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目 錄

發刊詞.....張 存 武..... 1

論文：

Opportunity, Prejudice & Cultural Differences..... Francis L. K. Hsu..... 3

Chinese American Studies: A Historical Survey..... Him Mark Lai.....27

Chinese in Latin America with Special Reference to the

Chinese in Peru..... Bernard P. Wong.....47

九一八事變前後美國華人的愛國運動.....吳 劍 雄.....65

香港華人在近代史上對中國的貢獻試析.....霍 啓 昌.....81

少數民族的社會心理適應——以加州華人爲例的人類學探討.....許 木 柱.....89

從三種僑報論美國華人對韓戰的觀點.....張 四 德..... 107

研究資料評介：

夏威夷華人研究資料簡介.....吳燕和・王維蘭..... 127

星、馬華族移民的階級與方言羣意識：研究資料與趨向.....麥 留 芳..... 137

History of Chinese Education in Singapore and Malaysia: An

Outline Survey of Sources..... Gwee Yee-Hean..... 149

Research Notes on the Chinese Immigration to the United

States..... Shih-shan Tsai..... 163

The Status of Chinese American Research Sources in the

United States..... Wei Chi Poon..... 173

中國國民黨中央委員會黨史會典藏華僑史料簡介.....孫 子 和..... 179

馬來西亞華人研究概略與華社資料中心的歷史研究計劃.....陳 亞 才..... 201

大陸中國十年來的海外華人史研究.....	張 存 武.....	219
海外華人研究近著簡訊.....	本 刊.....	225

學術演講：

美國華人研究.....	成露西教授主講 洪 慧 麗紀錄.....	229
從馬來西亞現狀談南洋華人文化認同.....	吳燕和教授主講 洪 慧 麗紀錄.....	235
加拿大移民史的幾個問題.....	徐乃力教授主講 洪 慧 麗紀錄.....	243

翻譯：

東南亞華人的種族同化問題.....	Mary F. Somers Heidhues 李 恩 涵 譯.....	249
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書評：

評林著近代華僑投資國內企業概論.....	侯 家 駒.....	263
Jennifer Cushman and Wang Gungwu (eds.) <i>Changing Identities of the Southeast Asian Chinese Since World War II</i> (University of Hong Kong Press, 1988). xi+344 pages.	Mak Lau Fong.....	267

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CONTENTS

Foreward..... Tsun-Wu Chang..... 1

ARTICLES

Opportunity, Prejudice & Cultural Differences..... Francis L. K. Hsu..... 3

Chinese American Studies: A Historical Survey..... Him Mark Lai.....27

Chinese in Latin America with Special

Reference to the Chinese in Peru..... Bernard P. Wong.....47

Patriotic Movements of Chinese Immigrants in the

United States During the Manchurian Crisis

of 1931..... Chien-shiung Wu.....65

Hong Kong Chinese Contributions to Modern

China—An Analysis..... Kai-cheong Fok.....81

Psychosocial Adaptation of Minorities:

An Anthropological Examination of the Chinese in

California..... Mu-tsu Hsu.....89

Chinese Americans and the Korean War: Perspectives

Reflected in Their Newspapers Editorials.....Shih-Deh Chou..... 107

An Introduction to the Research Materials of the Chinese in

Hawaii.....David Y. H. Wu and Wei-lan Wang..... 127

Class and Dialect Group Consciousness of Chinese Immigrants in Singapore and Malaysia: Resources and Research Trends Mak Lau Fong.....	137
History of Chinese Education in Singapore and Malaysia: An Outline Survey of Sources..... Gwee Yee-Hean.....	149
Research Notes on the Chinese Immigration to the United States..... Shih-shan Tsai.....	163
The Status of Chinese American Research Sources in the United States..... Wei Chi Poon.....	173
Historical Materials of Overseas Chinese in the Archives of the Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Kuomintang..... Tze-ho Sun.....	179
An Outline Study of the Malaysian Chinese and the Historical Research Project of the Malaysian Chinese Resource and Research Center in Kuala Lumpur..... Tan Ah Chai.....	201
Recent Publications on Overseas Chinese Studies in Mainland China..... Tsun-Wu-Chang.....	219
Recent Publications on Overseas Chinese Studies in Taiwan, ROC..... Tsun-Wu Chang.....	225

