

THE DETROIT CHINESE -- A STUDY OF SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGES
IN THE DETROIT CHINESE COMMUNITY FROM 1872 THROUGH 1963

BY

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INTRODUCTION

Presentation of the Problem

The primary purpose of this paper is to trace some socio-cultural changes that have taken place in the Chinese community in Detroit, Michigan, from its beginning in 1872 until 1963, the year when the demolition of 'Chinatown' was completed, as part of a slum clearance project of the city of Detroit.

The Chinese New Year's celebration was chosen as a focal point of analysis because of the following two reasons. First, it is the single socio-cultural activity of the Detroit Chinese that has been consistently well-recorded in the local non-Chinese press. Moreover these reports are readily available without extreme and time-consuming search.

Secondly, the traditional New Year's celebration is related in several significant ways to Chinese social structure and, therefore, information on the Detroit New Year's celebration may be considered to reflect overall socio-cultural changes in the Detroit community. The traditional Chinese New Year's celebration is, first of all, the most elaborate of all the celebrations for ancestor worship in China, which has generally been considered to be the core of the Chinese social structure. Some of the components of the social structure, such as the family and clan units, patrilineal descent, and social hierarchy, are also prominently reflected in features of the celebration.

Therefore, the second objective of the present paper is to re-evaluate hitherto assumed close relation between ancestor worship and social structure in China. A special effort is directed toward the determination of the nature of the relationship between the two, and this by analyzing data on the development and changes in the social structure of the Detroit Chinese community, as well as specific changes in the New Year's celebration.

Although there exists a new Chinatown as of May, 1963, the previous old colony on Third Avenue in the fringes of the downtown section of Detroit is referred to as 'present' Chinatown throughout the paper.

Sources

The main source of information for the present paper is of three kinds: A) field work data; B) available information in the Chinese section of a cemetery in Detroit; C) and library material.

A) Field Work: Field investigation was conducted during the period between February and June, 1961; during a one-week visit from Madison, in January, 1963; and summer, 1963.

A serious attempt was made to get information from older members of the community. Much difficulty, however, was encountered. First of all, many older community members entered the United States illegally. Secondly, some past activities of the main organization of the community, a tong association, have not been regarded favorably by the American public. Therefore, these Chinese are extremely cautious of any outsiders' inquiries into their community

affairs. Finally, I found the older members of the community difficult to approach as a result of my Japanese nationality and the anti-Japanese feeling surviving among the older persons from the era of the Sino-Japanese war.

For this reason, I solicited the help of my Chinese friends and age-mates, both Detroiters and non-Detroiters. They had some information on community history and/or had access to the older people. My Detroit informants included members of the Yee, the major clan of the community, as well as members of other clans. Some information was given voluntarily, and some was offered in answer to specific questions I asked.

My informants also include my employers and co-workers at a restaurant where I worked as a waitress for 12 hours every day for three weeks. I encountered the same type of difficulty there, as well. On the whole, however, it provided an excellent field situation. Besides getting information on some of the specific problems of the research, this experience gave me a realistic inside picture of the Detroit Chinese and of the operation of restaurants.

Informants at Restaurant A:

The restaurant is located away from Chinatown and is owned by two Chinese and a Japanese woman who was once married to a Chinese (and now to a Caucasian). These two Chinese, a Leong 梁 and Ng 伍, work as cooks as well. There were four employees at the time of my work, a Yee 余, a Lee 李, a Chow 周, and a female Leong (the owner Leong's daughter). All of the personnel were born in China. The Leong family seems to represent a typical case of Chinese

immigrants to the United States. The father of the owner, Leong, first immigrated to the United States. The owner, 64 years old as of 1963, was born in Kwantung, brought to the United States, went back for schooling in China, and came back. He worked in the Chicago Chinatown for 30 years before he came to Detroit. Meanwhile, upon one of his visits to home on the mainland, he married a Chinese woman. He brought his oldest daughter over in 1959, and she works as a cook in his restaurant. He supports his wife and the rest of the family, who live in Hong Kong. The Ng, 56 years old, is unmarried and lives a quiet life away from Chinatown, although he used to gamble in Chinatown. The Yee, in his early forties, came in 1937 and serves as the manager of the restaurant because of his good command of English. He typifies many of the Chinese immigrants in the United States in his ardent preoccupation with gambling on horse races. The Lee, in his fifties, has his family in China which he is not capable of supporting. The Chow, also in his fifties, is married to a Caucasian woman. The two, the Lee and the Chow, represent a certain group of Detroit Chinese who have neither wealth nor position in the community. They shift from one Chinese restaurant to another wherever they find a job, Lee as a waiter and Chow as a cook. Lee gambles heavily on mah-jongg, still a favorite gambling object of the Chinese in Chinatown where the game is played almost every night.

On the whole this restaurant seemed to be quite typical of Detroit Chinese restaurants, although it is not one of the most elaborate.

Informant A (male, 66 years old):

He is a Yee from Kwantung who has lived in the Detroit community over forty years. He now lives away from Chinatown. His wife has moved to Chicago and operates a restaurant there. Informant B is his daughter who served as an interpreter between him and myself. Although he has never held an important position in the community, he is one of the old timers in the Detroit Chinatown and was most helpful in verifying past events described in written material, although no information was voluntarily given by him. The fact that he had not been involved in the managerial control of the community made it easier for him to discuss many things, although he was very careful, especially when the matter concerned the internal structure of the community.

Informant B (female, 30 years old):

Informant B is the oldest daughter of Informant A, and she was born and reared in the Detroit community. She is a devoted Catholic, which is very exceptional among the Detroit Chinese, has a college degree in sociology, and was willing to help as an interpreter. Since she was brought up in Chinatown, her own knowledge was also valuable.

Informant C (female, 26 years old):

She is a daughter of a most important Yee family.¹ She was born in Detroit, and has lived most of her life there, except for the very early years when her parents were living in Detroit but outside of Chinatown. She was not able to answer to some of my questions and

¹In the following discussion, her father will be referred to as Mr. X, since he is an important figure in the community and will be frequently discussed.

had to consult the older members of her family, who were not very cooperative. Between my field work in 1961 and the visit in 1963, she married a mainland Chinese who came to the United States after having lived in Formosa for a number of years. Through her arrangement, I was shown the inside of the meeting hall of the tong association, where she herself had not visited ever since her childhood, and of the Chinese School. In addition, she invited me to her original family and showed me some newspaper clippings. The clippings were articles from the Detroit press describing her family. They were not many, but some were useful because of the importance of her family in the community.

Informant D (male, 29 years old); Informant E (male, 32 years old):

Informant D is an American-born Chinese from New Jersey, and Informant E was born in Amoy and raised in the Chicago Chinatown. They had kept close contact with the people in the Detroit Chinatown for over five years at the time of my acquaintance with them. They provided me with some most valuable information on the internal structure of the community. Informant D has continuously supplied information over the entire period of this research.

Informant F (male, about 50 years old):

He is presently an active member of the tong association, who came from Kwantung Province and lived in the Detroit Chinatown for over 30 years. During my visit in 1963, he showed me the inside of the office of the tong association upon Informant C's request. Informant G (female, 26 years old):

She lived in Canton from 1947 to 1948. Her mother was from Canton and her father from Shanghai. She had come to the San

Francisco Chinatown in 1956 and moved to Detroit in 1960. Informant G was helpful in verifying information on the Cantonese celebration of the New Year.

There were also a few other individuals from whom I gathered some bits of information during my visits to the community for shopping and dining.

Forest Lawn Cemetery

The Detroit Chinese own three lots at Forest Lawn Cemetery in the northeast outskirt of Detroit. The first lot was purchased in 1918 by Yee Hing Tong, the burial association of the community. Information at the cemetery consists of grave inscriptions of the Chinese, burial records at the cemetery office and records of the transactions involving the purchase of the three lots by Yee Hing Tong. Grave inscriptions include the name and home village of the individual and therefore provided valuable information on patterns of migration and clan affiliation. Information from burial records included some hints on possible internal conflicts. The records of the cemetery plot purchases offered vital information on the development of the community. Inferences from the analysis of these data are outlined in Part I and detailed discussion of the data is presented in Appendix A.

Library Research

Material examined includes local non-Chinese newspapers, Detroit City Directories, and various literature on subjects concerning the present study.

The primary source of information on the New Year's celebration in Detroit was drawn from newspaper articles, mainly in

the Detroit News and the Detroit Free Press. I tried to search for information on the community by looking through one or both of the Detroit newspapers issued five days preceding and five days following the lunar New Year's Day of each year. This was done for the entire span of 89 years, between 1872 and 1961. I soon discovered that, as a general tendency, this type of information appears more frequently in the Free Press in earlier years and in the News in later years. From 1872 to 1932, the Free Press was combed through each year, and from 1933 to 1961, the News was examined.

The following files of newspaper clippings at the Detroit Public Library were also utilized: New Year's clippings in the General Information Section; and Chinese Population clippings and E & M (Excerpts and Miscellanea) clippings in the Burton Historical Collection. There were not many of these articles, and they consisted primarily of information from the 1950's.

All articles on the Detroit Chinese were written by non-Chinese Americans. In both the News and the Free Press, the same reporters tended to write for several years,² which enabled these reporters to observe the customs in a more sophisticated manner than could an ordinary outsider. Some of these reporters apparently made fairly close friends among the Chinese people, and therefore, could provide the reader with some authentic information. However, there are some peculiar comments and misinterpretations, due to a lack of

²For example, Philip A. Adler of the Detroit News wrote for five years (1929-1933), and John C. Treten reported for eleven years (1949-1959) also in the Detroit News.

familiarity with the "exotic" customs, but they are rather easy to detect. In the very early years, the Cantonese traditional New Year's was more closely adhered to by the Chinese, and some of the earlier reporters were quasi-participant-observers of the ceremony. Later the celebration lost most of its traditional form, and the community became more exclusive. Reports for later years are often either superficial descriptions of public demonstrations in the celebration or lists of names of dishes served at the New Year's dinner. Throughout the entire period, the greatest difficulty in interpreting these articles arose when a reporter had displayed his own knowledge of the traditional way of celebration and had not clarified whether certain descriptions had come from his knowledge or from actual observation.

Fortunately, several times throughout the whole period some elders were interviewed by newspaper reporters on New Year's occasion and these reports supply most valuable information on the process and the causes of changes in the form and meaning of the celebration.

The abbreviations of names of newspapers used are: DFP (Detroit Free Press); DN (Detroit News); DT (Detroit Times); and PT (Post and Tribune).

Demography in early years may offer significant help in understanding the nature of socio-cultural changes. Unfortunately, the census is not an accurate source for this purpose, because the high number of illegal entries during the early years led to conscious distortion of Detroit Chinese census data. Figures on approximate numbers of the Chinese in Detroit as appeared occasionally in newspaper articles probably are more reliable.

City directories were also consulted to trace increases and decreases of Chinese laundries and restaurants as an index of changes in the total number of the Chinese population as well as that of their economic fluctuation.

Other books and articles were also consulted for general background on Chinese social structure, the Chinese New Year's celebration, Chinese immigrants in the United States, and other related subjects.

PART I: THE DETROIT CHINESE¹Population

The first Chinese came to Detroit in 1872² and was joined by another Chinese the following year (DFP 2-5-1873; DFP 12-20-1873; DFP 12-3-1874; DFP 2-5-1875; Lim 1959: 17). Since then the population of the Detroit Chinese has increased to around 2,500 to 3,000. The following population figures are available:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Source of Information</u>
1872	1	DFP 2-5-1873
1873	2	DFP 2-5-1873
1874	10	DFP 12-3-1874
1876	14	DFP 1-25-1876
1886	27	DFP 9-25-1886
1890's	50	DFP 1-29-1903
1903	12	DFP 1-29-1903
1911	100	DFP 1-30-1911
1929	1,400	DN 7-9-1934
	1,500	DFP 10-10-1929
1930	500	DFP 10-10-1930
1934	5003	DN 7-9-1934

¹The term 'Detroit Chinese' used in this paper means those Chinese and their families who set up the Chinese community in Detroit and lived there for a certain period of time. To use their own phraseology, they are "the Chinatown crowd." It should be noted that, although the Chinese discussed in this paper have all lived for a considerable period of time in the Detroit Chinatown, they have not necessarily lived there continuously up to the present. The term excludes those recent immigrants and Chinese students who have come since the separation of China into a mainland and an island country. While the Detroit Chinese came from the rural population in Kwantung, as will be discussed later, the latter in turn came from all over the mainland and is a heterogeneous group.

²The first Chinese came to Chicago in 1870, cf. Fang 1959: 8.

³50 of which are women (DN 7-9-1934).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Source of Information</u>
1940	924	Lee 1960: Table 15 ⁴
1941	1,200	DN 10-8-1941; DN 10-11-1941
1942	1,200	DFP 2-16-1942
1949	2,000	DN 4-3-1949
1950	1,619	Lee 1960: Table 15
1951	2,000	DN 2-6-1951 Mayer 1951: 11
1956	3,500	DN 2-12-1956 ⁵
	2,600	DFP 2-13-1956
1957	3,000	DN 1-31-1957
1960	4,000	Lim 1959: 17
1963	3,600	DN 2-4-1963; DN 5-3-1963; DFP 5-13-1963; Harris 1963

A sudden increase in population from 1911 to 1929 may be explained by the fact that the two most severe tong wars on the west coast, which were fought in 1917 and in 1925, forced thousands of tong men to flee and seek refuge in eastern cities (Gong and Grant 1930: 12 & 237). As the table indicates, the otherwise steady growth of the population suffered drastically from both the 1893 and the 1929 depressions. Figures for the years prior to 1949, with the exception of Lee's 1940 figure, seem to represent the population of the 'Detroit Chinese,' but later figures may include some recent

⁴Lee's figures are based on Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1944-1946: 20-21, and 1958: 30. Lee's numbers indicate the Chinese population in the entire state of Michigan and are not limited to Detroit only.

⁵Judging from figures in the preceding and following years, the figures in 1956 in the Detroit News do not seem factual and the ones in the Detroit Free Press seem more reliable.

immigrants who came because of the division of China into two countries and hence would not be considered as the Detroit Chinese proper.

In 1910 the first Chinese woman came to the Detroit Chinatown to become a permanent resident (Lim 1959: 18). Since the total population in 1911 was 100, the ratio of males to females around 1910 was probably 100:1. In 1934, the total population was 500 of which there were 50 women. Thus, the ratio in that year was 10:1. The ratio at present is not available, but it appears to be still unbalanced since there are many men in their 50's, 60's and 70's who stayed unmarried or whose wives have remained in China. A shortage of women, as in the case of the Detroit Chinese community both in the past and at the present, is a feature which characterizes all the overseas Chinese colonies in the world.⁶

Economic Life

In general, Chinese immigrants to the United States come with the primary purpose of accumulating wealth (Barnett 1960: 40; Kulp 1925: 44-50). Barnett writes:

Examination of correspondence written during the last century reveals financial gain as the dominant aspiration of those leaving Kwantung: numerous interviews in the contemporary period confirm this sustained monetary interest.

(Barnett 1960: 40)

⁶ A heavy influx of recent immigrants after the division of their country, of which many were young bachelors, increased the difference in numbers of men and women in large Chinese communities in the United States even more. But small colonies like the one in Detroit did not receive many immigrants in recent years; the city of Detroit itself received quite a few number of Chinese immigrants, but they do not add to the number of the 'Detroit Chinese.'

The manner of their participation in the American economy, however, is somewhat restricted. They engage in those business enterprises where competition with the rest of the population is minimal. Furthermore, their dependence upon a non-Chinese market makes it necessary for them to settle in large urban areas (Barnett 1960: 40-41). The general description of the economic life of Chinese in the United States is also applicable to the Detroit Chinese.

Until about 1903, the Chinese in Detroit were almost all laundrymen.⁷ In 1903, some Chinese were working in a chop suey restaurant owned by an American (DFP 1-29-1903). In 1905 Homer Gam came from the Chicago Chinatown and opened the first Chinese-owned restaurant in Detroit (DN 7-9-1934; Lim 1959: 18). Others, who followed him from Chicago, increased the number of restaurants in a short time. According to the Detroit City Directories for 1917 and 1918, the majority of Chinese business was in 'Chinese goods' or 'groceries.' Before the depression in 1929, there were about 300 laundries and 32 restaurants. By the end of the depression, there were only 200 laundries and 11 restaurants (DN 7-9-1934). In recent years restaurants have come to predominate, while the number of laundries has been reduced to very few for the obvious reason that a sizeable portion of the population makes use more and more of self-service laundries. At present only a few Chinese are engaged in other businesses such as Chinese grocery stores or Chinese curio shops.

⁷The pattern for the Chinese laundry was established at the time of the Gold Rush in Sacramento, California, in 1849. Not having people to do their laundry in Sacramento, the miners sent it to Hawaii. Then, the Chinese farmers in Hawaii obtained the idea and came to California to open laundries for the miners, and thus, the subsequent pattern of the Chinese laundry was set.

It seems to be the general pattern that a man starts with a laundry or a grocery store, for which not much capital is needed at the start, and then switches to a restaurant⁸ after accumulation of some wealth. This pattern is exemplified by the late Mr. X who owned the most prosperous restaurant. He started with a hand laundry on Chene Street in the old Polish section in the 1920's and then opened the restaurant in 1941 (according to Informant C).

In Chinese businesses, partnerships are the predominant pattern (Barnett 1960: 42-43). Partnership enables persons, who lack the necessary capital individually, to start a business. Owning a business, moreover, is prestigious in the Chinese community. This pattern holds true in the case of the Detroit Chinese businesses, as it is exemplified by Restaurant A.

The Location of Chinatown

For a long time the colony was not geographically localized and the Chinese were scattered around downtown Detroit on both sides of Woodward Avenue, the main street in Detroit. The following data may give some idea of their distribution in the early years.

1872: Gratiot St. (DFP 1-29-1873)

1876: Larned St. East; Larned St. West; Woodward Ave.;
Michigan Ave. (DFP 1-25-1876)

1883: Michigan Ave. (DFP 2-8-1883)

⁸The reasons why the Chinese have preferred the laundry and restaurant businesses are suggested by Henry Yee and Dick Moy: both require little capital and experience (Harris 1963; also Lee 1960: 266). Cf. Due to the usually large number of children in the Chinese family, the Chinese father helps in cooking while the mother takes care of the children. Hence, cooking is not an unfamiliar job to most Chinese males. (According to Informant C: it is exemplified in many cases of my friends' families in the Detroit Chinatown.)

