

Pacific Crossing
California Gold, Chinese Migration,
and the Making of Hong Kong

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HKU
PRESS
香港大學出版社

Hong Kong University Press
The University of Hong Kong
Pokfulam Road
Hong Kong
www.hkupress.org

© 2013 Hong Kong University Press
First paperback edition © 2014 Hong Kong University Press

ISBN 978-988-8139-71-2 (*Hardback*)

ISBN 978-988-8139-72-9 (*Paperback*)

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

Printed and bound by Liang Yu Printing Factory Ltd., Hong Kong, China

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Introduction

The California Gold Rush, one of the most momentous events in nineteenth-century world history, changed Hong Kong's destiny in many ways.

The discovery of gold at Sutter's mill, 75 miles from San Francisco, on January 24, 1848—almost seven years to the day after Hong Kong's occupation by the British in 1841 and five years after it formally became a British colony—set off a remarkable migration movement: within a relatively short time span, tens of thousands of people flooded into California, coming not only from the East Coast of the United States but from different parts of the world, including Mexico, Chile, Europe, Turkey, China, and Australia. By 1852, the population of San Francisco, which was just 459 in 1847, had grown to 36,154.¹ The volume of trade rose. Between 1849 and 1851, over 1,000 ships called at San Francisco,² bringing not only people but also goods to feed and clothe the migrants and to build the rapidly growing city. Half a million tons of cargo were discharged between 1849 and 1856.³ The city was not only a growing import market of free-spending consumers but soon, with the increasing number of entrepreneurs and gold as capital to fuel commercial ventures, it developed into an entrepôt on a global scale. The impact was immense. Whereas the world's major trading zone had hitherto stretched westward from China, Southeast Asia, India, the Middle East, Europe, and across the Atlantic to the East Coast of the United States, San Francisco's thriving maritime trade transformed the Pacific from a peripheral trade zone to a nexus of world trade.⁴ The Pacific century had arrived.⁵

This major shift in the global economy had far-reaching consequences for Hong Kong. Though the city fronted on to the Pacific, the ocean had hitherto been of only minimal interest to it. Its main *raison d'être*, as far as the British

were concerned, was to serve as an entrepôt for its trade with China. It was presumed that goods from Britain and India would be stored and sold at the new colony and Chinese goods would be exported from it. Hong Kong's existence was to augment rather than change the old trade pattern; the main routes were still along the coast of the China Sea, down through Southeast Asia, through the Indian Ocean and onward to Europe. One development, probably unforeseen, was the role Hong Kong played in the regional trade—both coastal and riverine—between north and south China, which would later extend into Southeast Asia as well. In the 1850s, this south–north trade (*nanbei* trade, known locally as Nam Pak trade), increasingly pivoted on Hong Kong, was to grow immensely, and the east–west California trade was to act as an important catalyst for this growth. For the moment, however, as far as being part of the global trading system was concerned, the oceans that were most relevant to Hong Kong were the Indian and the Atlantic, *not* the Pacific.

The gold rush transformed the Pacific into a highway linking North America and Asia, and in the process transformed Hong Kong into Asia's leading Pacific gateway. Both during and after the gold rush, California presented a world of new opportunities—as a market for goods and shipping, and as a migration destination for tens of thousands of Chinese “gold seekers.” Hong Kong seized these opportunities and prospered.

As news of the gold discovery spread, word got around about the shortage of everything in California, and the high prices that people there, flush with easy money, were willing to pay. Hong Kong merchants responded by sending shiploads of goods for the consumption of the thousands, and then tens of thousands, of Argonauts, as the gold seekers were known. San Francisco appeared for the first time in the Hong Kong government's *Blue Book*⁶ of 1849 as a destination of its exports, an indication of California's sudden rise to relevance. These exports included everything from building materials, beverages, clothing, hats, and shoes, to huge amounts of tea.⁷ Some items, such as coffee and gin, champagne and wine, had come a long distance before being re-exported eastward across the Pacific.

