



Gum Saan Journal

JUNE, 1989

VOL. XII, NO. 1

CHINESE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

FAMILY HISTORY FOR THE CHINESE AMERICAN® by EMMA WOO LOUIE

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I phoned my father and asked him to please write down our family tree. So he sent me a whole bunch of names. I looked at these and asked myself: "Now what do I do?" That was Don Loo speaking.

Lucie Cheng, Professor of Sociology at UCLA, had this to say: "We have to remember that history is not made by a handful of people. It's made by people like you and me. Our family experiences are just as important as the experiences of the so-called great men."

Then from June Mei, a lecturer for the Department of History at UCLA: "A very interesting and useful resource for family history — if one can find his or her ancestral village — is the "ju yook lo or the pork person."

These remarks and other observations were heard at a day-long special workshop on "Family History for the Chinese American" on July 23, 1983. Over fifty persons were in attendance. The Chinese Historical Society of Southern California (CHSSC) and the Asian American Studies Center (AASC) at UCLA, after successfully cooperating for five years on an Oral History Project, decided to co-sponsor this symposium. Tim T. L. Dong, who was the Assistant Director of AASC, and Emma W. Louie, Vice-President of CHSSC at the time, served as Program Co-Chairpersons. Committee members included Don Loo, Munson Kwok, Suellen Cheng, and Al Soo-Hoo. Our symposium took place at Rolfe Hall on the UCLA campus and the day was divided into four sessions:

1. — Getting Started
2. — The Family Tree and Chinese Kinship Terms
3. — Resources for Family History Research
4. — Oral History Techniques

Although several years have gone by, the guidance which the participants received from expert and amateur genealogical researchers is still relevant today.

Therefore it seems helpful to document some of the guidelines given at the Family History Workshop. This article is a summary of what transpired, giving the gist of what each speaker said. The brief question-and-answer periods that followed each speaker were just as immensely entertaining and informative, so some of the comments were included. All the topics were selected to meet the special needs of Americans of Chinese ancestry for compiling a family history. Hopefully this will spark an interest in those who have yet to begin theirs and act as a reminder to others to update their family histories.

The Workshop opened with welcoming remarks from Dr. Lucie Cheng, then Director of AASC. In voicing her feelings about the significance of family history research, she pointed out, in addition to her comment quoted above, that "we rarely think of our own families as having anything important to be studied." Until very recently, family history in America was thought of in terms of successful people only, such as Henry Ford. In China, it was, for example, the Soong family. History tends to lean toward those who are considered national or world leaders. So it's very important for us to remember that our families, too, have contributed to the making of history and that "we ourselves are part of history."

Eugene Wong Moy, the President of CHSSC in 1983, prefaced his welcome by giving his own name as an example why there is interest in Chinese American history. He is not really a Moy, he said: "I'm a Wong." Why his family and others had to change their surnames is a part of our history. In many ways he felt that he grew up in an "atmosphere of non-identity" which was also created by the fact he wasn't told the names of his relatives; he only knew them by kinship terms, such as "Second Uncle." Because Chinese Americans face many barriers in learning about their family histories, we need to learn about our history in order to "be able to understand the sociology and morphology of the Chinese American family."

SESSION 1 — GETTING STARTED

We asked the speakers in this session to tell what sparked their interest in family history and to share some of their thoughts and findings. All of them related their frustrations and the excitement they felt in the course of their research. The Chairperson was Alfred Soo Hoo, a member of one of the early established Chinese families in Los Angeles. Munson Kwok, Janet Wong, and Paul Louie each presented their experiences. Not listed in the program were Ella Quan and George Yee, who had displayed their family trees on the stage of the auditorium. They related their experiences in constructing their respective family trees.

Munson Kwok is a fifth generation American, born and raised in San Francisco. He is of Chungshan extraction and an engineer by profession. He thought his interest in family history was sparked by a picture which hung in his grandparents' home in San Francisco. It depicted numerous relatives posed in front of a packing house in the Salinas area. As his parents grew older, they began telling him stories about growing up in San Francisco's Chinatown just after the earthquake. His father, especially, made many trips outside the city such as to a Chinese dairy in Marin County, and to the Chinese fishing camp that once existed in Monterey. But it was not until after joining CHSSC and becoming involved in the Oral History Project, that his genealogical research began in earnest. Following several searches into the federal census records by his wife, Suellen, he was able to locate, with the help of Dr. Sandy Lydon, his paternal relatives in the 1900 Monterey County census. Family memorabilia for his maternal side includes a "roots book" which his maternal grandfather compiled, tracing his family back twenty-five (25) generations.

Janet Wong did her family history report for a course requirement at UCLA where she was majoring in history. She is a second generation American-born from her description. Her father is Chinese and her mother, Korean. For her assignment, however, she did oral history interviews only with her father and paternal grandfather. One piece of advice she gave us was to identify your purpose before you begin interviewing. Hers was to determine how the direct past — her paternal grandfather's motives for emigration and the circumstances of her father leaving China — affected her own experiences and her view of herself. But since her paternal grandfather loved to tell her stories about the family after the dinner hour, she thought this presented an opportunity to record them as well. This resulted in a "marathon interview" lasting over seven hours in one sitting, which she didn't advise anyone doing. Her next advice was to take into account the personalities of the interviewees beforehand and to set reasonable goals in your pursuit of family history.

Paul Louie, one of the founders of CHSSC, is a second generation American, who was born and raised in Seattle. First, he asked the group: "Any 'jook sing' here?" (Obviously there were quite a few, judging from the laughter.) As he explained, "jook sing" refers to the hollow of the bamboo: "a good-for-nothing." At the time he grew up, this and other derogatory terms were commonly used against the American born. As a child, he could never recall the name of the ancestral village in Toishan where his father was born — confirming he was a "jook sing" — but all that information is now recorded. During his research on his family history, he found the yearly Polk's City Directory, which preceded the telephone directory, a valuable resource

documents proved that his father came to America in 1882, at the age of 20, and was baptized a Methodist in 1887. Family memorabilia also include a booklet in which his father recorded his trips to China and some data about each child born in Seattle. His family chart shows a large extended family composed of descendants stemming from his father's first marriage in China and those from his second marriage in Seattle.

Ella Yee Quan, who was then a bilingual coordinator at Castelar Elementary School in Chinatown, Los Angeles, told us that she is a third generation American born. Her mother (the second generation), one of a family of seven children, was born in San Francisco where her maternal grandfather had settled before the earthquake. Her paternal grandfather first settled in Virginia City, Nevada, where he opened a laundry. Her father, who was adopted, was born in China. It was Ella's daughter who put together the family tree, constructing it in the form of a book so that a picture could be inserted for each family member. Many of the pictures were taken by her daughter at a recent family gathering. Those of her maternal-side relatives were obtained only after Ella cajoled her 88-year-old uncle into going to a photographer's studio where copies were made. Fortunately, she made copies of other documents he had, because the originals were later accidentally destroyed. In view of this experience, she advised us to preserve important family documents or obtain copies before they are lost or destroyed.

George Yee, a second generation American-born and an engineer by profession, displayed a family tree depicting thirty-five (35) generations. His interest in family history started with the picture of an ancestor which he noticed at the Yee Family Association's building in Los Angeles. His father said "That's the first Yee." With his father's help, he entered all the names of his ancestors dating back to that first Yee, who was born in 100 A.D., onto a family chart. When a movie was made of his family about five years ago, the producer asked the Yee Association of Hong Kong if they could trace their ancestry beyond 100 A.D.: "They went all the way back to 638 B.C." The Yee's family "generation poem" — a "poem" of twenty words from which part of the Chinese given name came — was also used to correlate the generation to which each of his Yee ancestors belonged. For those of other surnames, he advised us to get a copy of our own generation poem; each family has its own.

SESSION 2 — FAMILY TREE AND CHINESE KINSHIP TERMS

We invited Gladys Muller, a professional genealogist who came highly recommended to us, to talk about "The Family Tree" and what is involved in compiling one's family history. She was also the Presi-

dent of the Whittier Area Genealogical Society. We also thought that since names of relatives have to be recorded, it would be fun to have a session on "Chinese Kinship Terms." In this way, we can connect up these traditional terms, which we don't fully understand, with the personal names of relatives. We immediately thought of June Mei, also a lecturer at AASC, to explain all of this to us. Chairing this session was Don Loo, a member of CHSSC, who was born in Canada.

The Family Tree

The form that Gladys Muller recommended for tracing your family history, is called the Pedigree Chart. The symbols and relationships on this chart are all based on rules that are universally recognized. However, the Pedigree Chart "is not an entire genealogy." It is a birth and death record to your direct-line ancestry. As such, it is a "road-map" to your family history.

