white trade and employ white girls exclusively as salespeople, but with Chinese management. The stores are clean, light and well located. The merchandise is low in price and displayed according to the most approved methods of the modern 5 and 10. Behind the stores are the factories where they make the dresses, aprons, overalls and many other things they sell. Here they give employment to hundreds of Chinese. True, there are criticisms as to the wages and hours, but let us hope that the better codes and standards which seem to be growing up in industry will take care of this. Meantime, here is an Oriental enterprise at all events, which has broken through the economic barrier." 39

39. Palmer, A.W., op. cit., 1934, p. 146

Chapter IV

SOME VITAL PROBLEMS AMONG CHINESE RESIDENTS IN AMERICA

- (1) Racial Friction and Accommodation**
- (2) Occupational Opportunities**
- (3) Some Vital Social Problems**
- (4) Problems of Education**
- (5) Moral Problems in Chinese Communities**

Chapter IV

SOME VITAL PROBLEMS AMONG CHINESE RESIDENTS IN AMERICA

Bearing in mind the facts presented thus far, let us now turn our attention to the main theme of interest in this study - namely, some of the vital problems which confront the Chinese immigrants today. Generally these difficulties and problems fall into five fairly distinct but not unrelated groups: racial, occupational, social, educational, and moral.

I. Racial Friction and Accommodation

One cannot overlook the fact that even today one racial group can treat a minority group very shamefully. Within a short period of time, Filipinos have been killed in California, Chinese driven out of Mexico, the Jews treated abominably in Germany, and hundreds of thousands of Chinese living in China killed by the Japanese. Racial prejudice has always existed and probably always will. It is not at all peculiar to Caucasians. Stratton, for example writes:

"It is found among people ancient and modern; great and small; savage, barbarian, and civilized. A survey might disclose peoples who have never felt it, who feel only sympathy with all aliens or at least no aversion, but this seems improbable."

There is, and has been for many years, a very strong racial discrimination against the Chinese in America; not

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1. Stratton, G.M., Social Psychology of International Conduct, 1929, p. 42

so much against the educated and cultured group of 2,000 Chinese students, but mostly against the large group of Chinese merchants and laborers, varying from perhaps 150,000 at one time to about 75,000 at the present. But in spite of the fact that both groups have suffered under economic and social discrimination, they have had a very large share in the development of the "New China" by providing for the leaders of China large financial support, and by furnishing a great many of the economic and political ideals adapted by these leaders.

A. Factors that Cause Racial Prejudices

What, then, are the factors that cause race friction? Race prejudice is based first of all, upon the fact that differences exist between the two races, a fact which always causes a feeling of strain and uncertainty. Race antipathy is based often on a difference in cultures. All customs save our own seem to be a bit inferior. Americans laugh at Chinese because they write from right to left and Chinese think Occidentals queer for the reverse reason.

The second factor is that the readjustment to a new situation, involved in coming into contact with a race different in appearance and customs, is unpleasant to those with established habits. An American once asked a Chinese why Chinese wore his fingernails long, and the Chinese replied by asking him why he wore that white board around his neck. Custom has the atmosphere of the right, the superior way. All who do otherwise are inferior. ² "No creed, no

2. Sumner, Wm. G., Folkways, 1907, p. 61

moral code, and no scientific demonstration can ever win the same hold upon men and women as habits of action, with associated sentiments and state of minds, drilled in from childhood.³"

Racial prejudice is, furthermore, due to the tendency to develop national stereotypes on insufficient evidence. In other words, our first unfavorable reaction to the member of another group tends to become the stereotyped reaction to all members of that group. The unfamiliar and new is interpreted by each individual in terms of his own experience. Thus the reaction to the unknown is partly an expression of the unknown itself and partly, if not mainly, an expression of the individual's background. One of the ways of analyzing the character of individuals is to note their reactions to similar incidents. The honest and upright may well interpret the incidents on the basis of honest behaviour; the dishonest man sees crookedness even where none exists.

"For the most part we do not first see, and then define. We define first and then see. In the great blooming, buzzing confusion of the outer world we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture."⁴

Thus, the strange is interpreted in terms of the familiar, but also it is usually so interpreted in terms of one's experience with it, which tends to condition all subsequent

3. Weatherford and Johnson, Race Relations, 1934, p. 69

4. Lippmann, Walter, Public Opinion, 1922, p. 81

behavior. One sales manager, for example, would not hire men with red hair. The first one he employed had been a failure. Therefore, as far as he was concerned, all red-headed applicants would be failures. It is this tendency to form a generalization upon insufficient evidence that makes stereotypes such dangerous elements in social relations.

Stereotyped reactions are made to certain signs or symbols. Our language is filled with just such cues which set off elaborate sentiments, beliefs, judgments, or trains of thought. It is in this way that stock phrases, shibboleths, slogans, and the like become so effective in gaining the desired response through advertising, propaganda, and the utterances of political spellbinders. An example of how easily one may respond unfavorably to a term which actually characterizes oneself, but without appreciating this fact, is given by Katz and Allport in their measurement of snobbishness at Syracuse University.⁵ In Table XIX are given the percentages of students willing to admit certain groups to their fraternities or rooming houses. Very few state they would admit "loafers" or "students low in intelligence." Such terms are "unpopular stereotypes," notwithstanding the fact that loafing itself may be fairly popular. Although many students indeed must have been of only mediocre intelligence, and though many were idlers, many of these very students refused to recognize dullards or loafers

5. Katz, L.D., and Allport, F.H., Students' Attitudes, 1931, p. 145

as belonging in "their set." The prejudice is thus against an abstract name, rather than against individuals in the concrete. It is a standard upheld by lip service, though unreal in fact, which is asserted in order to preserve one's personal pride or self-respect.

The same principle holds true in prejudices against the Chinese. Once prejudice has been established toward a single Chinese, for example, the differences in his appearance or manner become signs of membership in the Chinese race and result in stereotyped reactions. When any other Chinese is encountered, the peculiarities of his race set off the stereotyped reaction. The second Chinese is not an individual first - and incidentally a member of the Chinese race; he is a "Chink" first, endowed with all the undesirable attributes of the stereotype, and only incidentally a particular individual. Prejudice is just what the word implies, the result of pre-judging a person or group. The general meaning of the term is that of opinion, favorable or hostile, based on prepossessions, and therefore biased or unreasonable.

There is still another factor which contributes to race prejudice. Each individual prefers to be himself rather than anyone else. The world radiates out from each of us. Our views, standards, beliefs are the true ones; what others hold to are strange, illogical, wrong.⁶ As each of us grows older he extends his ego out to include more or less his own family, his friends, his acquaintances, his own social group. Similarly, he comes to view their attitudes and generaliza-

6. Strong, E.K., The Second-Generation Japanese, 1934, p. 107

tions as more or less his own. And he views with distaste or antagonism those who fall outside his own group, insofar as they differ from him. It is because of this that, when our own status is affected economically or our feeling of superiority threatened by the presence of another race, we dislike that race and seize upon every possible objection to it as a rationalization of our dislike.

"The Orientals consider themselves the equals of, if not superior to, the whites. Before China had been opened up to Western contact, one of the emperors wrote to a Western ruler advising him and his people that true wisdom was to be found only in the Middle Kingdom." 7

Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic, expresses the present attitude:

"Our Chinese civilization has already advanced two thousand years beyond yours (the whites). We are willing to wait for you to progress and catch up with us; we cannot recede and let you pull us down. Two thousand years ago we discarded imperialism and advocated a policy of peace . . . We have got rid of the old savage, pugnacious sentiments and have attained to a true ideal of peace." 8

B. Some Specific Factors That Cause Race Prejudice Against Chinese

1. Public School System (Institutional Influence)

In many public schools of the United States, courses such as ethics and civics, which are intended to create friendliness between races, sometimes do exactly the

7. Young, K., The Social Psychology of Oriental-Occidental Prejudices, 1929, pp. 7-9
8. Sun Yat-Sen, San Ming Chu I, 1927, pp. 94-96

opposite. Text and picture alike endeavor to imbue the pupil with the sense of the superiority of native-born white Americans over any and all other racial groups. For instance, a Chinese boy returned to his friend's home in Hartford, Connecticut, one day with bright red spots burning through his olive cheeks. In the civics course, a brief paragraph was given to other nations to show their good qualities. The glowing tribute to China was, "The Chinese eat rats." The answer of the State Commissioner of Education to a letter calling his attention to this was that "the author of the textbook was out of town."⁹

2. The Moving Picture (Recreational Influence)

Here is testimony to the effect of moving pictures on children. A correspondent gives a concrete example of international prejudice induced by a film. The film is called "Foreign Devils" and the story is based on the Boxer Uprising in China in 1900. It was shown Saturday night. Next morning, a teacher in a Sunday school class was explaining to his pupils that children of all countries are children of a loving Father. One child replied: "I saw a movie last night; the Chinese are terrible people."¹⁰ The writer was visiting a small town in North Carolina one summer. On his way to the bus station, a young boy, about twelve years of age, who was riding on a bicycle, stopped in front of him and asked this question, "Who are you?" In

9. Myers, A.J., "Literature for All Children and Its Influence," Religious Education, April, 1936, p. 219

10. Christian World Education News Service, Dec., 1927, p. 6

reply, the writer told him very clearly that he was a Baptist missionary student, and was there supplying for the pulpit at the First Baptist Church whose preacher was out of town. The young boy shook his head decidedly and said, "No, you are not a preacher! I have seen you in the picture show. You must be Charlie Chan!"

3. Reading Materials (Literary Influence)

Many magazines and story books have pictured the Chinese as criminals. In a recent issue of a detective story magazine, the chief character, being a Chinese, killed his partners in crime to save himself. This character followed no ethical code except that based on ancestor worship. There are many such stories which misrepresent the Chinese people; especially bad are the serials published in the comic strips. These give American children a wrong attitude toward the whole Chinese race. In a recent study of the feelings of American children toward the Chinese people, the following quotations are the replies of boys to a questionnaire which asked them to write down the names of any people that they did not like and to state why they did not like them.

"I do not like the Chinese because they are so shy, and I am afraid they will plunge a knife into me when my back is turned."

"The Chinese and Japanese are a stealing and distrustful people."

"Chinese I don't know but I don't like them; that's all."

"I don't like Chinese because of their bringing into our country opium."

11. Bogardus, E.S., Introduction to Social Research, 1936, p. 120

"The Chinese are too crafty."

"I do not like the Chinese because the looks of their slant eyes give me a chill."

"I do not like the Chinese because they have a certain air about them - a sneaking, slimy air."

"Chinese are so backward and refuse to be helped."

C. Measurements of Attitudes Toward Chinese

In order to obtain a more accurate idea of social distance between the different racial groups, including the Chinese and Americans, Bogardus has measured this by the following research method:¹²

One hundred and ten people on the Pacific Coast were asked to rate the Chinese, Japanese, Hindus, Mexicans, Armenians, and thirty-five other races according to the primary reactions that they experienced toward each race. For example, would they willingly inter-marry with the Chinese; would they like to have Chinese as chums in their fraternal groups; would they like to have Chinese live as their neighbors on their street; would they like to have Chinese in their occupation (as possible competitors); in this country as citizens; in this country simply as visitors; or would they exclude Chinese from the country altogether? The arrangement of choices is one of decreasing intimacy and understanding - from intermarriage to total exclusion - as determined by fifty judges. The result of his survey reveals that the general opinion in America recognizes that Chinese

12. Bogardus, E.S., "Social Distance, a Measuring Stick," Graphic Survey, Vol. LVI., 1926, ;. 169ff; See also "Social Distance and its Origins," and "Measuring Social Distance," Journal of Applied Sociology, Vol. LX, 1926, pp. 216-226 and 299-308

should be allowed to enter the United States only as visitors while the Japanese should be excluded from America altogether. The data reveal also that there is a prevalent and decidedly cordial and friendly attitude toward the Canadians and English.

The arithmetical means of the ratings of 110 Americans is given in the following table:

Table XVI

SOCIAL DISTANCE BETWEEN AMERICANS AND OTHER RACIAL GROUPS
(After Bogardus)

<u>Race:</u>	<u>Social Distance Index</u>
English	0.27
Canadians	0.30
French	1.04
Danes	1.48
Germans	1.89
Czech-Slovaks	3.46
Armenians	3.51
Bulgarians	3.97
Negroes	4.10
<u>Chinese</u>	<u>4.28</u>
Japanese	4.30
Turks	4.80

The Chinese have a social distance index of 4.28, the Japanese of 4.30, whereas the English have an index of only 0.27. Bogardus adds also that these 110 Americans have undergone changes in their opinions of and attitudes toward immigrants in a period of five years. The following table gives a record of these changes with reference to sample races. Bogardus thinks the changes are due to personal experiences either pleasant or unpleasant.

Table XVII

CHANGES IN OPINION AND DISTANCE (110 PERSONS) IN FIVE YEARS
(After Bogardus)

Races	More Favorable	Less Favorable	No Change
Armenians	23	9	79
Chinese	19	10	81
Germans	6	34	70
Hindus	3	11	96
Japanese	23	19	68
Mexicans	15	22	73
Scotch	0	0	110
Turks	1	16	93

13

Thurstone, using the method of paired comparisons, obtained from 239 under-graduates at the University of Chicago their preferences among twenty-one nationalities. The preferences are given in Table XVIII in terms of a scale where preference for Americans is adopted as a point of origin.

Table XVIII

NATIONALITY PREFERENCES
(After Thurstone)

Race	Scale Value
American	0.0
Englishman	1.3
Scotchman	2.1
Irishman	2.2
Frenchman	2.5
German	2.6
Swede	2.9
South American	3.6
Italian	3.7
Spaniard	3.8
Jew	3.9
Russian	4.1
Pole	4.4
Greek	4.6
Armenian	4.7
Japanese	4.9
Mexican	5.1
Chinese	5.3
Hindu	5.4
Turk	5.8
Negro	5.9

13. Thurstone, L.L., "An Experimental Study of Nationality Preferences," Journal of General Psychology, Vol. I, 1928, p. 405ff

14

Katz and Allport have measured social distance or attitude toward nationalities in a different way. They asked members of fraternities and societies to indicate their preferences as follows:

"Provided they are otherwise good fraternity material, I feel personally that following types of students should be admitted to my fraternity. Check at the left of each of the following groups (see Table XIX) whom you think should be admitted."

Students not members of these organizations were asked a somewhat similar question.

"Assume that you are living in a student rooming and boarding house and are brought into daily social contact with the other students living in the house. The policy as to who should be admitted is to be determined by the roomers already present. Check at the left of each of the following groups whom you would be willing to vote to admit, provided that otherwise they would be desirable tenants in every way. It is to be understood that you would be willing to become a roommate of members of any of the group which you check."

The results of their study are tabulated as follows:

Table XIX

PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS WILLING TO ADMIT CERTAIN GROUPS TO
FRATERNITIES AND ROOMING-HOUSES *

Group	Home Economics	Graduate School	Entire University
Protestants	88.6	90.7	86.7
Working-class students	56.4	81.5	68.1
Nordics	40.6	79.6	56.2
Catholics	36.1	79.6	53.4
Gentiles	31.7	72.2	43.9
Conservatives	17.8	63.0	38.0
Students of low social standing	13.9	40.7	28.8
Shabbily dressed students	19.3	29.6	26.9
Grinds	18.8	29.6	26.7
Students having relatives with jail records	8.4	37.0	22.6
Socialists	6.9	53.7	22.4
Jews **	10.3	40.7	20.7
Queer-looking students	13.4	38.9	19.5
Atheists	7.4	40.7	18.6
Italians	5.0	31.5	17.5
Reactionaries	3.0	40.7	17.5
American Indians	4.0	31.5	16.7
Agnostics	3.5	37.0	14.2
Slavs	1.0	42.6	12.7
Armenians	8.9	42.6	12.1
Greeks	3.5	40.7	10.6
Students of unconventional morals	0.5	16.7	8.6
<u>Oriental</u> s	<u>5.0</u>	<u>37.0</u>	<u>8.9</u>
Turks	0.5	33.3	8.2
Hindus	1.0	33.3	8.0
Students low in intelligence	4.0	5.5	7.5
Bolshevists	0.5	22.2	7.3
Loafers	2.0	11.1	7.0
Anarchists	0.5	14.8	6.5
Negroes	1.0	14.8	5.4
Average	23.4	41.8	23.4
Total number of students	208	56	3,515

* Based on the Survey made by Katz and Allport, published in Strong's, The Second-Generation Japanese Problem, 1934, p. 104

** Since about 12 percent of the students were Jews, the 21 percent including Jews does not indicate a very widespread tolerance in social contacts extended toward members of this race.