LECTURES

Chinese American Studies..... Lucie Cheng.....	229
Cultural Identities of the Chinese in South East Asia: Perspectives From Current Situations in Malaysia..... David Y. H. Wu.....	235
Some Issues About the Chinese Immigrants in Canada..... Larry N. Shyu.....	243

TRANSLATION

Assimilation of Southeast Asia's Chinese Minorities

.....by Mary F. Somers Heidhues. Trans. by En-han Li..... 249

BOOK REVIEWS

Lin Jinzhi, *Chin-tai hua-chiao tousu kuonui chi-yeh*

kai-lun (An Outline Study of Overseas Chinese Investment

in China During the Modern Period)..... Chia-chu Hou..... 263

Jennifer Cushman and Wang Gungwu (eds.) *Changing*

Identities of the Southeast Asian Chinese Since World War II

(University of Hong Kong Press, 1988). xi+344 pages.

..... Mak Lau Fong..... 267

發刊詞

英國故首相邱吉爾爵士 (Sir Winston Churchill) 曾著英語民族史 (History of the English Speaking People)，以彰顯英語民族在寰宇之發煌。我中華民族千百年來奮志海外，流血汗，殫思慮，厚生啓人，貢獻於亞洲太平洋及美洲等其他地區者功至偉烈。然而國史撰述局於華夏，於此等文明開化之人之事，鮮有道及。此固由於早期視海外華人爲自外於王化之罪人，亦因素乏講求所致。

近代對於海外華人的研究，肇端清季革命、保皇黨人。中共政權成立前，因中國國民黨及中華民國政府重視華僑，故朝野海外之撰述有長足進步，許多重要著作問世。一九四九年後，中共雖知華僑有用，然因無產階級革命理論與海外華人以致富爲重要目標相矛盾，中共之成長與海外華人關係甚少，且缺少學術自由環境，所以有關學術研究，無足稱者。而自由中國的海華研究，十餘年前絕大部分是行政院僑務委員會領導的事業。八〇年以來，臺灣研究有轉向民間的趨勢。這自是經濟，與學術發展的結果；去年中華民國海外華人研究學會的成立，更是軍事解嚴以後學術活動自由活潑的景像。現在得知大陸的研究也有真實展開，雖均爲官方所領導，難臻自由研究之境界，然畢竟彌足珍貴。臺海兩岸的海華研究不約而同的開展，雖非神明使然，確似同氣相應。

本刊是中華民國海外華人研究學會的會誌，將本自由獨立的立場，與海內外對海華研究有興趣者聯繫合作，調查訪問，網羅放聞，以究明海外華人以往及現在之生活與事業、思想、感受、行爲。我們將盡力刊佈有所發明之作，也歡迎其他文字論著的中譯文稿，珍貴史料的介紹，書評及出版簡訊。內容形式將力求充實與多元化。

中華民國海外華人研究學會成立後半年內舉辦了三次演講。我們極珍視這開頭難的學術活動，所以吳燕和、成露西、徐乃立三位的講辭均刊出。三文已顯示出我們關心的部分問題：海外華人現在處境，及海華研究的發展與趨勢。創刊號論文大多是在本會與中央研究院三民主義研究所、太平洋文化基金會、僑務委員會、教育部國際文教處合辦的海外華人研究第一屆國際研討會中宣讀過的。以學科性質分，屬於資料及研究史者六篇，從歷史、社會學、人類學方向着筆的依次爲三、二、一篇。很顯然，經濟及文化方面未照顧到，但這是該次研討會重視資料及研究發展的結果。以地域論，關乎美國華人者六篇，東南亞三篇，拉丁美洲、香港、臺灣各一篇。以本期論文言，有關美國華人者九篇，東南亞四篇。海外華人最多的東南亞的代表性不足，以後我們將努力校正。國內對拉丁美洲及加拿大海華的研究尤其薄弱

