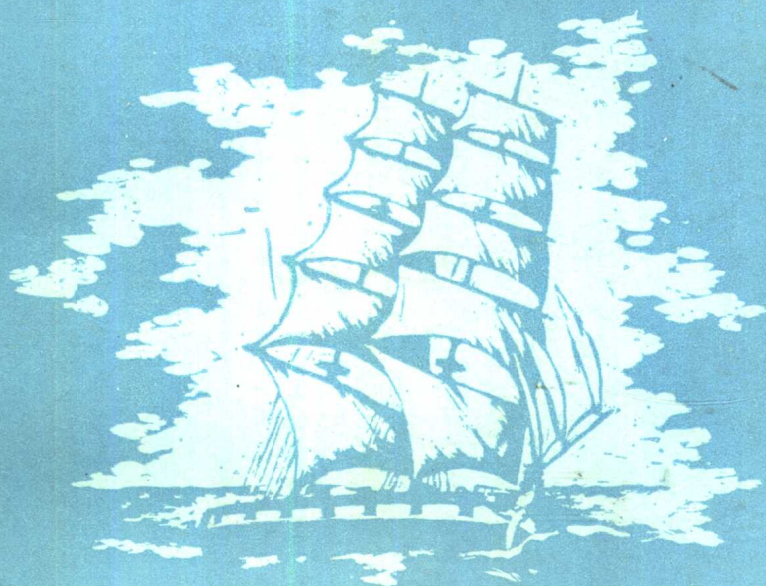


海外排華百年史

沈已堯 著



中國社會科學出版社

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沈已尧著

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海外受歧视和被迫害的华人

A CENTURY OF CHINESE EXCLUSION ABROAD

BY

I-YAO SHEN

(Rev. & enl.ed.)

Beijing, 1980

AN INTRODUCTION TO

A CENTURY OF CHINESE EXCLUSION ABROAD

A century has elapsed since the Chinese people began to suffer imperialistic aggression at home and racial exclusion abroad. Aggression by the industrially advanced nations resulted in the awakening of the Chinese intelligentsia, who in turn urged the rank and file to ask their government to reform or to face revolution. About the same time racial discrimination against Chinese immigrants in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand was embodied in a systematic strengthening and enforcing of laws and regulations which had been made in these countries. Today, the changing times demonstrate to the world that China will tolerate no more such sovereign and territorial encroachment and that the notion of any racial superiority will not, and cannot, stand up in the torrent of the civil rights movement. As we know, the history of imperialist aggression has strongly attracted the attention of scholars in both the West and the East, but the history of racial exclusion abroad has, as a whole, been completely neglected, so that a study of it is long overdue.

This is a history of Chinese exclusion from the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the discovery

of gold in these countries called for thousands of Chinese coolies. They came as contract laborers, mostly from Kwangtung and Fukien, the two provinces of Southern China. In the beginning they were welcomed because unskilled and inexpensive labor was desperately needed. Later, when mining subsided, the supply of immigrant labor became surplus. White labor, which was then becoming organized, began to complain about the Chinese on the ground that they lowered the standard of living by accepting low wages. Subsequently, they were criticized as dirty in habits, strange in customs and laws, fond of gambling and opium, and threatening to white women because almost all of them were young men. Besides, they were thrifty; they sent all their savings back to their homeland, showing no intention of staying in these countries. In short, they were thought incapable of assimilation. Such anti Chinese sentiment, spreading from a local to a national level and from the lower class to the upper, constituted public opinion which was finally adopted by legislative representatives. They passed laws and drew up regulations which specifically singled out the Chinese to be restricted and excluded. The Chinese were defined as not only those who were born in China, but also those of Chinese descent all over the world, no matter what nationality they actually possessed. The anti-Chinese movement reached its culmination in the decade when the United States Congress passed its acts of Chinese exclusion, the first one being in 1882. Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, always aware of what the United States was doing, adjusted themse-