Table XIX shows that the College of Home Economics was the least tolerant and the graduate school the most tolerant. Orientals are preferred to Turks, Hindus, students of low intelligence, Bolsheviks, loafers, anarchists, and Negroes, but they are less preferred than Greeks, Armenians, Slavs, agnostics, American Indians, etc.

It is refreshing to note that the superior students who have gone on to take graduate work are much more liberal in their attitude toward all the racial groups than the undergraduates. But even they rate Orientals below all racial groups except Turks, Hindus, American Indians, and Negroes. They, however, consider inferior to the Orientals the following: shabbily dressed people, grinds, Bolsheviks, students with unconventional morals, anarchists, loafers, and students of low intelligence.

15

Goodwin B. Watson has reported on the attitudes of over 3,000 persons regarding five Pacific Ocean problems. The questionnaire called for replies on fifty-seven items as to "how do you feel" and eighty-one items as to "what do you think". The instructions and several samples follow:

A. HOW YOU FEEL

"Directions: Read each word listed in capital letters in the following column and think quickly how you feel about it. Notice your own immediate reaction to it before you read further. Then read the words or phrases suggested about it, noticing which comes nearest to agreeing with your own reaction. Write the number of that word or phrase in the parentheses in the right-hand margin. If none seems just right, choose the one which comes nearest to expressing your feeling.

-
15. Watson, G.B., Orient and Accident, American Group of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1927, p. 42

If several appeal to you, choose the one truest to your first quick response. Do not try to reason out the logical best one

1. JAPANESE: (1) Alert and progressive;
(2) Untrustworthy; (3) Courteous; (4) Ingenious;
(5) Conceited; (6) Politically ambitious. ()

2. CHINESE: (1) Laundry; (2) Cruel; (3) strange;
(4) Highly cultured; (5) Beauty-loving;
(6) Dependable. ()

3. SOVIET RUSSIA: (1) Spreading confusion in China;
(2) Plots; (3) Won't work; (4) Helping China;
(5) Bold idealistic experiment; (6) Good and bad, fifty and fifty. ()

4. YELLOW PERIL: (1) Jingo press; (2) Real danger;
(3) Caused by white imperialism; (4) Over-stressed;
(5) Eventual; (6) No longer used even in propaganda." ()

B. WHAT YOU THINK

"Directions: Please indicate your opinion about each of the statements below by drawing a circle around the letter or letters in the margin which express your judgment. This is what the letters mean:

T - True (absolutely)
PT - Probably or Partly True
D - Divided, in Doubt, Open Question
PF - Probably or Partly False
F - False (absolutely)

If you do not know enough about an item to express any opinion about it, cross it out.

T	PT	D	PF	F	1.	Japan's growing population problem cannot be solved unless white peoples allow free Japanese immigration into their countries.
T	PT	D	PF	F	2.	The property of American missions in China should be turned over to the Chinese Christians.
T	PT	D	PF	F	3.	Americans can render greater service to the Filipino people by developing their economic resources than by granting them independence."

In addition, the subjects were asked questions regarding their geographical location, the extent of their travel, and their nationality, education, religion, membership in societies, reading, etc.

Watson stresses quite properly that the replies furnished in this investigation are not necessarily indicative of the attitudes of the people in the United States and that furthermore, since only about one-third of those to whom questionnaires were mailed replied, the results may not properly represent the groups mentioned, as answers are more apt to come from those interested than from those not interested.

In order to summarize the large number of items, Watson combined many of them under five headings: namely, attitude toward Chinese, toward Chinese Nationalism, toward Japanese problems, toward Philippine Independence, and toward United States policies. The material included under these headings is grouped according to its favorable or unfavorable character, as two pertinent sections indicate:

ATTITUDE TOWARD CHINESE

"Favorable: The extent to which the group recorded any agreement with such ideas as - That the Chinese are dependable, cultured and equal to Americans in intelligence; that there can be mutual understanding between the races; that we have a great deal to learn from the Chinese; that the Chinese immigrants should be treated as are other immigrants; that Chinese history should have a place in our schools.

"Unfavorable: The extent to which the group recorded any agreement with such ideas as - That the Chinese are of inferior intelligence, unclean, cruel, and that we have little to

learn from them; that there can be no mutual understanding between Chinese and Americans; that the Chinese should not have the privileges accorded to European immigrants."

A few of Watson's summaries are included in Table XX. The American students residing at the International House, Columbia University, are very "favorably" disposed toward these five problems, whereas the relatively few farmers included in the study are distinctly "unfavorable." In between are the other groups, with laboring men tending toward "unfavorable" attitudes and women and students tending in the opposite direction. Business men are about equally divided on the first three problems and "unfavorably disposed on the last two, that is they are opposed to Philippine independence and they support an imperialistic policy for the United States.

It is difficult to compare these results with those obtained by Bogardus, Thurstone, and Katz and Allport; but it would appear that Chinese are rated higher here than in those other studies. It is, however, the votes of the students and teachers that are responsible for the favorable average attitude toward the Chinese. Business men are slightly favorable, and laboring men unfavorable. The groups are about equally favorable toward Chinese and Japanese problems, being slightly more favorable toward the Chinese than the Japanese.

Table XX

*
**"FAVORABLE" ATTITUDE TOWARD FIVE PACIFIC OCEAN PROBLEMS BY
 CERTAIN GROUPS**
 (After G.B. Watson)

Group	Percentages of the Group Favorable				
	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
American students residing at International House, Columbia University	79	85	78	69	76
Women	67	56	47	41	51
American members of the 1927 Conference of the Insti- tute of Pacific Relations	63	59	71	45	54
Three thousand people (stu- dents and teachers)	62	52	48	41	46
Business men	57	43	46	38	25
High-school students	55	42	38	25	37
Labor groups	47	57	28	46	57
Employed	44	43	34	32	40
Prisoners, Bridewell Jail, Chicago	39	37	23	21	31
Farmers	38	32	37	26	32
I. Attitude toward Chinese II. Attitude toward Chinese Nationalism III. Attitude toward Japanese Problems IV. Attitude toward Philippine Independence V. Attitude toward United States Policies					

* The term "favorable" has reference to the items of which two groups are given in the text in contrast to the "unfavorable" items.

"The labor groups showed an unusual number of objections to the Chinese, a high degree of interest in Chinese nationalism, the largest amount of opposition to the Japanese, the strongest expression of the desire to make the Philippine Islands independent, the greatest opposition to foreign missions, the least antagonism to the Soviet, and a somewhat lower information score on the fact items involved. The women's clubs and housewives showed a small amount of objection and a large amount of favor for the Chinese, little objection to Chinese nationalism. The group of farmers was too small to permit valid generalization. This particular group seemed to be very cautious, seldom expressing opinions for or against the issues involved. Partly because of this general tendency they showed the least favor for China, the least interest in Chinese nationalism, the smallest degree of opposition to, or interest in,

foreign missions. In spite of this generally low per cent of response, they were distinctly on the side of the imperialists so far as the policies of the United States are concerned." 16

"The tendency is fairly clear for those with Oriental friends to be more favorable to the Chinese, more interested in Chinese nationalism, more favorable to Philippine independence, more opposed to imperialism, less interested in missions, and better informed on the Orient." 17

The effect of travel abroad upon attitude toward these problems is rather uncertain, possibly because most of the travelers had visited Europe and not the Orient. The effect of reading is also not clear because of the variety of reading that is indulged in. On the whole, it appears that "the best informed were most likely to have a favorable attitude toward the Chinese and Chinese nationalism." 18

D. How Race Prejudice May Be Lessened

As has been pointed out above, race prejudice is an outgrowth of the peculiarities of human beings, so that for practical purposes it may be viewed as a type of behavior that will arise when two different groups are brought together under ordinary conditions.

We have shown that this type of behavior arises for the following reasons: (1) The first reaction to an observation of difference is a feeling of strain and uncertainty; (2) the readjustment to a new situation involved in contacting a race different in looks and customs is unpleasant to those with established habits; (3) because our own status

16. Watson, G.B., op. cit., p. 42

17. Ibid, p. 46

18. Ibid, p. 48

is affected economically or our feeling of superiority threatened by the presence of another race, we dislike that race and seize upon every possible objection to it as rationalization of our dislike; (4) our first unfavorable reaction to the member of another group tends to become the stereotyped reaction to all members of that group.

"Eliminate the cause and cure the disease" is a sound precept in medicine. It may well be applied to the state of mind we are considering.

Already the fact that Chinese immigration has ceased and that consequently the fear of economic rivalry has been removed from America, especially California, has eliminated much of the hard feeling in this country toward the Oriental. Agitation is practically a thing of the past. The Chinese can now be judged on their merits, not as a growing menace.

The second-generation Chinese may remain Oriental in face and figure. But in address, speech, and manner they are more and more like the American type. The degree of difference between Orientals and Americans will become less with each generation, although differences will always be present. Similarity in ethical standards and ideals is the great common denominator.

The stereotyped reaction can be broken down only by greater experience. Because stereotypes are often gross exaggerations of the real situation, there may be a strong reaction against them when the facts are known. Usually they are so engrained in one's emotional life that a single

favorable impression is not sufficient to offset the earlier unfavorable attitude; but the latter may be outweighed by ten favorable impressions.

Sir Henry Thornton tells us that "the first factor in improved international relations to which all others are subordinate, must be an understanding of each people with respect to other peoples." This is to be accomplished by education through "study, travel, and instruction from those who are competent to teach." "A nation," he says, "is more than fields, workshops and mines; its reaction will be determined by the spirit and mentality of its citizens. And if we are to understand the peoples of other nations, we must understand the spirit that moves within them, that living spark, intangible and ethereal, which is the self-starter of all national activities. There is an old proverb, 'know thyself,' and far more important it is to know thy neighbor."¹⁹

The conclusions of Watson, given above, together with²⁰ those of Reynolds and others, raise doubts as to the effectiveness of study, reading, and travel in eliminating race prejudice. Apparently these have an ameliorating effect, but it is clear that college graduates may be as strongly possessed of a given stereotype as anyone else. There is a challenge here to our educational institutions that instruction shall not only involve facts but that it shall be

19. Thornton, H.W., Men and Industry, A Brackett Lecture at Princeton University, 1931, p. 12
20. Reynolds, C.N., "Oriental-White Race Relations in Santa Clara County, California," unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Stanford University, 1927

applied to practical problems involving prejudice. Race prejudice will not be minimized until the educational forces of the world are directed to this end. The study of history introduces us to other peoples, but the gain from added acquaintanceship may be more than offset by the inculcation and fostering of unfortunate stereotypes. "Did not the English stir up the Indians to massacre our forefathers?" questioned an American. How much of the suspicion of England in the minds of Americans today is due to the implanting of such emotional bits of dynamite in them when in school as children.

The present forms of education are helpful in combatting race prejudice; they could be made far more so. But seemingly the best way to combat prejudices which are so easily inculcated with respect to an unknown group is to increase acquaintanceship with representative members of that group.

II. OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

The second vital problem which Chinese immigrants are facing today is an economic one. Even before the depression made the finding of a job hard for anybody, it was permanently hard for an Oriental. He knew in advance, or else soon learned, how many doors were closed to him. The jobs open to him are, first of all, those strictly within the Chinese communities. He may be a professional or business man serving his own people, or he may open a store selling Oriental goods and curios to white people. Then there are

certain marginal positions where Chinese may work for an American concern in connection with its Oriental trade, especially where a knowledge of the Chinese language is essential.

A. Reasons for Scarcity of Occupational Opportunities

The reasons why the Chinese - especially American-born Chinese - experience greater difficulty in getting employment than any other American citizen of foreign descent, are as follows:

(1) Although many Chinese immigrants, especially the second-generation Chinese, are American citizens, still in appearance they are foreigners, and give that impression when they call upon anyone, whereas people of European descent may pass in appearance for Americans. As one Chinese has said:

"There may be no color line drawn against Oriental students attending school, but there is a line drawn against employing our students after they have graduated from the institutions of higher learning. Business firms on the Pacific Coast offer us no opportunity of practicing what we learn at the school . . . Recently two friends of mine went to a trans-Pacific steamship line to apply for jobs as common laborers on the boat. The superintendent at first told them that it was not the policy of the firm to hire people other than Americans. The boys told him they were American-born and did not come into the excluded list. They talked with the superintendent a while and finally he said, "I am sorry, boys, but I cannot employ you people." If the American people were our friends they would surely give us an opportunity to learn our profession outside of the University laboratories." 22

21. Takamine, Eben J., Employment of Second-Generation Japanese in New York City, 1928

22. Smith, W.C., The Second-Generation Oriental in America, Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, 1927, p. 51

(2) Employers are often unwilling to employ a Chinese immigrant, because they believe he is a foreigner and will shortly leave them to return to China. It is only natural for employers to prefer taking on men whom they can count on to stay with the company as long as their work and progress are satisfactory.

(3) The opposition of fellow-employees, particularly when Chinese or Japanese are promoted over them.

(4) Fear on the part of employers that some of their customers may object to dealing with Chinese or any other foreign group, and that business will be lost therefrom.

(5) Second-generation Chinese are not able to get employment from the Chinese-American firms due to the fact that they do not know Chinese sufficiently well to carry on their work, and also that there are not enough of these firms to take care of so many second-generation Chinese children. The reasons why second-generation Chinese do not learn Chinese well are many: In the first place, Chinese is a very hard language to learn, especially to write. In the second place, Chinese language school work is given mostly after the American day-school work is done, in the late afternoon or on Saturday. There are only a few schools in the country and these are not conducted on a compulsory basis (See Chapter III, section dealing with "education"). Third, young Chinese do not see the need of learning Chinese until they are eighteen or nineteen years old, and by then

it is rather late. Fourth, there are not enough Chinese language schools; in the Southeastern States, there are only two, one at San Antonio, Texas, and one in the Mississippi Delta near Greenville, which is still in the process of getting organized. And since most of them are "pay schools," not all Chinese can afford to attend them.

(6) The American-born Chinese are too thoroughly Americanized and are not capable of securing work in China and fitting into Chinese society. They have been born in American communities, and they have attended American schools, they speak English exclusively, they know practically nothing of China except what average Americans know; their ideals, customs, mode of thinking, their whole psychology is American. Although physically they are Chinese, culturally they are Americans. They are not able to speak the Chinese language or read Chinese papers. They are totally ignorant of Chinese customs, history, and traditions.

(7) Most of the Chinese came here without capital. They have acquired something, but not very much. It is true that a few have made fortunes and others will do likewise. So, on the whole, the Chinese immigrants are greatly handicapped by lack of capital for the development of large business operations. However, as they gradually cease to send money back to relatives in China they will accumulate capital more rapidly. But their present financial status prevents them from starting new business operations.

(8) The discrimination is even harder on women

than on men since vocations like teaching and nursing are closed to them in many states. Perhaps the only occupation which the Chinese immigrant girls can enter is marriage since there is a strong emphasis upon marriage and family life among the Orientals. Every Chinese expects his girls to marry. But even in this respect, many second-generation women are faced with a serious situation in that there are not enough eligible men for them to marry. Men of their own generation are of the same age or younger and have not established themselves to the point of being able to support a wife. Men of the first-generation are usually much older, have been brought up in China, and hold ideas as to the proper role of a wife entirely different from those held by second-generation women.

Indeed, the occupational opportunities for the Chinese immigrants, both foreign and American-born, are very scarce and the situation is a very serious one. The following is an excerpt from a letter of the San Francisco editor, Ny Poon Chew, to Samuel H. Cohn, dated July 4, 1929.

"The problem as to the livelihood of the coming generations of the Chinese born in this country is a serious one. There is considerable race prejudice existing today against the Chinese in the higher lines of the economic field. I know several Chinese young men, graduates from our State University in engineering simply could not procure a position because white skinned races would not work under or with them. One of them was employed by a large public utility corporation for a while and his work was found to be satisfactory, but eventually he was discharged in order to keep peace and harmony in the camps among the men . . .

"These young people, like their American cousins, simply would not return to the farms or to agricultural work. They all want to stay in the cities and procure white collar jobs. And under no

circumstances would they go to work as house servants or laundry work. There is now only one way open to them to procure a livelihood and that is in the commercial lines and even in these lines they have to confine themselves to their own people. Since the enactment of the Chinese exclusion laws in 1882, the number of the Chinese people in America is steadily decreasing until today we have less than sixty thousand in the whole United States, and it looks as though in ten or twenty years the Chinese population in this country would be so few that commercial activities will be so reduced that they will not be of any consequence."

B. Some Possible Solutions

Some of the possible solutions which may be offered are:

1. It has been suggested in certain quarters that the solution to the Chinese problem may lie in a widespread diffusion of the Chinese population over the United States, especially in the East, where social prejudices are supposedly much less intense. This process has already been carried out during the recent years due to economic pressure on the Western Coast; but it has not solved the problem. Jobs have not always been available in the new locations.