- 1891: Gratiot St. (2)⁹; Larned St.; Michigan Ave.; 170 Randolph; Monroe; Fort (City Directory)
- 1896: 189 Gratiot; Michigan (2); 79 Larned (City Directory)
- 1901: 189 Gratiot (City Directory)
- 1903: 262 Randolph St. (owned by an American); 67 East Larned (DFP 1-29-1903); Grand River (City Directory)
- 1905: The water front (2); 18 Michigan Ave. (DN 7-9-1934); 18 Lafayette Boulevard (Lim 1959: 18)

When the Chinese came to Detroit from Chicago in 1905, they opened their businesses wherever the city population was dense (DN 7-9-1934). This is also true for the subsequent Chinese settlers. "The Chinese Club" was in existence around 1911 at 100 Congress Street East (DFP 1-30-1911), a location which is on the east side of Woodward Avenue, in contrast to the west side location of the present colony, and a few blocks closer to the Detroit River than the present colony. The first establishment of the Chinese colony, as such, was in the Gratiot and Beaubien section (Lim 1959: 18), which is also on the east side of Woodward Avenue, and at about the same distance from the Detroit River as the present colony. No date of the establishment is given by Lim.

Several lines of evidence suggest that the colony with its essential framework had been established by 1918 at the present location. First the Yee Hing Tong, the burial association of the Detroit Chinese community, bought its first cemetery plot in 1918. The address of the Yee Hing Tong is given as 1331 Third Street,

⁹The numbers in parentheses are numbers of shops, indicated when more than one.

which is within the same block as the main building of the present colony. Secondly, Informant F stated that the tong association, the core organization of the community, was formed around 1918 at the present location.

Information from the Detroit City Directories also provides supporting evidence. According to the Directories, no Chinese names appear between 1905 and 1917 in the area between Second and Fourth Avenue and between Lafayette and Bagley Streets, including Michigan Street -- the area surrounding the present colony. Then, in 1918 five Chinese names were listed in the area, of which two were on Third and Abbott, one on Third and Michigan, and one on Fourth and Porter. In 1919, seven Chinese were listed, of which six were located on Third and Abbott and one on Third and Michigan.

All this evidence supports Lim's statement that the colony moved to the present location about 40 years ago (Lim 1959: 18).¹⁰

At one time or another many "Detroit Chinese" have moved from Chinatown to other sections of the city. Chinatown and the surrounding area was condemned in 1961 as part of a slum clearance project of the city government. The number of Chinese living in Chinatown in 1961 was estimated in the newspaper to have been between 150 to 600 (DN 5-28-1961). Detroit Chinese themselves estimate the number in 1961 to have been approximately 100 to 150. Regardless of the actual number of Chinese living there, Chinatown has remained

¹⁰As far as newspaper articles go, it is only in a 1927 article that the verification of the existence of the colony at the present location appears (DFP 2-2-1927).

the "sentimental center of their life" for the Detroit Chinese as a whole (Lim 1959: 21). The Chinatown on Third Avenue was gradually demolished over a period of two years, from 1961 to 1963, and the new Chinatown began to function officially in May, 1963.

Where the Immigrants Came From

The majority of Chinese immigrants to the United States came from seven districts¹¹ within the Province of Kwantung (Lee 1958: 35-36). Actually most came from the so-called 'four districts' Sze Yap 四邑 (Toi Shan (T'ai-Shan) 台山; Hoi P'ing (K'ai-Ping) 開平; Yan P'ing (En-P'ing) 恩平; and Sun Wui (Hsin-Nui) 新會).¹² These four contiguous districts are located southwest of Canton (cf. Map). The area is predominantly rural with market centers (Barnett 1960: 40). My informants told me that the Detroit Chinese were from the rural population of these districts, Kwantung Province, but that in many cases they had lived in other larger Chinese colonies in the United States, in particular, Chicago, San Francisco and New York (cf. Lim 1959: 18), before they settled in Detroit.

Analysis of grave inscriptions in the Chinese section of Forest Lawn Cemetery in Detroit¹³ demonstrates that Toi Shan has consistently been the country from which the majority of the Detroit Chinese came: at Section 30 (purchased in 1918), 73% came from Toi Shan; at Section 30 (purchased in 1937), 81%; and at Section 38 (purchased in 1952), 83% (cf. Appendix A).

¹¹The seven districts include the four districts, Shun Tak 順德, Nam Hoi 南海, and Pun Yui 番禺.

¹²In this paper Cantonese pronunciation will be used throughout, and Peiping pronunciation transcribed according to the Wade system will be inserted in parenthesis.

¹³A more detailed account of the cemetery is provided in Appendix A.

The Social Structure of Chinatown (1): the Clan¹⁴

Because of illegal entry in early times, many of the Detroit Chinese changed their official surnames, therefore it is difficult for outsiders to tell their clan affiliation by their present surnames. Fortunately, I was able to identify the clan affiliation of important families in the community with the aid of my informants. Clan identification on grave stones seemed fairly reliable, which was partially indicated by the fact that when false names are given in English, usually what seems to be the real name is given in Chinese characters.

At present the Detroit Chinese consist mainly of four clans: Yee (Yu) 余, Moy (Mei) 梅, Lim (Lin) 林 and Lee (Li) 李 (Lim 1959: 21).

The Yee is the most powerful and numerous clan in the Detroit community (DN 1-27-1941). Numerical analysis of names on the grave stones suggests that the Yee has consistently been the largest clan of the community, far surpassing the other clans in number.¹⁵ The estimated number of the Yee in 1941 was 800 (DN 1-27-1941), representing 66% of the total population of Chinatown (DN 10-8-1941; DFP 10-11-1941).

Members of the Yee are the descendants of their common ancestor, Yee Moo Kai, who lived in Canton 850 years ago (counting from 1941), and a big portrait of him stands enshrined in the club house at Third

¹⁴The term 'social structure' in this paper is used to mean "patterned or institutionalized arrangements through which a group or population becomes integrated to form a society" (Keesing 1963: 32). The term 'clan' used here as a translation of the social unit in China called tsu which is discussed at length in Part II.

¹⁵See Appendix A.

Avenue and Porter Street (DN 1-27-1941). This name of their common ancestor indicates that the Yee in Detroit belong to the Yee in San Francisco, and in the West in general, since the tong association of the Yee in San Francisco is called the Yee Moo Kai Tong (Gong and Grant 1930: 34). The Yee is the most numerous and richest family in the West (Gong and Grant 1930: 195).

The Moy seems to have been next in importance. With the exception of the Yee, it was out-numbered only by the Lee in Section 32 (purchased in 1918-1930) at the cemetery. Since the Moy is the dominant clan in the Chinese colony in Chicago,¹⁶ the substantial number of the Moy seems to provide some indications for close relationship between the Detroit Chinatown and the one in Chicago. Judging from the grave inscriptions, the Lim have been in third place more or less throughout the history of the community, whereas members of the Lee were more numerous in the early part of the 20th century, and later, decreased. Some members of the Lim have recently isolated themselves from the community with Victor Lim, a senior member of the Lim clan, as their leader. Victor Lim moved his restaurant from Chinatown to the heart of downtown Detroit some years ago and concentrates on American public support by appearing on the local television. The Chinese in Chinatown say that he does not participate in any activities of the community.

¹⁶Information obtained at the Won Kow restaurant in the Chicago Chinatown on March 31, 1963. Also, the Moys and Chins are noted to be the dominant clans in Chicago (Gong and Grant 1930: 238).

An interesting correlation emerged from the analysis of grave inscriptions. That is, the majority of each clan represented in Detroit came from a single district in Toi Shan. Of the 123 Yees from Toi Shan, 101 came from Ti-hai 荻海 (82%). Every single Moy from Toi Shan came from Tuan-fen 端芬, and all the Lims from Toi Shan are from Ta-ling 大嶺. Of 23 Lees from Toi Shan, 14 are from Tsin-t'on 巡頭 (61%). Within each of these districts, there are two or three villages from which a substantial number of each clan came. For example, 16 Yees from Ti-hai came from Hsin-lien village 新蓮村, and 15 from Ch'ao-hsi village 潮美村, whereas the balance came from 43 other villages.

The Social Structure of Chinatown (2): the On Leong Tong

The most important organization of the community is the Detroit chapter of the On Leong Tong 安良工商會, one of the tong associations. The English translation of the tong organization into "merchants' association" was originally conceived in order to curry public favor of the Americans (Lee 1960: 164). Since the tong association is not a business association as such, and hence the term "merchants' association" is misleading, 'tong' and 'On Leong Tong' will be used in the present paper.

The tongs are known by the American public because of bloody tong wars and their operation of the immigration 'slot rackets.'¹⁷ This study is not, however, concerned with either of these two

¹⁷The rackets engaged in illegal entry of native-born Chinese. That is, it made a business of bringing native-born Chinese into the United States against the immigration quota. It worked in several places of entry, such as New York, Boston, and San Francisco. But it

activities of the tongs. Nevertheless, discussion of the tong association will be presented here, since it is crucial for an understanding of the social structure of overseas Chinese colonies in the United States.

The exact origin of the so-called tongs is not well known. One accepted theory is that the first tong was formed by the Chinese in the United States, who were dissatisfied with the Chee Kung Tong 致公堂 (Lee 1960: 161), an American branch of the secret organization called Tien Ti Hui 天地會 (Glick and Hong 1947: 1). The Tien Ti Hui was founded for the purpose of overthrowing the Manchus (Glick and Hong 1947: 1-9). Although all the tongs have continued to remain active since this was accomplished in 1912, and new ones have been founded subsequently, the original intention of the tong organization has an important bearing on the subject of this paper. It provides an explanation for the shift in emphasis by the Detroit Chinese from the New Year's celebration to the Double Ten celebration (the celebration for the Independence of the Republic of China) after the successful overthrow of the Manchus by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen.

Gong and Grant give another version of the circumstance in which the tongs were founded. In early days, the San Francisco Chinatown was controlled by the Six Companies (or Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association) 中華總會館 (Gong and Grant 1930: 25-26), which was composed of immigrants from the previously discussed seven

flourished best in San Francisco since these native-born Chinese could claim, when pressed for their United States citizenship, that they were born in San Francisco but their birth records were burned in the great earthquake of 1906 (cf. Lee 1960: 117).

districts¹⁸ in Kwantung Province (Gong and Grant 1930: 24-25); Lee 1960: 433). Its primary function was to serve as a court of arbitration to the Chinese. The association soon became a collection of clan guilds, and five big clans in San Francisco (Wong, Chin, Lee, Yee and Four Brothers (four clans)) started to rule the Six Companies (Gong and Grant 1930: 25-26). In protest to the domination by the big clans, members of small clans organized the Kwong Dock Tong to protect the interests of their members, and this initiated the subsequent formation of other tongs (Gong and Grant 1930: 26-28). The description of late tongs by Gong and Grant, however, indicates that some tongs were organized by members of certain clans. For example, the Bing Kung Tong was primarily under the Wong (Gong and Grant 1930: 32-33) and the Yee Moo Kai Tong was a tong by the Yee (Gong and Grant 1930: 34).

Although the exact connection between the desire to overthrow the Manchus and protest against the domination by big clans is not clear, both circumstances seem to have been involved in the early movements of the tongs. This is partially explained by the selection of Kuan Kung 關公 as their patron god by early Chinese in the United States. Kuan Kung was a military hero during the era of the Three Kingdom who, with two friends of his, originated the blood-brother oath. He is very much respected by the general population in China because of his prowess (Glick and Hong 1947: 35-36; Lee 1960: 283-284 and 437). According to Lee, Kuan Kung was chosen as the patron by

¹⁸Originally from six districts, hence the name of 'Six Companies' (Lee 1960: 433).

early Chinese immigrants, members or non-members of tongs, partly through the respect the early immigrants held for his valour, which was needed for the overthrow of the Manchu rulers, and partly because of the symbolic significance of the blood-brother oath, which helped to unite members of minor clans against the domination by the big clans.

A tong association usually consists of three groups: officials (president, vice-president, treasurer, secretary, and interpreters); elders; ordinary members. While the officials are the executors, the elders serve as consultants. It was from the third group that the hatchetmen and gunmen were recruited (Gong and Grant 1930: 270-272).

Perhaps the most important function of the tong association has always been in its capacity as a court of arbitration. For this function, the elders are very highly regarded as consultants in the organization. The Chinese try their best to settle their own affairs among themselves without handing their cases over to American authorities.¹⁹ The above description, however, does not imply that they were peaceful 'democratic' organizations. Methods of arbitration were extremely autocratic in early years (Lee 1960: 164).

The tong may also serve as an insurance cooperative, a funeral cooperative, a bank, a loan and investment agency, as well as a gambling club.

The On Leong Tong, specifically, was organized in 1899 (Gong and Grant 1930: 157) and dominated all the Chinatowns of the eastern

¹⁹This naturally makes an investigation of tong association activities very difficult, as are community studies of Chinatowns under the control of a tong.

cities from New York through the Midwest to Houston, Texas (Lee 1960: 163). Lim's description of the On Leong Tong in Detroit gives an idea as to its present functions:

It consists of businessmen who formed the organization to buy on the cooperative plan and to regulate competition and iron out disputes among themselves. But it is also helpful to the Chinese community as a whole, for it was responsible for the establishment of Chinatown here on Third Avenue, erecting its buildings and encouraging harmonious social relations. The association also maintains a funeral plot for the Chinese community in Forest Lawn Cemetery. (1959: 21)

Although Lim points out in the above passage that cooperative purchase of merchandise is handled by the association, my informants told me that this was never an important function and that Chinese businessmen buy their goods individually from American wholesale companies. The cooperative purchase does not seem to be a significant function of the tong in general.

Henry Yee, president of the On Leong Tong in 1963, stresses that the association strives to settle disputes among families and individuals so as not to lose the face of the Chinese by exposing their affairs to the American public, and that they consult their elders about how to settle disputes (Harris 1963).

The On Leong Tong in Detroit owns the four-story Chinese Culture and Recreational Center at 824 Abbott, where the Chinese language is taught to Chinese youngsters, and English is taught to the Chinese who recently came from the mainland and do not know the English language. Most of the communal activities take place in this building. Older males in the community without family connections are provided rooms in this building. A large picture of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen is hung on the stage in the assembly room.

The On Leong Tong also owns a large building in Chinese architecture which occupies half a block. The building is subdivided into shops and restaurants and rented to the owners of these establishments. Mr. X's restaurant is located at the center of this building, and the office of the On Leong Tong is on the second floor of the flat next to his restaurant. On the door of the ground floor leading up to the office, the sign of the Kuomintang is written. The office consists of three rooms, one of which is a big meeting room. In the meeting room a scroll with pictorial representation in color of Kuan Kung and his two blood-brothers is enshrined. Two large photographs are hung on the wall, one of Chiang Kai-Shek, and the other of Mr. X with the city officials of Detroit.

At present, in Detroit there are about 300 members of the On Leong Tong (according to Informant F). Considering the total of 3,000 for the Detroit Chinese, 300 does not amount to a large percentage of the population. However, taking into account the facts that many members of the family other than the family heads are included in the total population count and that many of the American born Detroit Chinese have gone into other professions outside of the community, the figure 300 seems to cover a large portion of the male Detroit Chinese who are in their traditional businesses.

Although the On Leong Tong is not in principle a kin organization, information from newspaper articles indicates that high positions in the association have been taken by Yees continuously since 1932 and very likely in some early years also (cf. Appendix B).

In addition to the regular meetings, the members of the On Leong Tong assemble on the New Year's occasion. Each member donates some

amount of money to the association, and the name of the member and the amount that he donates are written on a slip of red paper and hung on the wall of the meeting room of the On Leong Tong office.

The importance of the On Leong Tong to the Detroit Chinese community as a whole seems sufficiently evident. First, the On Leong Tong is the single organization in the community in which the majority of the male Detroit Chinese hold membership. Second, it has served as a court of arbitration, and hence, functioned as a mechanism through which opinions of the elders -- the traditional values -- were transmitted to the younger members of the community. Third, the association has served as an agent through which the Yee clan has, to a great extent, maintained its control of the community, as evidenced by the continuous occupation of high positions in the association by Yees.

The Social Structure of Chinatown (3): Other Organizations

In overseas Chinese colonies, not every clan in a Chinese community can afford to form a clan association. In the Detroit Chinese community, only the Yee has a powerful clan association of its own. All the Yees in the Detroit community join the Yee Family Association, and elders of the Yee assume the official positions. It is the association to protect the interests of the Yee clan and care for its members.

The Yee Hing Tong 餘慶堂義政, the burial association of the community, was established already by 1918. Its exact relation to the On Leong Tong is not clear but it seems to be closely related. Lim's statement indicates that cemetery lots were purchased by the On Leong Tong (1959: 21), whereas the official title of the organization given in the cemetery records is the Yee Hing Tong. There are some overlaps

in the officers of both organizations, also. For example, Huie was president of the Yee Hing Tong in 1937 and secretary of the On Leong Tong in 1942. Ben K. Yee was in charge of both organizations in 1952. It seems then that the two organizations are related to each other.

In addition, there are some other organizations. In early years, the Detroit Chapter of the Six Companies was active. From the opening of the Sino-Japanese War until the end of World War II, the Chinese National Welfare Association was very active. It was formed with the sole purpose of collecting funds to aid their homeland. Other associations include the Chinese Amvets Post 824, the Kuomintang and the Fon Kung Wyl (the Chinese Anti-Communism League) which was formed after the Communist seizure of the mainland (Lim 1959: 21; DN 1-21-1951).

Besides these organizations, they also have basketball and bowling teams for the younger members of the community. The former has not been active for the past few years, although its formation was much earlier than the latter. They compete among themselves and do not play with non-Chinese teams.

Relationship of the Detroit Chinese to other Chinese Communities in America and China

Since the On Leong Tong is one of the six tong associations, it indirectly has relations with all other tong associations in the United States, but it has more direct relationship with other On Leong Tong associations in the East and Midwest of the United States. The closest tie in the early years seems to have been with the Chicago Chinese community. The first group of Chinese came from Chicago in the very beginning of the twentieth century and opened restaurants

in Detroit (DN 7-9-1934). After the depression in 1929, many Detroit Chinese left the city and went to Chicago as well as to eastern cities for recuperation. One of the four major clans in Detroit is the Moy -- the dominant clan in the Chicago Chinatown.