The Pedigree Chart starts with yourself. Then you record the names of your parents; after them, your parents' parents and so on, generation by generation, back into time. Each person receives a number in sequential order: even for males and odd for females. You fill in such data as birthplace, dates of birth, death, and marriage. You record — whenever applicable — where the individual was married and where he or she died and was buried. The names of your siblings, aunts, uncles, and cousins are not to be included in the Pedigree Chart — these go onto another type of chart.

Some of the rules for filling out the Pedigree Chart include *capitalizing all surnames* — so as to differentiate these from given names. All dates should be recorded in the following order: day, month, year — as in 13 May 1926. The names of counties and states should be part of any geographical information and these should be spelled out — not abbreviated — because then the information will always be clearly understood by future generations.

In conjunction with the Pedigree Chart is another suggested form: the Family History Record. This is where you record the names of your siblings, aunts, uncles, and cousins. They are listed according to family group: "Mom, Pop, and all their children." If there have been previous marriages, remarriages, common-law unions; if your father had two or more wives, you still list members of your extended family by family group. When someone in the audience asked, shouldn't the names of his father's two other wives appear on the Pedigree Chart? Muller replied "No," because that chart is for direct-line ancestry only, regardless how many wives your father had. His other wives belong in the Family History Record. Remember, she added: "You can only be the product of one of those marriages."

Unlike the Pedigree Chart, there is space in the Family History Record to note where you obtained the information for all your data. It's important to document this and you can denote the type of source by reference number. Primary sources would be such records as birth certificates and census schedules. Secondary sources would be letters, oral histories — which are less reliable, but nonetheless important because it falls under family tradition.

Chinese Kinship Terms:

"Just about all languages reflect the societies that give rise to them," June Mei stated. Eskimos, for instance, have "over twenty words to describe snow" because of their environment. The Chinese have many, many words to describe family relationships because of their particular cultural values. Traditionally the Chinese have been interested in genealogy, but only in that of the male line and particularly that of the "flag-bearer" of the male line. As a result, Chinese kinship terms are "hierarchical and sexist."

CHINESE KINSHIP TERMS (CANTONESE)

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Reference term</u>	<u>Address term</u>
MOTHER'S:		
Father	外祖父 Ngoi joe fu	阿公 Ah gung
Mother	外祖母 Ngoi joe moe	阿婆 Ah poh
Brothers	舅父 Kau fu	舅父 Kau fu (T. Ah kau 阿舅)
Sisters	姨媽 Yi mah	阿姨 Ah yi
Brother's wife	妗母 Kum moe	阿妗 Ah kum
Sister's husband	姨丈 Yi jeung	姨丈 Yi jeung (T. Ah jeung 阿丈)

(Children of mother's siblings have same titles as children of father's sister.)

YOUR OWN:

Son	仔 Jai	(Name)
Son's wife	媳婦 Sik fu	阿嫂 Ah sou (Sum poe 心抱)
Daughter	女 Nui	(Name)
Daughter's husband	女婿 Nui sai	(Name)
Son's son	孫 Suen	(Name)
Son's daughter	孫女 Suen nui	(Name)
Daughter's son	外孫 Ngoi suen	(Name)
Daughter's daughter	外孫女 Ngoi suen nui	(Name)
Father	父親 Fu chun	阿爸 Ah bah
Mother	母親 Moe chun	阿媽 Ah mah

MAN's:

Father-in-law	岳父 Ngok fu	外父 Ngoi fu
Mother-in-law	岳母 Ngok moe	外母 Ngoi moe

WOMAN's:

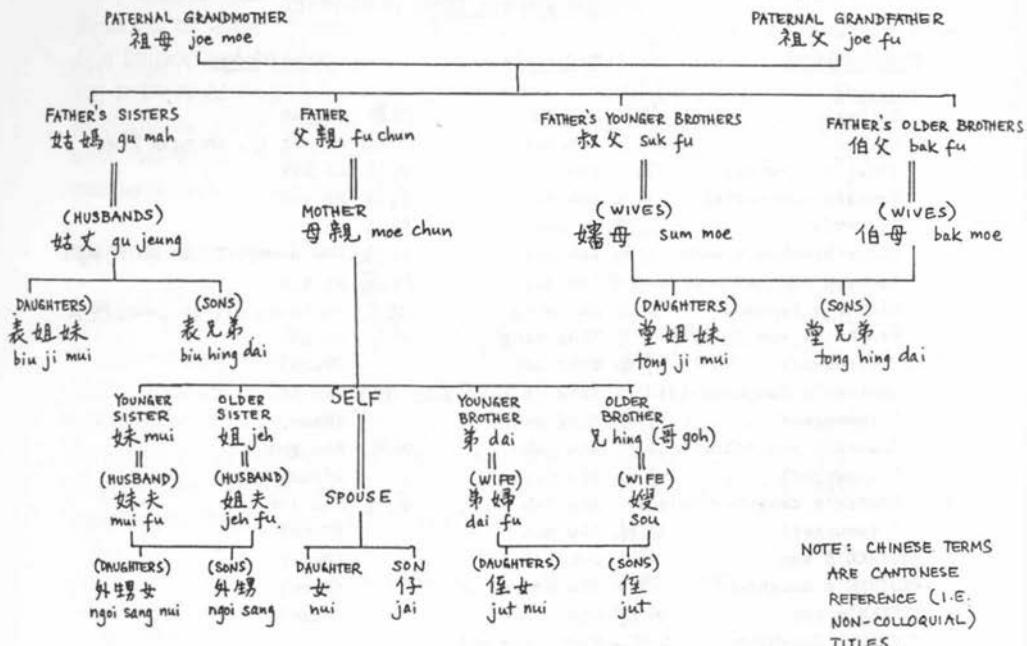
Father-in-law	家公 Ga gung	老爺 Lo yeh
Mother-in-law	家婆 Ga poh	奶奶 Nai nai

CHINESE KINSHIP TERMS (CANTONESE)

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Reference term</u>	<u>Address term</u>
FATHER'S:		
Father	祖父 Joe fu	阿爺 Ah yeh
Mother	祖母 Joe moe	阿嫲 Ah mah (T. Ah ngin 阿人)
Older brother(s)	伯父 Bak fu	阿伯 Ah bak
Younger brother(s)	叔父 Suk fu	阿叔 Ah suk
Sister(s)	姑媽 Gu mah	阿姑 Ah gu
Older brother's wife	伯母 Bak moe	伯娘 Bak neung (T. Ah mu 阿姆)
Younger brother's wife	嬸母 Sum moe	阿嬸 Ah sum
Sister's husband	姑丈 Gu jeung	姑丈 Gu jeung (T. Ah jeung 阿丈)
Brother's son (older)	堂兄 Tong hing	阿哥 Ah goh
" (younger)	堂弟 Tong dai	(Name)
Brother's daughter (older)	Tong ga jeh 堂家姐	姐姐 Jeh jeh
" (younger)	堂妹 Tong mui	(Name)
Sister's son (older)	表哥 Biu goh	表哥 Biu goh
" (younger)	表弟 Biu dai	(Name)
Sister's daughter (older)	表姐 Biu jeh 表姐	表姐 Biu jeh
" (younger)	表妹 Biu mui	(Name)
BROTHER'S son	侄 Jut	(Name)
BROTHER's daughter	侄女 Jut nui	(Name)
SISTER's son	外甥 Ngoi sang	(Name)
SISTER's daughter	外甥女 Ngoi sang nui	
BROTHER (older)	家兄 Ga hing	哥哥 Goh goh
BROTHER (younger)	胞弟 Bao dai	(Name) (Sai lo 級佬)
SISTER (older)	家姐 Ga jeh	姐姐 Jeh jeh
SISTER (younger)	胞妹 Bao mui	(Name) (Mui 妹)
OLDER BROTHER's wife	嫂 Sou	阿嫂 Ah sou
YOUNGER BROTHER's wife	弟婦 Dai fu	阿嬸 Ah sum
OLDER SISTER's husband	姐夫 Jeh fu	阿丈 Ah jeung
YOUNGER SISTER's husband	妹夫 Mui fu	(Name)

Kinship terms are "hierarchical" because, when you use them to address your relatives, many are explicit as to who is older or younger than you are. For instance, there is no generic term for brother: "One is either an older brother or younger brother" in relationship to you. There is also no generic term for paternal "Uncle" — this kinship term for the paternal side of the family indicates whether he is the older or younger brother of your father. When you use a kinship term, you can prefix with a number. This number indicates birth order, such as "Third older paternal Uncle" or "Fourth younger paternal Uncle." Numerical order is also indicated for female members of the family, but their kinship terms are less explicit than they are for men.