2. Another alternative is for the second-generation Chinese to work exclusively for those of Chinese ancestry. This is a possibility for some; and we find Chinese physicians, dentists, insurance men, and the like who devote most of their time to serving their fellows. But again, as has been pointed out in Mr. Ny's letter, the number of Chinese immigrants in America has been steadily decreasing since 1882, and the time will soon come when they will be too few in number to create self-contained communities.

The businesses they have so far built up are very small, averaging one-half employee each, so that there is very little opportunity for the second-generation to get ahead in this way, except by replacing their elders.

3. First-generation Chinese have demonstrated that they are successful in the restaurant and laundry businesses. Why, then, do not members of the second-generation continue the work of their "elders"? There is no doubt that this is the fond hope of many a first-generation Chinese who has toiled long and hard in this business and would like to see his sons seize the advantages denied him. The writer knows several old-fashioned, conservative Chinese who have even refused to send their children to school in order to force them to take up the work at which they have labored for years. The trouble with this solution is, of course, that the second-generation Chinese are like other young people educated in American schools - they want white-collar jobs.

But the writer believes there is a great possibility in the restaurant and laundry businesses. So far the Chinese have built up a fine reputation in these fields. They have given to the Americans novel eating-places in which chop suey and other dishes are served. These are not truly Chinese but are adaptations of Chinese foods to American taste. There are still few Chinese restaurants, especially in cities in the Southern States. It is the general opinion among the Chinese that the people in the South are proud of

their own cooking and thus do not like Chinese food. But if the Chinese will specialize in food that is novel and at the same time appetizing, and adapt their dishes to the Southern taste and serve them in a unique setting, they can open many new and profitable restaurants in the South. The Chinese hand-laundry can also be improved by using modern methods to increase its efficiency and service.

4. Agriculture offers another opportunity for employment, the establishment of a home, and the chance to prosper. Here the Chinese are wanted, for they are among the best workers and come into least competition with the Occidental elements of the population. Since there is no legal restriction against the second-generation Chinese leasing and buying land, they can establish homes on farms and raise Chinese vegetables. There are real opportunities for expanding this occupation; horizontally, by increasing the production of vegetables, berries, and other Oriental agricultural products; vertically, by controlling the marketing of these products from producer to consumer locally. The Chinese have already established successful vegetable markets and grocery stores in the Southern and Southwestern States.

5. Perhaps the best solution will be for American-born Chinese to look to China for their life work. In this there is much hope. China, with her present united government, will open thousands of lines of work in which ambitious, modernized young men and women can utilize their learning to help develop the country's resources. There are,

however, many cases where the young Chinese who go back to China are unhappy. The reason is probably due to the fact that the Chinese born in China, but educated abroad, come from the best families and have influence on their side; whereas the American-born Chinese came generally of a peasant ancestry and have no such backing. There is, therefore, a possibility of their being disappointed in their hopes when they go to China.

C. The Need of Vocational Guidance

The Chinese immigrant youths do not know how they are to earn a living. But this is typical of young people everywhere. Too many believe that if they secure an education, a good job will be supplied them. Many have only a hazy notion of what they want to do; evidently they have given little thought to the whole problem.

Vocational guidance is especially needed by the second-generation Chinese for the reason that they come into contact with fewer occupational activities and that their parents and friends cannot help them very much. American schools supply some information, but they notoriously direct students away from trade and agriculture into "white-collar" jobs and they give pitifully little information about economic life. It is unfortunate that what pertains to earning a living is viewed as vocational, not cultural, and that it is so often felt that only cultural subjects should have a place in high school or college. It is therefore not surprising that there is a large minority graduating from col-

lege with no idea of what they are going to do to earn a living.

To meet the problem American civic and social agencies should help the Chinese to organize vocational bureaus in all the large Chinese centers, each of which should be under the direction of a competent, technically trained, lofty visioned, and well-informed assistant director, with a director over all the bureaus. Each of these bureaus should be correlated with an employment bureau.

Before launching such an enterprise, an extensive research into the extent and distribution of various vocational fields would be necessary. Experts in vocational guidance should be employed to survey the field and to study the occupational possibilities of the second-generation Chinese. They should travel about the States and collect data regarding the occupational plans of the Chinese youths and the occupations they are actually entering and their success therein. After the survey has been made, they should supply the information not only to the Chinese themselves, but also to all the counselors in the school system, who in this way would be better prepared to handle the Chinese with whom they come into contact. It is fatal to the best interests of the second-generation Chinese for the school authorities to believe that the Chinese vocational guidance problem is so distinct that their own representatives must handle it.

The program of work of these vocational bureaus should involve the following steps: (1) First, the analysis of the

individual regarding his psychological characteristics, his physical condition (medical and psychiatric examination) and his industrial experiences. (2) Second, the occupations for which he is seemingly best fitted should be called to his attention and information concerning them put at his disposal. (3) Third, when he has made his decision, a proper training program should be mapped out. Higher education and shorter technical training should be encouraged and scholarship and loan funds should be established for needy students. (4) Finally, the bureau should help to place the individuals in occupations and aid them in getting started in positions. Most of the employment agencies have achieved with varying degrees of efficiency the fourth task, but very little has been done on the first three.

The Government of the United States has done very well in making provisions for the educational facilities of Chinese immigrant children. The time has come for it to establish and maintain agencies whereby these immigrant children may be guided into the type of education for which they are best fitted and to aid them in getting started in a job. The government can best discharge this important task by cooperating with Chinese parents in analyzing the vocational interests of their children, prescribing new courses of training, and placing them in new positions until the individual has found a place where he can earn a living. All this is actually much cheaper than the maintenance of present relief agencies, and of courts, reform schools and penitentiaries.

III. SOME VITAL SOCIAL PROBLEMS

There are many social problems existing among the Chinese immigrants. The following are a few of the outstanding ones:

A. Conflict of Standards Between Old and Young Generations

Chinese immigrants range in type from the traditional to the up-to-date American. The traditional type comprises the large percentage of the older Chinese who have brought with them a family-clan-village type of community, encased in centuries of organized traditions.²³ Such a community is well knit together and conflicts with American life. The second-generation Chinese often find themselves in especially difficult situations. On one hand, they owe allegiance to a hard and fast system of parental control over them; on the other, they are attracted strongly by the freedom accorded American children. Thus, second-generation Chinese are confronted with such a welter of dilemmas, so full of conflicting ideas, ideals, and aspirations, that life resolves itself into a series of starts and stops, with the expenditure of much energy and with little or no progress in any direction. Shall they be essentially Chinese or American? Shall they stay here or go to China - or some other place, such as South or Central America? Shall they attend college or not? Shall they marry as their parents

23. Bogardus, E.S., op. cit., 1936, p. 75

direct or as they themselves please? Shall they be Buddhists, Christians, or non-believers? And, above all else, what shall they do to earn a living? Indeed a second-generation Chinese child has many more causes for bewilderment than an ordinary white child. The newspaper is full of stories and tragedies resulting from the conflict between the older and younger generation, which constitutes one of the most vital problems in the Chinese immigrant family. Reports of the Chinese youth revolting against their conservative parents are many. The case of Shong Liu Bow is an example of such conflict:

"An eighteen year old girl ran away from her mother and her mother's chop suey restaurant in Cleveland, Ohio, to the home of her white friend, Dorothy Hooper, and begged Dorothy's father to adopt her. To the judge who heard Mr. Hooper's petition that he be made her guardian, Shong Liu Bow sobbed that her mother wanted her to follow Chinese customs and traditions for which she had no sympathy. She wanted to be American, not Chinese. Sternly the judge admonished her not to be ashamed of her Chinese birth, sent her home to her mother."

That this tension with parents may go to a very undesirable length is illustrated by the following frank story of another California girl of Chinese ancestry:

"I was born here in Chinatown and attended the city schools and graduated from the high school and have had two years in the State College. When I was a little girl, I grew to dislike the conventionality and rules of Chinese life. The superstitions and customs seemed ridiculous to me. My parents have wanted me to

24. Life, January 25, 1937, p. 59

25. Smith, W.C., op. cit., 1927, p. 53

grow up a good Chinese girl, but I am an American and I can't accept all the old Chinese ways and ideas. A few years ago, when my mother took me to worship at the shrine of my ancestor and offer a plate of food, I decided it was time to stop this foolish custom. So I got up and slammed down the rice in front of the idol and said, 'So long, old top, I don't believe in you anyway.' My mother didn't like it a little bit."

A much more serious condition results from the different points of view of the two generations regarding marriage. As one second-generation young woman puts it:

"In our parents' days in China the young people were married without even seeing each other, the marriage being arranged between the two families by a go-between. Before consent was given by the parents of either party, the history of the other party's family was carefully examined in regard to social status, reputation, disease or other defects. The first generation now in the United States have never experienced that romantic life that American boys and girls as well as our second-generation Chinese have a tendency to enjoy. The first-generation somewhat object to the American custom, and we think it perfectly natural. What the young people think good in a young man or young woman of their choice, the first generation consider unimportant and immediately begin investigating about the past record and family history in which the second-generation have little thought. We like to, and have a tendency to live today, and look forward to building a future, together, whereas the first-generation considers the past more important."

The writer knows a girl at Shreveport, Louisiana, twenty-two years of age and a high school graduate, who has already "stalled off" four proposals brought to her father by friends of comparatively unknown or personally repulsive men. Her father is fond of her and, unlike many first-generation fathers, has not forced her to marry against her wishes, but she says that if her father knew that she is

holding off in the hope of arranging her own love marriage he would make her marry the next one that comes along. So saturated is she in the custom of obedience to her father that she seems to feel she would have to obey. The matter is made worse because of the girl's age, twenty-two, which is a terrible age for an unmarried Chinese daughter to be still on her father's hands. People are already beginning to ask what is the matter with her, that she cannot secure a husband. All reports seem to indicate that the second-generation women are marrying to a greater extent and at an earlier age than white women.

B. Segregation in Social Relationships

The social contacts between the white and Chinese have been largely restricted to those made by the younger generation in school and in a few churches. In many states, school segregation laws were intended to eliminate even this, but the law has never been put into operation except in the State of Mississippi and in a few small school systems in the Pacific States.

But there are many legal restrictions that have prevented the first-generation or the older Chinese from entering into the life of the community. Their ineligibility to citizenship removed all possibility of their taking part in political matters. The Anti-alien Land Laws prevented them from taking root in rural communities. The miscegenation

law in nine states forbids intermarriage. All these factors tend to keep the two races apart.

On the other hand, the nature of the Chinese family-village community is so different from that of the American community life that its utter strangeness to, and widespread misunderstanding by, Americans is common. For instance, the "Tong" method of providing justice, and its extreme procedure "played up" in the American press, has made the Americans seriously discount the whole race. The so-called "Telepathic understanding" - or personal means of communication in Chinatown - is so perfected that it has created a lot of mystery on the part of the Americans who think that there are "no secrets in Chinatown." All these factors lead to the Chinese segregating themselves completely from the American life. By having almost nothing to do with one another socially, with no political contacts, and with only a few economic lines of contact open, the two races have effected a nominal accommodation.

Thus everything runs along smoothly until a "Tong War" breaks out in Chinatown, and then the press brings some of the spectacular phases of Chinatown life vividly before the American public and new waves of abhorrence pass over the American mind, but they usually produce no action inasmuch as the "Tong Wars" do not ordinarily affect American life

26. Mears, E.G., Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast: Their Legal and Economic Status, 1928, p. 42

and property.

The family-village system, however, is gradually breaking down among the younger Chinese. The older rule-of-thumb, irrational types of control are unsatisfactory to the younger generation who are breaking away from them. The dictum that "father did it" no longer rules. The reaction, however, may carry the younger Chinese to the extreme and the "sheik, flapper, and smart-set" types become conspicuous. These developments indicate that the Chinese, when released from the hard and fast family-village traditions, are capable of adjustments, assimilation, and Americanization.

C. Intermarriage

Intermarriage of Chinese with whites is rare, despite the unbalanced sex distribution. This is probably due to the fact that the Chinese have a desire to keep their blood pure. The recent strict restriction of immigration has, however, increased the tendency to marry natives of America since they cannot bring the mates of their own stock from their native land. It is also true that not many well-to-do white women like to marry Chinese. So, while a few Chinese men associate with the lowest elements of the white population, with prostitutes and degenerates, most of them live a life of solitude. They have been isolated as if they were lepers on an island. They are not permitted to bring their wives here; nor are they allowed intermarriage with whites in accordance with the law in nine states. The United States, therefore, is a place where they come to die, not to live.

IV. PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION

A. Segregation of Chinese Pupils in Public Schools

Due to the pressure of public opinion, many states have made provisions to keep the children of different races apart. For instance, Chinese children are not allowed to go to school with white children in Mississippi and many cities in California. In many places, conflicts have developed between school and home with respect to attitudes toward segregation. The following case is self-explanatory:

"Parents of the striking students of the John Swett School in Oakland were threatened with arrest yesterday by Fred M. Hunter, Superintendent of schools . . . all but about 37 of the white students of the school have been removed by their parents as a protest against the continued refusal of the school authorities to deny the 18 Chinese pupils entrance to the regular classes. A Committee of the mothers of the striking students, armed with affidavits that the Superintendent had promised the removal of Chinese, have canvassed the district in an attempt to have the parents of the remaining 37 white children withdraw them from the school." 27

Racial segregation raises two sets of questions. The first centers around the reason for segregation, as Bell has pointed out.
28

What led to segregation? Are there fundamental, valid, causative factors, based on known mental and educational differences between the children of Chinese and Japanese immigrants on the one hand and those of Caucasian parents

27. Daily California, September 30, 1936

28. Bell, Reginald, "A Study of the Educational Effects of Segregation Upon Japanese Children in American Schools," Unpublished Ph.D., Thesis, Stanford University, 1933, p. 1

on the other? Are the social ideals and behavior of the one group so diverse from those of the other that school administrators have found it essential to separate them? Or is the vastly important but propaganda-based fact of race prejudice the fundamental underlying cause?

Undoubtedly, one cause of segregation of school children by nationality or race is undue concentration in one district. No one particularly objects to the presence of a few foreigners, but when they outnumber your own child's group the matter is more serious. This is the actual situation in many districts in California and segregation is thus established to meet the demand of the public. For instance, in San Francisco, the first Oriental school to take care of Chinese and Japanese pupils was established in 1885, in accordance with State legislation of various years beginning with 1866. Since then, many schools of the same nature have been established in many school districts in Sacramento and Placer counties and in the Bouldin district near Stockton, California, where a large proportion of Oriental families have settled.

The second set of questions centers around the results of segregation. What are the effects upon the educational progress and social and civic attitudes of the children of Chinese parentage of this segregation in American schools? Does either the one group or the other do better work in school because of the absence of the other in their classes and their school associations? Do the children of the

Asiatic immigrants progress more rapidly and more satisfactorily when they are regarded as a separate unit in the educational scheme, separately housed and taught? Do the children of Caucasian parentage in these districts where there is such a large proportion of Chinese and Japanese families progress more satisfactorily when the children of the latter are separated from them in their educational and recreational activities? Or are the effects of segregation negligible one way or the other?

So far, no one has made any extensive study of these aspects of the problem. However, the following conclusions²⁹ made by Bell in his study of the effect of segregation on educational status and progress of children of Japanese parentage are applicable to the Chinese. His conclusions are: (1) The children in segregated schools are better off than those in non-segregated schools, for in nearly every school subject they advanced more rapidly. (2) Children in segregated schools, however, scored lower on the linguistic items, in proportion to the remaining items, than did the non-segregated children. They are more backward in the use of the English language.

Segregation, however, affects Chinese in California more than the Japanese, since there are today only four schools in which Japanese are segregated. These are small schools and there is no movement to increase their number.

29. Bell, Reginald, Public School Education of Second-Generation Japanese in California, 1930

But Chinese are segregated in many schools on the Pacific Coast; therefore it is a practical problem for Chinese but merely an academic problem for the Japanese.

B. Education for Chinese Children in Mississippi Delta

Mississippi is another of the states in the Union which excludes Chinese children from its public schools. The situation here is different from that in California. In only a very few communities are they allowed to attend the white schools; in most communities instead of providing segregated Oriental schools for the Chinese children, the State Government requires them to go to school with the Negroes. Of course, the Chinese consistently refuse to send their children to Negro schools and so for a number of years Chinese children in the Mississippi delta have been without any educational facilities except for such part-time tutoring as their parents may be able to afford.

The main reason for segregation in Mississippi has been economic. The Chinese control practically all the grocery business in the Mississippi delta and this has not pleased the white business men. Another reason is that some of the Chinese people in Mississippi, who are barred from bringing their own wives to this country, married Negro women. The people in the South who consider the Negroes inferior to themselves thus also look down upon the Chinese.

Many cases have been brought to the attention of the State Legislature; but very little success has been made in securing educational provisions for the Chinese children.