lives to deal similarly with the problem of Chinese immigration. Ironically, the three cooperators, under the guidance of England, took stronger but more diplomatic measures to stop the Chinese from entering by requiring heavy taxes and literacy tests of them. Chinese immigrants were, literally and figuratively, excluded in the period between about 1880 and 1940. The Chinese who were already in these countries retreated from the mining areas and went to the big cities where minorities were usually treated more generously. Unable to find spouses for themselves, most of them concentrated in isolated Chinatowns, leading an enforced celibate life. The miserable picture of the overseas Chinese in those days reflected the deep-rooted meaning of those exclusion laws, laws which were totally unjust and inhuman. Not until the last stage of World War II, when the four nations were fighting along with China, did the situation see a hope of change. However, no matter how much was done because of the war, the improvement of the Chinese plight would have been slight were it not for the Immigration Act passed by the United States Congress in 1965. This act gave the Chinese equal rights with other immigrants for the first time. According to the act, China as well as any other nation, is entitled to send each year as many as 20,000 immigrants to the United States. Almost simultaneously Canada and Australia followed suit to treat the Chinese equally to an extent suitable to their need to accept new immigrants. Thus the principle of Chinese exclusion in these countries ended after a whole century.

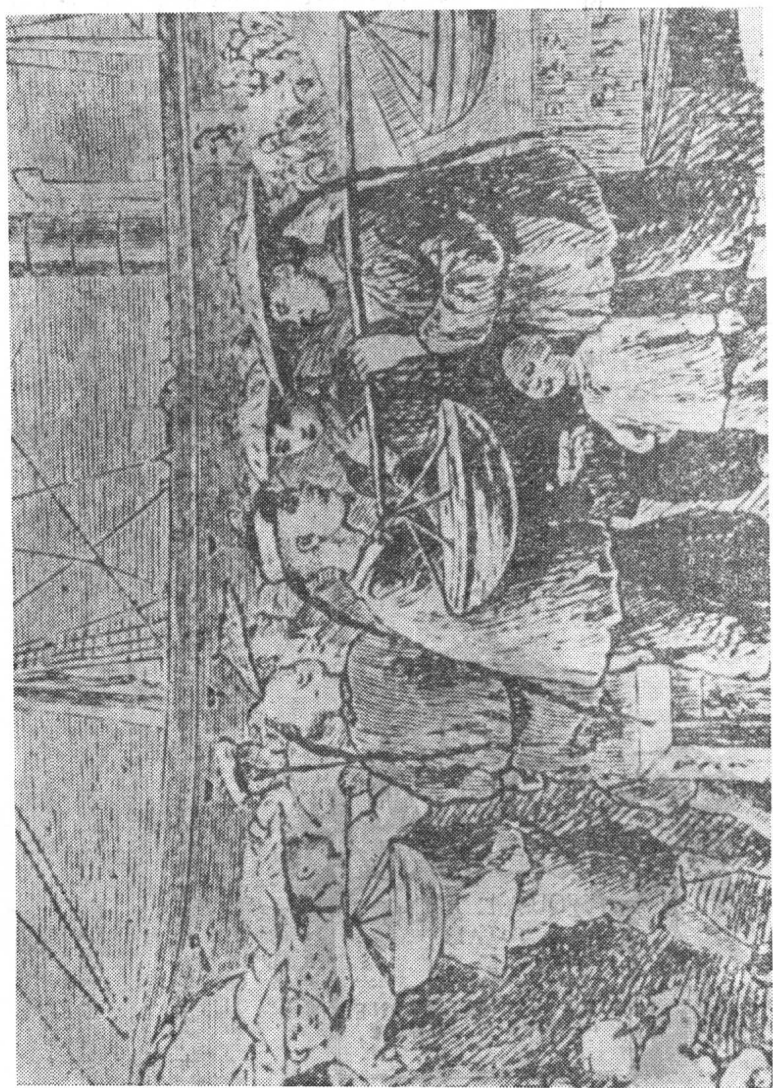
The idea of this work was gradually developed from articles which were published on the front pages of Ming pao Monthly. At the urging of readers, these articles have now been gathered together in book form. Little revision has been found necessary except in the first chapter, to which some new material has been added. In order to draw together the major events, a chronology is included.