Hong Kong shippers had a great advantage by being much closer to San Francisco than the Atlantic ports. Ships from the American East Coast, departing from such ports as Boston and New York, and sailing around the Horn, took

at least 115 days. The clipper ship *Flying Cloud* set a record in 1851 by taking 89 days to sail from New York to San Francisco.⁸ Most voyages from Hong Kong, in contrast, took only between 45 and 50 days, and when the *Challenge* took a mere 33 days to reach San Francisco in early 1852, the advantage of Hong Kong must have been made very obvious.⁹ It is little wonder that Hong Kong soon became one of San Francisco's major trading partners, and the fate of the two relatively young frontier towns, both intoxicated with the dream of gold, became intricately intertwined. With every ship's arrival, every commercial transaction and every emigrant's landing, the networks woven between the two cities grew more complex and more deeply embedded.

Ships sailing eastward across the Pacific from Hong Kong grew in number, first with goods and then with passengers, in most cases headed directly for San Francisco, stopping by Honolulu only occasionally. The popularity of the new route taken by both American and non-American ships became apparent in 1850, and caught the attention of the US consul in Hong Kong.¹⁰ Moreover, ships increasingly made round-trips between the two ports—with some, it is worth noting, doing so fairly regularly. Before 1867, when the first formal “line” was established between Hong Kong and San Francisco, there were only tramp ships, both steam and sail, in operation. They were hired by charterers—sometimes for specific voyages, sometimes for fixed terms, but always with a close eye on the market. A number of the chartered ships sailed repeatedly on this route, and some ship captains were engaged on it for long periods of time, an indication of the Hong Kong–San Francisco route becoming one of the world's hot sea-lanes.

The cargo trade with San Francisco grew briskly, but more dramatic changes came when Chinese, also succumbing to gold fever, raced for California. Significantly, almost all of them went through Hong Kong. In 1849, a total of 300 people went, followed by 450 in 1850 and 2,700 in 1851. Many returned with gold, showing that it really existed. Foreign and Chinese shipping merchants whipped up business by circulating placards, maps, and pamphlets greatly exaggerating the availability of gold.¹¹ The numbers peaked in 1852. Governor Bonham announced that 30,000¹² Chinese had embarked from Hong Kong that year, and calculated that their passage money, at the rate of \$50 per head, would give a sum of \$1.5 million to shipowners and consignees resident in Hong

Kong.¹³ In 1854, the US consul observed that the only obstacle to a greater flood of emigrants was the “impossibility of finding vessels to transport those who wish to go.”¹⁴

Despite the fact that the number of passengers to California leveled off after 1852, the stream of people traveling to and fro across the Pacific, embarking and disembarking at Hong Kong, never ceased. Once impressed upon the minds of people in South China, the image of “Gold Mountain” (*gumsaan* to the Cantonese, *jinshan* in Putonghua) never faded away. Even after the gold rush, Chinese continued sailing to the US West Coast to work on the railroads, as well as in lumbering, fisheries and agriculture, and a host of other occupations. Through San Francisco, they went seeking gold and silver in inland states such as Nevada, Idaho, and Utah, and even to plantations in the southern states.¹⁵ Even after the Exclusion Act of 1882, the flow continued. Rather than diminishing, connections established between Hong Kong and California during the 1850s grew increasingly dense and complex for another century. At the same time, Hong Kong served Chinese destined for other parts of the world—especially new gold countries such as Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, where gold was also discovered in the 1850s; from the 1870s, hundreds of thousands embarked for Southeast Asia. By 1939, over 6.3 million Chinese emigrants had embarked at Hong Kong for a foreign destination. Equally significantly, over 7.7 million had returned to China through Hong Kong.¹⁶ Its status as the leading Chinese emigrant port was undisputed, surpassing both Xiamen and Shantou.¹⁷ Historical works on nineteenth-century Chinese emigration often mention Hong Kong, but it is usually only in passing. Neither the importance of Hong Kong to Chinese emigration nor the importance of Chinese emigration to Hong Kong’s economic, social, and cultural development has ever been explored adequately. This is what I hope to achieve in this book, using Chinese emigration to California as a case study of a much bigger phenomenon.