The population of the Detroit Chinese community is comparatively small. In addition they still adhere strongly to the exogamous rule of the Chinese clan system (ct. Part II). These two factors often require the Detroit Chinese to seek their mates in other Chinese communities -- on the mainland and overseas. It seems to be the pattern of the Chinese in the United States in general that those born in China, including those young bachelors who came after the separation of the country, usually go back to the mainland to find a mate, whereas American-born Chinese find their mates in other overseas Chinese colonies in the United States. In the case of the Detroit Chinese, the same rule seems to apply. Wives of the older generation are from the mainland, without exception, whereas their sons and daughters often seek their mates in other Chinese communities in the United States. In the family of Mr. X, of the husbands of his five daughters, two came from the New York Chinatown, one from the Detroit community itself, one from Canada, and one from Shanghai through Formosa. The annual New Year's Dance Party in New York seems to be an institution providing opportunities for young Chinese from Detroit to meet the New York Chinese.

Another agent for the Detroit Chinese to meet Chinese in other Chinese communities in the United States is the meetings of the clan associations. Since not every clan in a Chinese community can afford to establish a clan association, members of a small and poor clan join

the clan association held in the Chinese community where their fellow clan members are more numerous and wealthier. For example, some Wongs in Detroit join the Wong Clan Association in Boston.

An indirect facility for communication between overseas Chinese colonies is newspapers. The Detroit Chinese do not have a newspaper or radio program of their own, and many subscribe to the San Min Morning Paper from the Chicago Chinatown, the Chinese American from the New York Chinatown, and the Chinese Republic from the San Francisco Chinatown. Restaurants subscribe also to the Kung Shang Jih Pao 工商日報, the daily business paper published in San Francisco.

Contact with Non-Chinese Population in America

Although the Detroit Chinese definitely prefer to marry Chinese, there are a few cases of marriage with non-Chinese Orientals. For example, there are two cases of marriage with Japanese women and one with a Filipino man.²⁰ Marriage with Caucasians is prohibited to members of noted families, but is practiced by minor male members of the community.

In the economic sphere, as discussed earlier, the Detroit community has not escaped fluctuations in the American economy such as depressions, because of its dependence on American customers and its dealings with American wholesale companies.

²⁰One of the three owners of restaurant A is a Japanese woman once married to a Chinese. The wife of Henry Yee, president of the On Leong Tong in 1963, is also Japanese. The girl who was teaching at the Chinese language school, a daughter of a restaurant owner in Chinatown, married a Filipino man who is a physician (Information gathered at the school on February 3, 1963, two weeks before her wedding).

The Detroit Chinese have participated in the Central Methodist Church in downtown Detroit since 1915, and recently many of the marriages of the young Detroit Chinese have been performed there. The degree of Christianization of the Chinese in the sphere of religious and other value systems is still very much open to question. Christianity and traditional Chinese ancestor worship, however, do not seem to interfere with each other. Therefore, the problem of Christianization of the Detroit Chinese was not emphasized in the present study.

PART II

THE VILLAGE ORGANIZATION ON MAINLAND CHINA

Until the communists' seizure of the mainland, the village in China had been an autonomous unit, and any socio-political organization larger than the village, including the central government, did not carry much weight in the socio-political organization in the rural areas of China (Weber 1951: 63-104; Kulp 1925: xxiv).

The basic social unit in the village in China is the chia 家 (Fei 1946: 27; Levy 1949: 164). Fei defines the chia as:

... an undivided expanded patrilineal family ... (which) excludes the relatives on mother's side and also married daughters. (1946: 83)

It is an economic and residential unit with the principle of patrilocality, holding property in common and maintaining a common household (Levy 1949: 50). It usually consists of parents and their unmarried children, and the oldest son's family if he is married (O. Lee: Personal communication).

Each chia has an altar for their immediate ancestors, and the spirits of the ancestors control the daily life of the family members to a great extent (Fei 1946: 29-30; Yang 1945: 45-46). Ancestral tablets, each carrying the name of a dead member of the chia, are kept in the ancestral altar (O. Lee: Personal communication).

While the chia receives rather uniform emphasis and definition

by scholars, delineation of the unit tsu 族¹ seems to differ in time and region. Hence, scholars assign varying delimitation to the unit.

Levy provides a broad definition of the term tsu: "... includes all persons of a single surname who can trace their descent from a common ancestor" (Levy 1949: 49). Fei, on the other hand, delimits the number of generations to five:

According to accepted principle, all the patrilineal descendents and their wives that can be traced to a common ancestor within five kinship grades consider themselves as belonging to a kinship group called Tsu. (1946: 84)

According to Fêng, the accounting of five generations is of historical significance. He states that tsu exogamy was established for the maintenance of solidarity, and during the periods of Hsia and Shang (ca. 1,700-1,100 B.C.) members of the same tsu could marry only after the lapse of five generations (Fêng 1937: 175).

On the whole, the number of generations is not important, but genealogical connections, either written in the book of the tsu or socially recognized, seems the most important criterion to determine the membership of the tsu. The book of the tsu usually contains names of all the members of the tsu (O. Lee: Personal communication), and the "origin and development of the clan (tsu) and ... credible actions of its departed members" (Yang 1945: 138).

¹The unit tsu is translated by different scholars into different English terms. Yang (1945) uses clan, Weber (1951) and Fêng (1937) sib, and Kulp (1925) uses sib and clan interchangeably. Levy (1949) uses tsu as it is. In this paper I shall tentatively use the term 'clan' when necessary.

A survey of the literature and a discussion with my Chinese informants indicate there are two most important functions that the tsu, as defined by most scholars, fulfills. First, it provides the regulation of patrilineal descent which involves not only the transmission of the tsu name but also the transmission of office, property, etc. Secondly, it enforces strict exogamous regulation in marriage.²

The tsu is most strongly developed in Central and South China -- the Yangtze Valley in general and the provinces of Fukien and Kwantung (Levy 1949: 50). In Central and South China, many fairly large villages are composed entirely of members of one tsu (Yang 1945: 134; Levy 1949: 50; Kulp 1925: xxiii). In general a village is sometimes occupied exclusively or predominantly by one tsu, and in other cases it consists of a confederation of several tsu (Weber 1951: 86).

When the tsu is considered to be an exogamous patrilineal descent group, occupation of a village by members of a single tsu does not necessarily mean that all the members of one tsu are confined in a single village. As a matter of fact, the tsu theoretically goes beyond the village boundary and, in addition, cuts across both occupational and class boundaries (Levy 1949: 49-50).

On the other hand, persons with the same last name do not necessarily belong to the same tsu. In other words, two Yees, for example, may belong to two different tsu which share the name of

²This patrilineal exogamous regulation results in the clear dichotomy of relatives, and kinship terms as well, into tsu-relatives and non-tsu-relatives (Fêng 1937: 175-176).

Yee but have no genealogical connections. Therefore, if a stranger, Yee, comes to a village, or a Chinatown in the United States for that matter, he would be accepted as a member of the Yee clan of that place only after his genealogical connection to the particular Yee is established, if necessary by showing his chia book and comparing it with the book of the tsu (O. Lee: Personal communication).

When many members of the tsu reside in proximity, as in the case of villages in South and Central China, the tsu becomes more than a patrilineal exogamous unit and assumes many more functions. It may own property as an organization, and provide school, medical care and burial ground. It may take care of the aged and the widows. It may exercise quite broad judicial functions on an extralegal basis and enjoy authority in disciplining the unfilial or misbehaving members. It may take responsibility in building and maintaining an ancestral hall where the book of the tsu is kept. It may fulfill a ceremonial function and all the members of the tsu get together at ceremonial occasions such as weddings, funerals, feasts, and special occasions for ancestor worship. The tsu may also collect funds to support a brilliant but poor member in obtaining advanced education (Weber 1951: 86-87; Levy 1949: 49; Yang 1945: 135-142; Fei 1946: 84-85).

When a village consists of more than one tsu, each tsu may fulfill the functions above discussed for its own members, but it seems customary that the largest and wealthiest tsu carries out some of the tsu functions for the entire village. For example, it may provide a school for the whole village (Yang 1945: 137 & 144).

Beside the kin organizations of chia and tsu, which are the most important social units of the village, there also are non-kin

organizations for economic, recreational and other purposes. Kulp, for example, found in one village in South China, where he studied, the Mutual Aid Club, Parent Burial Association, Society for the Manufacture of Sugar, Irrigation Club, Boxing Club, and Music Club (Kulp 1925: 198-215). An important non-kin organization in the village is chien hui 錢會 (Fukutake 1961: 117), which is variously translated as a cooperative loan society (Smith 1899: 152-153), a financial aid society (Fei 1946: 267) and a mutual aid club (Kulp 1925: 189-196). It is a mechanism for collective saving and lending which has been practiced by the general population in most parts of China (cf. also Gamble 1933: 196-197) for a long period of time. The chien hui is a voluntary association which can be organized by anyone in need of a lump sum of money; is of a temporary nature; and terminates when each member's contribution is repaid in the form of money and feasts. Usually, the number of months of its existence are the same as the number of participants. Members of the club (chien hui) are friends of the organizer and the club cuts across kinship lines (Kulp 1925: xxv & 189-196).

Ancestor Worship and Village Organization on the Mainland

The importance of ancestor worship as the binding force of the chia has been widely accepted (Yang 1945: 45; Fei 1946: 29-30). The significance of ancestor worship to the tsu organization is also stressed especially by those scholars who consider the tsu as the basic unit in Chinese social structure. Max Weber, for example, points out the political importance of religion (Weber 1951: 142-143) and claims:

The cohesion of the sib (tsu) undoubtedly rested wholly upon ancestor cult. The sib withstood the ruthless encroachments of the patrimonial administration, its mechanically constructed liability associations, its resettlements, its land repartitions, and the classifications of the population in terms of ting, i.e., employable individuals. The ancestor cult was the only folk-cult that was not managed by the Caesaro-papist government and its officials. (1951: 87)

No less importance is put on the relationship between ancestor worship and the tsu by Kulp (1925: 80-81 & 86) and Graham (1961: 120).

Levy, who continuously stresses the chia as the basic social unit (1963: 164-207), likewise claims:

Ancestor worship embodies the set of ultimate values which provided for the authenticity and binding force of virtually the entire social structure of "traditional" China. (1949: 343)

It is this assumption of a close relationship between ancestor worship and the Chinese social structure that I would like to critically examine in the light of the Detroit data. Due to the nature of the Detroit material, the unit tsu will receive major emphasis.

PART III

CANTONESE NEW YEAR'S CELEBRATION

In China, the New Year's celebration is usually considered to be the most important ceremony of the year (Yang 1946: 45, 90 and 138). It seems to have originated prior to the introduction of Buddhism,¹ and thus, incorporated different features of Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, and the State Religion of China, as these religions became influential. Although each of these great religions in China gave different elements to the New Year's celebration, the celebration did, nevertheless, retain the essential features of the folk festival.

Since the majority of Detroit Chinese came from Kwantung Province in the late nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth century, the prototype of the Detroit New Year's celebration was probably that of Kwantung, as observed there at the end of the last century. Since no source for this specific type of information is available, the following description is based primarily on Eberhard's general account of the Chinese New Year's celebration (Eberhard 1959), on Leung's discussion of the celebration in Peking in the early part of the twentieth century (Leung 1936), Graham's account of the celebration in southeast China (Graham 1961) and Yang's in northeastern China (Yang 1945). Each feature discussed here, however, was carefully verified by Informant A, as having also occurred in the Cantonese celebration. In general, regional differences in the celebration on

¹According to Reischauer and Fairbank (1958: 146), and also Graham (1961: 58), Buddhism was introduced during the first half of the first century A.D., but Lee states that it was introduced in the fifth century A.D. (1960: 435).

the mainland seem to lie primarily in the degree of elaborateness of some of the features or in the order of celebrating these features. In terms of essential functions of the New Year's celebration, there seems to be little significant difference from one region of China to another.

The book, The Flower Drum Song (Li 1957: 116-150), contains a detailed description of the New Year's celebration in the San Francisco Chinatown, and all of the following features are seen in the description.

Brief Description of the Celebration

The Chinese New Year's Day is determined according to the lunar calendar. It falls on the second new moon after the day of the winter solstice. Hence, the date varies every year, but it is always between January 20 and February 20 of the Gregorian calendar (Leung 1939: 749; cf. Appendix C).

The New Year's celebration, however, actually starts with a long and elaborate preparation. The preparation starts usually on the eighth day of the twelfth moon, fully three weeks before the lunar New Year's Day. Housewives buy new outfits for the New Year's Day. In Canton, flower markets are open during the period of preparation and women buy budding flowers so that they will bloom on New Year's Day. The flower is a symbol of good fortune; it blooms like a fortune. Above all, to discharge all debts and prepare to start the New Year's Day with a clean slate is one of the focal elements of the preparation. Most Chinese consider it a fatal "loss of face" if one fails to pay off debts.

Before the twenty-third day of the twelfth month, all the people who are not family members, such as married daughters or friends, have to leave the house. The kitchen god has to be sent out of the house also, for which a farewell sacrifice, that usually falls on the twenty-third day of the twelfth month, is prepared. The kitchen god, Tsao Wang Yeh, is the household god who takes care of the house. On the twenty-third day of the twelfth moon, he ascends to heaven to give a report to the Jade Emperor (God of Heaven)² of the doings of the family. The family offers the deity huge pieces of molasses candy so that when he is about to make his report to heaven he will be unable to take his teeth out of the jaw-locking mass³ and cannot report misbehaviors of the family members. Then they offer him a miniature ladder made of paper for his celestial climb. When all of these procedures are duly performed, they burn all the paper objects, including the picture of the god and the ladder, so that these objects will ascend to Heaven. They end the ceremony with the following admonition to the kitchen god: "Tsao Wang Yeh, when you go up to Heaven, favorable words say many; unfavorable words, few; protect us and let all good things come our way" (Leung 1936: 749-750). Finally, after the twenty-third day of the twelfth month, a great

²Jade (or Pearl) Emperor, kitchen god, and the god of wealth, who is also an important god in the celebration, are all classified as Taoist gods (Graham 1961: 202 and 243). These gods, however, do not seem to have been created newly by Taoism, but originated in some aboriginal religion.

³Another explanation is that they offer the sweet molasses so that he will speak sweet words in his report (Graham 1961: 145).

house cleaning is performed by every family. Everything in the house is cleaned and rearranged. Following this, the couplets for all the doors and windows have to be prepared also. People make strips of red (symbol of happiness in China) paper on which they write expressions of wishes for happiness, prosperity, honor, long life, and numerous sons in Chinese characters. The phrases differ according to the social status of the family, although all families exalt the virtues of filial piety and reverence.

After the supper on New Year's Eve, the ancestral spirits, the god of wealth, the god of heaven, the god of earth, and the kitchen god, are welcomed to the house through proper ceremonies.

Very early in the morning of New Year's Day, that is, the first day of the lunar calendar, all members of the family wake up and put their new clothes on. They gather before the table in the main room to pay homage to their ancestors. Then, the male members of the family perform a certain ritual before the ancestral altar, the father first, the oldest son next, and so forth. Simple ceremonies are also executed where the gods are located.

At the clan temple a religious ceremony is likewise held for the clan god and clan ancestors by male members of the clan. The females are not allowed to participate in the ceremony (Graham 1961: 122). Some associations may hold their own ceremony also, dedicating the ceremony to the god or gods they chose as their guardian.

When the religious ceremonies are over, the gaiety of the half-month celebration starts. After junior members of the family express the proper New Year's greetings to the senior members, family members get together for the feast among red candles. It is important that

the spirits of the deceased ancestors are present and share in the repast. The feast consists of as many courses as the family can afford, sometimes comprising 30 to 40 dishes.

This is also the time when money gifts, wrapped in red paper bearing Chinese characters for happiness, are given by the parents to children.

Outside the house on the streets, there is a fusillade of fire-crackers and many people enjoy gambling on the road. The dragon dance, which is one of the most enjoyable and indispensable features of the New Year's celebration, roams the streets.

The period of the celebration usually continues for 15 days. In general, a special celebration is assigned to each day of the period. For example, the first day may be for the family, the third day the farewell ceremony for departing spirits of the ancestors, and the fifth day the ceremony for the god of wealth. Many regional differences are seen in the sequence of these celebrations.

Through the entire period, incense burns constantly, and people have to talk and behave carefully. Harmony should be maintained in the family. It is a bad omen to break things or to mention death in conversation. Women quit working so that they will not "sweep away" or "wash away" good luck. Everyone must be polite to one another. Most dignified fathers and grandfathers smile, while the humblest maid enjoys a period when she is free from being scolded.

Relatives and friends make calls on one another with red calling cards.⁴ Money gifts are presented by older relatives to younger relatives and by the employer to his employees.

During this period all shops are closed.⁵ If business is absolutely necessary, it is carried on as inconspicuously as possible, preferably via the back or side door. Temples, bazaars, and theaters are the only busy places. People go to temples for worship and then frequent the nearby bazaars. Theaters are crowded, and even country women dress in their best and go three or four miles to watch a theatre performance in the nearby city.

The New Year's celebration is usually closed on the fifteenth day of the first month with a Lantern Festival. Paper and silk lanterns are lighted and the dragon parade roams in the streets exorcising demons.

Analysis of the New Year's Celebration

The focal idea of the Chinese New Year's celebration is the wish for a better life in the coming year. The abundant use of the color of red, a symbol of happiness in China, indicates the central idea. Mottoes written on red strips of paper also indicate the wish for a good life. Expressions center on happiness, wealth, honor, long life, numerous sons, and official positions, indicating what a good life is in the mind of the Chinese.

⁴Eberhard (1952: 39) states that the New Year's visiting is done on the Eve in most cases, while Leung and Graham describe it as being done on the New Year's Day. All the Chinese people with whom I discussed this problem stated that it is done on New Year's Day.

⁵Since the birth of the Chinese Republic, some shops have opened before the 15th of January (Graham 1961: 146).

In order to achieve these goals, the Chinese appeal to the supernatural beings. In Chinese traditional concepts, the supernatural safeguard is achieved through the performance of proper rituals in the proper way. The kitchen god, who takes care of the welfare of the members of the family, is chosen, and the ceremony for his departure is one of the focal elements of the preparation for the New Year's celebration.

The dedication of a ceremony to the god of wealth, usually on the fifth day of the New Year, reflects the importance of the value of wealth in the Chinese mind. Wealth is not only regarded highly by the common people, but it was also officially sanctioned by orthodox Confucians as a universal means of moral perfection (Weber 1951: 147-148, 159, 161, 167, 237, 242 and 245).