The following is one of the many cases that had attracted
 30
 the attention of the public through the newspapers:

"In 1925, Martha Lum, a nine year old Chinese girl was excluded from the school by the Board of Trustees of the Rosedale Consolidated School, relying on the ground that she was not a member of the white race. The constitution of the State of Mississippi provides for separate schools for 'children of the white and colored races,' and the state supreme court held Martha Lum could not insist on being classed with the whites."

Judge Etheridge of the State Supreme Court in his decision said "If the Plaintiff (Lum Gong Family) desires, she (Martha) may attend the colored public schools of her district." Lum Gong, the father of Martha Lum, brought the case to the Supreme Court of the United States which again upheld the decision of the Mississippi State Supreme Court.

As a result of such negligence, more than 150 full blooded Chinese children in the Mississippi delta today know a little bit of English and a little of Chinese, but not enough of either language to be able to find their way in the modern world here or in China. A few children have been sent back to China for their education. The following cases
 31
 were reported by The Commercial Appeal, Memphis, Tennessee:

"It is at the Chinese mission that one hears of Henry Joe of Boyle, Mississippi, whose five children previously have been allowed to attend the white school at Boyle, but this year were excluded . . . of Wong Tu and his wife of

30. The Crisis, December, 1926

31. The Commercial Appeal, Memphis, Tennessee, February 14, 1931, Section 4, p. 1

Alligator, Mississippi, who have decided at last to send their four children back to China for their education, keeping only the baby here with them."

There are some 1,500 Chinese in the whole Mississippi delta, the largest Chinese colony in the South, all of whom are merchants, mostly in the grocery business. The approximate number of grocery stores operated in this district is 300 with an average of four persons to each store. Most of these immigrants are married but have left their wives and children behind them in China because of the educational advantages which they can secure in China but which are denied to them in Mississippi. This explains the fact that there is but one child to every ten Chinese inhabitants in the Mississippi delta.³²

Recently the Chinese parents who have children have been interested in establishing a school of their own in which their children may learn not only the usual subjects taught in this country, but also the rudiments of Chinese history and art. The project will soon be materialized under the leadership of Mr. Joe Lett, Chinese merchant at Cleveland, Mississippi, graduate of Chung San University, Canton, China, and Rev. S.Y. Lee, missionary of the Southern Baptist Convention to the Chinese in Mississippi. They have interested the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, the Mississippi State Government, the

32. According to a survey made by Dr. Eavenson, former missionary to Interior China, now pastor of First Baptist Church, Cleveland, Mississippi

Chinese Nationalist Government, and many Chinese merchants in America in this pioneer educational institution in the South.

Already the first unit of the Chinese school, a compact and beautiful structure built of concrete blocks covered with ivory stucco, is nearing completion. This building is being erected at a cost of \$10,000, all of which was raised among the Chinese merchants. The building will house 50 students and two teachers. Thirty-six students are already enrolled. Classes are expected to begin in the fall of 1938 with a staff of ten teachers, most of whom will be practice-teachers from the Delta State Teachers College, which has generously offered to cooperate with the sponsors of the project.

The second unit, a chapel of similar construction, will provide an auditorium and classrooms for use by the day school as well as the Sunday school. The Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention is planning to provide the funds for this building. It has been the privilege of the writer to participate in the planning and promoting of this project during the last three years.

V. THE MORAL PROBLEM IN CHINESE COMMUNITIES

There is no doubt that the Chinese are not the "lily white boys clothed all in green" described in the old ballad "Green Grow the Rushes, O"; but at the same time let us see if their moral character is notably different from that of any community of hard-working single men thousands of miles from home and uprooted from their natural environment,

codes and moral sanctions.

The vices existing among the Chinese communities are largely characteristic by-products of abnormal communities in which men far outnumber women. They are evil, but pathetic efforts to provide a substitute for normal home life. Economic limitations tend also to drive the Chinese into parasitic and underworld employments such as gambling, bootlegging and narcotics. But it is interesting and encouraging to know that the percentage of the total Chinese population in parasitic occupations is diminishing and the reason for entering such occupations is changing, according to studies made by Professor Reynolds of Stanford.³³

"The old Chinese criminal tong members were in these underworld activities because they wished to be. They had no standards, they were simply bad Chinese. Now the younger generation, with more or less conscious American standards, are being forced into such callings by economic necessity - and they are correspondingly less happy in them."

A. Gambling

Perhaps the outstanding Chinese vice today is gambling. It takes the form of games such as fan-tan and pie-gow, and also of lotteries, a form of excitement dear to the Chinese heart and not regarded by the low class Chinese in China as an evidence of moral turpitude. Professor Walter G. Beach of Stanford University says:³⁴

33. Reynolds, C.N., op. cit., 1927, p. 151

34. Beach, W.G., Oriental Crime in California, 1932, p. 160

"Gambling, as we term it, is for the Oriental a recreation and not primarily a feverish scramble for wealth."

and quotes with approval the words of Edmund Mitchell:

"A Chinaman in rare instances loses all when gaming with his own countrymen; but, if this result does happen, he goes next day contentedly back to work and is not, like most ruined gamblers of European stock, permanently incapacitated for honest toil."

But the American attitude towards gambling is that it is dishonest because it involves getting something for nothing, that it breaks down habits of thrift and steady work and therefore results in a disintegration of personal morale; that it has an insidious habit-forming quality which tends to make those who indulge in it become confirmed gamblers and parasites upon society. Moreover, with the novice, it often leads to increasing ventures which, if successful, bring about the demoralization so apt to come from "easy money" and unearned, irregular, highly variable incomes, or when unsuccessful, results in debt, or worse yet, stealing or embezzlement to cover losses. For these reasons, and the added fact that gambling dens are centers where depraved and criminal elements gather and where other crimes are planned, gambling is regarded as anti-social and contrary to American moral standards.

Now it is a curious fact that these evil results, while not absent among the Chinese, are somewhat mitigated by restraining influences in Chinese character and custom. It seems paradoxical that the most hard-working, thrifty race on earth should also be the race most given to gam-

bling! A psychological explanation would probably lie in the fact that, lacking sports and other forms of release from the tension of hard work and monotony, the Chinese finds in gambling an emotional escape. He gambles primarily for fun and excitement and normally for small stakes.

An interesting combination of literature and gambling is found in the Chinese lottery, which is based upon a poem that contains one thousand characters, all different. This poem is akin to the first chapter of Genesis in that it sets forth the ancient Chinese cosmology and describes the origin of the earth and the seasons. The lottery ticket consists of the first seventy-five words of this poem printed on a slip of paper. The buyer strikes out the ten words which he thinks will win. On the day of drawing the seventy-five separate words are all put into a box and shaken about a certain number of times, say twenty-five, and are then drawn out. If the holder has five of these words marked on his ticket he breaks even, if six he wins twice the amount he paid for his ticket, if seven he wins five times his original payment. One of the complications of Chinese gambling is that it seems to be heavily patronized by other races, Americans, Japanese, Filipinos, etc. The Americans especially seem to have a child-like trust in the absolute honesty of the Chinese lotteries.

B. Opium

Another Chinese vice is opium smoking. It is true that Chinese have been reproached with the traffic in opium

and other narcotics, which has grown to tremendous proportions in recent years. But it must never be forgotten that opium is not a drug of Chinese origin. It was forcibly introduced into China by the Dutch and British merchants years ago. Poppy cultivation has been almost forced upon the Chinese. When the Chinese Government took steps to stop the cultivation of the poppy and the importations of the poppy product from the outside, the white race compelled the Chinese to injure themselves by the use of opium so that they might get a profit derived from their injury. Opium formerly could be imported into the United States by paying a duty of \$6.00 a pound, but since 1909 its importation has been forbidden. Of course, there has been smuggling, but the determined action against it - local, national and now international through the League of Nations - has resulted in greatly reducing the amount of opium-smoking and driving what remains of it into hiding.³⁵ The opium dens are also very heavily patronized by other races. It has done more harm to other races than to Chinese themselves who seem to have possessed some degree of immunity to opium's worst effects.

Professor Beach of Stanford, says,

"Undoubtedly the opium habit is health wrecking, as is any narcotic habit. The effects of narcotics are doubly pernicious, first in the creation of an unnatural craving, then, in the devastating after effects, causing a vicious circle, leading generally to the ruin or death of the victim." 36

35. Palmer, A.W., op. cit., 1934, p. 24

36. Beach, W.G., op. cit., 1932, p. 151

The following is a case of an opium investigation made by the federal government agents in Louisville, Kentucky, during the flood, 1937:

"A Chinese, docketed by police as Charles Woo Doo, 51, laundry operator, Wednesday faced a charge of violation of the Federal Harrison Narcotic Act growing out of the seizure of \$500 worth of 'smoking opium' at the Railway Express Agency, 550 South Fifth Street.

"Government agents said this was the first seizure of this type of narcotic in Louisville.

"Agents reported the shipment was discovered after its arrival in a carton marked 'perishable' during the flood and sent to the City Hospital, as were many other similarly marked shipments, usually containing foodstuffs, for use of patients.

"The package contained between 500 and 600 grains of the narcotic packed in tins inside a cigar box, agents said. After its discovery a card was sent to the addressee, 'Mr. Woo Brothers,' 732 South Fourth, and Doo was arrested Tuesday when he attempted to claim it.

"Doo, who said he was a naturalized citizen who served in the United States Army during the World War, told agents a former employee, who left the city about two weeks ago, had told him he expected a package and asked him to claim it and hold it for forwarding to an address he would advise later.

"Former Chief of Detectives William H. De Forester appeared for Doo and at his request the defendant was released under \$2,000 bond for hearing February 18."

C. Prostitution and Trade in Slave-girls

Due to abnormal conditions in Chinese communities, in which men far outnumber women, prostitution has flourished in many cities where Chinese have settled. Many laboring

Chinese waste their hard-earned money for such indulgence and thus transmit venereal diseases from generation to generation. Slave girls, who brought \$1,000 before the exclusion law of 1882, ranged in price from \$2,000 to \$3,000 thereafter. A sidelight on the extent of this evil is revealed by the fact that more than 2,000 girls have found refuge in the Presbyterian Chinese Mission Home in San Francisco since it was founded in the early seventies. The work of Miss Donaldina Cameron in this connection will be referred to in the section which discusses the "tongs." Those who wish a more complete picture may well read The Ways of Ah Sin, by C.R. Shepherd, a Baptist missionary in California, and Chinatown Quest, the life adventures of Donaldina Cameron, by Carol Green Wilson. According to Dr. Shepherd, he rescued during the year 1923-1924 twenty slave girls valued at a total of \$110,000. But the conditions are now much better, due to the work of Miss Cameron and the efficient cooperation of Inspector Manion of the San Francisco police.

D. Tongs: Chinese Secret Societies

Very little printed material descriptive of tongs has appeared in a form readily accessible to the American public. The few publications devoted to this subject have not been sufficiently comprehensive to enable the reader to gain a clear and definite understanding of these pestifer-

38. Shepherd, C.R., "Chinese Girl Slavery in America," Mission Review of the World, Vol. 46, 1925

ous and iniquitous institutions and their nefarious practices.

1. Meaning of the Word "Tong"

Tong is a Chinese word meaning "association," "society," or "club." It is also sometimes employed to express the idea of "party," in such instances as the "Reform Party." In recent years, however, it may almost be said that the word has been taken over into the English language - particularly on the Pacific Coast - and to have come to be used exclusively to indicate certain obnoxious and dangerous organizations which exist in the Chinese communities in the United States.

2. Tongs: Good and Bad

It should be noted that the tong in itself is not necessarily criminal. Most tongs are entirely legitimate - family, social, or business clubs which perform useful functions. They are composed of persons of the same surname or group of surnames. For instance, there is the Louis Kwong Fong Associations, with its counterpart, the So Yuen Tong. Membership in this organization is open to all whose surnames are Louie, Kwong or Fong. Then there is the Lan Kwan Cheung Chu Association, with membership composed of persons whose surnames are either Lan, Kwan, Cheung or Chu.

These Associations act as private courts to settle settle disputes, they serve in lieu of insurance or mutual benefit associations, maintain schools and provide for

friendly, social intercourse just as American clubs do. A visit to the palatial home of the On Leong Tong in Chicago, for instance, reveals a court and committee rooms, a shrine, and a school for 150 children. It is really a powerful merchants' club trying to serve the interests of the Chinese community. Nearby is the building of the Moye family - the leading clan in Chinese Chicago. Its upper floor is devoted to a spacious room in which the most conspicuous object is a beautiful shrine to the ancestors. Here family councils are held. The strength of Chinese social solidarity lies in these tongs or clubs which do a vast amount of good.

There are, however, criminal tongs which are equivalent to the "gangs" in American life. They grow out of similar conditions and operate along much the same lines. A criminal tong is an organization of a criminal class of Chinese who want to do something forbidden by the law, which they do more safely and profitably through the cooperation and protection of a group than through individual criminal action. Nobody knows just how many of these criminal tongs there are, but an article by Edward A. Murphy, in the San Francisco Bulletin for March 15, 1921, listed nine. Some of them, at least, are nation-wide in their scope and operate in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Newark, Cleveland and elsewhere and engaged in a bloody tong war as late as 1927.³⁹ The origin and early history of these criminal

39. The Chicago Tribune, March 25, 1927

tongs are somewhat difficult to uncover. According to Dr.
⁴⁰
 Shepherd, the Highbinder Tongs are not indigeneous Chinese institutions. They originated on western soil and do not have any organic or spiritual connection with any organization existing in China. Those who are familiar with the history of the fighting tongs of America will be impressed by the marked similarity of many of their high-handed and bloody practices. There are two tongs in America which style themselves Freemasons. The first was originated in San Francisco in 1849. It is claimed today that this is not a Highbinder Tong. The second Tong is known as the Masonic Lodge. It is anything but a Highbinder Tong. Over the door of its headquarters in many Pacific Coast cities is the sign "Chinese Freemasons." Its members wear the square and compass. Its headquarters are styled Masonic Temples. This Society is known the country over as one of the most powerful and bloody fighting tongs in America. Its power is tremendous and reaches out into practically every Chinese community in the United States.

During the decade 1880-1890 tong wars reached a maximum in San Francisco, where scarcely a day passed that somebody was not killed. Even white people were killed by accident as shots were flying in all directions. One afternoon there were as many as seventy-five shots fired on the streets by one Tong against another.

40. Shepherd, C.R., The Ways of Ah Sin, 1923, p. 200

The report of the Sergeant in charge of the Chinatown squad at that time reads as follows:

"I went to Chief Crowley and told him that I could do nothing; that there were no laws to cover these things. I said that when any of these Chinamen commit deeds of violence they run into the numerous small alley ways of Chinatown and get beyond our reach, and after being once lost sight of it is impossible to identify them unless by some peculiar mark upon them. These societies are unlawful and organized for unlawful purposes. They do not recognize our laws, and to compete with them we have to go beyond our laws. I can put a stop to these societies if you will let me do it my own way. . . Next I saw the Chinese Consul and he spoke to the Chief of Police, and also told me to use my own judgment; assuring the Chief that if he should be sued, he or the Chinese Government would stand the consequences. The Chief sent for me and said that he thought my ideas were all right, and gave me permission to carry them out in my own way. I then went out and got seven or eight strong, healthy officers, and we visited all these places, taking down the numbers and setting out in the night to get into the workings of these Societies. When I had everything arranged, I got sixteen men in uniform and a surgeon, and supplied all with axes. We marched from one to another of these societies and literally cut them to pieces; we did not leave a bit of furniture five inches long in any of them. I suppose we broke up about \$180,000 worth of property. Some of these places were fixed up magnificently. Wherever we went we got arms, ammunition, bowie knives two feet long in blade, iron bars done up in braided cord, etc.; also chain and steel armour which they wear under their clothing, and which is utterly impossible to penetrate. Of course, after we broke up their meeting places they could not meet. Among the better class of Chinese who belong to these Societies through fear or for self-protection, we were held in favor for what we have done. They did everything they could to aid us. They could not meet me in Chinatown, but they came to my home in hacks at night to inform me where I could find these men. I was so well posted in the situation in Chinatown that they could not open their rooms or offices in any place. We

broke up their josses - they always have josses in these places. One of them they brought from China. It was worth from \$700 to \$800. I broke up one of these and the friendly Chinese were superstitious that they feared I would die. I went around to all the stores, houses of prostitution and places of that kind in Chinatown, and notified these people that if they were aiding these Highbinder Societies in any way I would demolish their places. If they wanted protection I would give it to them. If one officer would not do I would give them forty; but if I found that any of them were paying to any of these societies I would break up everything they had. In this way several of the societies were driven out of town; and for about three years there was not a Chinaman killed in the city. If this method had been kept up we should not have had any more trouble. The reason it was not kept up was that suit was commenced in the United States Court against the Chief of Police and the raiding officers, and everybody who was concerned in these raids. The attorneys for these Chinese Highbinders raised a large amount of money to carry on these suits and bothered the Chief of Police a great deal. It kept us going all the time. The cases were first conducted in the local courts and then taken in the United States courts." 41

3. The Commission of 1901

Report of these conditions reached the ears of the Government at Washington, and in 1901 the United States Industrial Commission, appointed by the 57th Congress, included in its activities an investigation into the practices of the Highbinder Tongs, and other social evils existing in the Chinese communities in America. J. Endicot Gardner, who was at that time United States Chinese Inspector at the Port of San Francisco, testified before the Commission he had spent many years in intimate contact with

41. Report of the United States Industrial Commission, 1901, Vol. XV, p. 779ff

the Chinese in the United States, thoroughly understood the Chinese language, and was very familiar with the methods of the Tongs.