The author is deeply indebted to Dr. Tse-tsung Chow, of the University of Wisconsin. He wrote the extensive preface commending the work as the first account of a significant but neglected problem in the study of modern Chinese history. Reading most of the work in manuscript and again in proof, he made meticulous corrections and valuable suggestions. However, any failings and errors this work may have are the fault of the author, and his alone is the responsibility for the views and interpretations presented.

I-yao Shen

University of Maryland
November 9, 1969

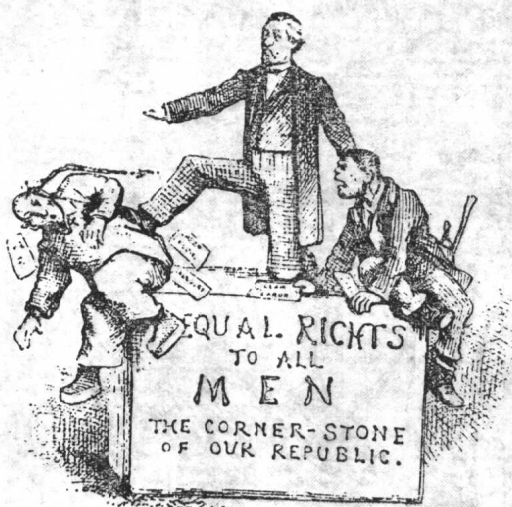
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图中文字为：「需要中国人打棒球。」



图中文字为：「人人都有平等的权利。」



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周 序

沈已尧先生把他近年来所写有关华人移民美国、加拿大、澳大利亚和新西兰等地的文章，约十余万言，收集成书，来信要我作序。我读了他的大作之后，深深感觉他能把握这一为前人所未曾充分注意的重要问题。

近一百多年来，自从中国与西洋关系增加以后，一般人以至于历史家，多只注意到列强用实力推开中国的门户，使它本身发生了巨变；却往往忽略了另外一件大事，就是，这一百年间中国人向海外移民，他们的生活和遭遇，以及这一发展的历史意义。

海外华人在近代世界史上应该有相当重要性。这一点，单从数量上说也可明白。一九四〇年全世界的海外华人约有八百五十余万，一九五六年便已超过一千四百万，一九六二年度增到一千六百余万，次年就接近一千七百万。据我的估计，目前海外华人已达到两千万了。这就是说，海外华人约莫和加拿大全国人口一样多，比澳大利亚和新西兰几乎都要多一倍，也比全世界犹太人口要多五六百万，不久以后，也可能多到一倍。这个现象，比起一百年前闭关自守的中国人来，已有天壤之别了。

虽然两千万海外华人还不到中国总人口的百分之三，但是

这部分华人分布的地区大，创业的机会多，他们大部分的物质生活水平，与一部分的教育程度，都已超过了中国本地人。他们对世界文明的吸收、贡献和影响，对中国文化的改革和向外传播，已逐渐有了显著的成绩。未来的发展更不可限量。

可是这一正在发展中的史剧，竟很少为人从这一历史角度来注意和研究。中文著作更是罕见。这也许还受了过去安土重迁观念的影响，正如传统中国少有史诗，我们不作兴夸张移民远徙的业绩。

当然，自十九世纪七十年代美国发生“华工禁约”运动以后，中国人也曾写过不少作品来纪录华工所经历的险阻艰难，所遭受的限制压迫和虐待。光绪二十九年（一九〇三）梁启超由日本到加拿大和美国各地游历，目的之一就是调查华人在美加的情况。他当时写有《海外殖民调查报告书》，并且在《新民丛报》上发表《新大陆游记》，一名《美国华工禁约记》，对当时的条约规例等颇有记述。同时，中国还出现过好几种小册子报道华工所受的虐待和他们的反抗。如光绪三十一年（一九〇五）上海有署名“支那自愤子”的，写了一种小册子《同胞受虐记》，印赠分发。同年民任社出版《抵制禁约记》一书。还有许多报刊，如《外交报》等，也都有文章讨论如何抵制排挤华工运动。