，王保華及徐乃力先生的文章將發揮其影響。研討會中麥留芳、麥禮謙、王保華、許木柱、吳劍雄、張四德、霍啓昌的論文，分別由古鴻廷、賴澤涵、張茂桂、徐良熙、蔣永敬、魏良才、呂芳上教授評論。他們及自由發言者的寶貴意見，作者修改文章時已斟酌採納，故未刊出，謹此說明致意。許烺光院士對本會非常支持，為本會顧問，雖八十高齡，仍惠賜鴻文，令人感佩。

我們在此對中央研究院三民主義研究所、太平洋文化基金會、僑務委員會，教育部國際文教處等單位首長的支持合作，王紹堉先生資助出版，沈大川先生在各方面的幫助，申致謝忱。陳三井、吳劍雄、賴澤涵先生等籌辦辛勞、令人難忘。我們將一本正確的宗旨，樸實的作風，辦好這個會及這分刊物，為海外華人之發展及研究盡一分心力，為中華民族全史海外華人篇章立一基礎。

張存武識於臺灣南港中研院近史所

中華民國七十八（一九八九）年四月十三日

Opportunity, Prejudice & Cultural Differences

Francis L. K. Hsu (許烺光)

The centennial of the completion of the trans-continental railroad in the United States was celebrated on May 10, 1969, at Promontory Point, Utah, where the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroads met a hundred years ago. Over 10,000 Chinese workers were part of its success and speed. But the then Secretary of Transportation Volpe, who headed the centennial celebration, glowingly praised American courage and technical knowhow while omitting mention of the role of the Chinese. Volpe's attitude was, of course, clearly symptomatic of the still common and persistent prejudice of white supremacy. Some Chinese groups protested. But Secretary Volpe made no public apologies.

This was but one incident in which the old "invisibility" of the Chinese-American was glaringly reemphasized by the American government. However, in contrast to the pre-World War II days, Chinese-Americans, though still only about one percent of the U. S. population, are anything but invisible. There are now Chinese doctors, lawyers, architects, Nobel Prize winners, professors, judges, industrialists, well-known entrepreneurs and college administrators, in addition to the usual small store keepers, restaurateurs, and sweatshop ladies. The various prestigious universities have such a high percentage of Chinese students that some of them reportedly have imposed quotas on Chinese applicants. In fact a Chinese couple is now suing the University of California at Berkeley because their all A-record son was rejected for admission and had to attend University of California Los Angeles.

To explain this state of affairs we need to understand American society and its minority problems.

A minority group may be seen in quantitative terms. In that sense, a minority group exists wherever an identifiable (according to race, ethnicity, religious affiliation,

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or whatever) smaller population lives among an identifiable larger population. The French in Canada, the Moslems in India, the Arabs in various parts of black Africa, and the Miao, Yao and other tribal peoples in China are but a few of the many examples of quantitatively defined minorities.

There is a sociological definition of minority: "A number of persons defined as a social category, and hence excluded from full participation in the culture."^① Under this definition there is discrimination against the minority group whether because its members are believed to be inherently inferior than the dominant group or other reasons. In some instances the "minority" may even be numerically larger than the "dominant" group. Hence the teeming Black natives of South Africa and of Rhodesia before its independence in 1980 are "minorities" under the much smaller number of Europeans, and the millions of tribal peoples of Liberia are "minorities" under the much smaller number of descendants of repatriated slaves from the New World. But the Blacks and the Asians in the U. S. are examples of minorities who are numerically smaller than the dominant Whites as well as social categories excluded from full participation in the culture of the latter.

The Minority Problem

A numerical minority identifiable by whatever criteria needs not be a problem in all societies. For that reason, the sociological definition just cited really should be separated into two unrelated parts: (a) "a number of persons defined as a social category" and (b) that group so defined is "excluded from full participation in the culture." Before modern times Moslem and Hindu families lived side by side in many villages in India. They cooperated in many ways as did the different castes of India. Some intermarriage, mainly Hindu men to moslem women, took place. Some Moslem holy men, in life and after death, were objects of worship by Moslem and Hindu devotees alike.