In this respect, Chinese kinship terms are "sexist." Fewer exist for the maternal side of the family. Since a woman does not carry on the family name, kinship for relatives related to you through a woman are less differentiating than for those who have the same surname as yours. A classic example is the word "biu." All cousins on your mother's side



NOTE: CHINESE TERMS
ARE CANTONESE
REFERENCE (I.E.
NON-COLLOQUIAL)
TITLES.

CHINESE KINSHIP TERMS – FATHER'S SIDE

are “biu.” The children of your father’s sister — your paternal aunt — are also “biu.” These paternally related cousins are “biu” because they do not have the same family name or surname that you do. In comparison, all your cousins — male and female — who are children of your paternal uncles are “tong” relations. This word implicitly states that you are related to each other through the same surname.

Another thing to remember about Chinese kinship terms is the differences between “reference terms” and “address terms.” For example, you may refer to your father as “Father” but address him instead as “Daddy.” Reference terms, because they are formal terms, tend to be standardized throughout China. There are also “honorific” reference terms to use when one wants to be extremely polite. “Address terms,” being much more informal, will vary from dialect to dialect, from one region to the next; varying even by individual families.

SESSION 3 — RESOURCES FOR FAMILY HISTORY RESEARCH

We divided this session into the following three topics because of their particular relevance for Chinese American family history. Given the limited time we had, each speaker was asked to paint a broad picture of what Americans of Chinese ancestry might take into con-

sideration. Is there something in your family history that can be explained by Chinese American history? Can this provide the context for understanding what took place? What should we know about using census schedules? What are some useful Chinese sources? Chairing this session was Emma Woo Louie.

Highlights of Chinese American History

Tim T. L. Dong, the Assistant Director of AASC, focused on the chronology of the early history of the Chinese in America, which was about “essentially the Chinese in California,” so as to point out “some of the events that may affect how one goes about tracing a family history.”

1848 – when gold was discovered in California – is considered “the traditional date for the Chinese coming to America.” Thousands more came during the 1850s due to catastrophic events taking place in China. These early immigrants were mostly young males in their “late teens or twenties.” By the 1860s, some were moving to Nevada, Oregon, and Washington to seek other mining opportunities. Those who remained, worked in such diversified occupations as farming, fishing, and light manufacturing.

“Beginning about 1863, there were recruitment drives in South China” to bring laborers to build the Central Pacific, the western half of the transcontinental railroad which was completed in 1869. The Southern Pacific and the Northern Pacific railroads also relied heavily on Chinese labor. During the late 1860s, there were attempts to use the Chinese as “strike-breakers” in the East and as plantation workers in the South.

Perhaps you can trace an ancestor to that period of time. Knowing the major types of occupation that were available, when railroads were being built, and what cities and towns are located alongside rail lines, are pertinent facts. Perhaps your great-grandfather settled in San Diego, in Denver, or in states such as Mississippi, for the very reasons mentioned above.

The 1870s was a decade of turmoil. As America experienced severe economic recessions and depressions, the Chinese laborer was seen as being in “economic competition.” A spate of anti-Chinese demonstrations occurred, mostly in the West. And in 1882, the first Chinese Exclusion act, which many of you already know about, was enacted.

One major effect of this discriminatory law was the use of illegal means “to try to get around the restrictions.” Laborers were forbidden to come but other categories, such as the merchant, were permitted entry. If you have a document stating your grandfather was a “merchant,” it may not be true because alleging to be a “merchant” was one of the ways to effect entry.

Another subterfuge often used, was to purchase a "paper" or certificate that had the name of a "son" belonging to a Chinese American citizen. There was a system to this and it worked in this way: Supposing you were a citizen with a wife in China and you go back for a visit. On returning here, you register with the immigration people that a son had been born, whether it was true or not. It was "always sons, not daughters," because their papers sold for more. Later on, the purchaser learns about your family history to back up his claim as being your "son." You should find out if your father or grandfather were involved in this system, otherwise you'll be tracing the wrong family."

There are many books about the economic, political and social history of the Chinese American. Journals, such as Amerasia Journal, often have articles on specific subjects. These are sources that are important for your family history research.

Federal Census Records

According to Gladys Muller, who spoke earlier on the "Family Tree," federal census schedules date back to the 1790, our nation's first census. They are available for public use only up to the 1910 census. After this date, the records are not available because of the "70-year Privacy law." Nevertheless, under certain limitations, you can obtain information on family members from later censuses, if you are a direct-line descendant. To do so, you need the name and address of the person you're inquiring about and a copy of a death certificate to show proof that no rights are being violated. However, this should not be necessary if the person in question is 100 years or older at the time of your inquiry. You also pay an overall fee and additional ones for each person in your inquiry.

All the censuses available for use are on microfilm and can be found at the Mormon Temple library in West Los Angeles and at the National Archives Branch in Laguna Niguel, or at any of the twelve branches of our National Archives. Unfortunately, 1890 census was almost entirely destroyed so that it really doesn't exist. One important description about census materials is that, beginning with the 1850 census, each member of a household is listed. In previous censuses, only the head of the household was; the remaining members were counted according to the number in each age group, by sex, and race.

The most convenient way to examine the 1850 census, is to look up the Index, an alphabetical listing of names by county within each state. It is in book form and can be found in any major library, including those mentioned above. Unfortunately, the 1860 and 1870 census were not completely indexed so that you will have to search through them, page after page. But knowing the county or township beforehand will help shorten your research time.

With the 1880 census, you can look up names in the *Soundex*. This system of indexing names by "sound" was devised after the Fed-

eral government discovered that indexing names alphabetically was not the wisest thing to do. There were many misspellings because the census taker usually wrote down how he heard a name pronounced. Even with the Soundex, though, you still need to be aware of mis-

The 1880 Soundex, however, has its limitations: It lists "only families with children under the age of 10." This decision was made during the 1930s, during the depression, when the Social Security pelled names. Once you have located the person you want, the reference card "will tell you how to go back to the original census" if you need more information.

FEDERAL CENSUS

Census Year	Persons Listed in Census	How Indexed	Where Indexes Located	Where Census* Located
1790 - 1840	Head of Household only	Alphabetical Books	LA Public Library LA Temple Library Salt Lake City Library Laguna Niguel	Laguna Niguel LA Temple Library Salt Lake City Library
1850	Entire Family (none exists for San Francisco Co.)	Alphabetical Books	Same as 1790 - 1840	Same as 1790 - 1840 LA Public Library
1860 - 1870	Entire Family	No Indexes	---	Same as 1790 - 1840
1880	Entire Family	Soundex Microfilm Families	LA Temple Library Salt Lake City Library Laguna Niguel	Same as 1790 - 1840
1890	Entire Family - A L L B U T 6 0 0 0 N A M E S D E S T R O Y E D B Y F I R E (none for States where Chinese resided)			
1900	Entire Family	Soundex Microfilm	Same as 1880	Same as 1790 - 1840
1910	Entire Family	Soundex/Miracode Microfilm 21 States	Laguna Niguel	Laguna Niguel
1920	Entire Family (not available for public use)	Soundex Microfilm	Bureau of Census Pittsburg, Kansas	Bureau of Census Pittsburg, Kansas
1930 - 1980	Entire Family (not available for public use)	No Indexes	Bureau of Census Pittsburg, Kansas	Bureau of Census Pittsburg, Kansas

For any information on your family from census records that are not available for public use, write to Bureau of Census, Pittsburg, Kansas. Ask for a form called "Application for Search of Census Records. There is an initial cost of \$12 and an additional \$4 for each name. Send a copy of the death certificate or other proof that the person is no longer alive.

Administration was about to be established. The Soundex was conceived as a means to quickly identify people who would be collecting Social Security. And it was thought that only those individuals who were younger than 10 years of age at the time of the 1880 census, would "live long enough" to do so.

The 1900 Soundex — remember the 1890 census doesn't exist — includes everybody in the entire nation. But when we come to the 1910 census, only twenty-one (21) States were placed on the Miracode — the word "Soundex" was dropped. Fortunately, California is one of the selected states.

One problem for Chinese Americans using the census data is that your family member may not have been nor wanted to be counted.

Some of your ancestors had "very good reason to want to avoid the government." Problems with undercounting still exist. It was figured that 5 million people were missed in the 1970 census. Muller herself had an experience that indicated why some people may be left out of the census. During the 1980 census, she did not include her son in her household count because he was at UCLA. According to instructions, he would be in the campus census. But whenever she asked if the census taker had come by, her son would say "No," causing her to get "roaring mad as a genealogist." As it turned out, the census forms had simply been tossed onto a table in the Commons and the students were expected to pick them up and send them in. She had no doubt that many did not do so. Her son did though — "he knew he didn't dare not to." While there are other kinds of census materials, such as State censuses, the federal census is the most critical for our family research.