Above all, however, the ancestor receives the highest degree of respect and consideration during the celebration. Both the emperor and the commoner perform special ceremonies for their immediate ancestors, and clan members dedicate the ceremony to their common ancestor.

In the state religion of China, the emperor was considered to be the son of the God of Heaven (who was the supreme god of the heavenly order (Weber 1951: 28 and 31-32). The emperor enjoys charismatic authority, but in return he has to take responsibility in maintaining social order (Weber 1951: 31-32). To do so, the emperor asks his father, the God of Heaven, for help by performing rituals for him in proper traditional manner on the New Year's occasion.

On the commoners' level, the state sanctioned the already existing folk belief of the ancestral cult as the state religion

(Weber 1951: 142-143).⁸ It is reported as a common belief among rural population to consider their deceased ancestors as gods (Graham 1961: 120). If ancestors are worshipped in proper rituals, they will help and protect their living descendants by becoming mediators to convey the wishes of the descendants to the God of Heaven (Weber 1951: 87), to whom only the emperor has access (Graham 1951: 219).

One of the basic concepts of the traditional Chinese social organization is that the dead and the living reside in one and the same world mutually helping each other (Weber 1951: 87; Graham 1961: 120; Fei 1946: 30). Yang expounds that the New Year's celebration is "the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of paying homage to the dead ancestors" (Yang 1946: 90). The ancestral worship in the New Year's celebration then serves to revitalize the basic framework of the whole organization of Chinese society by linking the living and the dead at all levels: the emperor and his ancestors, clan members and their common ancestor, and the members of the family and their immediate ancestors.

Features of the New Year's celebration that are related to the social organization of the living are also abundant. Filial piety is the cardinal virtue in Confucianism. It is, however, more than a mere virtue. It is the essential mechanism by which hierarchy within the chia is maintained. The importance of the household head, especially

⁸At the very beginning of Chinese history, ancestral worship had already been well established (Graham 1961: 119), and the State Religion merely provided official sanction in later years. (Cf. Laufer argues that the ancestral cult with anthropomorphic images of tablets and pictorial representation has a history of only eight to nine hundred years (Laufer 1913: 408)).

as a household priest in the ancestral worship, is emphasized.

Also, the sitting position which each member of the family takes in New Year's feasts reminds the family members of their respective positions within the family. The New Year's visits are done in such a manner that the children pay visits to their parents and inferiors to their superiors, and not vice versa. This custom reminds one of one's relative position to others in the family and in society.

The social hierarchy is given prominence also by the gift-giving custom which allows superiors to give gifts to inferiors; this again cannot operate in the other direction. The traditional concept prescribes that all possessions of the inferior belong rightfully to the superior (Weber 1951: 147). Therefore, only the superior can give presents to the inferior. The gift-giving custom would also mean that inferiors enter a new term of obligation to their superiors by receiving presents from them.

The couplets on red paper on windows and doors, which reflect the social status of the household, likewise accentuate the social hierarchy in the people's minds. The degree of elaborateness of preparation for the ceremony adds to it too: those who arrange less elaborate preparations would be reminded of their inferior economic position in contrast with those who engage in more elaborate preparations.

There are also features that contribute to the promotion of social relations in a more general way. Family reunion would promote cohesion among the family members, and general harmony of the society would be enhanced by the custom of visiting relatives, neighbors, and

friends. Emphasis upon exhibiting the best social behavior during the celebration period certainly is a most cleverly conceived mechanism to achieve good social relations. The clearance of debts and obligations in general would not only facilitate economic circulation, but also refresh social relations among personal and business acquaintances.

There are many other features in the New Year's celebration. However, since the major concern of the paper is the relationship of the New Year's celebration to the social structure, only the ethical, educational and recreational aspects of the celebration will be briefly discussed here. The belief in the report of the kitchen god to the Jade Emperor on the ethical conduct of the family perhaps executes an effect in controlling behavior of individual members of the family and motivating them to live up to the ethical standards of the society. Departure from or violation of norms are regarded as inviting the disapproval of the ancestral spirits and perhaps withdrawal of their favors as a consequence.

Since traditional values, ethics, and social hierarchy are all expressed abundantly with various cultural symbols, the celebration should be an excellent occasion for the transmission of culture from parents to children. Another prominent aspect of the festival is recreational. Big feasts, firecrackers, theaters, dragon dances, and lantern festivals are all directed towards joviality and entertainment, although each feature has also other functions and meaning for the Chinese.

Lastly, the composition of participants in the celebration is of particular importance for our analysis. In the ceremony of ancestral worship at individual homes, only the adult male members of the house-

hold perform in the ritual, although the presence of all family members is required. At the clan temple, a ceremony is carried out again only by the males. Then, although other features such as recreational ones are enjoyed both by men and women, ancestor worship in the celebration is executed almost exclusively by men. This fact, therefore, is very significant in an analysis of the Detroit celebration. That is, theoretically, lack or scarcity of females in the Detroit community should not offer limitations to ancestor worship in the Detroit celebration.

A close representation of principal components of the Chinese social structure in the New Year's celebration, as analyzed above, seem to provide sufficient justification in choosing the New Year's celebration as the focal point in analyses of socio-cultural changes in the Detroit community and of the relationship between ancestor worship and the Chinese social structure.

PART IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DETROIT CHINESE COMMUNITY
AND CHANGES IN ITS NEW YEAR'S CELEBRATIONThe First Period (1872-1904)

1872-1874: The first Chinese in Detroit, reported as 'John Chinaman,' came to Detroit in 1872, and three other Chinese visited him on their way to Toronto in the next year (DFP 1-29-1873). In February, 1873, John Chinaman, referred to as 'Ah Chee' this time, was joined by his brother Lu How. They together owned a laundry on Gratiot Street (DFP 2-5-1873; DFP 12-20-1873; DFP 12-3-1874; DFP 2-5-1875).

1875-1876: The first article on the Chinese New Year's celebration appeared in 1875. A detailed description of the religious ceremony and decoration of the room where the celebration took place is given as follows:

Palm leaves, rice stalks, transparencies, pictures and tables with inscriptions of Chinese characters printed in colors and gold were tastefully arranged along the walls, while gilded apples, nuts, etc., were suspended in regular order from the ceilings Worship with the attending rituals was engaged in at regular intervals both throughout the day and evening, during which their weird songs, produced in a plaintive monotone, with full intonation, was listened to from the street by thoses residing in the neighborhood of the laundries.
(DFP 2-5-1875)

¹Slightly different information is given by Lim, who lists them as Ah Chee and Ku How, rather than Lu How. According to Lim, they were friends, not brothers, and had a lunch bar instead of a laundry (Lim 1959: 17).

The celebration lasted only for a day and it was closed by illuminating paper lanterns and exchanging the compliments of the hour.

A more detailed article appeared in 1876 entitled "Celestial Celebration -- Observance of the New Year by the Chinese Laundrymen, Singular Religious Devotion and Enjoyable Feast" (DFP 1-25-1876). It says that "fourteen Chinamen in the city" engaged in two week preparation for the ceremony, and joined together at Wah Hap's apartment for the celebration. The floor was "scrupulously clean" and curtains were new and white. Chinese themselves were in new clothes. The sides of the room were lined with tiers of lighted candles. Four small idols were on a table, while a large picture of Chinese deities was on the wall. The religious ceremony started at ten o'clock, which was conducted all the way through by Lee See acting as a High Priest. Chanting of sutras continued for some time, which ended with a ten minute silent prayer just before the coming of the New Year. Then upon the coming of the New Year, greetings were exchanged and an intermediate feast took place. Then sutras were burned while the Chinese chanted the sutras. Finally a big feast started and the ceremony was closed. The celebration lasted only half a day.

Both in 1875 and 1876, the religious ceremony was executed, although descriptions in neither year are specific enough to identify its nature. Since these Chinese did not have their families in Detroit, and since it is highly unlikely that all Chinese in these years belonged to one clan, the religious ceremony jointly held by single males belonging to different clans was perhaps not identical with the regular ceremony for ancestors at individual homes or the

ceremony at the clan temple in China. The four idols in the description in 1876 may have been those of the four gods of heaven, earth, kitchen and wealth, and the picture of deities was perhaps the pictorial representation of Kuan Kung and his blood-brothers for whom the Chinese population in general have high regard. A plausible explanation of the religious ceremony in these two years may be that the immediate ancestors of the Chinese were worshipped individually, perhaps though simultaneously, and the worship of the deities, which was common to all the Chinese, was performed jointly.

The occasion was for the social get-together in both years. Interestingly, in 1875 a Chinese woman or some women (it is not clear in the article) came from Chicago and joined the celebration. This fact, for one thing, indicates that the traditional circulation of population on the New Year's occasion was observed among several Chinese colonies as early as the mid 1870's.

In the realm of the preparatory work, interior decoration seems to have been well stressed. As for the recreational aspects, a feast was enjoyed in both years, although in 1875 the words 'elaborate candies,' instead of feasts, are mentioned. In 1875 'dancing,' not identified as to its nature, took place also for a short while.

Without the surrounding Chinese community, the celebration was confined to the interior of apartments. There were no dragon dance, no theatre and no firecrackers. In 1876 the reporter explains the reason for the omission of the discharge of firecrackers:

The two principal ingredients of a Chinese New Year's celebration, firecrackers and noise, were almost wholly omitted because of the laws of the city.

In 1875 the celebration lasted one day, and in 1876 it continued only for half a day, although the preparations in 1876 are reported to have been for two weeks. In both years, the celebration was cut down to a few features. 'The Americanization' of these Chinese is pointed out in 1876 as the cause for this departure. Such an explanation seems grossly invalid, and the poor financial capacity of the Chinese, explanation given in an 1883 article, seems to be a more reasonable cause for the departure.

Thus, in 1875 and 1876, features pertaining to the religious part of the celebration, promotion of social relations in general, and recreation seem to have been retained. On the other hand, the sheer fact that the Chinese were without family and without surrounding Chinese community deprived the Chinese of a great portion of the celebration. The celebration in these two years was observed with the maximum capacity of these Chinese, although external reasons resulted in gross departure from the traditional way of the celebration. The fact that the Chinese did their best in these years casts an important contrast to the way the New Year was celebrated in later years.

An interesting point in the 1876 article is that Wah Hap's laundry, where the celebration took place, was located on "Michigan Avenue, just west of Cass Street," which is just about where the present Chinatown is located.

1877-1882: No articles on the New Year's celebration are found in Detroit newspapers during these years. The first effort of Christianization of the Chinese is seen in 1882 in an article entitled "Chinese Sunday School Class in the First Pres. Church"

(P&T 5-19-1882). However, this effort by the Presbyterian Church does not seem to have affected the Chinese in any significant way, since the name of the church does not recur in available newspaper articles and, to my knowledge, no Detroit Chinese has been affiliated with the Presbyterian Church. Also in that year the anti-Chinese legislation under the auspices of the Trade Assembly was passed (DFP 2-18-1882).²

1883: There is an article on "Flebruary Sleventh; John Chinaman's New Year -- A Dinner With Him in Detroit; 'Chinamen all Good Flends Floor Days Allee Time'" (DFP 2-8-1883). The major portion of the article is devoted to a description of the ingredients used in dishes which were prepared for the feast. The reporter specifies that they did not decorate their residence nor did they wear new clothes for the occasion. Because of the city laws, again firecrackers were not used; Gut Sing explains to the reporter:

Don't have fun here, can't do it, make too much noise.
Please (police) stop us.

The celebration lasted only for a day, which the reporter explains as being due to their poor economic status:

In this country the Chinamen celebrate the New Year's festivities from one to four days, while in the native country the feast continues two and sometimes three weeks. The laundrymen, owing to the exigence of their business, can afford to spend but one day and they make the most of it.

The poor financial capacity may also be responsible for the absence of decoration and of new clothes in 1883.

The reporter does not give information as to whether all the Chinese in the city jointly celebrated the occasion or not. Only the names of five individuals are given in the article. The

²This law is called the 'Exclusion Act' and it restricted the admission of Chinese laborers (Lee 1960: 436).

celebration took place at Gut Sing's laundry which was located on Michigan Avenue.

In 1883 no religious ceremony is reported in the article. The reporter went into the backroom, but he describes the dishes of the feast only. It is possible, however, that the reporter was not informed of the ceremony, intentionally or unintentionally on the part of the Chinese.

On the whole the celebration in 1883 seems to have departed even more from the traditional pattern than those in 1875 and 1876.

1883-1903: There is no article on the Detroit Chinese New Year's celebration during these twenty years, although there are several articles in the Detroit papers on the celebration in other colonies in the United States (on the celebration in New York (DFP 1-28-1884; 2-12-1888); one in New Jersey (DFP 2-5-1886); one in Chicago (DFP 1-21-1890); and one in Washington (DFP 2-10-1891). There are some changes in the size of the Chinese population during these two decades. The population is 27 in 1886 (DFP 9-25-1903), and goes up to 50 in the early 1890's, then comes down to 12 in 1903 (DFP 1-29-1903). Sang tells a reporter in 1903 about the effect of the 1893 depression:

Ten or twelve years ago there were at least fifty of his countrymen doing business in Detroit, but they have gradually drifted to other cities, until now there are only a dozen who call Detroit their home. (DFP 1-29-1903)

According to the City Directory, the number of Chinese laundries listed is on the increase till the depression in 1893 (for example, 7 in 1891), then starts decreasing (4 in 1896), until only one is left in 1901. French names in connection with laundries start appearing in the City Directory in 1903. The impact of the French

laundries, however, was not too critical in Detroit; the main cause for the decrease in number of Chinese laundries was the 1893 depression, since Chinese laundries increased to 300 before the second great depression in 1929 (DN 7-9-1934).

1903: An article entitled "Thrifty Chinese in Detroit and Windsor Spent Their Money Like Wine and Had a Big All-Night Celebration of New Year's Day" appears in a Detroit paper (DFP 1-29-1903). As to the Detroit celebration, the description is primarily concerned with the observance of the celebration by the Chinese employed at Fred L. Grosslight, a chop suey restaurant on 262 Randolph Street, owned by an American.

The celebration in this year, as the article tells, was again characterized by feasts with heavy drinking. After heavy drinking on New Year's Eve they slowly woke up and dressed in their best Chinese outfits (not specified to be new) and exchanged calls and greetings among themselves. The reporter writes:

... it is said that everyone started the year with a clean slate, every honest Chinese paying his debts so as to start right.

From this statement, however, it is hard to distinguish whether the Chinese told him of 'the ideal pattern' in their mind or whether they actually did observe the custom.

The traditional circulation of population was even more active than in previous years. Twelve local 'Orientals' and twelve guests from outside the city, one of them from Chicago, were invited to the feast at the Grosslight. Perhaps relations among the Chinese overseas colonies in the United States were strengthened by the 1893 depression, and the celebration provided opportunity to revitalize

social relations among the Detroit Chinese as well as with Chinese in other colonies in the United States.

Religious ceremony is not reported in the article.

The same two causes for the departure from the traditional way of the celebration were given by the Chinese. The reporter writes that whereas Chinese in San Francisco or New York could finance an elaborate celebration, Jim declared that "the members of the Detroit colony are not rich enough to indulge in the expensive luxury of burning up their money." One Chinese also pointed out that a permit would be necessary in order to set off the fireworks and that this "jarred on the sensitivities of the Chinese," because in their native land they are not compelled to get permits.

Taking the effect of the depression in 1893 into consideration, the first reason, the economic factor, may have been significantly responsible for changes in the celebration. The second, the city law, explains the lack of outdoor celebration.

In addition to these factors, there is another factor contributing to the quietness of the celebration in this year. That is, police investigation of illegal entries had been made, and on New Year's Eve and New Year's Day "a number of Mongolians in the county jail" were awaiting a decision from Washington on the question of their deportation. Taking into consideration a high percentage of illegal entries among the Detroit Chinese, the police investigation might not be so much an accidental and isolated phenomenon peculiar to this year. Avoidance of police might have been on the mind of the Chinese continuously, and perhaps that is why they did not take positive measures to make the celebration more

elaborate and conspicuous, as for example, getting permits for outdoor celebration.

1904: There is no information for the year 1904.

Summary of the First Period (1872-1904)

During the first period, the Chinese population in Detroit was small in size and consisted only of single males. The majority of them were engaged in the laundry business. In the latter part of this period some were working as cooks in an American-owned chop suey restaurant. The colony was not geographically localized.

From the very beginning of this period the New Year's celebration showed a gross departure from the traditional prototype. There were three major external factors that were responsible for the change. First, the absence of family and of the surrounding Chinese community forced the Chinese to give up a great portion of the traditional celebration. Except for the New Year's Day visits, all the features pertaining to the enhancement of social organization and social hierarchy, discussed earlier in the analysis, had to be dropped. Secondly, the Detroit City laws compelled the Chinese to relinquish firecrackers, the dragon dance, and other noises outside of their residence. The absence of an extensive surrounding Chinese community, which collectively would have enjoyed these outdoor features of the celebration was, no doubt, also a contributing factor as to why this aspect was omitted.

Thirdly, the low economic status of the Chinese forced them to curtail many aspects of the celebration that demanded financial sacrifice. True, these Chinese were not well-equipped financially even on the mainland. However, in their own village, in the

extended family system, individuals would be relieved of immediate financial responsibilities. That is, there would be mutual assistance among clan members and the ultimate responsibility would fall on the head of the clan, instead of on individual family heads. On the other hand, the Detroit Chinese composed of single males belonging to different clans had to finance everything on their own, which perhaps forced them to cut short some features which otherwise they would have observed had they the benefit of the extended family system.

The religious part of the celebration is somewhat complicated to reconstruct. It seems that up to 1876 the religious ceremony was rather faithfully observed, but by 1883 it had already subsided. Not only was the religious ceremony not reported in 1883 and after, but the recreational aspect of drinking and feasting became more pronounced in the reports. In the 1883 article, Gut Sing complains about not having 'fun,' and reveals his preference for more recreation in the celebration. In the 1903 article Jim uses the expression of 'burning up their money,'³ which perhaps would not have been used if the celebration had serious meaning to him.