He stated that he knew that these Tongs were organized societies for the purpose of committing crime; that they existed on blackmail, on pay for protecting gambling houses and disreputable houses in general; that they took it upon themselves to try cases, to review judgments of the United States Courts with utter disregard to United States Laws, and that they nullified the decisions of the United States Courts.

After thorough investigation of the situation, the Honorable Albert Clarke, Chairman of the Commission, made his report to Congress. He concluded as follows:

"During my investigation of this subject a number of very prominent and wealthy Chinese merchants in the City of San Francisco visited me in my hotel; most of them coming secretly in the night time, . . . everyone of these men substantiated what Dr. Gardner had said concerning the frauds committed in the landing of coolies. They insisted that if the Highbinder Societies could be broken up that the source of nearly all these frauds against the Exclusion Act would be removed.

"It is my opinion, after a most thorough and careful investigation of this subject, that if the country could be rid of this criminal class of Chinese, and the Highbinder Societies of Tongs permanently suppressed one of the greatest factors in the commission of fraud in the administration of the Exclusion Act would be eliminated.

"As a result of my investigation I have reached the conclusion that the only way in which this evil can be reached and the country rid of this vicious and disturbing element is for Congress to take the subject in hand.

"The one thing which they fear above all others, holding it in greater dread than all of our laws, our courts and jails, is deportation to China. The purpose of the highbinder organizations is vicious and criminal. They should be suppressed by law of Congress, and membership therein, or in any society having for its purpose the commission of crime or the violation of our laws on the part of aliens residing in this country, should render such aliens liable to deportation."

After the report of this Commission, Congress, however, did not pass any legislation that would suppress these organizations.

A few years later, a group of ministers, educators, social workers, lawyers and public officials, both American and Chinese, who frequently had contact with Chinese affairs in America, met to discuss the matter and to find some way to cope with the situation which was steadily becoming worse. After much deliberation it was decided to make an effort to provide special legislation which would enable the Department of Labor to deal with the situation through a process of deportation. Accordingly the following proposed act was prepared for presentation to Congress:

42

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE DEPORTATION OF CERTAIN CHINESE PERSONS

"Be it enacted, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

"Section 1. That any Chinese person, or person of Chinese descent, who is a member or associate of any tong, highbinder organization, society or association, including those incorporated in accordance with law, whose actual purpose, object or practice, wholly or in part

is the advising, encouraging, aiding, abetting, countenancing, attempting, or engaging, either directly or indirectly, in highbinder wars, homicide, blackmail or the holding of women for prostitution, shall be deemed to be unlawfully in the United States, and shall, upon the warrant of the Secretary of Labor, be taken into custody and deported to the country from which he came at any time after the date of his entry into the United States. Such arrest and deportation shall be at the expense of the appropriation 'Expense of Regulating Immigration (Chinese)'; provided that, pending the final disposition of the case of any person so taken into custody, he may be released under a bond in the penal sum of not less than one thousand dollars (\$1,000), with security approved by the Secretary of Labor, conditioned that such person shall be produced when required for the hearing in regard to the charge upon which he has been taken into custody, and for deportation if he shall be found to be unlawfully in the United States.

"Section 2. That the Commissioner General of Immigration shall, under the direction or with the approval of the Secretary of Labor, establish such rules and regulations prescribe such forms of warrants, bonds, oaths, hearings, reports, entries, and other papers, and detail or appoint necessary officers, and shall from time to time, issue such instructions not inconsistent with law, as he shall deem best calculated for enforcement and carrying out the provisions of this act.

"Section 3. That any Chinese person or person of Chinese descent arrested under the provision of this act shall be adjudged to be unlawfully within the United States, unless such person shall establish by affirmative proof, to the satisfaction of the Secretary of Labor, whose decision, if adverse to such person, shall be final, his lawful right to remain in the United States; provided that no previous adjudication of such person's rights to be within the United States shall operate as a bar to the proceedings provided for by this act.

"Section 4. That this act shall take effect immediately."

The machinery for the passing of this act was all prepared and ready to be put in motion when, for some reason or other, the whole project was abandoned.

4. A Letter Giving the Instructions of a Fighting Tong to One of Its Highbinders
43

"To Lum Hip, Salaried Soldier:

"It has been said that to plan schemes and devise methods and to hold the seal is the work of the literary class, while to oppose foes, fight battles and plant firm government is the work of the military. Now this Tong appoints salaried soldiers to be ready to protect ourselves and assist others. This is our object. All, therefore, who undertake the military service of this Tong must obey orders, and without orders they must not dare to act. If any of our brethren are suddenly molested it will be necessary for you to act with resolute will. You shall always work to the interest of the Tong, and never make your office a means of private revenge. When orders are given you shall advance valiantly to your assigned task. Never shrink or turn back upon the battlefield. When a ship arrives in port with prostitutes on board, and the Grand Master issues an order for you to go down and receive them, you must be punctual, and use all your ability for the good of the Commonwealth. If, in the discharge of your duty, you are slain we will undertake to pay \$500 sympathy money to your friends. If you are wounded a doctor will be engaged to heal your wounds, and if you are laid up for any length of time you will receive \$10 per month. If you are maimed for life and incapacitated for work, \$250 shall be paid to you, and a subscription taken to defray all costs of your journey home to China. Furthermore, whenever you exert your strength to kill or wound enemies of this Tong, and in so doing you are arrested and imprisoned, \$100 per year will be paid to your friends during your imprisonment.

"Dated 13th day of 5th month of 14th year of Kwong Su.

(Seal of the Tong)."

5. Its Present Activities

It is the unanimous opinion of missionaries, educators, social workers and police officials that the Tongs constitute today the greatest single menace to the social, moral and industrial welfare of the Chinese in the United States. The Tongs are mainly responsible for the social evils which exist in the Chinese communities. The following are some of their main activities:

a. The Illegal Landing of Chinese

By the power of money, Highbinder Tongs have smuggled many Chinese into the United States. Men and boys are landed as merchants' sons and as students by means of papers fraudulently obtained. Girls and women are landed as wives, sisters and daughters, when in reality they are destined for immoral purposes.

b. Prostitution

The traffic in young girls for immoral purposes is the most profitable industry of these tongs. It has been estimated by one who is close to the heart of the whole business and is absolutely qualified to know that there are several hundred of such young Chinese girls on the Pacific Coast owned body and soul by tong men, who, in turn, are protected by the Highbinder Tongs.

Miss Donaldina Cameron, matron of the Presbyterian Home for Chinese girls, stated that she knew that many of the members of these Highbinder Tongs were engaged in the business of buying and selling young girls for immoral

44
purposes.

"We know," she said, "of cases where the Highbinders have even stolen married girls from their husbands, after they have gone to small country places."

"I think," she said "that quite a number come voluntarily, never dreaming what their fate is to be; but I think, also, that a great many are landed against their wills. We never receive a girl that the Highbinders do not hang around the house for a day or two, looking for an opportunity to get her away from us. They even follow us to church. Only two weeks ago they had a carriage standing at the street corner, hoping to get a girl that we rescued a short time ago.

"Numberless threatening letters have come during the years that I have been here; slipped in under the door, from Chinese, of course. One morning when the man came around with the newspapers he found a large dynamite cartridge about a foot long standing up against the front door, placed in such a manner that when the door should be opened the cartridge would fall in and explode. When the police were called they found that at all the basement windows similar cartridges had been placed. Nearly always when we rescue a girl these Highbinders hire an attorney, who serves on us a writ of habeas corpus; furthermore, they go into court and swear that the girl is the wife of some

man whom they have there in court; and they so intimidate the girls that sometimes they get them to concur in the testimony, and thereby get them back."

c. Commercialized Gambling

There are many commercialized gambling houses in almost every Chinese community on the Pacific Coast with the exception of San Francisco and perhaps Oakland. Roughly speaking, these houses may be classified under three heads.

First, there are places which are open only to those who are bona fide gamblers. No sight-seers, social investigators or missionaries can gain entrance. Some of these places have the appearance of small stores with shelves stocked with canned goods and other commodities; and back of these stores are large gambling halls. These places are usually guarded by at least one sly old watchman, who is seated behind the counter or on a chair near the door. Should there be the least move on the part of any one to lead him to fear that a raid is to be made or that some curious person is going to try to force an entrance he will press a concealed button and ring the bell in the gambling house in order that the automatic doors may be locked and the gamblers notified.

The second kind of house has no watchman and little or nothing to indicate from the outside that it is a gambling house; but on the door or window is an innocent looking piece of paper upon which are written four Chinese

characters meaning "open for business today." One who cannot read Chinese passes this by without a second glance, but one who is able to do so knows that somewhere back of that store, butcher-shop or soft-drink stand are the gambling tables.

The third kind of house is the wide-open house. There is no attempt made to disguise or cover up the real nature of these places. The doors are wide open and any one can go in. At numerous tables the games are in full swing at most any time of the day or night. Piles of money are in evidence upon the tables around which are Chinese, Japanese, Hindus, Portuguese, and American men and women gambling to their hearts' content. The tongs are back of it all. They are organized for the purpose of protecting this sort of thing. They provide funds by means of which skilled attorneys are employed to defend them in the courts and corrupt police officials are bought off.

d. Tong Murders

During the year 1931 there were two dozen tong murders in the Pacific Coast states. There were only three convictions. Two were given the death penalty and the other life imprisonment. Tong wars are still a periodic epidemic. When they occur everything in the Chinese community is thrown into confusion.

6. What is the Remedy?

Many things might be written in portraying the nefarious practices of these pernicious organizations,

but sufficient has already been said to convince the reader of the gravity and enormity of the situation and of the urgent need for a remedy. The question of importance is, what is the remedy?

Occasionally some newspaper gives sensational publicity to these things; or there is a local clean-up due to the change in the personnel or policy of some police department; or public sentiment, brought to a head by some especially sensational development, demands a reckoning. But these things are only temporary. They are but sporadic efforts to alleviate a condition which has become too glaringly evil and anti-social. They are like cough-drops, toothache tinctures and soothing syrups which offer temporary relief but do not undertake to cure the disease by getting at the root of the trouble. Until the power of the highbinder and of the fighting tong is broken, these social evils will continue to be the greatest menace to peace, property, and social and commercial progress in the Chinese communities in America. The task of blotting out this evil will be by no means an easy one; yet it is not impossible. Their organizations are not tolerated in China. In Singapore, Hong Kong and Canada the British Government is said to have eradicated these evils by suppressing the Highbinder Tongs. What China and Great Britain has done America certainly can do. The law-abiding, justice-loving group of Chinese in America is earnestly appealing to the American people for a righting of these grave wrongs. Many Chinese are members

of these organizations because, upon their own testimony, they dare not withdraw from them. They would welcome with rejoicing any effort that is made to strike off the shackles which bind them.

Any effort to be effective, must involve more than mere talk. The Government of the United States should fearlessly and thoroughly investigate the whole matter of the activities of these secret societies and see that adequate legal steps be followed to cope with the situation. As America has dealt with the Black Hand and the Vendetta, so let her deal with the Tong and the High-binder.

Chapter V

CHINESE STUDENTS IN AMERICAN LIFE

- (1) History of Chinese Student Migration**
- (2) The Boxer Indemnity Fund and its Relation to Chinese Students Coming to America**
- (3) The Survey: Distribution of Chinese Students**
- (4) Organized Efforts on Behalf of Chinese Students**
- (5) Chinese Students and National Crisis**
- (6) Chinese Students in American Life**
- (7) Career and Influence of Returned Students from America in China**

Chapter V.

CHINESE STUDENTS IN AMERICAN LIFE

The first word in the Analects of Confucius, written over twenty-three hundred years ago, is "Hsiao" which means "learn"; and, from the fourth century B.C. until the present day, learning has occupied first place in the regard of the Chinese. But for many centuries, the learning of the Chinese has been, in the main, scholastic, and though practical, yet not concerned with science. Contact with the outer world, however, shocked them into the consciousness of the insufficiency of the native culture and the need of sending students to study in the Western countries.

I. HISTORY OF CHINESE STUDENT MIGRATION

Students are on the march. From generation to generation the migrating tendency persists. The movement of Chinese student migration was started by Yung Wing, who was the first Chinese student to graduate from an American college and turned out to be a great factor in educating the Chinese in modern learning. He was supported by the Morrison Education Society, a missionary organization financed by funds raised in England for the purpose of educating Chinese youth in Christian service.¹ He took his degree from Yale, in 1854,

1. Carver, W.O., The Course of Christian Missions, 1932, p. 187

and, upon his return to China, his ideas of bringing Western education into his native land met with opposition on the part of Chinese educators and gentlemen of the Government. But by direct, earnest, and able work, he succeeded in persuading two of the leading statesmen in the Chinese Government to send thirty Chinese students to America in 1872. Since then there have been thousands of Chinese students pouring into American colleges every year, and all this movement is indebted to Yung Wing. The students who came to study in America returned home to build factories, start railroads, and open schools. They have become college presidents, engineers, business men, and all this is largely due to Yung Wing.

Before 1910 a large number of Chinese students went to Japan. In recent years, the number has been decreasing, due to unfortunate relationships existing between these two nations. However, a large number of these students have gone to other countries; namely, England, France, Germany, Belgium, Canada, Sweden, etc. Statistics available for students who have gone during the year 1934-1935 are as follows:

United States	115
France	105
Germany	84
Japan	83
Belgium	26
England	25
Canada	4
Sweden	3

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2. Young, Arthur A., "Yung Wing - First Chinese Student Argonaut to America," The Chinese Christian Student, Vol. XXV, No. 7, 1934, p. 20
 3. Rawlinson, Frank, China Christian Yearbook, 1934-35, p. 245

The total number of foreign students in the United States has decreased sharply during the years of depression. It was 10,394 in 1931-32; 8,220 in 1932-33; and 7,720 in 1933-34. The number has steadily increased, however, during 1937 and 1938.

The following table shows what a large proportion of foreign students in the United States came from Oriental countries:⁴

	Men	Women	Total
Afghanistan	9	1	10
Burma	4	1	5
China	1,367	423	1,790
India	72	9	81
Japan	1,867	664	2,531
Korea	171	39	210
Java	3	1	4
Philippine Islands	345	22	367
Siam	24	1	25

There are 10,093 students from 94 foreign countries studying in the various colleges and universities of the United States, 1,790 of whom are Chinese. These "unofficial ambassadors," as the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students calls them, are here at a very impressionable period in their lives and may, therefore, become not only ambassadors of better understanding from China to the United States, but also ambassadors to China on the behalf of the United States.

II. THE BOXER INDEMNITY FUND

The reason why students from China lead all the foreign

4. Hurrey, Charles D., The Unofficial Ambassadors, 1938, p. 14

student delegations except those of Japan is probably due to the Boxer Indemnity Fund, which has made it possible financially for the Chinese Government to send many students to America for study. The history of the appropriation of the Boxer Indemnity Fund may be outlined as follows:

A. 1900 - In the summer of 1900 a rebellion broke out in China by a faction known as the "Boxers," which was united against all foreigners, including Americans in China, and during which many foreigners were massacred and their property destroyed.

B. 1901 - In the so-called "Final Protocol of 1901" between the treaty powers and China, an indemnity of approximately \$330,000,000 for the Boxer outrages was levied on the Chinese Government, these funds to be secured from the custom revenue. The share allotted to the United States was approximately \$24,500,000.

C. 1908 - On May 25, 1908, the United States Congress passed a joint resolution whereby the United States was to "remit" to China approximately \$12,000,000 or one-half of the Boxer Indemnities allotted to the United States. The Chinese Government determined to use this money for the education of Chinese youth in American institutions. For this purpose, also, a college was founded in China to prepare such Chinese students who were to study in the United States.

D. 1924 - On May 21, 1924, the United States Congress

framed another joint resolution whereby further Boxer Indemnities paid the United States together with payments to be made in the future, were to be paid back to China to be used for work in education and culture.

