Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming Transnationalism and Migration of Home

Between the United States and South China, 1882-1943



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Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home

TRANSNATIONALISM

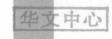
AND MIGRATION BETWEEN

THE UNITED STATES AND

SOUTH CHINA, 1882 1943

Madeline Yuan-yin Hsu

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ASIAN AMERICA A series edited by Gordon H. Chang

The increasing size and diversity of the Asian American population, its growing significance in American society and culture, and the expanded appreciation, both popular and scholarly, of the importance of Asian Americans in the country's present and past—all these developments have converged to stimulate wide interest in scholarly work on topics related to the Asian American experience. The general recognition of the pivotal role that race and ethnicity have played in American life, and in relations between the United States and other countries, has also fostered this heightened attention.

Although Asian Americans were a subject of serious inquiry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they were subsequently ignored by the mainstream scholarly community for several decades. In recent years, however, this neglect has ended, with an increasing number of writers examining a good many aspects of Asian American life and culture. Moreover, many students of American society are recognizing that the study of issues related to Asian America speak to, and may be essential for, many current discussions on the part of the informed public and various scholarly communities.

The Stanford series on Asian America seeks to address these interests. The series will include work from the humanities and social sciences, including history, anthropology, political science, American studies, law, literary criticism, sociology, and interdisciplinary and policy studies.

In loving memory of my grandfathers, Xu Fuguan (1903–1982) and Wai G. Chun (1910–2000). The ideas of one and the life of the other inspired much of this book.

Acknowledgments

Without assistance and good wishes from many quarters, this exploration of migration and transnationality would have taken much longer to reach fruition.

My experiences as a graduate student at Yale University nurtured the questions and methodological training that produced this book. The seeds grew from a seminar paper written for Deborah Davis's class on Chinese families in the twentieth century. Helen Siu's workshop on globalization and localization conducted in the summer of 1993 in Hong Kong introduced me to the distinctive sociocultural dynamics of the history of Guangdong and the Pearl River Delta. Each of my dissertation committee members, in their own ways, contributed to this monograph. At a time when it was not yet fashionable, Beatrice Bartlett encouraged my interest in the history of Chinese overseas and gave me the opportunity to help teach her class, "Chinese Pioneers." Jonathan Spence taught me much about the art of writing and producing the strongest narrative by making the most of telling details. All but sight unseen, David Montgomery valiantly agreed to introduce a novice student to past and future approaches to the field of American immigration history. I have benefited immeasurably from their ideas about what a study of Chinese history and American migration should be. Funding for my dissertation research and writing came from several sources: the Council on East Asian Studies, a Henry Hart Rice Advanced Research

fellowship, the Bradley Foundation, and the I.S.P. / Smith Richardson Foundation.

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Colleagues and administrators at San Francisco State University greatly facilitated the transformation of my Ph.D. dissertation into a book. In Asian American Studies, Marlon Hom and Lorraine Dong were conscientious and generous mentors who helped me to balance teaching and university service responsibilities with continued writing and research. In the form of sabbatical leave, funding for travel and research, and release time, the offices of Robert Corrigan, university president; Thomas La Belle, provost and vice-president; Gerald West, dean of faculty affairs and professional development; and Paul Fonteyn, associate vice president for research and sponsored programs, provided crucial support.

At every stage of the writing process, my thinking and ability to articulate

ideas grew with the feedback of many readers. I am especially grateful to those who read and commented on the manuscript or dissertation in full: Mark Halperin, Valerie Hansen, Marlon Hom, Him Mark Lai, Sucheta Mazumdar, K. Scott Wong, Benito M. Vergara Jr., and Judy Yung. Others who read chapters include Carlton Benson, Ryan Dunch, Dorothy Fujita Rony, Susan Glosser, Joshua Howard, Shirley Hune, Keith Knapp, Erika Lee, Karin Myrhe, Christopher Reed, Brett Sheehan, Benito Vergara Sr., Tim Weston, and Marcia Yonemoto. At Stanford University Press, Gordon Chang, Muriel Bell, Janet Mowery, and Elizabeth Berg led me through the final, complicated stages of transforming my hodge-podge of text, notes, tables, and illustrations into this book. I am grateful for the clarity and directness of their guidance as well as their support of this project.

Mom and Dad had enough faith to let me choose my own path when law school seemed by far the most practical option for a child with a liberal arts degree. My grandparents in Arkansas, Wai G. and Wai Ying Chun, shared with me their stories of both China and America. My husband, Benito M. Vergara, eased the worst pain of the writing process by sharing with humor and grace his ideas and observations as well as an equal burden of the day-to-day tasks of cooking, washing dishes, fielding telemarketers, and walking the dog. This book is dedicated, with my love, to him.

M.Y.H.

A Note on Translations and Conversions

I have used *putonghua* pronunciations in pinyin romanization for most of the Chinese names and terms in this book. According to this system, Canton is written as Guangzhou, Amoy is Xiamen, Swatou is Shantou, and the Kuomintang is the Guomindang. For a handful of names, most notably Sun Yatsen and Chiang Kaishek, I have departed from this practice for people, places, and businesses that are better known by the Anglicized versions of their names in dialect.