Had the religious part of the celebration indeed abated, there are several possible causal factors to be scrutinized. First, there is the demographic factor. In 1875 and 1876, when the religious ceremony was much in evidence, the Chinese were only 10 to 15 in number. In 1883 when the population had increased to about 25, the

³This expression might not be the exact wording of Jim, but it must have been based on his idea.

religious ceremony had already waned. Then, in 1903, when the population decreased again to 12, half of the 1883 population, the ceremony was as subdued as the one in 1883. It would therefore appear that demography was not responsible for the change which took place between 1876 and 1883.

Another factor could have been the economic status of the Chinese. However, if they could hold the religious ceremony in 1875 and 1876 they could have engaged in the ceremony in 1883 also, since their economic condition could not have altered greatly within those years. Hence, the economic factor does not seem to have been determinant.

Thirdly, there is the psychological factor. Some scholars argue that human beings appeal to supernatural power at times of crises (Malinowski 1948: 87-88). If the motivation for the observance of religious ceremony in 1875 and 1876 had been anxiety caused by a new environment, one may argue that the 1893 depression would have given sufficient cause for anxiety to call for religious ceremony in 1903, since by that year the population had not recovered its pre-depression size, indicating that the Chinese were perhaps not very well off. However, it did not so happen. Therefore, this psychological explanation is not applicable for the Detroit situation either.

A most likely cause seems to lie in the fact that the religious part of the celebration, perhaps especially the ancestor worship, had simply lost some of its meanings to the Chinese. In the first place, these Chinese did not have members of their immediate family with whom they would worship their ancestors together had they been

in China. Secondly, by this time some of these Chinese had been in the United States for a considerable length of time; in the 1903 article it is reported that Jim Sang had been in America for thirty-one years and Jim Moy had worked in New York for some time prior to his coming to Detroit.

In summary, then, due to external and internal reasons, the celebration was reduced to recreational and social features during the latter half of the first period.

The Second Period (1905-1929) -- The Formative Era

The line of demarcation for the second period will be drawn by the migration of the Chinese from the Chicago colony to the Detroit community. This first quarter of the twentieth century is a formative era, so to speak, for the Detroit Chinese community. During this period the population reached substantial numbers, perhaps by receiving those Chinese who fled from the west coast during the tong wars of 1917 and 1925. Also, during these two decades, major figures of the community, now dead or living, came to Detroit and built the foundation of the community. Overall growth of the community, however, was checked at the very end of this period when the colony, together with the rest of the United States, started to suffer from the severe blow of the depression in 1929.

The Chinese who migrated to the Detroit community during this period seem to have formed a culture of their own. This culture has assumed a character of its own, shared by other Chinese colonies in the United States, and deviated somewhat from the traditional culture on the mainland.

For the sake of clarity, the discussion of this period is

divided into two sections: community development and analysis of the celebration.

Community Development During the Second Period (1905-1929)

1905: Homer Gam, dean of Detroit Chinese restaurant owners in the 1920's came from the Chicago colony to Detroit in 1905 (DN 7-9-1934; Lim 1959: 18). He found only two lunchrooms operated by Chinese on the water front (the Detroit River) and patronized principally by sailors. He opened the 'King Yink Lo' which was "the first Chinese restaurant serving Chinese menu and catering to men and women" (only the name of the restaurant was obtained from Lim 1959: 18; other information from DN 7-9-1934). He fired off \$800 worth of firecrackers to inaugurate the occasion, upon which the police arrived. Following Gam, well-to-do Chinese arrived from the Chicago colony and organized stock companies, opened restaurants and popularized chop suey in Detroit.

These Chinese from Chicago opened their restaurants throughout the city where the population was dense. The article records Gam's account:

The distribution of the better Chinese restaurants throughout the city denied Detroit its legacy to a flourishing Chinatown, it was said, but the Chinese business man who came here with an eye for profits found it advantageous to locate their restaurants where the city's population trend warranted.

Another important figure in the Detroit Chinese community, William S. Yee, seems to have come to Detroit around 1909⁴, although there is no information as to where he came from.

⁴He died in 1957 at the age of 66. Since he came to Detroit when he was 18 years old (DN 3-7-1957); he must, therefore, have arrived around 1909.

Then around this time Detroit Chinese were markedly reinforced in number and also in financial capacity, primarily by the Chinese from the Chicago colony.

1910: The first Chinese woman to become a resident came in 1910. She was Mrs. Rose Fong, wife of a restaurant owner (Lim 1959: 18). The arrival of women signifies that their husbands decided to stay either permanently or at least for a considerable length of time, whereas many Chinese came first as sojourners intending to return to China after they had accumulated some money. However, the increase in the number of Chinese women in Detroit does not seem to have taken place until some time later.

1911: The Club House is already in existence at 100 Congress Street East in 1911 (DFP 1-30-1911), but no information was obtained as to the exact date of its establishment.

The arrival of the first woman in 1910, the existence of the Club House by 1911 and the population growth to 100 (DFP 1-30-1911) all seem to indicate the initial formation of a colony of some sort, though its geographical location was different from the present one.

1912: The birth of the Republic of China in 1912 did not affect the community immediately. Its effect on the development of the community and on the New Year's celebration started to show only around 1920.

1915: In April, 1915, the Chinese Sunday School was founded at the Central Methodist Church by Miss A. B. Shirley, deaconess. In contrast to the unsuccessful effort of the Presbyterian Church in 1882, the Central Methodist Church, located in Downtown Detroit, has been remarkably successful; many of the Detroit Chinese have

been affiliated with it up to now. Mrs. Fong, who came in 1910, is noted to have joined the Central Methodist Church "soon after" (Lim 1959: 18). Mr. William S. Yee, who came around 1909, is described as the pillar of the church (DN 3-7-1957). The descriptions of these 'Christianized' Chinese carry overtones of unreliability, and there is room for doubt that they had actually embraced the Christian faith, at least at this early stage. However, it is to be noted that the effort of Christianization reached Detroit Chinese at this early period and that it has been quite successful up to now.

1918: As it was discussed in Part I, in 1918 the Chinese started to cluster on Michigan Avenue around the location of the present colony. It is also in 1918 that the Yee Hing Tong purchased the cemetery lot and the On Leong Tong was established at the present location. All these indicate that the foundation of the Chinese community in Detroit had been firmly established by 1918.

1920: The effect of the newly formed Republican Government of China appeared most definitely in 1920. October 10th of that year, a banquet was arranged at the Hotel Statler to celebrate the anniversary of the Republic of China. The occasion is described in the paper as "the most elaborate social function ever undertaken by the Detroit Chinese community" (DFP 10-11-1920).

Beside indicating friendly relations between the Chinatown leaders and the Detroit City officials, the event testifies in a significant way that the Detroit Chinatown had been well established by then. In the article, the Chinese National Welfare association, Chinese Chamber of Commerce of Detroit and the Chinese Six Companies are listed as the principal organizations in the Detroit Chinese

community. The Chinese Six Companies and the Chinese National Welfare Association are discussed in Part 1. The latter indicates active participation of the Detroit Chinese in aid for the homeland. The 'Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Detroit' may be a translation of the On Leong Tong,⁵ or that of 華(僑)商會 which is a different organization from the On Leong Tong (Lee 1960: 433-434).

Another indication of the development of Chinese business is given by the establishment of the "Chinese American Tea Company of Detroit" which registered itself with the State Government in Lansing in 1920 (DFP 10-10-1920). The company was capitalized at \$20,000 and the incorporators are all Chinese. In the list of the incorporators, two Moys, two Lees and six other individuals with different clan names are registered. The appearance of two Moys, the dominant clan in the Chicago colony, in the list seems to provide additional evidence for the assumption that Chinese from the Chicago Chinatown contributed substantially to the economic development of the Detroit Chinese community.

1921: Another public demonstration in support of the Republican Government of China by the Detroit Chinese was observed this year when Dr. Ma Soo, a representative of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Government at Canton, came to give a talk at the convention on the menace of Japan (DFP 10-11-1921). A parade was organized along Woodward Avenue. Although no particular reference is given to local Chinese in the press, it seems quite certain that the local Chinese were the main body which facilitated the occasion.

⁵cf. Lim translates the On Leong Tong as the "Chinese Chamber of Commerce" (Lim 1959: 21).

1924: The second exclusion act, officially known as the Immigration Act of 1924, was passed (Lee 1960: 436). The further restriction of the admission of Asians most likely vitalized the activities of the slot rackets.

It is also in the early 1920's that some of the important figures in the present community arrived in Detroit. For example, Mr. X, who continuously served with the On Leong Tong for twenty-five years, either as president or secretary, seems to have come to Detroit around 1924.⁶ Another important figure, Mr. Wee, is also reported to have come from Canton to Detroit in 1923 (DN 9-16-1960).

1927: The existence of the On Leong Tong at the present location is definitely confirmed in a 1927 article, in which the New Year's celebration is recorded to have taken place at "the Chinese Merchants Association building on Third Street before Porter Street" (DFP 2-2-1927).

Activities of Detroit tong members in fields other than community development are also recorded, and they seem to throw light upon the profile of the Detroit Chinese community around this time. An article in 1927 tells of leaders of the Detroit Chinese community, such as Mr. X, as being under arrest. They went to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and extorted money from On Leong Tong members there under threats of death (DFP 10-11-1927).

⁶He retired from the On Leong Tong in 1949, and died in 1951. He was married in 1922 in China (DN 1-27-1957; DN 10-12-1960). These figures indicate that he came to Detroit around 1924. According to one of his daughters, he lived in Akron, Ohio prior to his coming to Detroit, but a newspaper article states that he was from Chicago (DFP 10-11-1927).

1929: The Nationalist Government was established in China in 1927, and Chiang Kai-Shek was made president of this government in 1928. The Detroit Chinese community continued to support the mainland. The 'Double Ten Day' (the day of the formation of the Republican Government) was again celebrated in 1929.

Up to the time of the depression in October, 1929, the community seems to have been developing steadily. In 1929, the population of the Detroit Chinese increased to 1,500 (DFP 10-10-1929; 1,400 in DN 7-9-1934). The appearance of families indicates that the colony was gaining stability, rather than being a place where sojourners aggregated for relatively short periods of time. Three hundred laundries and thirty-two restaurants, with a \$2,500,000 volume of business, were operated by the Chinese in the city in that year (DN 7-9-1934). In April, 1929, the dedication ceremony of the new clubhouse was jointly celebrated with the opening ceremony of a brach of the international order of Hoy Sun Ning Yung Benevolence Association⁷ (DN 4-1-1929). The doubly happy occasion was celebrated with "the explosion of thousands of firecrackers."

Community development during this second period may be summarized as follows. During the first half of this period, roughly from 1905 to 1920, wealthier Chinese came from Chicago to Detroit and formed the foundation of the Detroit Chinatown. In the 1920's, until the 1929 depression, more Chinese came and developed the community to a remarkable degree under the On Leong Tong organization and the Six

⁷Ning Yung Benevolent Association is listed as one of seven district associations of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (Lee 1960: 433)

Companies. In terms of population size the community also showed a remarkable expansion; it had increased from 12 in 1903 (DFP 1-29-1903) to 1,500 in 1929, just prior to the depression (DFP 10-10-1929).

The New Year's Celebration During the Second Period (1905-1929)

1905-1907: Although no information on the celebration is available for these years, there is a possibility that a lively celebration took place in these years. In a 1910 article a reporter states that the celebrations have been more conspicuous "in the last few years" and that they attracted public attention (DFP 2-10-1910). Since in 1908 the celebration is recorded to have been a quiet one, as will be discussed next, "the last few years" refers perhaps to the years 1905-1907.

It is not clear in the article as to which were the features that attracted public attention. Since Homer Gam stated in 1910 that there never had been an elaborate celebration in Detroit, the features that are reported to have attracted public attention may simply have been ostentatious decoration of the exterior of their houses.

One may conjecture that increase in both population and capital vitalized the celebration, though only to a limited degree.

1908: The celebration was quiet and the local Chinese spent their day only visiting among themselves (DFP 2-2-1908). The reporter says, "... the Americanized Chinaman is rapidly losing their very commendable trait" of paying off debts. The reporter attributes the loss of the custom to "too much contact with the careless methods of the Americans."

It is not clear what the reporter meant by "the careless methods of the Americans," but this point will be discussed in the section for 1934. At any rate old Chinese customs were being undermined in the United States and the custom of paying off one's debts was already losing its meaning by 1908.

1909: There appear to be no reports in newspapers on the celebration in 1909.

1910: Again the New Year was commemorated quietly. Fortunately, Homer Gam testifies the reason for the lack of an elaborate celebration at an interview with a reporter:

The Americanized Chinese are gradually forgetting about celebrating New Year's We men who work in the laundries and restaurants have no time to think of New Year's celebrations. Of course, we do not forget about it entirely, but there are no perceptible signs of revelry in Detroit.
(DFP 2-10-1910)

Importantly, Homer Gam adds, "Some of the older Chinese of Detroit engaged in some quiet celebrations yesterday"

Homer Gam's statement very clearly indicates that the primary reason for the considerable loss of the traditional celebration is a change in attitude of the Chinese. The Chinese in 1875 and 1876 were very likely much worse off economically than the Chinese in 1910, and still the celebration seems to have had much more meaning to them than to the Chinese in 1910. "Some of the older Chinese in Detroit" in Gam's statement may refer to the Chinese who observed the religious ceremony in 1875 and 1876. Then perhaps these pioneers continued to observe the celebration. On the other hand, the majority of the Detroit Chinese, who were perhaps in a much better economic status, took the "business first" attitude and did not put much effort into the celebration.

The population increased from 12 in 1903 to 100 in 1911 (DFP 1-29-1903; DFP 1-30-1911). The population increase at this time did not vitalize the traditional celebration. It seems that the Chinese who added to this population increase had drifted away from the traditional celebration, perhaps due to a long stay in the United States.

1911: This year the New Year is reported to have been welcomed by Detroit Chinese "with a vim" (DFP 1-30-1911). The reporter states that "each and every Chinaman" engaged in paying off their debts and a great banquet took place at the Chinese club at 100 Congress Street East.

The reporter goes on to describe the Chinese New Year's celebration in the larger Chinese colonies in the United States; the article contains misinformation and carries a heavy overtone of inaccuracy. Therefore, the retention of the custom of clearance of debts, which was neglected in 1908, may have been made up by the reporter himself rather than being based on actual observation.

The reporter explains that due to "the smallness of the Detroit colony and want of wealthy Chinese merchants," no great demonstration was performed. The celebration was going to last only for a day, and the Detroit Chinese were to go back to their work next day. Thus it is somewhat doubtful that celebration "with a vim" means an elaborate celebration retaining many features of the prototype.

It seems reasonable to interpret the celebration in 1911 as being reduced to a community dinner at the clubhouse, which perhaps served as a mechanism for the reinforcement of social cohesion among the Detroit Chinese and as an occasion to provide recreation for them.

1912: The only report on the celebration available for this year was written before the celebration took place. The reporter foretells that the announcement made by the Republican Government to change the New Year's Day from January 1st of the lunar calendar to that of the Gregorian calendar would put an end to the New Year's celebration in small colonies like the one in Detroit (DFP 2-17-1912).

However, a more basic factor than the new policy of the Republican Government was that the celebration had little meaning to the Detroit Chinese. Homer Gam states again this year, "...few Chinese in this city ever celebrated New Year's." Yee Chong Lung explains, "...it took too much time away from business to close stores and restaurants for two or three days and that the time was foolishly spent." These statements are another confirmation of the assumption that the primary factor responsible for the loss of the traditional celebration during the second period was that the celebration ceased to be significant in the minds of the majority of the Detroit Chinese, and economic profits were more important.

1913-1924: Unfortunately, there is no information on the celebration until 1925. Meanwhile, the colony grew rapidly in population, and from around 1918 'Chinatown' started to develop at the present location.

There is some information, however, in a 1927 article (DFP 2-2-1927) on the basis of which one might speculate on the way the celebration was conducted in the early 1920's. The reporter says in 1927 (the year when the celebration was a quiet one) that in former years the regulations of American law were more favorable and the Chinese were able to enjoy the shooting of firecrackers.

Since the 1926 celebration was also quiet, the celebration in 1925 and the few preceding years must have been lively. The favorable attitude of the Americans, which permitted the discharge of fire-crackers in the early 1920's can easily be deduced from the fact that in 1920 the Chinese and the Detroit City officials had such friendly relationship as to jointly hold a banquet commemorating the formation of the Republican Government in China.

Another important item in the 1927 article indicating previous celebration is: "Over on Third Street, where the dragon reigns." The reporter apparently assumed that the Detroit public was aware of the dragon. Although the 'Double Ten' had been celebrated since 1920, there is no indication that it was celebrated with the dragon dance. In the early 1920's, the New Year's Day may have been celebrated with the dragon dance.

In an article in 1957, a reporter states that Mr. X was the one who introduced "the fire-breathing dragon" for the first time to Detroit (DN 1-27-1957). It seems that this influential restaurant owner came to Detroit around 1924 or possibly a year or two earlier (cf. Footnote 6), and contributed much to the growth of the community and revitalizing the celebration.

1925: The celebration in 1925 seems to have been more elaborate than it had ever been before (DFP 1-25-1925). Almost all aspects of the traditional prototype are reported to have taken place: settling of debts, seven days of preparation, closing of business establishments, exchange of gifts and greetings, entertainment, worship of the kitchen god and of the god of wealth, discharge of firecrackers, and the continuance of the celebration until February

15 with the Lantern Festival supposedly closing the celebration.

There is much room to suspect that the flowery account of the reporter may very likely be tinged with his eagerness to display his knowledge of the traditional way of the celebration. For example, it seems not unreasonable to suspect that the Lantern Festival was not to be as elaborate as the one in the traditional celebration, even though the reporter states that the Lantern Festival was promised "to be the most colorful and inspiring scene of its character witnessed in the Detroit colony."

The custom of clearing debts is reported to have been observed. However, since this custom was already undermined as early as 1908, there is room for doubt whether the reporter's account was actually based on facts; he might have reported what the Chinese told him that they should do, instead of what they actually did.

There are also some abbreviations in the features reported to be observed. For example, the period of preparation lasted only one week, instead of the traditional two weeks. The reporter writes, "All Chinese who could afford to do so closed their place of business over the week-end." The obvious deviation from the prototype of the celebration is the fact that the shops remained closed only over the week-end and that even this was not observed by all the Chinese businessmen.