Specific Chinese American Sources

June Mei returned to the podium, this time to give us a list of resources, some of which are so obscure, they may not be available; most of which, also, requires some knowledge of the Chinese language.

For example, tombstones can be an important resource because these generally record, in Chinese, the name of the deceased and those of the village, county, and province in China where he was born. This type of information can also be found on the tombstones of those who came illegally, and it would be accurate. While the person who came illegally sought to conceal his real identity from the government, his desire to hide the truth was matched by "an equally intense desire to make sure that posterity" knew who he was. And on tombstones: "People do not die. Dead men do tell tales in this case." Unfortunately, the unimportance of women in kinship terms, mentioned earlier, also extends to their tombstones: they are identified only by the surname.

A related resource is the obituary — an often overlooked one — that appears in the Chinese language newspapers. The usual announcement gives the name and age of the deceased, place of origin, the name of the spouse — indicated whether he or she is living, the names of sons and daughters, as well as those of the grandchildren belonging to "the male children." Again, the obituary is a truthful account regardless of the deceased's past immigration status.

If you can locate the "memory book" which someone had used as the "son" of one of your ancestor's, it will give you detailed information about your family history and more. It will tell about the physical layout of the family dwelling and that of the village as well. Other sources in China in which an ancestor could be mentioned, are the

"newsletters" or "gossip sheets" distributed by the district or clan and the "gazetteer" or "local histories" that each county published. Many American university libraries, such as UCLA, have collections of these gazetteers. So does the Library of Congress. You can also find these in Hong Kong and Taiwan libraries.

Some families have printed genealogies. But one must be forewarned that these are not always accurate. Any genealogy compiled before the Song dynasty, any "beyond (earlier than) 1000 A.D. is suspect" because many families produced information simply to enhance the family lineage. Prior to the Song, "it was mostly aristocratic families who kept accurate genealogies," particularly for marriage purposes.

Traditionally, the Chinese genealogy is arranged according to the "fong" which traces its ancestry back to "the first male ancestor to settle in the area." For instance, if a whole village were populated by Changs, the men trace themselves back to the first Chang who settled there. They comprise a "fong." If Chang's brother went to another village to settle, the men there belong to a different "fong."

Traditionally, daughters were not listed in the genealogy, but the surnames of the wives, second wives, or concubines were recorded. Any outstanding deed was duly noted under a man's name. But the black sheep of the family would be alluded to under a sibling's name, without actually mentioning the exact name in question.

A walking genealogy for every clan is the "ju yook lo" or the pork person who kept track of the "pecking order" in family relationships. Around Chinese New Year's time, it was the custom in every village, in every clan, in the Cantonese country-side to roast a pig and to chop it up for distribution among family members. The choicest parts went to the people high up on the pecking order and so on down the line, the parts of the pig and the status of family members were matched up. The sole function of the "pork person" was to know which members of the clan belonged to which family, including those who had emigrated. Even though you are not living in the village, your position in the family is still being counted and "someone will eat your share of the pork."

When Mei was in China gathering data, villagers told her that the "pork person" kept a more accurate count than the government census taker. People had reasons to lie to the census taker, such as wanting to avoid paying extra taxes. It was different with the "pork person" — there was "no reason to lie" to him.

A source of "secondary importance" you may want to look up, the Indexes of Clan Names by Village for four particular counties — Toi-

shan, Sunwui, Hoiping, and Chungshan. These are located in Guangdong province and are the areas from which the ancestors of many Chinese Americans emigrated. These indexes were compiled for the American Consulate in Hong Kong, during the early and mid-1960s, for investigating illegal immigration into the United States. Despite the title, as Emma Louie pointed out, if there were too many surnames to list for a village, they were not recorded. Only in Toishan county would you find the surname or surnames for each village mentioned.

SESSION 4 — ORAL HISTORY TECHNIQUES

Dr. Gary Shumway, Professor of American and Oral History at California State University, Fullerton, was already a good friend of our Society when we asked him to recommend some oral history techniques. Chairing this last session was Suellen Cheng, a first generation Chinese American who had emigrated from Taiwan. She was the Indexer for the joint CHSSC/AASC Oral History Project.

You can have "a great deal more access to your ancestors" if you first did some research on your family history before contacting any relative or friend of the family for an interview. Once you are ready, *telephone* for an interview. Don't write because the chances of being refused are 50% higher. Don't show up at the house unannounced because if your interviewee starts telling his or her history, you won't have your recorder set up and it will be difficult to have the story repeated.

A good technique for obtaining an interview is to allude to some incident in the past that you think the person will enjoy talking about. Say that you would like to hear it again. Then immediately name a possible day and time. Once the person agrees, you should mention that you'll be bringing a tape recorder.

Some of the pointers about equipment and room set-up are:

1. Use good quality tapes and recorder. Use only a 60-minute tape; anything longer will have poorer quality. The tape recorder should have a microphone that can be placed about "a foot away" from and about "lip level" to the interviewee.
2. Try to do your interview in a room that has no air-conditioning because sometimes it sets up an "electro-magnetic field that scrambles the tapes. Over-head fans are even worse."
3. Set up your tape recorder as "quickly as you can." Oftentimes the interviewee has brought out picture albums for you to look at and once you start looking at them, you will lose your interview session. Ask to look at them afterwards.

4. If you can, do your interviewing with no one else in the room. You may "have to use a little bit of persuasion" to get a spouse or family member to leave, but don't insist on having your way.

As Dr. Shumway pointed out, it is exceedingly important for the oral history interviewer to establish rapport with the interviewee, to create an atmosphere where you both feel that you are doing something important together. You want the interviewee to be able to answer any question you ask, and to answer it gladly, and in depth.

The next important thing to do is to start your interview with an "open-ended question." This can be any question — something about the person's life, his or her childhood. But it should do three things:

1. It needs to be logical. The interviewee needs to see logic behind your question; that "it doesn't look like it's just busy work."

2. It should not be a question that will "cause embarrassment or hurt."

3. "It needs to be one that they can answer easily and that they will enjoy talking about."

Once you've asked your "open-ended" question, you let the interviewee talk. Here are several good listening techniques:

1. Do not interrupt when your interviewee is telling you a story.

2. Show that you are interested. Do this by using facial expressions or through body language, such as: nodding your head in agreement, wincing if something distressful is mentioned, laugh. In other words, you can communicate your interest without speaking.

3. "Gurgle." This means going "ah, oh, wow, m-mm, really, wow, golly." Gurgling seems fine during the interview but, "you can't believe how bad it sounds when it's transcribed." Therefore you usually do not transcribe any gurgling sounds for your transcript.

The "open-ended" question is strongly advised for oral histories because if you want specific answers to specific questions, you may as well send out a questionnaire. Certainly that would be a lot cheaper than oral history. "It's a very good scholarly thing to want answers to specific questions; it's the finest kind of scholarship to know that you have questions that you want answers to." But, what oral history does best is to give a person an opportunity to tell his or her life story "in narrative form." And your relatives have "a rich storehouse of knowledge that they will give to us, if we will let them give it."

Nonetheless there may be stories that may be hurtful to someone in the family. Instead of destroying the tape, copy it and "blip out" the section you wish to omit. In the meantime, keep the original as it is

and put a warning on it about its limited use. In this way you have preserved something for a future time when it may be less emotional for making a decision about its usefulness.

If you plan on printing your interviews, do give a transcript to your interviewees for corrections beforehand. In his experience, Dr. Shumway found that interviewees rarely ask to delete something they said. What they usually want to do is make corrections, such as "It was not Uncle George, it was Uncle George's brother James who . . ." Or they want to add things, saying "I realized that I only told half the story." And this latter request can be easily done by having the interviewee write the addition to their story on the back of the transcript, which you can insert afterwards.

The Workshop ended with Dr. Shumway giving a demonstration of an oral history interview with Jean Lim Yee who came down from Berkeley with her daughter, to especially attend the day's event. Plaudits were handed all around to the speakers and chairpersons and, in true tradition, a general invitation was issued to meet at a local restaurant — to eat Chinese. In reviewing the day's proceedings, Eugene Wong Moy jocularly said: ". . . this whole program will now inspire me to go to my grandfather's cemetery, look up his village, go over to China with a tape recorder, and find a pig lady and learn all about my family." More seriously, Moy voiced what many participants felt: that the Workshop had provided a small framework for learning a little about our "own personal stake in Chinese American history."