Since pre-historic times, numerous tribal peoples lived in China. The Chinese called them fan (barbarians), but the former traditionally classified the latter into two broad categories: sheng fan, or unacculturated barbarians, and shu fan, or acculturated

① Kimball Young and Raymond Mack, *Sociology and Social Life*. New York: American Book Co., 1959, p. 458.

barbarians. The sheng fan lived in their own separate tribal territories, with their own laws and chiefs, under the supervision of Chinese officials, but the shu fan lived among the Chinese and acquired property in the same way the Chinese did. They spoke and read Chinese and behaved by and large according to Chinese customs. Some of them took the Imperial Examinations, the main route of vertical social mobility for all.

This Chinese pattern toward minorities is also found in the case of a very small band of Jews who settled in North China sometime during the Sung dynasty (960-1280 A. D.). By 1919 A. D, a community of them in Honan was still distinctive enough for a Canadian Christian missionary to visit them and write an extended account of them.^② These Jews had sinicized their family names, but many kept their traditional first names; lived like Chinese but kept their sacred books, some of them married Chinese women even polygamously. During eight centuries they were twice given imperial encouragement to rebuild their synagogue. Some of them kept up their traditional Hebraic studies, but some learned the Confucian classics so well that they achieved high honors through Imperial Examinations. Several Jews became officials of some magnitude in the Chinese bureaucracy, such as district governors and intendants.

Minority Problem in the U. S.

Minority groups in America, and in countries of European origin in general, are more likely to be associated with social problems. It is here that the sociological definition of minority given above finds its more complete application: "a number of persons defined as a social category and *hence excluded from full participation in the culture*" (italics mine).

There are three dimensions to the problem. Some groups of persons are likely to be defined as distinct social categories in any society. But unless the groups of persons so defined are "excluded from full participation in the culture," it is not a social problem. All societies recognize the difference between old and young. But the generation gap as we find it in the U. S. is not common to many other societies.

A second dimension arises when the exclusion of the minorities from full participation in the society is challenged by the minorities themselves and/or seen as wrong by the majority in a society. All societies recognize male-female differences

^② William Charles White, *Chinese Jews: A Compilation of Matters Relating to the Jews of K'aifeng Fu*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1942. In 3 volumes.

and many of them accord females much lower status than males, subjecting them to legal, social and religious disabilities. But feminist movements originated only in the West, especially in the United States. Even today they are still largely confined to the West.

A final dimension in the situation concerns the coincidence or divergence between ideals and reality in the society. Prostitution was not a social problem in ancient Greece, poverty was not a social problem in Medieval Europe, and caste was not a social problem in pre-modern India.^③ But a society founded on the ideals of freedom and equality has a built-in social problem, not only with reference to slavery but also with all minorities who are "excluded from full participation in the culture." This is why Myrdal saw the Negro-White problem in the U. S. as *An American Dilemma*.^④

In Search of the Source of American Prejudice

Why is an American society founded on the ideals of freedom and equality given to so much prejudice against ethnic, religious, and other minorities? Most students of American society have failed to come to grips with the question. Instead they either give internally conflicting lists of American traits without reconciling them (putting values such as "equality" and "freedom" side by side with "racist-ethnic superiority doctrines") or, worst still, to misinterpret the facts to avoid undesired conclusions.

Among the former scholars we may mention Coleman, Cuber and Harper, Williams, Bain, and Kluckhohn.^⑤ Bain frankly characterizes the American culture as

③ Arnold Green uses the same examples to illustrate the point: "A social problem is a set of conditions which are defined as morally wrong by the majority or a substantial minority within a society" (*Sociology: An Analysis of Life in Modern Society*, New York: McGraw Hill, 1952. pp. 324-325).

④ Gunnar Myrdal, et. al., *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1944.