The community feast, which seems to have been characteristic of the celebration in previous years, is not noted this year, but it is likely that it had taken place this year also, since much entertainment was provided for the whole community and the feast may have been a part of it. During the first period, firecrackers

were always excluded from the celebration because of the Detroit City ordinance. However, in 1925, and perhaps also during a few years prior to 1925, the Chinese were able to enjoy firecrackers on the occasion of the celebration. The article reads that "firecrackers officially signaled" the departure of the kitchen god to the celestial realms. No reference is made as to how boisterously the Chinese celebrated the occasion, nor is it known how many firecrackers were discharged. However, the discharge of firecrackers this year indicates that the community was well developed by then and that it has received some recognition by obtaining a special permit from the municipal government. It seems to be the pattern that whenever a Chinese community becomes large enough, then the local city laws become unofficially lenient on special occasions (cf. Li 1957: 116).

No public parade or dragon dance is reported in this year. If there has been indeed a dragon dance introduced by Mr. X in the very beginning of the 1920's, it is hard to conjecture as to the possible reasons for not having this public demonstration this year.

Recreational features received much emphasis in 1925. It is reported that there was continuous entertainment with professional singers, dancers and other artists all through Sunday, and these professional singers were replaced by a fresh supply of entertainers when they retired from exhaustion.

Taking into account some exaggerations by the reporter, the celebration in 1925 seems still to have been quite an elaborate one. The overall development of the community at the present location and the increase in the economic status of the Detroit Chinese seem the major factors contributing to the revitalization of the celebration.

When the Chinese who came from Chicago were just building up the community, their business was too important for them to engage in the celebration. But, when the community became somewhat established and achieved a certain degree of stability, then the Chinese -- perhaps the new comers -- started to revive the traditional custom of more elaborate celebrations. By 1925 it seems that the On Leong Tong was well established and arranged the entertainment and some other features of the celebration for the community, which may be interpreted as the expression of the power of the On Leong Tong over the community.

1926: In contrast to the elaborate celebration of 1925, an article in 1926 informs us that "in Detroit all was quiet and tong supped with tong in peace and good will under the fluttering prayer papers of 'Sun Ning'" (DFP 2-14-1926). The New Year's dinner and the decorations of the houses seem to have been the major features of the celebration. The reporter writes that the custom of clearance of debts was not observed as strictly as previously.

It is difficult to explain this sudden decline of the celebration this year. The reason for this, one may guess, may have been some illegal activities of the tong members in Detroit which prompted the police to issue a warning to the Chinese. This will be discussed next.

1927: The celebration this year again seems to have been a quiet one. Features reported to have been observed are: clearance of debts, decoration of houses and shops with strips of paper, as well as a feast and celebration at the Chinese Merchants Association on Third Street before Porter Street (DFP 2-2-1927).

The reporter notes that there was little evidence of firecrackers because the city officials do not look upon such things with as much favor as they used to. This change in the attitude of Americans toward the Chinese seems to have taken place very abruptly (they had been more favorably inclined toward them up to 1925). The previously discussed illegal activities of tong members of Detroit, such as the ones by Mr. X and others in 1927, might have been responsible for this change.

If the sudden wane of the intensity of the celebration after 1925 was indeed due to reluctance for public appearance of the community leaders, then it may be interpreted as follows. It may have been that the community was stratified into two groups: the leaders of the On Leong Tong, belonging mostly to the Yee clan, and the rank and file of the organization. The elaborateness which characterized the celebration in the early 1920's may have redounded to the credit of the leaders, and it may not have been a collective expression of all the members of the community. Without leadership, the celebration ceases to have vitality and elaboration.

1928-1929: No report was found on the New Year's celebration for 1928 and 1929. During the celebration of the 'Double Ten' in 1929, a large number of firecrackers were used, which seems to indicate that the Chinese had regained the favor of the police officials.

Summary for the Second Period (1905-1929)

During the first half of the second period, from 1905 to around 1920, the New Year's celebration was reduced almost to a token performance, despite the improved economic status of the Detroit

Chinese when compared with that of the first period. After the establishment of the community at the present location around 1918, the celebration in terms of its form was once again revitalized almost to its traditional prototype with its climax around 1925, perhaps primarily by the Chinese who came to Detroit around 1920. However, its vitality diminished almost immediately, and the celebration became reduced to a community dinner.

The analysis of the relationship between the community development and the change in the New Year's celebration during the second period seems to indicate that the substantial growth of the community is an indispensable correlate for the revival of the celebration, as demonstrated in the celebration of 1925. However, the growth of the community is not the determining factor for the retention of the celebration in its traditionally elaborate form, since while the community still continued to grow after 1925, the celebration lost its vitality immediately after 1925.

The immediate cause responsible for the unexpected decline of the celebration may have been fortuitous in nature, namely the illegal activities of the community leaders. However, the ultimate cause for the decrease in vitality of the celebration and its continued low level during the third period, which will be discussed next, seems to lie in the overall loss of significance of the celebration to the individual Chinese. If there had been enough incentive on the part of the individual Chinese to celebrate the New Year, then, despite the restriction imposed upon the leaders of the community by the American officials, they could have still continued to celebrate the New Year more actively.

Although in terms of performance of features the New Year's celebration became vestigial, the function of the traditional celebration to express and intensify social hierarchy seems to have been retained, which is inferred by the control of the celebration by the On Leong Tong and the dependence of the manner of the celebration on its leaders.

The Third Period (1930-1945)

The depression at the end of 1929 provides an appropriate demarcation for the beginning of the third period, since it altered the course of development of the community to a considerable extent. The depression reduced the population of the community to one-third -- 1,500 to 500 (DFP 10-10-1929; DFP 10-10-1930). There were 50 women among those who remained. The rest of the population either went to eastern cities to return to China or to the Chicago colony (DN 7-9-1934), possibly because they had relatives there, or conceivably because businesses in Chicago were better established and thus less affected by the depression. The restaurants were reduced from 32 to 21, and the laundries from 300 to 200 (DN 7-9-1934).

1930: It is extremely important that articles in 1930 (DFP 10-10-1930; DN 10-11-1930) are about the celebration of the Double Ten Day, while no article on the New Year's celebration appeared that year. This fact seems to indicate that the Double Ten Day had started to take over the place of the New Year's celebration. The article notes that Dr. Hung, director of Chinese social activities in Detroit, gave a speech in which he urged Chinese

children to remain loyal to the traditions of their forefathers and to speak Chinese. The educational function, which the New Year's celebration used to carry, seems also to have been taken over by the Double Ten celebration.

In the discussion of the second period an hypothesis was advanced that much of the meaning of the traditional culture was lost as the years went by. This is well verified in a 1930 article (DN 10-11-1930). The article reads:

Sacred Chinese traditions are disregarded. Not only dead ancestors, but even living ones do not get their due share of respect from the younger generation.

The above statement seems to indicate that "the second generation" -- offspring of the immigrants -- is growing up, and the transmission of the traditional culture had not been successful. Indeed, it must have been a difficult task to transmit Chinese culture while being surrounded by American society. Secondly, as several of my informants as well as Homer Gam pointed out, the parents were busy in their business and did not make an effort to teach traditional features of the Chinese culture to their offspring. Thirdly, according to informants B and C, the younger Chinese were eager to assimilate the dominant (i.e. American) culture, and they tended to look down on Chinese culture because they identified it with their parents' occupation which they considered to be inferior.⁸

⁸Young Chinese in Detroit at present seem to put a very great value on college degrees, especially those of males. Many of the male Detroit Chinese of the younger generation work for advanced academic and professional degrees. Conversation with young girls of marital age revealed that a higher degree is one of the decisive factors in their choice of a husband. It is to be noted, however, that their low regard for the occupation of their parents by no means suggests

1931: An article on a police search to crack down on an alien ring which facilitated illegal entry stresses the connection between Windsor-Detroit-Chicago smuggling (DFP 10-37-1931). It also suggests the possibility of arrest of "a prominent Detroiter." Therefore, the article seems to confirm the two previously discussed assumptions -- a close relation between the Chicago and Detroit colonies, and a high percentage of illegal entries among the prominent Detroit Chinese.

The Chinese made their own plans to cope with the depression, such as a steady employment policy, and after 1931 not a single restaurant failed (DN 7-9-1934). However, the population had not recovered its pre-depression size (500 in 1934 (DN 7-9-1934)). Tightening up of police supervision and the possible loss of a leader, or at least suppression of his activities for the time being, perhaps affected the community to a considerable degree, since the colony had hardly recovered from the depression by that time.

1932: Despite the prolonged hardships suffered from the depression, the Detroit Chinese held as many as three fund-raising drives to aid their homeland in its fight against the Japanese during the months of January and February alone (DN 1-11-1932; DFP 2-1-1932; DN 2-1-1932; DN 2-25-1932).

There is, however, no report on the New Year's celebration.

Very significantly, a 1932 article reports that the position of

a disrespect for their parents themselves. Juvenile delinquency is almost nil (DN 2-26-1936), and parents seem to have good control over their children; this includes a strong influence in their children's choice of marriage partners.

the president of the On Leong Tong was occupied by Mr. X in 1932 (DN 2-25-1932), which indicates that by 1932, and possibly earlier, the On Leong Tong had become the mechanism through which the Yee clan controlled the community.

1933: The first description of the New Year's celebration in the third period appeared in 1933 (DN 1-26-1933). According to the report, the only features of the celebration were "a humble dinner" served to the members of the On Leong Tong, free meals to "community indigent," and worship of Kuan Kung, the patron saint of the colony, with incense. It lacked "much of the excitement of previous celebrations," and neither music nor firecrackers were enjoyed. The period of the celebration was reduced "from one week to three days" and, according to Yi Fop Hein, president of the On Leong Tong in 1933, they "even declined to discuss the tradition of paying debts."

The phrase "community's indigent" indicates that many of the members of the community were still badly hit by the depression of 1929. The local Chinese told the reporter that depression and the war on the mainland were the causes for this decline of the celebration.

1934: An article appearing this year (DN 7-9-1934) gives a very good description of the effect of the 1929 depression, which has been discussed already. The population is still one-third of the pre-depression size.

There is also an excellent press report in connection with the New Year's celebration (DN 2-14-1934) explaining the causes for the neglect of the celebration as told by the local Chinese. This year

only a very few persons could be seen to observe any aspect of the celebration, and for the younger generation the celebration had no meaning at all.

Arthur Chii, a Detroit-born Chinese whose parents came from China, provides a vivid explanation on causes of the neglect of the New Year's celebration. First, he states that the change of the date of the celebration from the New Year's Day of the lunar calendar to that of the Gregorian calendar had enhanced the loss of the tradition. He says, "We have all celebrated the New Year, the regular one. This (lunar New Year) is an extra chance to rest and have fun." As though to support his statement, Lucille Lee, nine year old girl whose grandparents migrated from China, remarks, "I like the regular New Year's. There's more racket."

Therefore, it seems that the ordinance announced by the government in 1912 to switch the New Year's Day to January 1st of the Gregorian calendar seems to have enhanced the decline of the traditional celebration, although unfortunately there is no information available as to what kind of celebration the Detroit Chinese observed for the New Year's Day of the Gregorian calendar during these years.

Secondly, Arthur Chii clarifies the cause for loss of the custom of paying off one's debts. He explains that change of business methods caused the disappearance of the custom of discharging one's debts for the New Year: "Now, it's cash in 30 days -- on the line." It seems then that the Chinese village economy was undermined by the American cash economy and caused the loss of the New Year's custom of discharging debts. It seems, however, that they have not gotten

into the credit economy which has been on the ascendant from around the turn of the century in American society.

Finally, Chii concludes his statement by saying of the New Year's celebration: "Something just seems to tell the average Chinese that he must observe the day. But imagine even trying to celebrate!"

1935: The Detroit Chinese celebrated the 20th anniversary of Sunday School at the Central Methodist Church (DN 4-20-1935). The article notes that 300 Chinese children and parents joined the celebration. This figure represents three-fifths of the total population and, even after making allowances for this sort of exaggeration, the number still indicates a substantial participation of the Chinese in church activities.

1936: There is an article this year on the New Year's celebration (DN 1-19-1936) which devotes its major part to an explanation of the loss of this tradition. The article is entitled: "City's Vanishing Old China Sorrows for the New Years Past."

Frank Lee, who appeared in 1903 as the leader of the colony and again is described as one of the leaders of the community, states that the last few years have seen a steadily decreasing interest in the celebration. "The customs of old China are losing their significance for us," he added. Dr. G. Starett, head of the Chinese Department of the Central Methodist Church, supports Lee's statement. He says:

There may be some quiet celebrations in individual homes and among some of the older men, but I do not know of any and we have some 150 Chinese associated with our church.

The third item of information comes from Wang Seng-Jan, an old timer of the Detroit community. He laments:

We no longer hang the red strips beside the door which say that patience is the best heritage and peacefulness brings good luck. ... But they are no more. Perhaps one or two will be placed. ... We have separated from the ways of our fathers and the New Year comes as a cat in the night and without sound passes us by, a black cat in a night of fog when no one sees nor hears. I am of the old faith and I shall burn incense to the gods and pray.

It seems this year there was not even a community dinner.

1937: For the 1937 celebration, six large pictures and brief explanations for each of them are found in the newspaper (DN 2-14-1937). All of these captions describe ancient customs on the New Year's occasion in a highly romantic tone. The first picture tells that the oldest son of a family is explaining to his younger siblings the Chinese New Year's celebration. The second is a picture of three children eating dishes of the feast. The third is a mother combing her child's hair, and the fourth is a mother holding her baby. The fifth illustration represents a lantern and three children, while the sixth picture is that of a man showing his account book, brush and an abacus, and explaining the custom of paying off one's debts.

Judging from the descriptions in previous as well as in following years, however, it seems fairly reasonable to assume that these pictures were posed and the commentaries had no true bearing on the New Year's celebration of the Detroit Chinese.

Another article in 1937 (DN 10-26-1937) describes a feast held to collect funds to aid their homeland. Four hundred people gathered for the occasion, and it seems that this occasion was a larger and a

much more organized affair for the community than the New Year's celebration. It was in 1937 that the Sino-Japanese war started.

1938-1940: At least twice in both 1938 and 1939, big fund-raising drives were organized by the On Leong Tong (DFP 6-1-1938; DN 5-3-1939). On the other hand, there are no descriptions of the New Year's celebration in 1938, 1939 and 1940.

1941: The New Year in this year dawned like any other Monday, and the get-together of clan members and the exchange of greetings were the only activities observed on the New Year's Day (DN 1-27-1941). The biggest gathering, the reporter informs us, was that of "the prolific Yee family."

The reporter gives a very valuable report on the Yee clan, which was discussed earlier in Part I. While the total number of the Detroit Chinese in 1941 was 1,200, the estimation given in the article on the number of Yees was 800. In terms of the power as well as the number, the Yees seem to have been dominating the colony. It was 1941 that the central figure of the colony, Mr. X, a member of the Yee clan, opened his restaurant which has been most prosperous ever since (DN 1-27-1957).

As for the cause of the decline of the celebration, the reporter says in this year's article:

In America as well as in China, all dispensable frivolities have been done away with, and the pennies they might have cost are sent to the embattled nation's war chest.

It is extremely illuminating for our analysis that, while the New Year's celebration was cut off, the Double Ten was celebrated in a grand fashion with parade and dragon dance (DN 10-8-1941; DN 10-11-1941; DFP 10-8-1941). The occasion was celebrated in

combination with the anniversary of Chinese Independence Day, in honor of Pearl Buck, and for collection of funds for emergency relief for their country. The dragon was brought this year all the way from Hong Kong especially for the celebration. There also was a float modeled after a Chinese junk, a large Chinese flag bearing campaign contributions and "two richly embroidered Chinese ceremonial umbrellas and a banner" at the parade.

It seems that these ostentatious paraphernalia were used so that they would have a better effect on the American public in raising money. However, it is also suspected that these features may have satisfied their need for ritualism. The occasion also seems to have carried a recreational function. The important point is that the Chinese chose Independence Day, instead of New Year's Day, to stage all these activities, which originally were features of the New Year's celebration.

Several of my informants told me that it was an open secret in the community that a generous portion of the fund collected in this series of fund-raising affairs went to the personal treasury of the family X rather than the hard-pressed homeland. Although this information may appear to be anecdotal, it illustrates the great power and dominance of the Yee family, which resides at the top of the social hierarchy of the community. It would appear that the Double Ten celebration and the fund-raising campaigns served to revitalize the social hierarchy of the community and thus took over one of the major functions of the traditional New Year's celebration.

There also were at least three other times when the Chinese organized fund-raising drives that year (DFP 4-3-1941; DFP 5-20-1941; DN 5-4-1941; DN 5-25-1941). It was also in 1941 that the China relief movement was started in the United States by non-Chinese. From this time on these campaigns were organized jointly by the Chinese and their American sympathizers.

1942: The New Year in 1942 seems to have been the most elaborate ever reported in the Detroit newspapers (DFP 2-16-1942; DN 2-16-1942). However, the vivaciousness was due not to the revival of the traditional spirit, but was motivated entirely by the raising of funds for the aid of the homeland.

The entire celebration was organized by the On Leong Tong which also took upon itself to represent the Kuomintang. The president of the association, Mr. X, marked the climax of the celebration by lighting 10,000 firecrackers dangling from the third floor of the building housing the association. He made his first public address in English and wished the Chinese in Detroit a happy and victorious New Year.

More than 100,000 firecrackers (DN 2-16-1942) -- the Detroit Free Press puts the figure at a quarter million (DFP 2-16-1942) -- were discharged during the celebration. A flame-breathing dragon danced through Chinatown and its huge mouth took in almost \$2,000 for the Chinese Emergency Relief. Chinese music was played at the association and the leaders of the community engaged in impromptu entertainment. No professional entertainers seem to have been invited.

In the Detroit News, although ancestor worship is stressed as an important feature, it seems that the reporter simply wrote the ideal, rather than the actuality, of the Detroit Chinese.

Beside these fund-raising activities on the New Year's occasion, a number of articles describe this year's activities of the relief movement.⁹ These fund-raising drives were accompanied by dragon dances (DN 2-16-1942), parades (DN 7-6-1942), and the appearance of Chinese celebrities, such as the famous actress Li Ling Ai (DFP 1-16-1942; DFP 1-27-1942; DFP 4-17-1942) and others. These relief movements were also supported by the United States Government, as evidenced by President Roosevelt's address in which he supported them (DN 4-11-1942; DN 4-12-1942). Americans also set up their chapter for relief funds in support of the Chinese (DFP 4-3-1942; DFP 6-10-1942).