7 August 1989

MY FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES

by DAVID HOM



INTRODUCTION

This project is an attempt to find out more about my family history. When I first initiated this project, my primary goal was to discover more information about my ancestors who lived in China and how they made the transition to the United States. With this in mind, I have attempted to note down information in a clear and correct manner. Since there is not much information readily available about early ancestry in China, this report stresses more recent generations and how each generation experienced America.

HOM FUNG DICK — SUNG DYNASTY

My first known ancestor as of this date is Hom Fung Dick. He lived in the Sung Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.), a period in which the Chinese were just learning to use gunpowder in combat and the abacus in business. Hom Fung Dick came from the Hunan Province in central China. He settled in Canton, China. His profession was that of an herbalist. This occupation would be passed down through thirty-one generations. My family ancestors would continue to reside in the Hoi Ping district of Canton for thirty generations.



From left, Tom Gar Yem, Hom Shack Ngow and Tam Mee.

TOM GAR YEM (1842-1924)

Tom Gar Yem was my great, great grandfather. He was the first ancestor to leave China. He was an herbalist like his ancestors. According to many people, he was the first person out of his district (Hoi Ping) to run a business in the United States. Tom Gar Yem was 28 years old when he came to the U.S. in 1870. He was married but he left his wife behind in China. His feeling was that it was bad enough for him to leave his country and go to another; the wife should not be made to suffer, too. A rough translation of a Chinese saying goes, "When you stay at home 1000 days, you still feel good. But when you leave your country for just half a day, there's plenty of bad feelings."

Tom Gar Yem's reasons for leaving were simple — times were bad and the general feeling was that the United States was a good country full of opportunities. The Chinese back then called America "Gum Saan" or Gold Mountain.

Upon arriving in San Francisco by ship, Tom Gar Yem found work for several months on the railroad. Later he opened up an herb and grocery business and eventually his son came to join him. Tom Gar Yem stayed in the Los Angeles area until 1919 whereupon he went back home to China to be reunited with his wife. He died in 1924 at the ripe old age of 82 in China.



Tom Gar Yem, outside his house in China between 1919 and 1924.

TAM MEE (1866-1923)

My great grandfather's name was Tam Mee. He was an herbalist who came over to the United States in 1882. He came over to join his father but unfortunately, the two just did not get along. He was twenty years old when he came over. He stayed ten years in America before returning to China in 1892. Tam Mee stayed in China for 18 years before he decided to return to America. His feeling was that he had to try to get his boy to the United States so new roads could be opened for the family later. He also intended to bring his wife and his daughter over to the United States, but succeeded only in bringing his three sons to America over a period of time. Tam Mee's son (my grandfather) remembers: "Times were bad. Maybe we do good, maybe we do bad, it's worth a try. At that time you didn't know where you were going to live, and you didn't know what job you were going to have."

In 1912, Tam Mee and his eldest son Hom Shack Ngow spent 31 days aboard the freighter "Mongolian" which landed in San Francisco. Tam Mee became an herbalist-businessman as he started a successful grocery store in Los Angeles known as Yee Sing located on 322 Marchessault Street where the Union Station is now located. Tam Mee died in 1924 at the age of 58 in America.



Tam Mee, my great grandfather in 1922.

HOM SHACK NGOW (1901-present)

Hom Shack Ngow is my grandfather. He came over at the age of 12 in 1912 with his father, Tam Mee, aboard the steamship "Mongolian." This was followed by a 2½ month stay on Angel Island due to restrictions on Chinese immigration. Tam Mee declared himself a merchant and thus Hom Shack Ngow was declared a "merchant's son." My grandfather describes Angel Island as being not much better than a jail.

Shack remembers when he arrived in Los Angeles in 1912. He recalled that there were no more than six Chinese families living there. As a boy, Hom Shack Ngow went to school with other American children even though he didn't learn much since he didn't understand English. He doesn't remember being discriminated against by the general public, although he remembers many conflicts with Hispanic Americans. He says, "Everyone was left to themselves . . . though sometimes they'd go into Chinatown and if you didn't have your papers, you got shipped back." My grandfather grew up helping around the store and playing around old Chinatown.

In his youth, Hom Shack Ngow tried out a stint of odd jobs, including a job at the Beverly Hills Hotel where he met his future wife's

elder brother. Eventually though, he decided it was best to keep the family business going. He wanted to keep a good thing going.

In 1923, Shack returned to China and married Wong Nge Jan (1902-present). This marriage was arranged by her older brother who was a friend of his. When he returned to the United States in 1923, Tam Mee had passed away.

My grandfather and my grandmother lived in the back of the store on Marchessault Street. Here they had four children, Jane, Jack, Lillian and my father Jensen. In 1935, the area surrounding Marches-sault Street was cleared in order to make way for the Union Station. Consequently my grandfather moved the business up the street to 223 West Sunset, situated between Broadway and Olvera Street.

Shack rented a 19 unit hotel on 213½ Commercial Street where his family occupied six rooms. He named it the Canton Hotel. The rest of the rooms were rented out at the monthly rates of \$4 for an inside room and \$7 for an outside room.

Under my grandfather, the store eventually changed into the domestic wholesale grocery business. Other wholesalers protested that Shack's store, now renamed National Wholesale Grocery, was moving in on their territory. Shack became successful because he carried not only Chinese groceries but American goods such as sugar, flour and supplies for take-out food as well.

During this period, there was discrimination against the Chinese. There was no way for my grandfather to buy land, or to buy a house. There was an alternative; buying property in the children's names. While Hom Shack resided at the hotel, four more children were born – Gilbert, Frances, Evelyn, and Gay May.

In 1945, Shack bought a rambling house on Gramercy Drive. At the time, there was a restriction that Asians couldn't live on the property. However this restriction was luckily never enforced. At this house his last child, Diana, was born.

In 1965, he retired from business. At present, he still lives at his residence on Gramercy Drive. In the late 1970s, both Hom Shack Ngow and Hom Jane gained their United States citizenship.

JENSEN HOM (1930-present)

My father, Jensen, was the fourth child and the second son. As a child growing up in the Canton Hotel, he remembered the many bachelors who would babysit the children, sometimes even taking them out to see a movie. He attended Castelar Elementary School in Chinatown, Los Angeles.

He remembers helping out around the store from a very early age. During weekends and summer vacations, he would spend most of his time at the store, just helping out.

After completing high school, he attended Los Angeles City College. His generation (the 33rd) was the first to graduate from high school and attend college.



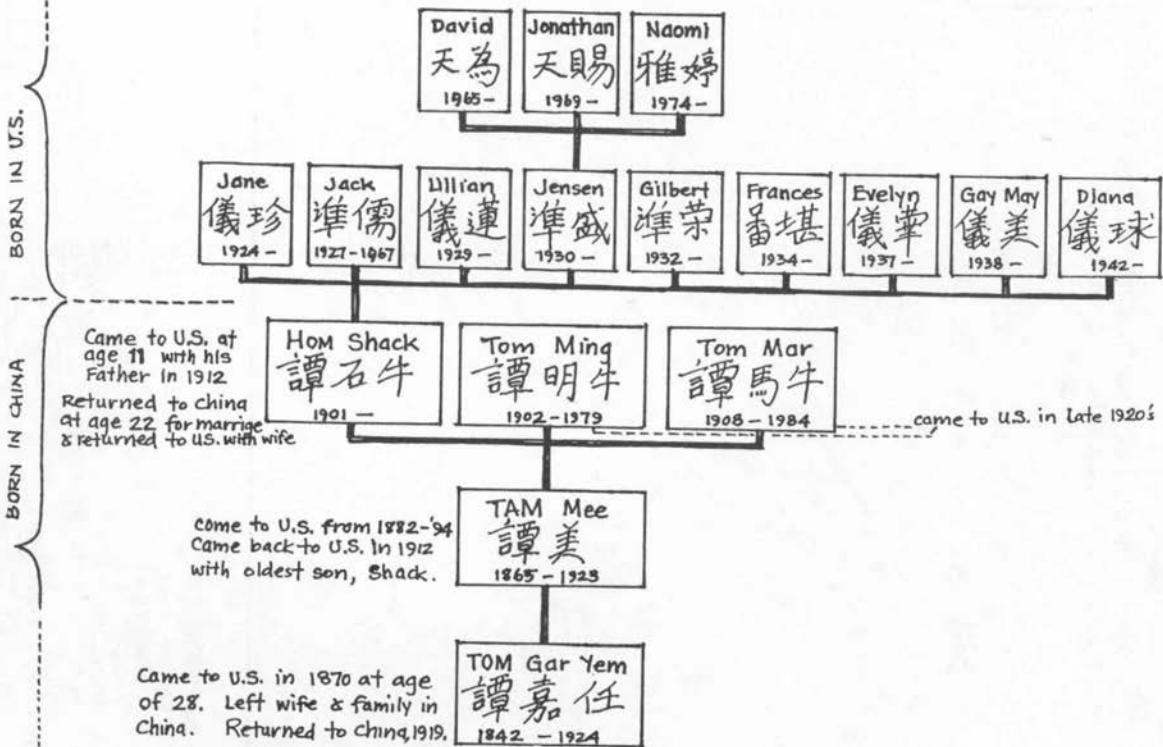
*Back row, from left, standing: Tom Ming, Tom Mar, Hom Shack, Jane Hom.
Front row: Jack, Gilbert, Lillian, Frances, Evelyn, Jane Wong Hom and Jensen Hom.*

From 1952-1954, my father served in the Army during the Korean Conflict. He was stationed at the airfield at Osan and was a member of the 398th Anti-aircraft Artillery Unit.