III. THE SURVEY

A. Foreign Students in Colleges and Universities of the United States

There were, in the United States during the year 1937-38, 10,093 foreign students from 94 countries of the world, according to the Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students, which has just made public its report.⁶ Japanese students lead in number, with a total of 2,531. Second in rank are Chinese students, with 1,790 and Canadian students rank third with 1,615. The Committee found that there were 210 Korean students and 367 Filipino students in the United States during this year. Among the European nations, England has sent 238; Germany, 333; Russia, 77; Turkey, 76; France, 93; Italy, 53; Switzerland, 39; and Sweden, 31.

A new interest is envisaged in the increasing number of Latin American students coming to the United States, many on special fellowships. Cuba has 359; Puerto Rico, 407; Panama, 77; Mexico, 222; Nicaragua, 15.

The Committee states that the Oriental tabulation in-

6. Annual Report of the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students, The Chinese Christian Student, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 4-5, 1938, p. 5

cludes American-born students. Of the Japanese totals, 772 are American-born Japanese, and of the Chinese totals, 620 are American-born Chinese. When these are deducted, there are 1,259 students from Japan; 1,170 from China.

B. Distribution of Chinese Students By States (in localities)

The Chinese student enrollment in American colleges and universities for the academic year 1937-38 has shown a definite increase over the enrollments of previous years. According to the figures, compiled by the Chinese Students' Christian Association in its annual survey of Chinese student enrollment, the total enrollment for 1937-38 is 1,790, as compared to 1,733 for 1935-37 and 1,414 for 1935-36. This is an increase of 57 students over the past ⁷ year.

The State of California, with forty institutions of higher learning, has attracted the largest state enrollment of Chinese students, 545. Second is New York with a total of 278, scattered through twenty-seven colleges and universities. Third is Michigan, with 176, enrollment in eight institutions, principally at the University of Michigan; and fourth is Massachusetts with 140, distributed among eighteen colleges and technical schools. It is interesting to note that not many Chinese students are studying in the Southern States; the total number for the academic year 1937-38 was only 87. States like Florida and New Mexico have only one

7. Hsiao, Y.E., Directory of Chinese Students in America, 1937-38, p. 78

Chinese student in the whole state and many, such as Alabama, do not have one single student. The Chinese students in the United States are enrolled in 275 colleges and universities, located in almost every state of the Union except a few Southern states.

The survey revealed also that there are approximately four Chinese male students to every one Chinese girl student, or 1,367 men to 423 women. The universities that have attracted the largest number of Chinese students are: First, the University of California with a total enrollment of 191 students, 162 of whom are American-born. Next is the University of Michigan which leads in enrollment of Chinese students from China - a total of 165, of whom 28 are women. Columbia University is the third, with 96. It is followed closely by San Francisco Junior College and New York University.

Many university Registrars do not have the means to ascertain whether Chinese students are American-born or not. American-born Chinese students are found, however, mostly in colleges and universities in the West; while the native-born Chinese students are concentrated in the Central and Eastern schools. Of the larger Pacific institutions, the Registrars have reported the following American-born Chinese enrollment:

University of California (Berkeley)	162
University of Southern California	114
University of California (Los Angeles)	8
University of Washington	9
University of Oregon	8
Stanford University	10
Oregon State College	7

In the East, Columbia University reported 19 and the University of Michigan 10. The relationships between the American-born Chinese students and those from China are not very harmonious. The conflict is due to the differences of cultural background; the American-born look upon the natives as products of a backward nation while the native-born think that those born in America are too Americanized and the occupational status of their parents - laundry owners and restaurant proprietors - a national disgrace. (Merchants, according to the old Chinese class system, are recognized as next to the lowest class while the scholars are recognized as the highest class).

C. Distribution of Chinese Students by Courses (in field of studies

For many years, engineering has led in popularity among the dozens of courses that Chinese students specialized in. There are at 458 Chinese students registered in engineering courses - among them chemical, civil, electrical, and aeronautical engineering are the most popular. The interest in airplane design and construction is evidence that China is going air-minded. Second to engineering, are business and economics courses. There are 199 Chinese students registered in these courses. The third most popular subject is medical science, with 196, and fourth is education, with 86 enrolled. It is interesting to note that not many students are interested in social science or social work, but there is an increasing interest in agriculture. Another interesting fact is that only two are taking up military science - an indication that the Chinese are not war-minded people.

TABLE XXI
DISTRIBUTION SUMMARY OF CHINESE STUDENTS, 1937-1938
(By States) *

States	Institutions	Male	Female	Total
Arizona	1	2		2
Arkansas	2	3	1	4
California	42	403	142	545
Colorado	5	8		8
Connecticut	2	15	4	19
District of Columbia	12	25	16	41
Florida	1	1		1
Georgia	2	2		2
Illinois	20	100	28	128
Indiana	6	27	4	31
Iowa	3	18	2	20
Kansas	2	5	2	7
Kentucky	4	3	3	6
Louisiana	3	6	2	8
Maine	2		2	2
Maryland	3	8	4	12
Massachusetts	18	122	18	140
Michigan	7	142	34	176
Minnesota	3	33	4	37
Missouri	9	17	7	24
Nebraska	1	1		1
Nevada	1	2	1	3
New Hampshire	3	1	2	3
New Jersey	8	12	4	16
New Mexico	1	1		1
New York	24	200	78	278
North Carolina	3	1	2	3
North Dakota	2	2	1	33
Ohio	12	25	17	42
Oklahoma	1	3		3
Oregon	10	32	14	46
Pennsylvania	18	65	11	76
Rhode Island	1	1	1	2
South Carolina	1	2		2
South Dakota	1		1	1
Tennessee	5	12	6	18
Texas	10	17	4	21
Virginia	4	4		4
Washington	4	24	13	37
West Virginia	2	2		2
Wisconsin	3	22	5	27
Wyoming	1	2		2
<hr/>				
Total in United States	263	1,371	433	1,804
Less Duplicates		4	10	14
	263	1,367	423	1,790
Canada	8	64	18	82
Hawaii	1	223	243	466
Grand Total	272	1,654	684	2,338

* Based on the Directory of Chinese Students in America, compiled by the Chinese Students' Christian Association in North America, New York, 1938

TABLE XXII
DISTRIBUTION SUMMARY OF CHINESE STUDENTS, 1937-1938
(By Courses) *

Courses	U.S.	Hawaii	Canada	Total
Agriculture	60	35	4	99
Architecture & Fine Arts	59		6	65
Business, Banking, Accounting and Trade	146		4	150
Economics	53	61	1	115
Education	86	178		264
Engineering:				
Aeronautical	60			
Chemical	87		3	
Civil	70	26	1	
Electrical	63		1	
General	94	7	1	
Mechanical	55		4	
Mining	24		1	
Radio	3			
Textile	2			
	458	—	11	502
English and Journalism	33		1	34
Forestry	3			3
Graduate	103		8	111
Home Economics	17	37	1	55
Law	13			13
Liberal Arts	251	14	23	288
Library Science	10			10
Mathematics	14			14
Medical Sciences				
Bacteriology	4			
Dentistry	36	6	1	
Medicine	74		6	
Public Health	17	1		
Nursing	22	7	2	
Pre-Medical	24	24	1	
Pharmacy	16			
Veterinary Medicine	3			
	196	—	10	244
Military Science	2	38		2
Music	24		1	25
Political Science	71	2		73
Philosophy & Psychology	17		1	18
Physical Education	8		1	9
Science	67	35	6	108
Social Science	31	33		64
Theology	38		4	42
Transportation	24			24
Unclassified	6			6
Total	1,790	466	82	2,338

* Based on The Directory of Chinese Students in America, compiled by the Chinese Students' Christian Association in North America, New York, 1938

D. Chinese Courses Offered by American Universities

Chinese courses, and courses in which China is covered in whole or in part, are being offered in gradually increasing numbers by American colleges and universities. Not long ago, one could have counted on one's fingers the colleges and universities which offered courses in which the Far East was the principal center of interest. Today, there are almost 500 courses offered in some 200 American colleges and universities which treat China, either as a major subject or as a subject that occupies a significant portion of the course.

Chinese courses are offered principally in the Department of History, the Department of Political Science, the Department of Art, and the Department of Religion and Philosophy. A few colleges, such as the University of Washington and the University of Michigan, are introducing Chinese race problems in their sociology departments. Pacific Coast institutions are tending to give the markets of Asia a thorough treatment in the business and foreign trade courses, and one university, the University of Southern California, has a course in which Asiatic journalism and the news from the Orient are exhaustively treated.

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A survey conducted by the Chinese Students' Christian Association reveals that the following ten universities gave for the academic year, 1936-1937, the largest number of

courses in which China was treated in whole or in part:

1. University of Southern California	23
2. University of Washington	19
3. University of California	18
4. Columbia University	13
5. University of Michigan	13
6. Harvard University	11
7. Yale University	10
8. Pomona College	6
9. Dartmouth College	6
10. San Francisco State College	5

Courses in the Chinese language were given, with credit, in 1936-1937 at Columbia University, the University of Washington, Harvard University, the University of Southern California, the University of Chicago, Yale University, Dartmouth College; at the University of Michigan, Chinese courses were given but without credit. Radcliffe College, which repeats the courses at Harvard University, may also be mentioned in this connection.

The Association has published in 1937 a report, by Arthur A. Young, entitled, China in the American University Curriculum, containing a complete directory of courses in which China is treated in whole or in part for the academic year 1936-1937.

E. Chinese on American Faculties, 1937-1938

The Directory of Chinese Students in America, published by the Chinese Students' Christian Association, lists the following Chinese as members of American faculties for 1937-1938:

Chang, Tsung-Ch'ien, B.A., University of Chicago
 Chang, Yuen Zang, Ph.D., Visiting Lecturer in Chinese, University of Michigan
 Chen, Philip S., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Chemistry, Madison College, Madison, Tennessee
 Chi, Chao-Ting, Ph.D., Lecturer on the Far East, New School of Social Research, New York City

- Chiu, A. Kaiming, Ph.D., Lecturer on the Chinese Language and Literature and Librarian of the Chinese and Japanese Library of the Yenching University at Harvard University
- Cot'ui, Frank, M.D., Associate Professor of Surgery, New York University College of Medicine
- Li, Fang-Kuei, Ph.D., Visiting Professor of Chinese Linguistics, Yale University
- Mah, N. Wing, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California
- Pan, Stephen Chao Ying, Ph.D., Lecturer in Political Science, Providence College
- Sha, Chih Pei, Associate in Oriental Languages, University of California
- Tang, Kwan Yau, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Electrical Engineering Ohio State University
- Wang, Chi-Chen, A.B., Lecturer in Chinese Languages and Curator of the Chinese Collection, Columbia University
- Wei, Francis Cho-Min, Ph.D., Visiting Professor of Ethics, Yale University
- Weng, Tu-Chien, M.A., Teaching Fellow in Chinese, Harvard University
- Wong, Bing C., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Mathematics, University of California 9

IV. ORGANIZED EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF THE CHINESE STUDENTS

A. The Chinese Students' Christian Association in North America

Under the fostering care of the National Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A.'s Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students, special organizations with secretaries of their own race have been built up among the Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, and Korean students. The Chinese Students' Christian Association in North America was founded at Colgate University, Hamilton, New York, on September 2, 1909, under the sponsorship of the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students. The purpose of the Associa-

9. The Chinese Christian Student, Hsiao, Y.E., "Chinese on American Faculties," Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 4-5, 1938, p. 8

tion is threefold: (1) to organize all Chinese students, especially Christians, into cooperative efforts; (2) to build strong moral character and to foster the spirit of self-sacrifice; (3) to understand American life and society, and to interpret Chinese culture and civilization. The membership is of two kinds: active and cooperative. The active membership is limited to Chinese students in sympathy with the purposes of the Association; while any person, not a student, either Chinese or Americans or other nationality, interested in the work of the Association may become a cooperative member.

To members and non-members, the Chinese Students' Christian Association renders a variety of services. These include the following:

To Students Entering Schools: Advice and information are given about colleges, entrance requirements, courses of study, facilities for research, expenses, living facilities. It introduces students to Chinese groups and American friends. When requested, it meets new arrivals at port and railway stations.

To Students Returning Home or Going to Europe: It gladly assists in securing railway and steamship tickets, making reservations, visaing passports, forwarding baggage or books, purchasing travellers' checks, etc. To those going home by way of Europe, it will help arrange itineraries, supply letters of introduction for visits in Europe, and in general, place at their disposal friendly assistance not

easily available.

To Students Wishing Mail Service: The Chinese Students' Christian Association will receive and forward mail anywhere. Students, uncertain about their address, find this service useful. To others wishing to locate a Chinese student in America or to contact one in China, this service is also available.

To Students Wanting Other Services: The Chinese Students' Christian Association will help buy books or typewriters, for instance, at considerable saving. It will assist graduates in securing, in China, teaching positions, or other employment for which they are especially trained.

Speakers on China: Colleges and universities invite the Association to provide speakers on subjects concerning China. Arrangements are also made for prominent Chinese visitors, as well as student speakers, to speak on China in different parts of the country. Through cooperation with allied student organizations, Chinese Students' Christian Association participates in many conferences, both international and national, every year.

Publications: The Chinese Christian Student is published monthly during the school year as the official organ. The Chinese Students' Christian Association also publishes a Chinese Students' Directory in America. The publication is in English.

The General Secretary: The secretary for Chinese students of the Committee on Friendly Relation Among Foreign Students serves the Chinese Students' Christian Association

as its general secretary. Mr. Y.E. Hsiao, a graduate of the University of Shanghai and also Columbia University, is at present serving in this capacity, with his central office at 347 Madison Avenue, New York, New York. His chief duty is to execute the program of service of the Association and to visit the different student centers throughout the country, to establish new units, and advise organized units, and to render necessary aid.

The Association charges no membership fee but takes voluntary contributions. The budget for fiscal year 1936-10 1937 was as follows:

Estimated Income

"Balance on Hand	\$882.46	
Subscriptions	150.00	
Advertisements	300.00	
Amount to be Raised by Contributions	<u>2,097.54</u>	
		\$3,430.00

Estimated Expenditures

Chinese Christian Student	\$1,500.00	
Field Work	775.00	
Central Executive Board Meeting	70.00	
Postage and office Supplies	205.00	
Departmental Expenses	130.00	
Financial Campaign	50.00	
Chinese Student Directory	300.00	
Emergency Loan Fund	150.00	
Special Projects	200.00	
Miscellaneous	<u>50.00</u>	
		\$3,430.00"

The salary and office space, telephone and stenographer for the general secretary, is provided by the Committee on Friendly Relation Among Foreign Students, supported by an endowment fund, largely donated by John D. Rockefeller, Sr.

10. The Chinese Christian Student, Vol. XXVII, No. 10, 1937, p. 5

The Chinese Students' Christian Association is responsible for the other expenses connected with its work. It is an autonomous organization enlisting the active support of Chinese students and friends, having the advantages of an advisory committee made up of Americans who have been in China. The Association is governed by a central executive board, elected by the students and members annually. There are also three departmental committees, serving the different districts where the Chinese students are found; namely, Eastern, Mid-western, and Western. No committee has been organized to serve the Southern States as yet, because of the limited number of Chinese students studying in Southern schools.

B. The Chinese Students' Association of North America

Owing to the indifferent attitude toward Christianity and the stimulation of the national crisis in China, a group of liberal minded students in Chicago, mostly government students, organized in 1935 a separate association, called The Chinese Student Association of North America, with its headquarters at 1414 59th Street in Chicago. This Association is primarily an anti-Japanese organization, gaining little support from the students because of its radicalism. The Association publishes a monthly paper entitled The Chinese Student, a magazine printed both in Chinese and English.

The Association holds a general convention every two years. The last convention was held in Chicago in the sum-

mer of 1935. More than one hundred delegates attended the convention.

C. Chinese Student Association of the South

Chinese students studying in the Southern colleges and universities are relatively few. For the year 1937-38, there are only eighty-seven enrolled, eighteen of them in Tennessee, twenty-one in Texas and six in Kentucky. In the summer of 1937, the first effort was made to unite these Chinese students. The three-day conference at the Hotel Peabody, Memphis, Tennessee, August 24-26, marked the beginning of unified Chinese student life in the South, and the Chinese Student Association of the South was organized. The Association has a membership of over fifty and publishes a bi-monthly pamphlet, entitled China Calls. A convention will be held once a year for the election of officers and transaction of business. The Association cooperates with other Chinese Student Associations; namely, the Chinese Students' Christian Association, the Chinese Student Association of North America, etc. Delegates were sent to these student conferences at Chicago and New York in the summer of 1937 for cooperation and friendship.