1943: While there is no article on the New Year's celebration, the Double Ten was celebrated with the dragon dance which collected money for the war orphans in China (DFP 10-11-1943).

1944: No information is available for 1944 except two reports on the anniversary of the Chungking club which was an organization of Chinese students from the mainland and was founded in 1943 (DFP 3-1-1944; DFP 3-12-1944).

1945: No information is available for this year.

⁹DFP 1-16; DFP 1-27; DN 1-23; DFP 4-3; DN 4-11; DN 4-12; DN 4-14; DFP 4-17; DN 4-19; DFP 6-10; DN 7-6; DFP 7-6; DN 8-27.

Summary for the Third Period (1930-1945)

This is the period when the community was recuperating from the blow caused by the 1929 depression. The recovery, however, seems to have been quite rapid, perhaps, due to the fact that the On Leong Tong had been established as the central agency to provide an organizational framework for the community. The population started with 500 in 1930, one-third of the pre-depression size, and regained almost its original size.

The New Year's celebration, on the other hand, almost completely lost its traditional form, meaning, and function. A definite decline of the significance of ancestor worship, which had taken place prior to the beginning of this period, is well-confirmed. The New Year's celebrations during this period were confined to the reunion of clan members at the restaurant owned by each clan head and to some quiet observances at the individual homes. An exception occurred in the 1942 celebration when ostentatious features came back, however, not for the New Year's celebration, but for the purpose of raising funds.

There seem to be three major factors that are responsible for the overall decline of the celebration. First, during the early part of this period, due to the 1929 depression it was financially impossible for the Detroit Chinese to actively engage in the celebration.

The second cause lies in the close identification of the colony with the Nationalist Government. The Detroit Chinese started

to celebrate Double Ten with vigor and made a continuous effort to aid their homeland in its battle against Japan. The overall loss of the meaning of the New Year's celebration and the strong incentive to aid the homeland seem to have created a phenomenon whereby form and functions of the New Year's celebration were transferred to the Double Ten celebration and to the fund-raising drives.

The third factor responsible for the neglect of the celebration is the shift in generation. In the 1930's the offspring of the early immigrants had grown up and some of them were already married and had children of their own. To these American-born Chinese, the traditional celebration had little meaning due to the incompleteness of transmitting the traditional culture, the causes for which were discussed earlier.

There are also some minor factors contributing to this state of affairs. One of them is the change of the date of the celebration from the lunar New Year to the Gregorian New Year. This factor, when combined with the partial absorption of the younger generation by the dominant American culture, which celebrates the Gregorian New Year, seems to have had some effect in adding to the neglect of the traditional New Year's celebration. The involvement of the Detroit Chinese in the American economic system also made the custom of paying off one's debts -- an important ingredient in the traditional celebration -- a meaningless legend.

Thus, during this period, the traditional New Year's celebration became vestigial in the life of the Detroit Chinese. However, it is important to note here that its form and functions were, to a considerable extent, retained and transferred to the Double Ten celebration and to some of the fund-raising affairs. Most importantly, Double Ten celebration began to serve as a mechanism through which the social hierarchy of the community was expressed and revitalized.

The Fourth Period (1946-1963)

1946: Double Ten Day was celebrated with the dragon dance, and the Chinese in Detroit made their last effort to raise funds for their homeland (DN 10-10-1946; DFP 10-11-1946) which continued to suffer from internal conflict despite the closing of the Pacific War.

No article is found on the New Year's celebration.

1947: No information is available for this year.

1948: Family gatherings and the reunion of the Lim clan at Victor Lim's restaurant are the only features reported for the 1948 celebration of the New Year (DFP 2-11-1948). Victor Lim, who has been making a great effort to gain publicity among non-Chinese Americans, invited about 100 persons including "his Caucasian friends" to his restaurant which was still at 1530 Third Street.¹⁰

There is a very clear statement in the newspaper article that the On Leong Tong did little for this year's New Year celebration.

¹⁰Now it is located on Adams Street in the heart of downtown Detroit, away from Chinatown.

The secretary of the association, Mr. X, stated that the local community now observed the Gregorian New Year of January 1 and the celebration of the lunar holidays was discontinued with the outbreak of the war.¹¹

1949: Again Victor Lim held his New Year's feast at his restaurant inviting many Caucasian friends prominent in the fields of business, police and newspaper (DFP 1-29-1949). On the other hand, Mr. X explained that the celebration was confined to and carried out in the privacy of the individual homes.

1950: Three newspaper articles appeared on the dedication ceremony of the Chinese Culture and Recreational Center . (DN 4-7-1950; DN 4-18-1950; DFP 4-19-1950). It is a \$60,000 (DFP 4-19-1959) -- the Detroit News puts the figure at \$200,000 (DN 4-17-1950) -- building of three stories at 824 Abbott and was financed entirely by the On Leong Tong. The Center was built to provide ample recreational facilities and was to facilitate the Chinese language classes, according to Mr. X, secretary of the association.

The On Leong Tong held its national convention at the same time, and a six-hour program of Chinese music and drama was featured.

No article appeared on the New Year's celebration.

This is the year when the Nationalist Government retreated from the mainland.

¹¹Perhaps he meant the Sino-Japanese War.

1951: Although the reporter's account of the New Year's celebration (DN 2-6-1951) is somewhat flowery, it boils down to the fact that family dinners and gatherings of friends were the only features of the 1951 celebration.

There is some contradictory information as to the year when the Chinese language school first started. One source gives it as 1951 (DN 11-4-1962), whereas another puts it in 1953 (DFP 9-28-1958).

Under the leadership of the On Leong Tong and the clan heads of the Yees, Lims and Moys, the Detroit Chinese collectively joined the Fon Kung Wui, an anti-communist league, in 1951 (DN 1-21-1951; Lim 1959: 21).

This is the year when Mr. X died.

1952-1955: Except for 1953, there is one press report of the Chinese New Year's celebration for each year (DN 1-27-1952; DN 2-2-1954; DN 1-23-1955). However, all these articles, no matter how impressively written, indicate that the only feature celebrated was the family dinner.

On the other hand, Double Ten Day was celebrated with much more vigor (DN 10-10-1952; DFP 10-11-1955; DT 10-11-1955).

1956: The New Year's celebration this year seems to have been somewhat more elaborate than in preceding years. Beside the reunion of members of each clan and the worship of their common ancestor, music and drama were featured at the Recreational Center for several days (DN 2-12-1956; DFP 2-13-1956). The Chinese American Post of the Am-Vets was supposed to hold a series of family

festivities, but the nature of these festivities is not discussed in the article (DN 2-12-1956).

It seems then that the 1956 New Year's celebration was quiet, but was organized on a community-wide basis rather than left to individual families. Lack of a more elaborate celebration is explained in the press reports by local Chinese as being due to the communist take-over of the mainland.

1957: The celebration in 1957 seems to have been very similar to that of 1956. The family dinner before the ancestral altar and programs of music and drama in the Recreational Center were the primary features of the celebration (DN 1-27-1957; DN 1-31-1957). In addition, the formal ceremony of the On Leong Tong is reported as such for the first time in the press (DN 1-31-1957), although according to Informant F the formal ceremony has always been conducted at the meeting room of the On Leong Tong. In 1957, the ceremony was arranged by Ben K. Yee, secretary of the association. In the report, the elders of the community assembled, whereas according to Informant F the members of the association get together and donate some money to the funds of the association.

1958: The celebration again was characterized by family feasts before ancestral altars and entertaining programs at the Recreational Center (DN 2-16-1958). Andy Wong, an American-born technician, describes the celebration:

It adds spice to everyday life just like rare roots to the flavor of the feast.

A good description of the Chinese language school is given

in 1958 on the occasion of welcoming a new teacher, Miss Yale Yee.¹² Instructions are given in the school on Saturdays and Sundays from 1:00 P.M. to 3:30 or 4:00 P.M., and 23 boys and 11 girls, ages six to seventeen, are attending (DFP 9-28-1958).

The eighth quadrennial reunion of the Yee Benevolent Association was celebrated with firecrackers which made the downtown section sound like a battlefield (DN 8-18-1958).

1959: Not much change is found in the celebration this year (DN 2-5-1959; DN 2-8-1959). Beside family and clan reunions, they enjoyed regular drama and music programs at the Recreational Center. This year the Chinese opera was invited by the On Leong Tong, though no details about the performance are given in the report.¹³ The Chinese American Post of Am-Vets held a party, but whether this was a dance party for the younger Chinese or not is not known.

In 1959, the idea to clear the slum area, which includes Chinatown, and build a civic center there was first discussed. This slum clearance project sealed the fate of Chinatown and led towards its complete demolition in 1963.

1960: While the plans on the clearing of the area of Chinatown were progressing further (DN 2-19-1960), the New Year in 1960 was welcomed "with a quiet that almost symbolizes the end of an era for the Chinese" (DN 1-24-1960). The widow of Mr. X told the reporter

¹²She is a daughter of perhaps the second most prosperous restaurateur of the Yee clan. She married a Filipino, as mentioned earlier.

¹³Informant C tells that the Chinese opera was also invited to the Detroit community on such occasions as the birthday of her grandfather, the father of Mr. X's wife.

that this New Year's celebration would mark the end of Chinatown (DFP 1-27-1960). A community dinner given by the On Leong Tong, family dinners at individual homes, and a Chinese movie shown at the Recreational Center are the only features reported in the article.

1961: The downtown portion,¹⁴ including the Chinese section, was officially condemned in 1961. It was to be readied for clearing at a cost of about \$8,500,000 (DN 5-28-1961). Various estimates on the number of Chinese living in Chinatown in 1961 run between 150 and 600. Ben K. Yee, secretary of the On Leong Tong, stressed the fact that Chinatown had been a Chinese community rather than simply a place for Chinese business. He says:

People think of Chinatown as just a bunch of restaurants.
But it really is a people, Chinese people, living together.
(DN 5-28-1961)

In the capacity of the secretary of the On Leong Tong, he declared that the most serious problem confronting the Chinese is the accommodation of the aged without families who had been taken care of by the On Leong Tong.

Another press report in 1961 on the subject reveals an open clash between Ben K. Yee, representing the On Leong Tong, and Victor Lim, head of the Lim clan (DN 7-13-1961).

No article on the New Year's celebration is found in this year.

1962: In November, 1962, a press report announces that the On Leong Tong bought a lot on the west side of Cass at Peterboro

¹⁴This area includes all the property bounded by Lafayette west, the Lodge Expressway, Bagley and Cass (DN 5-28-1961).

for a new Chinese school of Detroit (DN 11-4-1962). It also bought two rooming houses and another building to accommodate older men of the community.

No report on the New Year's celebration is available for this year.

1963: Some of the restaurants began to appear in the new Chinatown at the very beginning of 1963. In May, 1963, the opening of the new Chinatown was inaugurated with big festivities (DN 5-3-1963; DN 5-14-1963; DFP 5-13-1963). The New Chinatown is located on both sides of Cass at Peterboro, Charlotte and Temple, with the headquarters of the On Leong Tong at 3153 Cass. The occasion of the opening of the new Chinese section was celebrated jointly with the 59th annual convention of the On Leong Tong, the New Year's celebration, and the 52nd anniversary of the Republic of China.

The celebration was an extremely elaborate one, including firecrackers, dragon dance, drums and parade. Five hundred Chinese merchants came to Detroit from all parts of the United States to join the convention and to congratulate the Detroit Chinese on their achievement, i.e., the opening of the new Chinatown.

Although this festival is described as including the New Year's celebration, the New Year was actually celebrated some weeks earlier in a very quiet manner (DFP 1-26-1963; DN 2-4-1963). Indeed, the spirit of the traditional New Year's celebration does not seem to have figured in any significant way as a part of the opening celebration of the New Chinatown.

Summary of the Fourth Period (1946-1963)

During this post-World War II period, the Chinese community in Detroit had to face a series of events which actually did work or would have worked either for or against the retention of the traditional culture and the development of the colony as a distinctive ethnic community.

From the viewpoint of culture, it seems that the separation of China into the mainland and the island state resulted in the decline of the traditional Chinese culture in the homeland. Without having a model after which to fashion oneself and with which to identify oneself, the Detroit Chinese appear to be discouraged from resorting to the traditional culture for their ethnic identity.

The slum clearance project and the ultimate destruction of Chinatown was another negative element in the development of the community. Press conferences and my own interviews have revealed the general feeling of the Detroit Chinese, namely, that the destruction of the old Chinatown would mean the end of their ethnic community.

In the light of the fact that the personal contribution of Mr. X to the community was enormous, his death might mean the loss, or at least a considerable weakening, of leadership.¹⁵ In addition, as exemplified in the case of Victor Lim, individual restaurateurs, including non-Yees, established themselves and perhaps became

¹⁵He lost his eldest son in 1949 (DN 4-3-1949), two years before his death, and his only other son is the youngest among the siblings. Therefore his wife and oldest daughters took over his restaurant.

independent of the Yee and the On Leong Tong.¹⁶ These factors seem to have interfered with the previous growth and development of the community under the control of the Yee clan and the On Leong Tong.

A factor working for possible retention of the Chinese traditional culture is a favorable attitude of Americans -- the newly stirred enthusiasm of the American public towards the 'Orient' during the post-war period. However, this favorable atmosphere seems to have produced only a series of press reports in which the reporters' 'profound' knowledge of and respect for the ancient Chinese culture was displayed, but contributed nothing to the actual revival of the traditional culture on the part of the Detroit Chinese.

Amidst the interplay of these various factors, then, what is left to the Detroit Chinese as an ethnic group and to the New Year's celebration at the end of the fourth period?

In 1950 the On Leong Tong built the Culture and Recreational Center which provided school facilities, a place for community gatherings as well as living accommodations for elderly men without family. At the time of the relocation, the association again fulfilled its responsibility by setting up a school and accommodating the aged in new quarters, beside taking leadership in the overall relocation of the community. The official positions of the association continued to be occupied by members of the Yee clan

¹⁶For example, Ben K. Yee claims that Victor Lim never attends the meetings of the On Leong Tong, and hence has no right to talk about it or about community affairs (DN 7-13-1961).

(cf. Appendix B), which indicates sustained power of the Yee.

Despite the show of leadership of the On Leong Tong and continued command of the community by the Yee clan, the fourth period is characterized by waning power of the Yee over community affairs. Successful Chinese businessmen, such as Victor Lim, started to evade control by the Yee and the On Leong Tong.

The New Year's celebration itself has become almost vestigial during the fourth period. Features, such as the dragon dance and firecrackers, that were once important ingredients in the New Year's celebration and were later transferred and incorporated into the Double Ten Day celebration, once again revived at the occasion of the opening of the new Chinatown. However, these features have become simply cultural traits with form but without content, rather than being integral parts of a cultural complex.

PART V

CONCLUSION

The significance of socio-cultural changes in the Detroit Chinese community during the period under study can be best understood in terms of the traditional village organization in China.

Over a period of close to a century, from 1872 to 1963, the Detroit Chinatown has developed into a community with a population of about 3,000 people. Although the number of families has increased in recent years, there still are a large number of single males without families. The key organization of the community is the On Leong Tong, a tong association. The tong association, a non-kin organization in principle, characterizes overseas Chinese colonies in the United States, but there is no counterpart in a Chinese village.

The general organizational features of the Detroit community are shared by other local Chinese colonies in the United States, but are quite different when compared with a village on mainland China. Upon close examination, however, the differences are more apparent than real. The essential features of traditional village organization on the mainland, especially the clan structure, have been quite closely retained. First of all, as is frequently the case in a mainland village, the Detroit community is divided into one major clan (Yee), three intermediate clans (Moy, Lim and Lee), and a few other minor clans, with strong clan identity on the part of the individual members. Analysis of clan names on grave stones, dating

from 1918 to the present, suggests that almost exactly the same situation has prevailed in the past also.

The patrilineal, patrilocal and exogamous features of the clan are still faithfully observed. Due to the small size of the population, strict adherence to clan exogamy often forces the Detroit Chinese to seek their mates outside of the community; which in turn serves to keep the Detroit Chinese in close touch with other Chinese colonies in the United States and on the mainland.

Secondly, the fulfillment of the role of a major clan in a village in China is also duplicated to a great extent, although with some slight modification. The On Leong Tong has been responsible for the foundation and maintenance of the community school and the care of the aged. The burial association of the community, Yee Hing Tong, has been in charge of the purchase of burial plots for the community members at large. While these associations are not based upon kinship in principle, in actual practice, however, official positions in both organizations have been occupied by members of the major clan at least during the last one-third of the period under study, and perhaps longer. In Detroit, then, the major clan performs the functions which a major clan in China would normally assume, but through these seemingly non-kin organizations and more extensively to members of other clans. The strong retention of the traditional clan functions was most clearly demonstrated at the time of the relocation of the community in 1963 when the On Leong Tong once again provided the community with a school building as well as living quarters for the older members of the community.

It seems, therefore, that the clan structure characteristic of mainland China has been retained quite closely in Detroit, insofar as such diagnostic features as descent, residence, and marriage regulations, as well as many others of its multiple functions are concerned.

On the other hand, the New Year's celebration was very short-lived in Detroit. Ancestor worship, together with the major part of the celebration, quickly diminished in its significance, and the celebration was reduced to gatherings of immediate families, reunion of clan members, and some recreational programs for the community at large. Substantial growth of the community in the 1920's did not revitalize this traditional celebration in any significant way. Instead, the Independence Day celebration and a series of fund-raising campaigns took over the major forms and functions of the New Year's celebration. The transference of the forms and functions of the New Year's celebration was again observed at the time of the opening celebration of the New Chinatown in 1963.

It is of particular interest that the part of the New Year's celebration associated with ancestor worship was not transferred to these later community activities. In fact, the significance of ancestor worship as such had already substantially waned by 1930. It is also important to note that the features of the New Year's celebration which were retained to the last, i.e., family and clan gatherings, have direct bearings on social structure of the living members of the community.

Therefore, the above analysis of socio-cultural changes in the Detroit community in general and specific changes in its New Year's celebration seems definitely to support the following two conclusions. First, in the case of the Detroit community, the essential features of Chinese clan organization have been retained despite considerable decline in the significance of ancestor worship. Thus, it would appear that interdependence of ancestor worship and Chinese social structure is not as strong as has often been assumed, and ancestor worship is a correlate to Chinese social structure whose significance is limited in time. Secondly, during almost the entire period of their community history, the Chinese have kept some kind of group activities all of which utilized the traditional forms of expression and functioned to intensify the existing social hierarchy of the community, and the New Year's celebration was but one of these group activities in which principles of the social structure of the living members of the society are expressed.