After discharge, he attended Oklahoma Baptist University where he graduated with a bachelor's degree majoring in art. He started to work at the Broadway Department Store in 1960 as an advertising artist.

He married my mother Mae Tse (a school teacher) in 1963. They rented an apartment in the Silver Lake area. In 1965, their first son David was born. In 1966, they bought a duplex in Highland Park.

Since that time, Jensen has been employed for the past 14 years at Treasure Chest Advertising and is now head of the art department. He remains active in church activities and is a deacon of First Chinese Baptist Church of Los Angeles. He currently resides in a comfortable home in Montebello with his wife Mae and their three children.



(David Horn is a student of Asian American Studies at Cal Poly Pomona. We thank his professor, Dr. Patricia Lin, for introducing David and his timely class project to us.)

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DECEMBER, 1989

VOL. XII, NO. 2

CHINESE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

THE TURTLEDOVE MESSENGER, A TRAIT OF THE EARLY LOS ANGELES CHIAO CEREMONY

by PAUL G. CHACE

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(Paul G. Chace, a native of Los Angeles, has been a member of the Chinese Historical Society of Southern California for twelve years. He is a historian, an archaeologist, and the head of the Paul G. Chace & Associates, an heritage planning firm. Recently, he has returned to the university to attain a doctorate in anthropology, focused on ethnic relations theory.)

"The birds bearing the history of the festival and the proper behavior of the worshipers and subscribers were also allowed to go at liberty, so that they might take the messages of holiness and affection of the people for the spirits to heaven." (Los Angeles Times, Oct. 25, 1887)

This paper documents the turtledove as a ceremonial messenger in the Chiao^{*} or world renewal ritual, as it was practiced by the early Chinese community of Los Angeles. The ancient Chiao ritual propitiates the gods of the Chinese universe and appeases malevolent ghosts, in order to both restore harmony to the world and renew life for the entire community; at the same time, the Chiao is the occasion of a community festival. The Chinese community of Los Angeles apparently conducted the Chiao initially in 1875 and then celebrated it every three years through 1908.

The Los Angeles Chiao ritual practices are important for they both document the religious nature of the early Chinese community as well as detail the particular ritual forms followed. Certain traits of the local ceremony, as the turtledove messenger, appear to represent either uniquely local community customs or ritual forms particular to the line of Taoist priests who led the services for the early Los Angeles community. This paper details the custom of the turtledove messenger as one trait within the elaborate ritual and extensive community celebration of the Chiao.

*The term Chiao, in its simplest meaning, is the same as libation or sacrifice. For Hong Kong, Law and Ward print it as 太平清醮, while Wolf's book has 醮, and in Faure's new book it is printed in the sample form 醮 or 打醮.

Chiao Importance and Ethnic Relations

The following description of single cultural trait in the Chiao is intended only as an initial presentation on the important Chiao ritual to the early Chinese community of Los Angeles. It also serves to announce the author's search for additional knowledge, historical sources, and insight. Hopefully, it will be possible to organize a worthy study and produce a scholarly dissertation interpreting the Chiao within the Los Angeles community.

Although Chiao ceremonial practices in several communities of the Chinese world have been documented (De Groot 1910; Saso 1972, 1978, 1989; Schipper 1974; Mathias 1977; Law and Ward 1982; Faure 1986; and Lagerwey 1987), within Overseas Chinese communities of America it heretofore seems to have been overlooked entirely by scholars. Within an Overseas Chinese community the ceremony may have had special importance. It is posited that the Overseas Chinese of Los Angeles, the Chiao became a focal aspect of their ethnic Chinese identity aimed at maintaining harmonious ethnic relations throughout the wider Los Angeles community.

The Chiao appears to have been a focal aspect in the ethnic identity of the Chinese in early Los Angeles. It represented an important symbolic expression of their particular religious humanity and long-standing civility. Interestingly, it appears this community ritual was locally inaugurated following the infamous Los Angeles Chinese massacre of October 1871, as a traditional approach to restore peace and maintain order. Chinese ethnic identity then appears to have permuted about 1911 with the eruption of a new republican nationalism. In Los Angeles, the focal aspect of ethnic community identity shifted, and the Chiao celebration was no longer held as a community-wide festival.

Knowledge and Sources

The Chinese announced the Chiao festival in the Anglo community newspapers of Los Angeles, they encouraged visitors, and they assisted newspaper reporters in covering the event. It has been possible to locate historical newspaper articles describing the religious ritual and secular festival activities for each of the twelve celebrations from 1875 through 1908. This newspaper coverage varies considerably, both in details and interpretative understandings; but altogether the consistent patterns of the Chiao are apparent. For example, the Los Angeles Chinese referred to the ritual as 'Ah Chiao,' although in the early newspaper this Chinese phrase was variously tendered as Ah Toa (1878), Ah Dieu (1887), Ah Nawo (1890), and How Dow (1908). Similarly, actual mention of the turtledove messenger so far has been found in accounts of three of the twelve events; those for 1887, 1896,

and 1908. The ritual patterns are consistent, however, and this particular ritual detail probably was overlooked or simply omitted by many reporters.

Within the Chinese community, the specific individuals and societies that assumed primary responsibility for organizing the Chiao festivals still remain undocumented. Usually, the newspaper reported that the Taoists priests with their orchestra of musicians were brought down from San Francisco. Although the organizers and participants of these early ceremonies now have passed on, the Chiao tradition still continues, if diminished, within the modern Chinese-American community. Hopefully, both descendants of the Taoist priests as well as knowledgeably participants in recent local ceremonies can be located to provide insights, details, and further interpretations for a full, scholarly dissertation on the Chiao in Los Angeles.

The Chiao Ritual and Celebration

The principal features of the Chiao ritual in early Los Angeles, in brief, included the construction of a temporary temple with both a public and an inner hall, usually with a separate bandstand. A permanent Chinese theatre was constructed and opened on the eve of the ritual in 1884 to entertain both mortals and ghosts. The temple was elaborately adorned inside with images and tablets representing the gods, elaborate historical scenes, brass incensors with smoldering sandalwood, and numerous offerings of confections and foods. The full paper figure of a large white horse was present, and two giant paper figures were posted as symbolic overseers just outside the temple door.

The formal ritual and the accompanying public festival lasted four nights and three days. Within the inner hall the priests conducted the formal ritual and chanted their liturgies. They purged the temple and Chinatown area of evil spirits, and invited the gods and ghosts to the festival; meanwhile the people made their personal offerings and prayers in the outer hall. The Chinese community partook in a three-day holiday from work, celebrated harmonious relations, settled debts and feuds, and delighted in gaming, while the stores were decorated as a bazaar for Chinese and Anglos alike.

On the third day a great Chinese dragon was toured throughout the streets of the City with a large entourage, including the priests and many others costumed as Chinese soldiers. The procession usually proceeded to the river where the priests launched paper boats filled with prayer papers. Then the priests released the turtledove messenger to heaven, as a witness of everything to convey the event to the gods there.

On the fourth night, outside the temple, the priests chanted a liturgy with the worshipers. Into a great pyre they burned the white paper horse carrying paper prayers and symbolic offerings, the listings of names of all those who had contributed to support the ceremony, and the banners and temple decorations, as well as the two giant figures which had served as overseers at the temple door. These soared away to heaven, as had previously the turtledove messenger.

The Turtledove Messenger

The accounts detailing the turtledove messenger for the Chiao, as they occur in the currently available newspaper articles on the Los Angeles ritual, are presented below. All are from the *LOS ANGELES TIMES*, and the specific references to the bird have been underlined for emphasis. Hopefully, even further information will be located. Many specific aspects in the utilization of the turtledove still remain unclear, and deeper insights for the religious interpretation would enhance an understanding and appreciation of the role of the turtledove messenger.