D. Chinese University Alumni Associations

Besides these combined student associations, there are also many Chinese University Alumni Associations, organized by the sons and daughters of Christian colleges

and universities in China. The most prominent among them being Lingnan University Alumni Association, the University of Shanghai Alumni Association, and the University of Nanking Alumni Association. These University Alumni Associations have their dinners, dance parties, at special occasions such as Christmas, and monthly gatherings in members' homes. The University of Shanghai has about fifty alumni in the United States, twenty-five of them in the city of New York; Yenching University has seventy and Lingnan University, fifty.

Outside of the Christian colleges there are Tsing Hua College Alumni, Nanyang University Alumni, Fudan University Alumni, and also Nankai University Alumni, scattered among various campuses.

E. Other Student Committees and Organizations

Besides the above-mentioned organized effort on the part of the Chinese students in securing unity and co-operation, there are also many other service organizations developed by Americans who seek to make the best in American life available to students from foreign countries and who believe that the presence of foreign students in the United States offers opportunities for international friendship and experiences that are steps in the direction of world peace and understanding. These organizations are "The International Student Committee," "Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students," etc.

1. The International Student Committee

The International Student Committee is the result of a movement started twenty-five years ago by the Y.W.C.A. at a time when women students from foreign countries began to come to the United States in large numbers. The desire to assist these students in their first experiences of American life developed into the organization of a joint committee of Americans and foreign students. Its policies and methods have been directly influenced, therefore, by foreign students themselves, who, believing in the aims of the Committee, have shared the work with American members of the Committee. The Committee assumed responsibility for carrying on the work as an independent organization in 1933 and has had its headquarters at International House, New York City, since September, 1936. The work of the Committee is supported entirely by voluntary contributions.

The Committee works with students of all races, all creeds, all nationalities. There are nearly one hundred former student members of the Committee living in eighteen countries, who assist the present Committee in its work here and abroad, and the Committee is constantly in touch with educational and social agencies throughout the world. The following summary is tabulated from the reports supplied by colleges and universities where the foreign women students are located. There are at present 1,039 students of foreign birth studying in 37 states and the District of

Columbia, and representing 64 foreign countries. It is encouraging to know that China has the second largest representation, ranking next to Canada.

TABLE XXIII

FOREIGN WOMEN STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1936-1937^{*}

Africa	9	Iraq	4
Alaska	4	Ireland	4
Arabia	1	Italy	19
Armenia	10	Jamaica	2
Australia	3	Japan	45
Austria	6	Korea	8
Bahama Islands	1	Latvia	1
Belgium	3	Liberia	1
Bermuda	2	Lithuania	2
Bolivia	2	Manchukuo	1
Brazil	3	Mexico	19
Bulgaria	9	Morocco	1
Canada	266	New Zealand	9
Canal Zone	13	Nigeria	1
Chile	11	Norway	10
<u>China</u>	<u>116</u>	Palestine	2
Cuba	36	Peru	2
Czechoslovakia	8	Philippine Islands	9
Denmark	4	Poland	7
Danzig	1	Puerto Rico	70
Egypt	2	Portugal	3
England	30	Roumania	5
Finland	1	Russia	12
France	44	Scotland	7
Germany	76	Siam	1
Greece	8	Spain	20
Haiti	1	Sweden	5
Hawaii	37	Switzerland	6
Holland	11	Turkey	12
Honduras	4	Uruguay	1
Hungary	12	Virgin Islands	1
India	9	West Indies	6
Number of countries represented		64	
Total number of students		1,039	

* Based on the Annual Survey conducted by the International Student Committee, New York City, New York, 1936-1937

2. Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students

The Committee was established in 1911. Its central objective is to promote international friendship and understanding through friendly contacts between Americans and the student ambassadors, men and women, from other lands. To this end the Committee maintains a staff of nine secretaries; four of these secretaries are Orientals - a Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Korean. Each Oriental secretary serves his fellow nationals in the United States and is responsible for a national association among them. Monthly bulletins are published by these four Oriental groups, containing news items and frank expressions of opinion by students from the Far East. An annual census is compiled of all foreign students in the United States, and each of the Oriental groups publishes annually a directory of its own students.

Members of the staff of the Committee travel extensively in the United States, Canada, and throughout the world, keeping in contact with prospective as well as former students in the various countries. By this means it is possible to ascertain the trend of thought and action among students in all lands. Arrangements are made to meet new students at the steamship pier, if they desire; guidance is given with reference to travel in the United States, enrollment in American colleges, opportunities for visiting American industries and institutions. Many foreign students are

assisted in attending summer camps, where they meet young people of America in a very helpful program of international education. Many deputations are organized, composed of the ablest foreign students capable of addressing American audiences. Each year literally hundreds of American clubs, churches, and various associations are glad to obtain the services of foreign student speakers.

In times of depression or other calamity, the Committee has rendered a special service to foreign students who were stranded in this country. Between 1932 and 1934 the Committee cooperated in raising and expending over \$12,000.00 and thus assisting more than a hundred and fifty foreign students of first class ability either to return to their native lands or to complete their year of study in this country.

Many hundreds of letters of introduction are given each year to foreign students who may be travelling in the United States or going to Europe. Officers of the Committee and staff are maintained at 347 Madison Avenue, New York City, and there is close cooperation between the Friendly Relations Committee and the International Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations and the various churches and Missionary Boards.

Information is given concerning the number and distribution of foreign students in the United States to all offices of diplomatic and consular representatives in the United States. Information is also supplied upon request to various publications, schools, and civic organizations.

In the early post-war years a special committee was sponsored in order to aid Russian students to complete their education in this country. This organization was incorporated as The Russian Student Fund, and rendered substantial financial assistance to fully seven hundred students from Russia who could not return to their native land and otherwise would have had no opportunity to complete their education. The majority of these students have now become American citizens.

Through the intervention of the Committee, American industrial leaders are always glad to extend courtesy to foreign students visiting their various industries. In some instances opportunity has been given to foreign students for summer employment and obtaining experience by working in American industry.

The General Secretary of the Committee addresses conventions and conferences, college assemblies and similar meetings, on the significance of foreign students in America's international relationships.

V. CHINESE STUDENTS AND THE NATIONAL CRISIS

The Chinese students are a war-torn generation. From the time the Republic was founded in 1911 down to the Japanese conflict of 1937, the students have had to face the issue of recurrent war and national salvation; and they have not flinched in the face of duty.

Like European students they are politically minded. The national crisis provided them with opportunity to express

their patriotic consciousness. It is nothing new for Chinese students to project their ideas and activities on the national screen.

Since the eventful night of July 7, 1937, at the Marco Polo Bridge, the Chinese students in continental United States have plunged themselves into various patriotic activities and cooperated with the Chinese merchants in raising the "National Emergency Fund," which has reached the sum of \$4,000,000. National emergency committees have been organized in every city and town where Chinese students are found to arrange for addresses and talks, given at meetings of various fraternal, civic, social, religious services and womens' groups in the community.

Perhaps the most vigorous patriotic activity among Chinese students is their agitation for an economic boycott of Japanese goods. "Don't buy Japanese Goods," "Quarantine the Aggressor" are the slogans found on many university campuses where Chinese students are enrolled. For instance, Northwestern University sorority girls have started a movement to boycott Japanese goods. They hope to enlist 1,500 others. Co-eds of the School of Education of New York University stripped their shapely legs of silk stockings and drew on hose of wool. All these activities were inspired by the agitation of Chinese students on their respective campuses. Student conferences, held in different parts of the country, have centered their discussions on the survey of the Sino-Japanese conflict and sought to form cooperative efforts for

China's national salvation. At the Third Annual Convention of the American Student Union, held on the Vassar College campus at Poughkeepsie, New York, resolutions were adopted to support a program that will make the United States a genuine and active force for peace and to reject pacifism by taking immediate steps to restrain aggressor-nation by economic boycott. One of the slogans adopted at the Convention was, "If you wear cotton, Japan gets nothing." This was done through the influence and agitation of the Chinese student delegates attending the conference.¹³

As a result of the war in China, there are many Chinese students in America today who are in desperate financial need. Many have been cut off from all communication with their relatives in China and their remittances from home have been interrupted. At Columbia University, twelve are known who need immediate funds for living expenses. Students on other campuses are in a similar plight.

Students from war-torn provinces of Hopei, Kiangsu, Chekiang, Shangtung, Suiyuan, are the most hard hit, as allowances from their local Governments have not arrived. Efforts are being made by the various student organizations to raise funds to tide over the Tsing Hua indemnity students whose regular allowances, depending on the customs receipts, have been seriously affected. Delays on tuition payments have been granted by Columbia and other universities. A

13. Courier Journal, Louisville, Kentucky, Dec. 31, 1931

Loan Fund Committee, to aid Chinese students during this crisis, is in process of organization, through Y.E. Hsiao, general secretary of the Chinese Students' Christian Association.

VI. CHINESE STUDENTS IN AMERICAN LIFE

In the early days, the Chinese students were rebuffed from door to door, unable to find lodgings in American college towns. ¹⁴ Tim Tieh, for instance, went to Pullman, Washington, to attend the State College; but, even after five or six days of searching, no door was open to him. So the Y.M.C.A. secretary finally let him sleep in his office and this led to the foundation of an International Club for foreign students. A leading Chinese doctor on the Pacific Coast still remembers how as a medical student in an eastern city he was refused a room at a large Y.M.C.A., built especially for students.

Now the situation has been changed and much sympathetic interest has been displayed by Christian America in her foreign student guests. The great International Houses in New York, Chicago, and Berkeley are open to all regardless of race, color or creed. They are like great college dormitories with all the appointments of a modern club. Each House is managed by an executive board and staff; approximately 500 residents from fifty different countries, both men and women students, are accommodated in each building.

14. Palmer, A.W., Oriental in American Life, 1934, p. 190

They are centers of delightful activity. Weekly Sunday evening suppers are arranged, and a variety of forums, entertainments and social affairs constitute a rich program.

The Chicago Church Federation each year gives a foreign students' dinner at which some ten or twelve hundred foreign students are invited as the guests of the church people of the city who preside at the various tables. Many homes are opened in this way and many invitations to Thanksgiving or Christmas dinner or to speak before church groups, grow out of this simple friendly contact. All over America not only churches but Rotary International, Women's Clubs, Peace Societies, and other civic organizations hold out a hospitable hand to the students away from home. Invitations to participate in their activities and to share in their membership have been accepted by hundreds of the ablest students from all lands.

Brent House, near the University of Chicago, is a shining example of American hospitality to Oriental students. It is a beautiful, homelike house, in the midst of a lovely garden which was given in 1930 as a national club for conference and devotion as the gift of the Women's Auxiliary of the National Council of the Episcopal Church, and is maintained under their direction. Around it there has been created a friendly and homelike atmosphere. It is a home for the building of friendship and understanding among peoples of different nationalities and races through religious fellowship, intellectual activities and social contacts. Here conferences of Oriental and other students have been

held from time to time, here distinguished speakers from the Orient have been heard, many discussions and meetings have been conducted by outstanding American religious and educational leaders. The home is always open as a friendly center of Christian fellowship and, in a single year, drew over three thousand personal interviews and visits from students, entirely aside from organized conferences.

There is, however, only one Brent House in the whole United States. Many university campuses do not have such facilities. Certainly a Brent House, or its equivalent on a smaller scale, adjacent to every university campus in America, would change the returned student into a friend instead of a critic and a cynic, which he too often becomes today. Over the door of International House in New York is carved "That Brotherhood May Prevail" and over a door of the International House in Chicago is a Latin motto - Nemo Solus Satis Sapit, which may be translated "No one is sufficient unto himself," or, put into the vernacular, "No one knows enough to do the job alone." If the foreign students can carry home these ideals from America it will be a better day for all mankind.

VII. CAREER AND INFLUENCE OF RETURNED STUDENTS FROM AMERICA IN CHINA

Returned students from America are found today in the far corners of China. As a group, they enjoy an enviable reputation. Many of them have become premiers, ambassadors, financiers, college presidents, engineers, etc. They have

contributed a great deal in the building of the New China. It would be grandly inspiring to know a few significant American graduates. For instance, in diplomacy and politics, graduates of American universities are very influential in China. Among the outstanding diplomatic and political leaders in China are found T.V. Soong, of Harvard; H.H. Kung of Oberlin, Premier of the Chinese Nationalist Government; C.T. Wang of Yale, Ambassador designate to the United States; W.W. Yen, University of Virginia, and recently Ambassador to Russia; Alfred Sze of Cornell, former Ambassador in Washington; Wellington Koo, Ambassador to France.

In the field of education, hundreds of the professors, school superintendents, deans, and presidents throughout China take pride in chatting about their student days in America. The presidents of five leading Christian Universities in China are graduates of Columbia University and the University of Chicago.

The cause of public health has been advanced in China by such leaders as Dr. J.H. Lin of Harvard and Dr. Lieu Teh of Johns Hopkins. Notable indeed in the field of religion and social service are the contributions of David Yui of Harvard, for many years general-director of the Y.M.C.A. of China; Y.Y. Tsu from Union Theological Seminary, Secretary of the National Christian Council of China; and "Jimmy" Yen from Yale, leader of mass education.

As interpreters of Oriental civilization and culture, there are T.Z. Koo, Lin Yutang, Hu Shih and many others.

Indeed the cause of world peace has been strengthened by the contacts which these Chinese students, who have become today leaders of the Chinese nation, have made here in America. They all enjoy telling their friends of their happy days as students in America and their gratitude to America for the training they have received. There are, however, a few returned students, who have been "too Americanized," and thus render little service to their native country. They prefer staying in big offices and drawing rich checks to service and sacrifices. They have been quite a disappointment to the Chinese people. There are many opportunities today in China which call for pioneers, builders, and, above all, those who are willing to do "dirty work" and remain unknown heroes.

Chapter VI

THE FUTURE OUTLOOK

- (1) Can the Chinese Be Assimilated?**
- (2) The Conquest of Racial Prejudice**
- (3) How Can the Social Workers Help?**
- (4) The Economic Outlook**
- (5) A Final Word**

Chapter VI.

THE FUTURE OUTLOOK

As one looks into the future and asks what will be the outcome of the Chinese immigrants in America, two possible solutions suggest themselves.

The first possibility is the development of an Oriental caste, a community which lives within or beside the American community, but as a separate entity, similar to a bullet or other foreign substance lodged in the human body; if it cannot be absorbed, it may find the tissues building up a wall or what is called a cyst of tough resistant material around it and there it may remain for years - in the body but not of it. This might happen, conceivably, with the Chinese in America. They might become like a caste in India, restricted to certain occupations, denied intermarriage and considered socially "untouchable," except at certain strictly limited points of contact. This has been practically their situation up to date, as it is the situation of every newly-arrived race in America for a generation or two. But will it become permanent? If it does, it will be a decidedly un-American arrangement and will involve some real difficulties with respect to the stability and progress of the nation.

The other alternative is that they will gradually overflow the walls which hem them in and more and more become

just a part of the whole American community. In so far as they do not stay in Chinatowns but spread out across the country this process will be accelerated. Such a process is described by sociologists as "Americanization" or "Assimilation."

I. CAN THE CHINESE BE ASSIMILATED?

Much of the argument against Chinese immigration has been in terms of whether or not they can be assimilated. During the days of agitation for restriction of Chinese immigration, it was maintained by many that "the Chinese cannot be assimilated." They came to American shores and remained as "birds of passage" only to return to their native countries, carrying their earnings back with them. They had no intention of making their homes in America and no real interest in the preservation of American institutions and standards. Such attitudes are being cited today by those who are opposing the granting of a quota to the Orientals.

What does the term "Assimilation" or "Americanization" mean? According to P.K. Hitti,¹ Americanization "is invisible and subtle, if it is to be real and enduring . . . Donning American clothes and eating American food does not constitute Americanization." It means "divesting one's self of a certain deep rooted patrimony of ideas, sentiments, traditions, and interests, and an acceptance of, and participation in, a certain new spiritual inheritance. Such a thing cannot be

1. Hitti, P.K., The Syrians in America, 1920, p. 99

accomplished completely in one generation. Even the second generation among immigrants cannot be fully assimilated."

Assimilation, according to E.M. Boddy, a Los Angeles editor, means "the process by which an alien people are taught to adopt the customs, practices and mode of living prevalent in the country in which they reside."² In other words, it is a cultural process, which implies the acceptance of the ideas, attitudes, customs, and traditions of the new group.

Perusal of the literature indicates that very few recognized authorities would admit that the second generation of Chinese are lacking in the mental qualities necessary for cultural assimilation. Although the evidence of our findings seems to prove that the Chinese, in general, are not acquiring the culture of the whites, and that they are perpetuating to a large degree that of China, this evidence is not, by any means, conclusive. First, most of the adult Chinese belong to the first generation, while the second generation is made up almost entirely of minors. Cultural assimilation is never accomplished by any first generation. Second, the Chinese immigrants have had very little opportunity to show their powers of cultural assimilation.