⑤ Lee Coleman, "What is American: a study of alleged American traits." *Social Forces*, XIX (4): 492-499 (1941); John F. Cuber and Robert A. Harper, *Problems of American Society: Values in Conflict*, New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1948; Robin M. Williams, *American Society, A Sociological Interpretation*, New York Alfred Knopf, 1951 (1960, 2nd edition); Read Bain, "Our schizoid culture," *Sociology and Social Research* 19:266-276 (1935); Clyde Kluckhohn, "The Way of Life," *Kenyon Review*, Spring, 1941, pp. 160-180; Clyde Kluckhohn and Florence R. Kluckhohn, "American culture: generalized orientation and class pattern," Chapter IX of *Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture*, 1947 Symposium of Conference in Science, Philosophy and Religion, New York, Harper and Bros., 1947.

"schizoid."^⑥ Among the misinterpreters we need to mention Lloyd Warner and Gordon Allport. ^⑦ An extended review of the difficulties in the works of these scholars is given elsewhere. ^⑧ A brief examination of Gordon Allport's treatment of the subject will serve our purposes here.

Although Allport's book is entitled *The Nature of Prejudice*, it is, in my view, really "A Prejudiced Treatise on the Nature of Prejudice." In the first place, the mankind that Allport theorizes about is Western mankind. Where he occasionally refers to Negroes and Orientals he is merely referring to how far Western groups reject them. In the second place, the religion that he deals with consists of Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism, with nothing about Eastern Orthodoxy and only one sentence on Islam. Limited by a particular brand of Western cultural tradition, in which being religious (or at least attending church) is synonymous with being good, Allport can hardly be expected to rise above it however refined his techniques of inquiry. Techniques can help to uncover facts, but the interpretation of facts is heavily influenced by the point of view.

The latter is precisely where Allport's treatise on the nature of prejudice is prejudiced. Allport agrees that there is a great deal of evidence from experimental psychology that the more prejudiced personality tends to be one which is more in need of definiteness and more moralistic. "He is uncomfortable with differentiated categories; he prefers them to be monopolistic" (Allport 1954: 175). Allport also sees that religions which claim to possess final truths are bound to lead to conflicts and that individuals who have no religious affiliations tend to show less prejudice than do church members (Allport 1954: 398-408). Instead of following the force of his evidence, however, Allport finds it too "distressing" and therefore demands "closer

⑥ Bain, *op. cit.*

⑦ Lloyd Warner, *American Life: Dream and Reality*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953; Gordon Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Cambridge, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954.

⑧ Francis L. K. Hsu, "American Core Value and National Character," in *Psychological Anthropology*, edited by F. L. K. Hsu, Cambridge, Mass, Schenkman, 1972, New Edition, pp. 241-262.

inspection” of his facts (Allport 1954: 451).

Allport’s “closer inspection” turns out to be a simple attempt to negate stronger evidence in favor of much flimsier facts. While acknowledging the soundness of the correlation between greater church affiliation and greater prejudice, he nevertheless brands it as questionable because there are “many cases” where the influence of the church “is in the reverse direction” (Allport 1954:451). In other words, Allport simply cannot tolerate the fact that the absolutist Christian faith and the exclusive Christian church membership are associated with greater prejudice.

Religion and Culture

However, we must make a distinction between religious creeds and cultural characteristics of their followers. Creeds, each of which insists on having the only true god who possesses the final truth, are by nature more intolerant and therefore more likely to be prejudiced than others which make no such claims. But whatever the creed claims, the life pattern of its followers will make a big difference.

For example, according to the World Council of Churches, the total number of Christians in China in 1949 was only about one percent of the population. This, after several hundred years of European Proslytization, often with the aid of gunboats. Of this number, the ratio between Catholic and Protestants was 9:1. The reason for this disparity was that Catholicism, with its many saints and its Purgatory which allows redemption for good behavior, was closer to Chinese idea of hell and Chinese patterns of behavior and feeling.^⑨

As to the relation between Christians and non-Christians, the Boxer Uprising of 1900 was the only instance that contained a religious component. But (1) it was primarily an anti-foreign riot and, (2) it lasted less than one year and never reappeared since.