The accounts are unclear whether one or multiple birds served as the messenger in the ritual. The newspaper articles which described the ritual in 1896 were consistent in specifying a single bird had the role of messenger. The accounts of 1887 usually referred to the holy bird singularly but then related plural birds were released at the river, and the brief accounts of 1908 stated plural birds were to be released. Alternatively, as suggested elsewhere (Law and Ward 1982:84), the release of multiple birds may simply represent a ceremonial good communal deed, a giving of symbolic life by liberating numerous caged birds.

The turtledove selected as the Chiao messenger apparently was preselected, caged, and carefully maintained within the inner hall of the temple. There it must have been provided with a special place to observe the priests while they conducted the formal rituals.

"The attendants saw that the sacred bird which is kept in the 'holy of holies' is properly fed to prepare her for the long journey she will have to take in going to heaven tomorrow. This bird is not only carefully selected and fed, but is also instructed in the manner in which the services are being held, so that on her arrival in heaven she will be able to intelligently tell the deities how well and punctilious the people have observed the requirements of their religion and made so many sacrifices to their gods. This bird, which is a turtledove, is also told one of the legends of peace, which is part of the

festival. . . . The legend told the bird yesterday was the history of *Tsi Tsing Son*, and was translated for the benefit of the *TIMES'* oriental reporter. . . .

"This story was told the bird who is to convey it to heaven for the purpose of showing the deities how much more peaceful an era the present is than it used to be. . . . The memory of the bird is also burdened with the names of all the different Chinamen who have contributed to the festival, no matter if their contribution amounted to no more than \$1 . . ." (Oct. 24, 1887)

"This morning, . . . another detachment [of priests and musicians], will walk around the streets in the immediate vicinity of the temple to drive away any devils who might have the temerity to interfere in the preparations for the grand procession, and this work must be thoroughly done or the good spirits will not be present when the holy bird is let loose to take its long flight to heaven. . . .

"At 2 o'clock the procession . . . , headed by the Seventh Infantry band, dressed in their new uniforms, will parade the streets, . . . along Los Angeles to Aliso street bridge, where the holy bird will be let loose on its trip to heaven; then the procession will countermarch. . . .

"After the procession the prayers will be redoubled. . . . The burning of the Joss will take place, as the smoke of these large images is supposed to carry to heaven the corroboration of the stories told by the bird. But as it is the belief that the smoke and flames from the sacrifices will be immediately taken to heaven by the good spirits in attendance, it is the rule to allow the bird at least twenty hours start of the sacrifice." (Oct. 24, 1887)

"The procession reached the Aliso street bridge and here there was a stop made for a few moments while the priests set alight the Joss sticks placed on board certain small boats made of paper, and set them afloat as offerings to the spirits of those who had been drowned or buried at sea. The birds bearing the history of the festival and the proper behavior of the worshipers and subscribers were also allowed to go at liberty, so that they might take their messages of holiness and affection of the people for the spirits to heaven." (Oct. 25, 1887)

"On the third day of the feast the gods of the air and water are propitiated. Some park is chosen and the priests, in their robes, go there and scatter money and cakes on the water and release doves in order to insure a friendly feeling on behalf of the spirits." (Oct. 11, 1908)

"On the third day of the feast the priests, dressed in their gayest costumes, will go to one of the local parks and there strew money and sweet cakes upon the waters of the lake as an offering to the great spirits, while doves will be released as an offering to the lords of the air." (Oct. 23, 1908)

"The big parade takes place today, after which the devils will fly away for another term of three years. It will begin at 12 o'clock sharp and be a grand affair. The great dragon borne by sixty men will make his first appearance in public and there will be an unusual display of banners, canopies and war emblems that make these parades such effective bits of Oriental splendor. The procession will form at the Plaza and the line of March is to be on Main street to Spring, thence to Fifth, back up Main, up Main to Commercial, thence to Los Angeles, to Aliso street and to the river bridge, where the bird bearing the spirits of the devils is allowed to fly away." (Oct. 31, 1896)

"Six hundred Chinamen, attired with . . . brilliancy of color, marched as an escort to the dragon, . . . At the head of the procession . . . came an American band, tooting the lively strains of the Fiesta march. Although the clatter of the Chinese drums behind made the rhythm rather mixed. . . His Royal Snakeship, representative of all the beneficent power of the universe, . . . was borne upon the shoulders of thirty-four men and was eighty feet in length. . . The procession was attended by a crowd of spectators in its progress through the city, and many people accompanied it out on Aliso street to the old river bridge, where the final ceremony of loosing the dove was to take place. . . .

"The procession halted a little way from the bridge, and the five red-robed priests descended to the bed of the river, where they confided a number of paper messages to the unknown land to the tender mercies of the current, and released the dove which was to bear their prayers to heaven. If the papers floated out of sight and the dove flew free, there would be good luck in Chinatown for the next three years.

"Alas! the demons ordered otherwise. The demons in this case were incarnate in the ever-present small boy, who was on hand, as usual, and in overwhelming numbers. The paper messenger floated ashore and were promptly collared and squabbled over, while the dove, being young and weak, fell into the water and was rescued and borne off in triumph by a youngster in knickerbockers, followed by a crowd of his admiring companions. The luck of Chinatown had been turned back by the interference of the dominant race."

"Late at night, after more religious ceremony, the images of all the spirits, good and bad, were burned in one impartial bonfire, while the released demons took their flight to other spheres, bound in honor not to molest mankind for another three years. (Nov. 1, 1896)

Conclusions

Religiously, for the Los Angeles Chiao ceremony, the turtledove served as a customary ritual messenger relating to the gods in the heaven the propitious activities of the people on earth. It is posited that throughout the three days of the Chiao ceremony, when the turtledove messenger was symbolically vested with this duty, the Chinese of Los Angeles practiced exemplary proper behavior; everyone was expected to be good and have harmonious relations. This propitious and harmonious state of earthly affairs appears to be the essential message carried by the turtledove.

The Chiao ceremony in Los Angeles, however, can be posited to express a wider purpose in terms of ethnic relations, to restore and renew harmony among all the people throughout the entire community, even those outside the ethnic Chinese community. Although it was the Chinese who had developed the civility and knowledge of how to organize and celebrate this traditional ritual, the Overseas Chinese extended an invitation to others throughout the City of Los Angeles to visit and participate. Anglo newspaper reporters could cover the event and could encourage Anglo visitors. A non-Chinese band could lead the procession throughout the streets of the City, far beyond the bounds of Chinatown. The turtledove observed all this while the procession toured throughout the City, and then it was symbolically released to heaven.

For the ethnic Overseas Chinese community in Los Angeles, the traditional Chiao ceremony apparently served as an important ceremonial occasion both to publicly express Chinese ethnicity while also renewing harmonious relations with others throughout the community. Thus, it is posited that the early Los Angeles Chiao ceremony became a focal aspect of ethnic Chinese identification and ethnic relations.

This proposition should be a worthy topic for a book-length, scholarly dissertation. Toward that end, the author would appreciate the good assistance of individuals having additional knowledge, historical sources, and insight of the Los Angeles Chiao ceremony.

Epilogue

Over the last five decades, it has been noted by naturalists (Anderson 1984) that introduced Chinese Spotted Doves (*Streptopelia chinensis*) have established themselves throughout the Los Angeles area and have thrived right along with the native Western Morning Doves (*Zenaidura macroura*). The two turtledoves are very similar in appearance; and both live successfully, harmoniously together in Los Angeles.

Acknowledgments

This study of the Los Angeles Chiao has been assisted in many ways already and encouraged by Professors Eugene N. Anderson, Jr., Department of Anthropology; Robert Zeuschner, Department of Religious Studies; and On-Cho Ng, Department of History, all of the University of California, Riverside; as well as Ella Y. Quan of the Chinese Historical Society of Southern California and Professor Michael R. Saso, Department of Religion, at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu. The interpretative presentation here is the responsibility of only the author.

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L to R — Elsie, Stanley, Mary, Anita and Wanda awaiting the sunrise.



L to R — Dorothy, Mary, Jeff, Marian, Anita, and Wanda after the sunrise.

PILGRIMAGE AND PLEASURE, HAWAII FIELD TRIP 1989

by ANGI MA WONG

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Two hundred and one years after the first Chinese arrived by clipper ship on the island of Maui, Hawaii in 1788, seventeen members and friends of the Chinese Historical Society of Southern California boarded a Pan American Airline for a voyage to both Maui and Oahu. Following the footsteps of those first Chinese American immigrants to what was to become a part of the United States, the travelers explored the past and present culture of the two islands, coming in touch with the rich legacy of the multi-ethnic heritage of the 50th state.