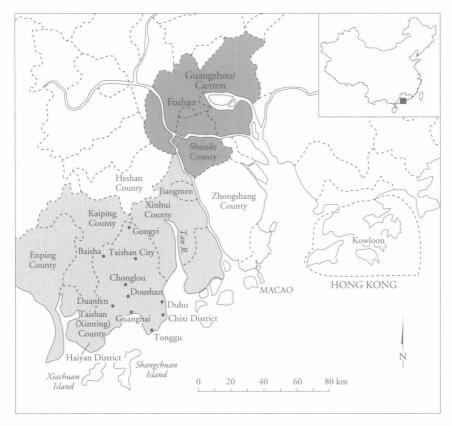
The reader should also note that in some instances it was not possible to provide the *putonghua* and pinyin for names and places recorded in pre—World War II English-language sources such as government documents and oral histories. These materials usually referred to the Cantonese or Four County dialect pronunciations for Chinese names and places without using a consistent system of romanization. For these reasons, when sources do not include the corresponding Chinese characters, it is difficult to determine the correct *putonghua* pronunciations.

As a transnational community characterized by frequent migration and remitted incomes, Taishan used a variety of currencies, including U.S., Hong Kong, and Chinese dollars. According to C. F. Remer, the average value of a Chinese dollar between 1894 and 1901 was 0.5 U.S. dollars. This value dropped to 0.46 between 1902 and 1913 and rose to 0.52 between 1913

and 1930. During the late 1920s, Hong Kong dollars were roughly equivalent in value to Chinese dollars. In the 1930s, the value of the Chinese dollar fell to US\$0.29.

A Chinese *mu* of land is equivalent to 0.165 acres. Each *li* of distance is about one-half kilometer.

Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home



Taishan County, Guangdong, and the Pearl River Delta source: Graham Johnson and Glen Petersen, eds., *Historical Dictionary of Guangzhou (Canton) and Guangdong*. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1999.

Contents

	List of Illustrations	XV
	List of Tables, Figure, and Maps	xviii
	Note on Translations and Conversions	xix
Ι.	Introduction: An Elastic Community	I
2.	California Dreaming: Migration and Dependency	16
3.	Slipping Through the Golden Gate: Immigration Under Chinese Exclusion	55
4.	Surviving the Gold Mountain Dream: Taishanese American Families	90
5.	Magazines as Marketplaces: A Community in Dispersion	124
6.	Heroic Returns: The Railroad Empire of Chen Yixi, 1904–1939	156
7.	Conclusion: Unraveling the Bonds of Native Place	176
	Notes	187
	Bibliography	233
	Character List	253
	Index	261

Illustrations

Illustrations follow page 106.

- The People's Movie Theater
- 2. Six houses constructed by Chen Yixi for his six wives
- 3. The Taishan City Zhihua School of Culture and Technology
- 4. Watchtower constructed to defend villages against bandit raids
- 5. Coaching book
- 6. Coaching letter and photograph
- 7. Grid layout of a typical Taishanese village
- 8. Section view of a typical Taishanese village
- View from alleyway of one village across fields to a neighboring community
- View of *qiaoxiang* with *yanglou* and older, shorter neighboring houses
- 11. Taishan County Middle School
- 12. Advertisement for Heavenly Longevity brand fertility medicine
- 13. Advertisement for Hong Kong brand fertility medicine
- 14. Statue of Chen Yixi in the town square of Taishan City
- 15. Main terminus of the Xinning Railroad
- 16. Remains of the Xinning Railroad

Tables, Figure, and Maps

Tables

I.	Estimated Remittances to China, 1903–1937	41
2.	Sources of Income of 100 Emigrant Families in Guangdong, 1935	43
3.	Number of Middle Schools and Teachers in Selected Districts of	
	Guangdong, 1934	46
4.	School Attendance in Selected Guangdong Counties, 1935	47
5.	Chinese Immigrants to the United States, 1879–1940	67
6.	Percentage of Chinese Admitted to the United States as Citizens,	
	1900–1940	76
7.	Chinese Claiming U.S. Citizenship Admitted to the United States,	
	by Status, 1906–1924	79
8.	Chinese Women Immigrants Admitted, 1900–1932	97
9.	Married Chinese Men Living as Bachelors in the United States,	
	1890–1940	99
Ю.	Chinese Population in the United States by Gender, 1900–1940	IOI
II.	Household Budgets in Emigrant and Nonemigrant Communities,	
	1934–1936	114
12.	Gender Ratio of Emigrants from Taishan, Pre-1919 to Post-1977	182

xviii Tables, Figure, and Maps

Figure

I. Genealogy of the Real and Paper Families of Fong Sun Yin 83

Maps

Taishan County, Guangdong, and the Pearl River Delta xxii
 The Xinning Railroad 171

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