In all the years that I lived, studied and worked in China, including the Baptist missionary University of Shanghai, the question of who is or is not a Christian or

⑨ See Hsu: *Americans and Chinese: Passage to Differences*, 1981, (3rd edition), Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, p. 275. (The Chinese translation of this book is entitled *Chung Kuo Jen Yu Mei Kuo Jen*. 1988, Taipei: Chu Liu Publishing Co.

what kind of Christian, was not a usual concern among my friends or the people with whom I ever came into contact. This is also true among the Chinese in the U. S. mainland, and even in Hawaii, where the percentage of Chinese Christians is much higher than in China.

In other words, Chinese followers of an absolutist and exclusive creed do not behave in the same absolutist and exclusive ways dictated in the creed.

The True Cause of Prejudice in the U. S.

The reason why so many otherwise sound scholars fail to reconcile the conflicting features of the American society and culture lies in their inability to see the inherent link between what they consider absolute good and what they regard as absolute evil. This failure is common, to varying degrees, in European cultures where individualism began. But when European individualism became rugged individualism in America this failure was intensified.^⑩

Individualism has enabled the West to develop itself and contribute beneficially to the rest of the world such as mankind has not seen in its many millenia past. At the same time the same individualism propelled West has viciously exploited and dominated the rest of the world in a way and to an extent also unknown in the past.

It has brought mankind unprecedented health benefits, new tools for instant communication, colossal wealth, fresh insights into the universe and numerous others, but it also gave us two World Wars and the threat of total global annihilation.

A common misconception has been that the Protestant ethics of Christianity gave rise to capitalism. That was a myopic idea, first begun with Max Weber, made well known by R. H. Tawney.^⑪ The reality is that Protestant Christianity, the acquisitive economic system, as well as Communism are expressions of the same basic orientation in Western culture which predated them.^⑫

⑩ Hsu, Francis L. K.: *Americans & Chinese: Passage to Differences*, Third Edition, Hawaii, University Press of Hawaii, 1981, pp.121-138, and Hsu, Francis L. K.: *Rugged Individualism Reconsidered*, 1983, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, Preface and Chapter 1, pp. VII-XIII and pp. 3-17.

⑪ *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, N. Y.: Pelican Books, 1947.

⑫ See Francis L. K. Hsu, "Eros, Affect and Pao," in F. L. K. Hsu (ed.), *Kinship and Culture*, Chicago, Aldine Co., 1969, Chapter XIX.

It is the inherent quality of Western individualism that led to irreconcilable sides: the right insists on absolute freedom while the left insists on absolute control. Otherwise it will be quite impossible to explain why Christianity, a creed which originated in the periphery of Asia, should have caught fire in Europe but achieved so small a following even nominally among Chinese and Japanese. Similarly, when Communism first dominated Chinese mainland all Western observers thought China would soon follow the Russian development but I, nearly alone and as early as 1953, raised the possibility that Chinese communism and its Russian counterpart would soon part their ways.^⑬

Transported to the environment of the New World, individualism has gone further and become stark self reliance or rugged individualism. Thus while European individualism operates within certain traditionally handed down ethical rules and conventions, American rugged individualism tends to kick aside all such restraints. That is why Americans lead the world in liberation movements, from gay liberation all the way to the virtues of solitude which made Henry David Thoreau famous.

The problem is notwithstanding those who extol the virtues of complete self-reliance to solitude, every human individual — in order to lead a human existence — must relate to and depend upon the support of his fellow human beings intellectually and technically as well as socially and emotionally. A variety of “motives,” “wishes,” “drives” and “needs” have been used to account for this phenomenon, but they can, as I have demonstrated elsewhere, all be subsumed under three categories: needs for sociability, security and status.^⑭

The individual who is taught to be completely self-reliant, unlike one who is brought up to respect authority and external barriers, has no permanent place among his fellow human beings. Since others are likely to be as given to self-reliance as he is, all relations are subject to change without notice. He will be anxious to look above him in social status for possible openings to climb, but he is constantly threatened

⑬ See Francis L. K. Hsu: *Americans & Chinese: Two Ways of Life*, 1953, (1st edition), N. Y., Henry Schuman, Chapter 15.

⑭ For a fuller discussion of this subject see Francis L. K. Hsu, *Clan, Caste and Club*. Princeton, N. J.: Van Nostrand, 1963, pp. 149-155.