APPENDIX A: ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION GATHERED AT THE
CHINESE SECTIONS OF FOREST LAWN CEMETERY,
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

General Discussion

The following information was gathered at Forest Lawn Cemetery in August, 1963, with cooperation of Mr. A. E. James, manager of the cemetery. Information consists of grave inscriptions of the Chinese, burial records at the cemetery office, and records of the transactions involving the purchase of the three lots by Yee Hing Tong.

At Forest Lawn Cemetery, 11851 Van Dyke, Detroit, Michigan, there are three Chinese sections. The Yee Hing Tong purchased the first lot for 60 graves in Section 32 in 1918, the second one for 60 graves in 1924, and the third one for 100 graves in 1930. Section 30 was purchased in 1937 for 200 graves, and Section 38 in 1952 for 300 graves. Each grave has to be authorized by the president of the Yee Hing Tong before it is used. Recently, two individual families purchased plots right next to Section 38.

Out of 720 graves purchased to the present by the Yee Hing Tong, 346 were recognizable and hence studied. Mr. James said that no reburial was practiced. In the 1930's, however, many remains were shipped back to China together with their grave stones, and the lots were returned to the Yee Hing Tong.

No cremation was practiced. Due to regulation at Forest Lawn Cemetery, all the grave marks were made of granite. Hence, little difference in wealth among individuals is manifest. Sizes of grave stones do not vary much; in general those in Section 32 were smaller than more recent ones.

Although the majority of those buried at the cemetery were the Detroit Chinese, the burial records revealed that there were some who were from other localities in Michigan, such as Flint, Pontiac, Eloise, Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor. Also, at the time of my investigation in August, 1963, they were expecting burial of a Chicago Chinese who was related to some Detroit Chinese.

On the grave stones, in the majority of cases, names of either village or district in China where they came from were given beside their full name. English was very rarely used, and the majority of the inscriptions were in Chinese characters. Statistical analysis of these grave inscriptions in terms of place of origin, and clan affiliation is given in the separate table.

Names of women were very few in number: 4 in Section 32 (5.4%); 9 in Section 30 (5.8%); and 9 in Section 38 (7.6%). Data seemed too little to indicate any information on the composition of population.

A total of 583 burial records (220 in Section 32, 200 in Section 30, and 163 in Section 38) since 1918 to 1963 were examined. The records include burial number, permit number, name, age, date of death, cause of death, grave number and in some cases place of death. Names in English were totally unreliable.

Burial of infants started to appear in the early 1920's, indicating the beginning of a second generation. The number of children under 10 years old buried in the 1920's in Section 32 are as follows.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Age</u>
1923	F	1	0
1924	M	1	0
1925	M	2	0
1927	M	1	2
1928	M	3	0-7
	F	1	1
1930	M	3	1-4
	F	1	0

Death of children in their teens start to appear in the 1930's.

Hence, it seems that the second generation started around the 1930's.

ANALYSIS OF GRAVE INSCRIPTIONS

Total number of graves reconstructed - 346

District	Section 32 (purchased in 1918-1930)			Section 30 (purchased in 1937)			Section 38 (purchased in 1952)		
Toi Shan	Yee	18	33%	Yee	65	52%	Yee	40	41%
	Moy	7	13%	Moy	19	15%	Moy	18	18%
	Lim	7	13%	Lim	10	8%	Lim	13	13%
	Lee	13	24%	Lee	7	6%	Lee	3	3%
	Others	9	17%	Others	23	19%	Others	24	25%
	Total	54	100%	Total	124	100%	Total	98	100%
Hoi Ping	Yee	1		Yee	2		Yee	1	
	Others	5		Others	11		Others	7	
	Total	6		Total	13		Total	8	
Sun Wui	Lim	2		Lim	4		Yee	1	
	Lee	1		Lee	1		Others	2	
	Total	3		Others	4		Total	3	
Others				Total	9				
	Moy	2		Yee	3		Moy	3	
	Lee	1		Others	5		Lee	1	
	Others	7		Total	8		Others	5	
	Total	10					Total	9	
Total	74 graves in Section 32			154 graves in Section 30			118 graves in Section 38		
	From			From			From		
	Toi Shan	54	73%	Toi Shan	124	81%	Toi Shan	98	83%
	Yee	19	26%	Yee	70	45%	Yee	42	36%
	Moy	9	12%	Moy	19	12%	Moy	21	18%
	Lim	9	12%	Lim	14	9%	Lim	13	11%
	Lee	15	20%	Lee	8	5%	Lee	4	3%

Out of the total number of grave stones reconstructed in
Sections 32, 30 and 38 (346 in all)

Those from Toi Shan	276	80%
Those from other districts	70	20%
Total	346	100%
Yee	135	39%
Moy	52	15%
Lim	37	11%
Lee	27	8%
Others	95	27%
Total	346	100%

APPENDIX B: IMPORTANT INDIVIDUALS IN THE DETROIT CHINATOWN

- 1903 Frank Lee - 'Leader of the colony' (DFP 1-29-1903)
- 1924 George Moy Wai - President, Yee Hing Tong (Record at Forest Lawn Cemetery)
- 1930 Philip Y. Lee - President, Yee Hing Tong (Record at Forest Lawn Cemetery)
- 1932 Harry Chung - President, On Leong Tong (DN 2-25-1932)
Henry Lum - 'Local Chinese patriot leader' (DN 1-11-1932)
 Liu Kew Yung; T. Pong; Yee Siu Liu; M. S. Kwei - 'Important members' (DN 2-1-1932)
- 1933 Yi Fop Hein - President, On Leong Tong (DN 1-26-1933)
- 1934 Homer Gam - Dean of Detroit Chinese restaurants before 1934 (DN 7-9-1934)
- 1937 C. Y. Huie - President, Yee Hing Tong (Record at Forest Lawn Cemetery)
- 1939 Harry Chung - Secretary, On Leong Tong (DN 3-3-1939)
 President, On Leong Tong (DN 4-27-1939)
- 1941 Harry Suey; Henry Yee; Yee S. Ying - Co-chairmen of the Yee Family Association (DN 1-27-1941)
- 1942 Harry Chung - President, On Leong Tong (DN 2-16-1942;
 DFP 2-16-1942)
- Y. Huie - Secretary, On Leong Tong (DN 4-27-1942)
 Clarence Huie - Secretary, On Leong Tong (DN 4-27-1942)
 Yee Hong - Co-chairman, On Leong Tong (DN 4-27-1942)
- 1948 Harry Chung - Secretary, On Leong Tong (DFP 2-11-1948)
- 1949 Harry Chung - Secretary, On Leong Tong (DFP 1-29-1949;
 DN 4-3-1949)
- 1950 S. J. Yee - President, On Leong Tong (DN 4-17-1950)
Harry Chung - Secretary, On Leong Tong (DN 4-17-1950;
 DFP 4-19-1950)
- 1951 Yee Wok Gim - President, On Leong Tong (DN 1-21-1951)
- 1952 Ben K. Yee - Secretary, On Leong Tong (DN 10-10-1952)
 President, Yee Hing Tong (Record at Forest Lawn Cemetery)

- 1957 Ben K. Yee - Secretary, On Leong Tong (DN 1-31-1957)
- 1958 Ben K. Yee - Secretary, Yee Benevolent Association (DN 4-18-1958)
- 1961 Ben K. Yee - Secretary, On Leong Tong (DN 5-28-1961;
DN 7-13-1961)
- 1962 Ben K. Yee - Secretary, On Leong Tong (DN 11-4-1962)
- 1963 Henry Yee - Secretary, On Leong Tong (DN 2-4-1963)

Note: It is to be kept in mind that the family names of some of these officials are not real, but were adopted to cover up for their illegal entry into this country. Those underlined are Yees, being judged by their names or identified as Yees by my informants.

APPENDIX C: OCCURRENCE OF THE CHINESE NEW YEAR'S DAY
IN REGARD TO THE GREGORIAN CALENDAR AND
THE APPEARANCE OF REPORTS ABOUT IT IN
DETROIT PRESS.

Year	Actual Day of the New Year According to the Lunar Calendar	Appearance of the Article in the Paper	Name of the Paper
1870	Feb. 1		
1871	Feb. 20		
1872	Feb. 10		
1873	Jan. 28		
1874	Feb. 16		
1875	Feb. 6	Feb. 5	D.F.P.
1876	Jan. 26	Jan. 25	D.F.P.
1877	Feb. 13		
1878	Feb. 2		
1879	Jan. 23		
1880	Feb. 11		
1881	Jan. 30		
1882	Feb. 18		
1883	Feb. 7	Feb. 8	D.F.P.
1884	Jan. 28	*Jan. 28	D.F.P.
1885	Feb. 14		
1886	Feb. 4	*Feb. 5	D.F.P.
1887	Jan. 24		
1888	Feb. 13	*Feb. 12	D.F.P.
1889	Jan. 31		
1890	Jan. 19	*Jan. 21	D.F.P.
1891	Feb. 9	*Feb. 10	D.F.P.
1892	Jan. 29		
1893	Feb. 16		
1894	Feb. 5		
1895	Jan. 26		
1896	Feb. 13		
1897	Feb. 2		
1898	Jan. 22		
1899	Feb. 10		
1900	Feb. 1	*Jan. 31	D.F.P.
1901	Feb. 18		
1902	Feb. 7		
1903	Jan. 28	Jan. 29	D.F.P.
1904	Feb. 16		
1905	Feb. 4		
1906	Jan. 26		
1907	Feb. 13		
1908	Feb. 2	Feb. 2	D.F.P.
1909	Feb. 20		
1910	Feb. 10	Feb. 10	D.F.P.
1911	Jan. 30	Jan. 20	D.F.P.
1912	Feb. 17	Feb. 17	D.F.P.

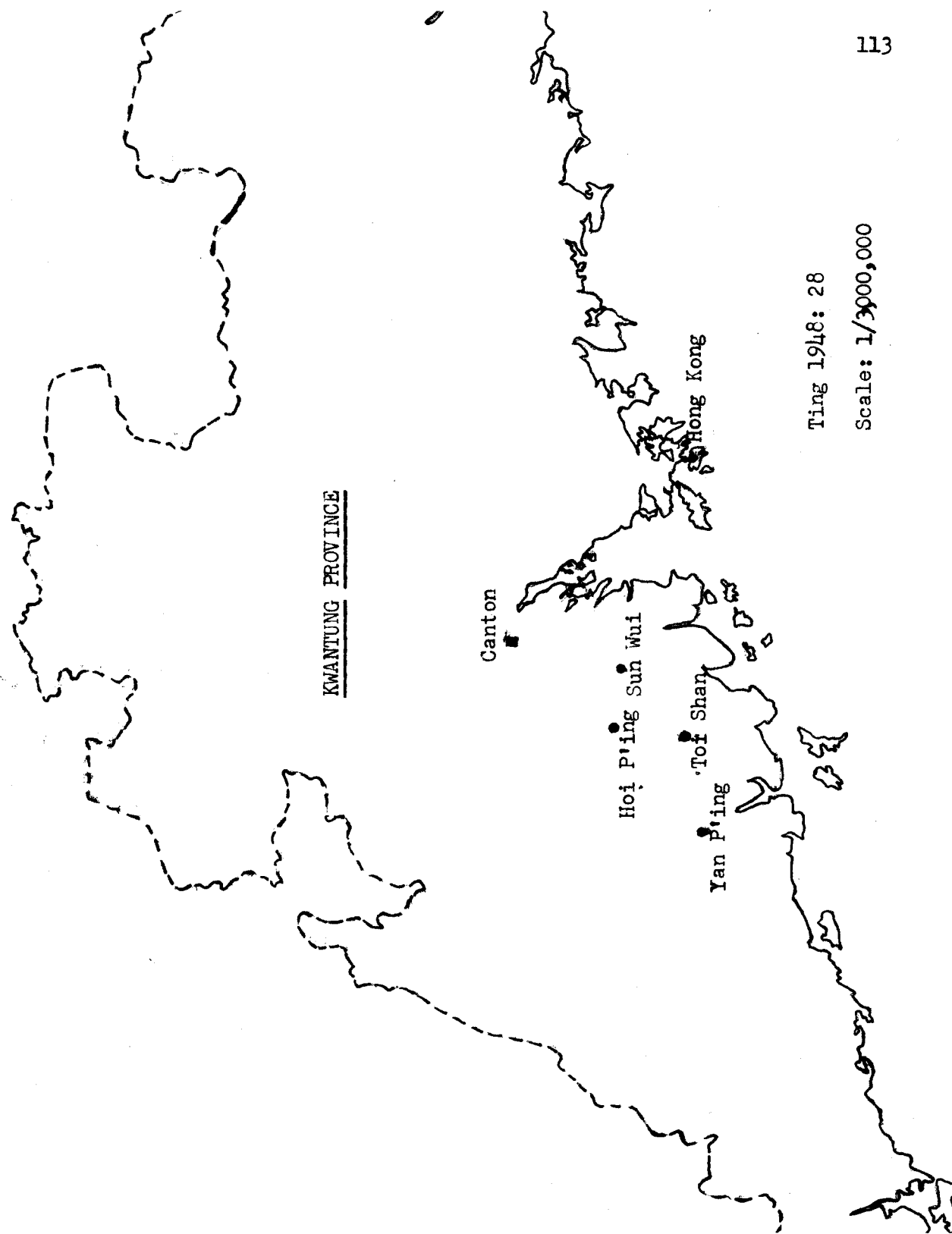
Year	Actual Day of the New Year According to the Lunar Calendar	Appearance of the Article in the Paper	Name of the Paper
1913	Feb. 6		
1914	Jan. 27		
1915	Feb. 14		
1916	Feb. 4		
1917	Jan. 24		
1918	Feb. 11		
1919	Feb. 1		
1920	Feb. 19		
1921	Feb. 8		
1922	Jan. 28		
1923	Feb. 15		
1924	Feb. 5		
1925	Jan. 25	Jan. 25	D.F.P.
1926	Feb. 13	Feb. 14	D.F.P.
1927	Feb. 2	Feb. 2	D.F.P.
1928	Jan. 22		
1929	Feb. 9		
1930	Jan. 30		
1931	Feb. 17		
1932	Feb. 7		
1933	Jan. 26	Jan. 26	D.N.
1934	Feb. 14	Feb. 14	D.N.
1935	Feb. 3		
1936	Jan. 24	Jan. 19	D.N.
1937	Feb. 11	Feb. 14	D.N.
1938	Feb. 1		
1939	Feb. 19		
1940	Feb. 8		
1941	Jan. 28	Jan. 27	D.N.
1942	Feb. 16	Feb. 16	D.F.P.
1943	Feb. 5		
1944	Jan. 25		
1945	Feb. 12		
1946	Feb. 2		
1947	Jan. 22		
1948	Feb. 10	Feb. 11	D.F.P.
1949	Jan. 30	Jan. 29	D.F.P.
1950	Feb. 17		
1951	Feb. 6	Feb. 6	D.N.
1952	Jan. 27	Jan. 27	D.N.
1953	Feb. 14		
1954	Feb. 3	Feb. 2	D.N.
1955	Jan. 24	Jan. 23	D.N.
1956	Feb. 12	Feb. 12	D.N.
1957	Jan. 31	Jan. 31	D.N.
1958	Feb. 18	Feb. 16	D.N.
1959	Feb. 8	Feb. 5; Feb. 8	D.N.

Year	Actual Day of the New Year According to the Lunar Calendar	Appearance of the Article in the Paper	Name of the Paper
1960	Jan. 28	Jan. 24; Jan. 27	D.N.; D.F.P.
1961	Feb. 15		
1962			
1963		Feb. 4; Jan. 26	D.N.; D.F.P.

Notes: The starred ones are articles in Detroit press on New Year's celebration on other overseas Chinese colonies in the United States.

Ting 1948: 28

Scale: 1/3000,000



KWANTUNG PROVINCE

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1880 September 1
1882 February 18
1883 February 8
1884 January 28
1886 February 5; September 25
1888 February 12
1890 January 21
1891 February 10
1903 January 29; September 25
1908 February 2
1910 February 10
1911 January 30
1912 February 17
1920 October 10; October 11
1921 October 11
1925 January 25
1926 February 14
1927 February 2; October 11
1929 October 10

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1930 October 10
 1931 October 27
 1932 February 1
 1938 June 1
 1941 April 3; May 20; October 8; October 11
 1942 January 16; January 27; February 16; April 3; April 17;
 June 10; July 6
 1943 October 11
 1944 March 1; March 12
 1946 October 11
 1948 February 11
 1949 January 29
 1950 April 19
 1955 October 11
 1956 February 13
 1958 September 28
 1960 January 27
 1963 January 26; May 13

Detroit News

1926 December 4
 1929 April 1
 1930 October 11
 1932 January 11; February 1; February 25
 1933 January 26
 1934 February 14; July 9
 1935 April 20
 1936 January 19
 1937 February 14; October 26
 1939 March 3; April 27; May 3
 1941 January 27; May 4; May 25; October 8; October 11
 1942 January 23; February 16; April 11; April 12; April 14;
 April 19; April 27; July 6; August 27
 1946 October 10
 1949 April 3
 1950 April 17; April 18
 1951 January 21; February 6
 1952 January 27; October 10
 1954 February 2
 1955 January 23
 1956 February 12; February 26
 1957 January 27; January 31; March 7
 1958 April 18; February 16; August 18
 1959 January 20; February 5; February 8
 1960 January 24; February 19; September 16; October 12
 1961 May 28; July 13
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 1963 February 4; May 3; May 14

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- a. Grave inscriptions of the Chinese at Sections 30, 32 and 38
- b. Records of the cemetery plot purchased by the Yee Hing Tong in 1918, 1924, 1930, 1937 and 1952
- c. Interment Register (Burial records copied from the statement by the Board of Health, up to September 5, 1963)
 1. November 19, 1915 - March 9, 1921 (Nos. 776-7225)
 2. March 9, 1921 - January 12, 1929 (Nos. 7226-13620)
 3. January 12, 1929 - August 31, 1941 (Nos. 13621 - 26000)
 4. September 5, 1941 - May 13, 1952 (Nos. 26001 - 38500)
 5. May 17, 1952 - September 9, 1961 (Nos. 38501 - 51000)
 6. September 5, 1961 - present (Nos. 51001 - 54272 as of September 5, 1963)

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