Our group of pilgrims ranged in age from eight years old (Steven Wong) to eighty-one (Dorothy Siu) and were led by Stanley Mu, dressed in shorts and shirt with the thin, black strap of his video recorder crossing his chest. He greeted each of us as we appeared in the early afternoon of Wednesday, July 26, at the PAA ticket counter at Los Angeles International Airport.

We knew it was going to be an eventful trip when my nine-year-old daughter was stopped at the first security x-ray machine. In her backpack was a pair of 10-inch scissors for cutting her embroidery thread. "No," she was told by three guards, the scissors could not go into the cabin of the plane. Twenty minutes later, after relinquishing them to her grandmother who assured the guards that *she* was neither going on the trip nor planning to threaten the flight crew, we were allowed to proceed.

In our group of field-trippers were: leaders Stanley and Mary Mu, Wallace Huey, Elsie Inase, Bill and Anita Jeung, Marian Leng and son Jeff, Wanda Leong, Harry and Ella Quan, Dorothy Siu, Nancy Zaun, and myself, Angi Ma Wong with my daughter Jamie and son Steven. Also joining the CHSSC members was Yennis Wong, a recent high school graduate who decided to join our group after her trip to Mainland China was cancelled.

The second sign that the trip was going to be interesting came when the group was told that the aircraft had been overbooked. Normally this would have been a cause for frustration and concern, but Stanley was made an offer he could not refuse. As a result of his quick thinking, most of the CHSSC group made the five and one-half hour flight in the first-class and business class sections. Wallace was so impressed with the cocktails, appetizers, cloth napkins and silverware, that he vowed to travel business class hereafter.

By the time we arrived in Maui and picked up our four rental cars, it was evening. Driving into the Lahaina town's Front Street that first night was not much different from cruising Westwood Blvd. on a Saturday night during the UCLA school year — only the logos and names on the T-shirts were changed. I doubt if any of us will ever forget that the hottest design of the summer of '89 was the fluorescent gecko! The streets were crowded with tourists, cars, and clothing and gift shops lined both sides for blocks.

But naturally, our group got down to the basics once we had all checked into our hotel, the Maui Islander. We asked the night staff for the name of the closest Chinese noodle shop for *shiew yeah* (mid-night snack) but none was to be found, even though the Chinese arrived first on this island two centuries ago.

Among our four days' activities spent shopping, snorkelling, sunning and surfing, three stand out as the most memorable. On the first day we had the opportunity to visit the Wo Hing Society Hall, built in 1912, later restored in 1983 by the Lahaina Restoration Foundation as a museum and still in use by members of the organization which was founded in 1909. Located right on the waterfront, the building served the Chinese who went there to work on the island's sugar mills, plantations, and helped to build tunnels and an irrigation system. These pioneers came to Maui before the whalers and the missionaries in the 1840s when the town was a whaling port and one-time capitol of Hawaii.

In the early morning hours of July 28, fifteen members of our group rose early and made the three-hour drive to the Haleakala Crater. Braving the chill, darkness, winding roads and lack of rest, we made the trip to 10,023 feet above sea level to view the sunrise at 5:49 a.m. We were not alone as we watched in awe and delight as the first gloriously brilliant rays of the sun appeared in the horizon above the gold-edged clouds. There were over 150 cars in the two parking lots, at the summit (where we all stood huddled in the cold under our hotel blankets) and at the crater's edge, two miles downhill. But it was a beautiful experience we shall always remember, made even more special as we shared it with our CHSSC friends.

That evening, we walked several blocks to 505 Front Street, where on the beachfront of the Lahaina Shores Hotel, we enjoyed a traditional island luau, complete with roasted pig. It was during this occasion, that we watched the sun set over the sparkling Pacific Ocean, over thirteen hours after we had watched it rise the same morning.

The road to Hana — no, it is not the name of an old Bing Crosby/Bob Hope film, but is the famous (or rather, infamous) scenic road around the island of Maui, known for its over 630 bends and over 300 one-way bridges, breathtaking coastal views, and the Seven Sacred

Pools. The tour guide informed us, however, that there were more than seven pools and they have not yet found any proof that the natives had considered them sacred. Intermittent showers, a delicious picnic lunch, and Marian and Anita "catching a wave" (without surfboards or bathing suits) on the black sand beach made the day.

Those of the group who possessed more delicate stomachs and wanted to skip the long car ride to Hana enjoyed snorkelling, shopping at a great little clothing outlet, and relaxing at the beach. Wallace was riding the free Maui Trolley all over town, conversing with the passengers and making new friends. When several of the CHSSC group got on at one stop and each greeted him with "Hi, Wallace," another passenger wanted to know why so many people knew him. "Are you running for Mayor?", he asked.

Sunday, July 30 found us in the sky to the island of Oahu and Honolulu, so commercialized and "citified" after the quaintness, charm and serenity of Lahaina. The tour company provided a very comprehensive breakfast orientation for us featuring a brief history as well as geography lesson and a visit from Al Harrington who played Ben on television's Hawaii Five-O, a detective program from the 1960s (or was it the 1970s?).

Fourteen various day trips and adventures were available for us to choose from and enjoy. Suddenly, our five days on Oahu didn't



Al Harrington greets Bill as Mary looks on.

seem like enough to do all that was offered; especially for Nancy who was visiting the Islands for the first time and had vowed to see and do everything!

After laughing with Al Harrington at the orientation in the morning, twelve members booked tables at his dinner show that evening. Dorothy Siu, the youngest member of our group at 81, was seated front row center, and was the darling of the audience that night as Al quipped and joked with her from the stage.

As we strolled to the International Marketplace the next day, one of the group suddenly called out, "Look, there's one of our members from Riverside!" Actually, the city was Escondido but it is a small world indeed, when seventeen of us from Los Angeles run right into fellow CHSSC members Paul and Phyllis Chace right in Waikiki! Paul had just delivered a paper at a conference in Hilo on the Big Island and was in Waikiki for additional research on his latest paper. They agreed to join us later in the week.

On Tuesday, August 1, we went by bus to Chinatown for the walking tour given by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Charlie Young led us from the Chamber office on King Street, highlighting the tour with a visit to an herb shop, a noodle factory, back courtyards with its own history, a family association headquarters, and the Kwan Yin Temple. The weary walkers culminated the tour with lunch at the historic Wo Fat Restaurant, established in 1882, and the oldest Chinese restaurant in Honolulu.

While Wednesday was a free day for us to pursue our individual interests: boogie-boarding, snorkelling, and taking in a day at the Polynesian Cultural Center, shopping for jewelry and other goodies; snorkelling and swimming at Hanauma Bay for all of us Wongs; visiting with her sister for Elsie, we all felt that the best was yet to come on the next day.

On that Thursday morning, we joined about fifteen members of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the Chinese community for a delicious lunch at the Royal Garden Restaurant, adjoining the Ala Moana Shopping Center. Lawrence Ching, President of the Chamber and brother-in-law of CHSSC member, Castelar Principal Bill Chun-Hoon, was our gracious host at that function. As CHSSC board member responsible for educational outreach, I gave a fifteen-minute speech on the history of the Chinese on the Mainland. It seemed that much of the material on the Chinese contribution to the building of the railroad and the agricultural development of Southern California was new to the Chinese Islanders.

Thursday afternoon was spent by some of us riding the bus to the Bishop Museum. Then all nineteen of us (Paul and Phyllis included) re-grouped in Chinatown in the evening to see Hawaii's Broadway



L to R — Sisters Mariam and Elsie, and Wanda and Bill relaxing on the Champagne Breakfast Cruise.

musical comedy, "Thirteen Daughters," at the Hawaii Theatre. Visiting lead star Alvin Ing backstage afterwards concluded another eventful day for us.

Breakfast cruising, snorkelling and swimming, a round-island tour, the John Young exhibition at the Academy of Arts, last-minute shopping (how many pineapples, T-shirts, jewelry pieces, and macadamia nuts can you stuff into your newly-purchased "Made in Korea" nylon bag?!?) in Waikiki — these were our activities on that Friday before our evening flight home. Larry F. C. Ching from the Hawaii Chinese History Center made a special trip down to the hotel to bring us calendars, books and more T-shirts which added more weight to our already crammed luggage!

It was a tired, happy, but very satisfied group of field-trippers who boarded the plane at 9:30 p.m. Friday night, August 4 and arrived back in Los Angeles on Saturday morning at 5 a.m. Having "Island-out" on lime green gecko and "overdosed" on mangoes, papayas and pineapples, most of us snoozed the flight home with visions of sunny beaches, snorkelling, shopping, the sunrise at the summit, surfing, dining and touring in our heads!

We had touched our common Chinese heritage in Lahaina and Honolulu through history and culture, past and present, and came back with a "lei of memories" of our wonderful trip that was both one of pleasure as well as a pilgrimage to our common past.

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