这时候，上海还出现了不少的白话和文言小说，描写华工在美受歧视和虐待的情形。最好的例子如一九〇五年上海图书集成局出版的白话小说《苦社会》四十八回，六万多字。作者以华工的身份描写三个知识分子到美国做工，见闻经历不少的惨痛遭遇。类似的作品还有《绣像小说》上所载的“苦学生”。

此外如一九〇六年启智书社出版有“中国凉血人”作的文言小说《拒约奇谭》；一九〇七年小说林书社出版有“碧荷馆主人”作的白话小说《黄金世界》；名小说家“我佛山人”吴趼人在《月月小说》上也发表了“劫余灰”，都以描写华工在美做“猪仔”的生活为主。

这些作品对二十世纪初年中国的民意发生过相当影响，帮助发展了当时抵制美货和反抗外人侵蚀中国主权的运动。凡是研究晚清思想史和小说史的人都很熟悉。但是当那些运动过去之后，这些作品就不再流行了。一直要到近些年才在大陆上又重新提起。例如一九五八年北京中华书局出版朱士嘉编的《美国迫害华工史料》，把咸丰、同治、光绪年间有关的档案和新闻记载，汇集在一起，还算便于参考。可是缺乏外文资料，对于事实背景也没有注释和分析。一九六二年同一书局又出版阿英（钱杏邨）编的《反美华工禁约文学集》，收集材料相当丰富。但就全面历史性而论，关于十九世纪以来海外华人的史实，还很少象一九三六年商务出版李长傅的《中国殖民史》最后一章所记的详细，更不消说远远超过了。

至于在这方面的外文著作，除了少数部分性的专题研究之外，许多都是小说新闻性作品，把“唐人街”渲染得稀奇古怪，以引起读者的趣味。著名记者艾斯伯雷（Herbert Asbury）的《旧金山外史》（*The Barbary Coast*, 1933），还算能透露出一百年前一些华工的惨痛遭受，已是不可多得之作。倘要找到更严肃、更生动、更深刻而全面分析性的专著，还是不可多得。

一般说来，中国人过去在这方面的著作，多是以浓厚的民

族国家感情来纪录经验和见闻，对客观事实与情势的发展却往往缺少详细而冷静的记载和分析，尤其是很少人全盘深入研究各所在国造成排华运动的经济、政治、社会、文化和思想等背景和因素。这种感情作用自然是很可了解的。近代中国既然受到列强的欺凌，海外华人又遭遇无理的歧视。这些都可以刺激起义愤和国耻感。所以许多作者都鼓励海外华人团结奋发，甚至要他们回国；或者要求中国政府保护华侨，并且宣传在国内发展工商业，改革政治、经济和教育，以图发愤自强。这些作者有时相信，如果排华的坏人不得势了，如果中国本身富强了，中国政府有实力保护侨民了，海外华人便可免受那些无理的待遇。这种“自强”或“富国强兵”的思想，自然是十八九世纪以来帝国主义推行殖民地政策所引起的一种反应。

上述这种思想趋势，若严格地说，也未尝不是一种以敌人之道以御敌的方式。本来，近半个世纪以来西洋各国之所以排挤外来移民，一部分还是由于民族国家主义过分病态发展成帝国主义的结果；加以世界人口问题日趋严重，因此国界种界也现得更明显。大家知道，在十九世纪末年，人们出国旅行，还不需经过象现在这种繁难的护照和签证手续，也没有象现在这种庞大的海关和移民局来严厉管制。到今天，几乎各国都严格限制外来移民。人类在科学文明与物质生活提高之后，门户之见似乎反越来越深了。排华运动发生的原因自然不止一端，最重要的如经济政治权利的冲突，社会生活习惯和文化思想背景的不同，种族差异本身所引起的偏见，一般人“大鱼吃小鱼”的心理，以至于其他种种利害关系，都可推波助澜，成为因素。可是我们要注意，由这些因素所助长的排挤外来移民的行