Assimilation, however, to many people, does not mean merely the living together of two well-regulated groups in

2. Boddy, E.M., Japanese in America, 1921, p. 121-24

the same community, but the fusing of the two into one. So far this has not been accomplished except through intermarriage. Thus many advocates of exclusion deny the possibility that Chinese can be completely assimilated in the sense of amalgamation into the larger group, since there is at present little or no inclination on the part of either Chinese or whites to intermarry. This is particularly evident with respect to the former in the Hawaiian Islands, where there is no legal bar and relatively little social disapproval of intermarriage. The Chinese are very slow to marry outside their racial group in spite of the disproportionately small number of Chinese women in their population. Those who have married into the white race are usually severely criticized for so doing. Their strong family ties and their custom of marrying as the elders of the family direct have militated against inter-racial marriages.

The attitude of the whites, on the other side, is shown by the passage, in nine states, of legislation prohibiting intermarriages between whites and Orientals. The white race has never laid aside its color prejudice, while the Chinese on the contrary have an equally deep-seated fear of the loss of racial purity and prestige. Inevitably the assimilation is never complete as long as intermarriage does not take place and the difficulty of two races mentally accommodating themselves to one another, while maintaining each a separate racial existence, is bound to be very great. Thus is pro-

duced an unfortunate situation, and most serious from the national point of view, since the country must have a homogeneous citizenry for permanent stability and progress.

There are too few cases of intermarriage between these two races to warrant any conclusion as to the biological aspects of such unions. It is much more a social and psychological problem than a biological one. Competent authorities no longer believe that mixed races are "mongrel" or "degenerate" or "weaklings." The physical stamina of the offspring depends on the individuals who marry, not on their race. If the individuals who marry represent the best of each race, their children will normally measure up very well. Ethnologists today recognize that practically all existing nations are a mixture of races.

But intermarriage is a very dangerous adventure unless there is psychological and social equality. Here lies another ghost behind race prejudice, for race prejudice is not only an irrational and unconscious expression of loyalty to deeply cherished economic institutions, but also an equally deep-seated fear of the loss of racial purity and prestige. Therefore intermarriage cannot develop extensively until both races have come to recognize each other as equally worthy and honorable members of the great human race which includes us all. When this stage is reached, all valid reasons against intermarriage will automatically disappear.

II. THE CONQUEST OF RACIAL PREJUDICE

"How can race prejudice be overcome?" would seemingly be our next question if we want to succeed in bringing the two races to complete understanding of racial equality and assimilation. The following are a few suggestions which will lessen racial prejudice, if not eliminate it altogether.

A. Decrease in Occupational Competition

Racial prejudice should decline with decreasing competition in occupation. This has apparently occurred in California. Following the exclusion of the Chinese they have largely withdrawn from occupations in which they competed with the whites.

B. Elimination of Racial Differences

The elimination of racial differences is in harmony with the psychological principle that human beings dislike to change their ways of doing things. They object to differences, for differences necessitate readaptation. This is much truer of older men than of younger ones, for the habits of the former are more strongly established. So racial differences in physical appearances and habits have always acted like a wet blanket on all efforts to bring about close and equal friendship and cooperation between the races.

It is very interesting to note how the physical bearing and even the facial expression of Orientals born in this country are shifting in the American direction. Scientific studies have demonstrated that children of European immi-

grants show body as well as mental changes toward the American type.³ Professor Ichihashi of Stanford reports that similar adjustments are taking place among the Orientals.⁴ For example, twelve year old Japanese-American boys, on the average, are over an inch and a half taller and five and four-tenths of a pound heavier than the boys born in Japan. Japanese are notably short-legged, but their children tend to have longer legs in this country. Changes in eyelids and eyelashes are also evident, but the most noteworthy adjustment is in the shape of the mouth and general openness and responsiveness of the countenance. Whether these changes are due to the use of American furniture; food habits, better dentistry, general freedom of life, or subconscious imitation of the dominant type, no one knows.

Although no scientific study has been made of the children of Chinese immigrants, no doubt these changes are also taking place among them. Allied with this is the evident ability of the second-generation Orientals to wear their clothes like native-born Americans and not like foreigners. All these changes tend to create a new attitude toward the Orientals, and it is not too much to hope and believe that sooner or later, an enlightened and intelligent American public opinion will discover that these Oriental youths, born and reared among them, are not just replicas of

3. Boas, Franz, Anthropology and Modern Life, 1932, p. 42

4. Ichihashi, Yamato, Japanese in the United States, 1932, p. 417

the old type foreign-born Chinese or Japanese, but a new type.

C. Development of Cultural and Racial Democracy

It is always desirable that amalgamation should be so complete that all units become approximately alike. Although people in general object to differences, yet there are some who crave changes. These two strikingly opposite principles of psychology account for style. Each year's style is an outgrowth of some feature of last year's. In this way we change year by year our clothing, our autos, our belongings generally, but we never make a great change at one time. Such changes as take place represent a "happy mean" between uniformity and too great variety.

It is often desirable and pleasant to experience a more pronounced difference than that of this "happy mean." The value of travel lies largely in the fact that one is confronted with new experiences and is forced to adjust himself and his thinking to them. Certainly much of the value of an education is to be explained on this basis. Is there not then something to be gained in having within a nation various racial groups which maintain their customs and traditions? "We enjoy the deer in Kaibab Forest, the bears in Yellowstone, the Hopi Indians at Grand Canyon, and Chinatown in San Francisco. Why can't we enjoy the various nationalities as we meet them in everyday life just as we do when on a vacation to Honolulu or Quebec? We may well profit by being forced to adapt ourselves to new ways of living and new

points of view.⁴ Indeed there are many advantages in adopting some of the favorable qualities of Oriental culture into American life.

The feeling of racial superiority and prestige which many Americans have hinders greatly the adoption of this point of view. The so-called "American Democracy" is painfully and tragically incomplete, limited only to political and industrial fields. There is no real cultural and racial democracy in America. Progress is therefore slow because many assume so absolutely that American views are the only true ones; hence all differences are signs of inferiority. The American public must learn that practical equality can exist with essential differences, and that differences do not imply inferiority. Development of cultural and social democracy will certainly help to bring about racial equality.

D. Extension of a Program for Social Contacts

Racial prejudice should decline also as the in-group come to know personally the members of the out-group, for when there is personal acquaintance, there is less tendency to attribute to the entire out-group the characteristics of the individual who is known. And when the out-group has many fine qualities, as is the case with the Chinese, contact should further allay race prejudice toward them, if not eliminate it completely. Much tragic loss in cultural values has resulted from the fact that the whites and Orien-

4. Strong, E.K., The Second-Generation Japanese Problem, 1934, p. 257

tals have had so few contacts with each other.

The Orientals and whites are often kept apart by racial prejudice, especially during the adolescent period. Even at the University of Hawaii, where students of all races may be seen dancing on the same floor, it is seldom that Chinese or Japanese dance with whites. Such segregation in social affairs makes assimilation slow, and in many places, almost impossible. An extensive program for the development of social contacts as presented by Fisher⁵ and Akagi⁶ will greatly help to assimilate the Orientals into American life.

III. HOW CAN THE SOCIAL WORKERS HELP?

It is true that many inter-racial activities have been carried on by the church, the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and other similar bodies during the past century in many large cities where the Orientals have settled. But these religious agencies are entirely inadequate to bring about the final goal, namely, "Make the Chinese feel at home," without securing the support of the civic and social agencies and the cooperation of the Chinese communities.

It has been the impression of the writer during his three years' sojourn as an observer and traveller in many American cities that the social and civic agencies are not cooperating very efficiently with religious organizations in community welfare projects. Many social workers are not in-

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5. Fisher, G.M., Relations Between the Occidental and Oriental Peoples on the Pacific Coast of North America, 1928, p. 10
 6. Akagi, R.H., "The Second Generation Problem," Japanese Students' Bulletin, May, 1926, p. 5

terested in the activities which the religious bodies have undertaken to promote; certainly they have shown very little interest in the social problems existing among the Chinese residents in this country. The church, on the other hand, does not have an adequate appreciation of the work of the social groups; their work is too mechanical and worldly. How can we account for this mutual antagonism between groups with admitted similar objectives? Certainly it would be admitted that the church with its conception of the Fatherhood of God is the creator of the idea of the Brotherhood of Men. The objectives of the social groups are those of the church. The attitudes of mercy and equality of opportunity long promoted by the church find expression in the work of so-called "secular" social organizations. The church finds that the social groups have grown up as children that do not resemble their parents, hence it becomes suspicious. The social groups wonder how the church could be their father! Hence they go working side by side - but not too closely.

The church can be criticized for its other-worldliness. In the South, especially, religion is not put on the practical level; little emphasis is put on the social aspects of the principles so vehemently proclaimed. The emphasis is projected into the world to come rather than into the world at hand. The "saving of souls" is more important than improving of conditions. Social activities of the church are poorly managed because their workers are well-meaning but poorly trained in the art of rehabilitation or racial ad-

justment. On the other hand, the social groups do not work with the religious groups in their projects of social improvement. The social worker tolerates the feeble attempts of the church with the secret hope that it will soon get out of the way and let him demonstrate how the job can be done well. Hence, the efficiency of both groups is curtailed at the expense of the people who so sorely need their joint assistance. The time has come for the church and the social workers to realize their kinship and common objectives. The church would do well to emphasize its social activities and employ trained social workers in promoting such activities. The social workers, on the other hand, should drop their prejudices toward the church program, lend them every possible assistance, and participate with them in realizing their common objectives.

It is therefore the sincere desire of the writer and of many other Chinese immigrants that the social workers, representing the various civic and social agencies, shall take an intensive interest in the problem of assimilation of Chinese immigrants by cooperating whole-heartedly with various religious groups and Chinese community organizations themselves. Conferences with representative groups of Chinese in America could develop an adequate technique for fulfilling the following necessary functions: (1) securing justice and sympathetic understanding for the Chinese in America, and (2) making the self-governing organizations of the Chinese in America channels through which America might in a greater way

contribute to the social and economic upbuilding of the New China. The following agencies of Chinese in America might be utilized to make a fuller study of concrete and practical ways of securing these objects adequately; the Chinese Student Associations, the Chinese Students' Christian Association, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the China Society, the Chinese Press, etc.

Social workers who are in cities where the Chinese have settled can also constructively alter the old pattern of race relations by promoting the following projects:

1. Participation of Chinese groups in the work of such organizations as the Parent-Teacher Associations, Community Chest, League of Women's voters, Better Government Leagues, and similar organizations.
2. Work with local administrative officials to secure the inclusion of Chinese in public provisions for education, health, recreation and work.
3. Broadening of the study of race problems in high school and college courses in sociology.
4. Wide dissemination of literature which can help acquaint the general public with the correctable handicaps as well as the striking evidences of the cultural development of the Chinese.
5. The inclusion of Chinese in cultural and economic advantages provided by the local community, whether these take the form of cooperatives or forums, musical programs or lectures.

6. Provisions for the discussion of Chinese welfare in local communities and an equitable share in the measures developed for the relief of the underprivileged.

7. Cooperation with local librarians to the extent of recommending or securing for general reading a useful selection of books of poetry, novels and problem discussions dealing with the Chinese.

8. Work with organizations of labor to insure the inclusion of Chinese workers, as sound economic and labor policy.

9. Correction of injurious mis-statements in the press.

10. Active and pointed condemnation of such public crimes as mob violence and murder, the prostitution of the courts in response to racial prejudice, and the economic exploitation of defenseless minorities, not merely in the interest of these minorities, but in the interest of the morality of the nation itself.

11. Encouragement of constructive experiences, such as musical programs, poetry reading, Chinese opera and plays which utilize Chinese talent and racial experience.

12. Creation of occasions for meetings between the races, and the participation of Chinese individuals in public affairs.

This list should be continued, but is offered only as evidences of what social and welfare workers can do in making their professed concern for social justice and service

find expression in practical action.

IV. THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

How are the second-generation Chinese going to earn a living? The question is largely a speculative matter at the present time. There are too many conflicting factors to make it advisable for anyone to set himself up as a prophet on this problem, and there are too few of the second generation of age to afford any real basis for judging what the remainder will do in terms of what these few are trying to do.

Anyone who is familiar with economic conditions of today realizes that we are living in a changing world. This is particularly true of the economic situation in America. The frontier days which gave much freedom of opportunity, competition among employers for the workmen available, elimination of class distinctions, emphasis upon independence, resourcefulness, and, too often, brute force, are gone. The tables have been turned; there are more men than jobs. Indeed, the change from a sellers to a buyers market has revolutionized the whole American industry and commerce. The American public has only recently become aware of the effect of this revolutionary change upon employment. What will the future be like? No one can see. But certain results seem to be fairly clearly indicated.

First, freedom to move about from job to job will largely disappear. This was possible when there were more jobs than men but will become much more difficult in the

future.

Second, jobs per se will become more valuable. They had little value when the worker could get one as good or possibly better elsewhere at any time. From now on a man will strive to secure the next job before quitting; he will desire some consideration from the man who is to succeed him, before leaving.

Third, mere graduation from high school and college will become of less economic value because of the increasing supply of graduates. This will necessitate longer periods of preparation in order to secure through education an advantage over one's fellows.

Fourth, education will become more expensive, since it will necessitate a longer period of time and it will be harder for the average boy to obtain it. Odd jobs, by which today he earns part of the expense, will become more and more the rightful property of another.

Fifth, educated men will be forced into less desirable positions. This may prove to be a great blessing to society, for many of these educated men will in time transform low-class jobs into real positions.

Sixth, because no one can see far into the future, the best advice to the young is to prepare themselves as broadly as possible - this is not a time for extreme specialization. Then if a job, or a whole industry, disappears overnight, they will be able to jump into a related activity for which they have had some preparation. If their educa-

tion, on the other hand, is all narrowly directed toward one thing and that proves to be valueless, they have no recourse but to start all over again.

Lastly, the second-generation group must recognize that their progress will come by climbing the ladder of success, round by round. They should not feel that their failing to become captains of industry is due to the fact that they have not been given an equal chance or is due to race prejudice. It is true that the task of the Orientals is infinitely harder than that faced by any European second-generation; but in looking at the question from its broad aspects, there is a great similarity. If we were to use that analogy, we find that even in the vocational advance of European immigrants, there have been but few who have jumped from the lowest to the highest stratum in one jump. There have been a Carnegie, a Schwab, a Bok, a Pupin, and a Riis, but as a whole the great mass of European immigrants are still of the middle class. Therefore, the second-generation Chinese should by no means be disappointed if they do not reach the standard of their lofty vocational dreams. Many of the second-generation Chinese are ambitious and progressive people; some have already made remarkable progress in their vocational fields. But as a group, they have no right to expect more than that a few will accomplish great things and the remainder will build upon the foundations established by their fathers. Their success will be measured by the distance they progress from where the first genera-

tion stop and by the variety of directions in which they advance.

V. A FINAL WORD

We are living today in a time when economic and moral chaos seems ready to engulf the world. Europe is talking war! Dictatorship and violence, the persecution of minority peoples and a nationalism which bids fair to enthrone itself as a secular religion, these are the false gods of the hour. Such a time is fraught with peculiar perils to minority groups such as the Chinese in the United States of America. No one can tell when some new madness of nationalistic passion, some seductive form of blind and selfish racial egotism, may rise up to sacrifice new victims to intolerance and persecution. Already within a short period of time, many Filipinos have been killed in California, Chinese driven out of Mexico, the Jews treated abominably in Germany, and hundreds of thousands of Chinese living in China massacred by fierce, barbarous, blood-thirsty Japanese soldiers. Certainly now is the day of testing for Christian America.

What, then, will keep America free from violence and war, from greed and commercial exploitation of human beings, especially the minority groups within its borders? A bit of reflection about the facts of its own birth as a nation of minority groups who sought for a land of free speech, freedom of conscience, and freedom of opportunity will forever - if it retains its ability to think - keep it tolerant and brotherly. It is trite to speak of the fact that there is

no such person as an "American" in the common meaning of the term - he is a choice product of the amalgamation of minority groups moving forward toward great objectives in terms of brotherhood. "The land of the free and the home of the brave." The principles of love must be promulgated by the brave in the political, social and economic relationships of the nation. If the high and unconquerable purpose of human brotherhood be maintained in American life, all will be well with the minority groups. This applies to Chinese immigrants in America.

America has long been known to the Chinese millions as a Christian nation built upon the principle of democracy and the motto of "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." The spirit of brotherhood and good will among Chinese people has been expressed by the oft-quoted proverb of Confucius: "Within the four seas all are brethren." May the four hundred and sixty-six millions of Chinese and the one hundred and twenty-three millions of Americans who together constitute more than one-fourth of the human race live and proclaim the heroic and absolutely central truth of human brotherhood. This ideal will carry far and will bring a better day for all mankind.

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