The gold rush came at a critical moment for Hong Kong. Until that point, it had depended very much on a single trade—opium—and had to compete with the newly opened treaty ports, especially Shanghai for cargo trade and Xiamen for passengers.¹⁸ Earlier hopes for it to become a “great emporium” had not been fulfilled, and some people were beginning to despair. The gold rush saved the day, and in mid-1851 *The Economist* in England commented that “the fairest

hopes of the colony are founded on the new trade which is springing up between it [Hong Kong] and California ... In these circumstances there is some prospect of Hong Kong becoming a useful settlement.”¹⁹ Chapter 1 examines Hong Kong on the eve of the gold rush, and points out that despite the apparently slow growth, many things were happening to prepare it for its big moment. The infrastructure of a free and open port, with hardware like wharves and warehouses, taverns and brothels, and diverse software like laws and courts and expertise in shipping management and capital accumulation, was steadily taking shape so that when news of gold came, Hong Kong was able to seize the new opportunities and quickly reinvent itself as a port for oceanic trade.

Moreover, it assumed an additional identity when Chinese emigrants began pouring through it bound for Gold Mountain. After some false starts, it grew into a safe embarkation port for free, as opposed to coerced, labor. When it was suggested that Chinese emigration to California was part of the invidious “coolie trade,” whereby men were taken forcibly overseas to work under hell-like conditions and commonly identified as slave trade, Governor John Bowring was quick to point out the distinction. Those going to California from Hong Kong, he remonstrated, were “respectable people,” and were all free, healthy, and eager to go.²⁰ F. T. Bush, the US consul, likewise stressed their respectability, and argued that these emigrants were definitely not “coolies.”²¹

Hong Kong’s reputation as a safe port was such that it “continued to be the port from which all South China passengers, able to pay their passage, preferred to embark for foreign countries.”²² Being a safe port where emigrants went voluntarily and without fear of kidnappers and other scoundrels was one of Hong Kong’s greatest assets. Besides the legal structure, other elements in society that brought security and comfort to emigrants included Chinese newspapers and Chinese organizations—especially the Tung Wah Hospital, which was founded in 1869. Hong Kong’s evolution into a popular and thriving embarkation port is discussed in Chapter 2.

Not surprisingly, shipping and other related businesses made giant strides during these years. Shipping earned enormous profits for firms and individuals, and gave employment to tradesmen, artisans, and many kinds of laborers. Chapter 3 looks at the shipping trade, especially the passenger trade, and describes the operation of some of the companies. It shows how chartering was

conducted, how shipping provided investment opportunities, and the ways in which shipping activities expanded and thickened networks across the Pacific. The saga of how companies in Hong Kong and San Francisco fought for the lucrative shipping trade reveals much about the transpacific business world. This chapter fills an important gap in Hong Kong history for, despite its being so vital in Hong Kong's overall development, the history of shipping has been seriously understudied.

Export and import prospered. Exports to California included goods for the consumption of the general population as well as the Chinese community, with the former including such goods as chinaware, sugar, and tea, and the latter including prepared opium, joss paper, Chinese medicines, and Chinese clothing. At the same time, Chinese goods were sent to San Francisco for redistribution in the region and to the East Coast, nurturing its role as America's gateway to Asia—a role that would be greatly expanded after railroads provided the vital link to the East and to the interior, developments that would be mirrored in Hong Kong's own growth.

While at first lacking valuable things to export, California soon corrected the imbalance of trade by shipping abalones, metal, flour, ginseng, gold and silver, timber, and other products to Asia. An exceptional export was the savings of emigrants remitted to their families in China; being an unrequited export item, it in fact worked against California's interests. However, these funds were to have an enormous impact on the economy of the sending counties in South China, and for Hong Kong—the intermediary for all these funds—the benefits in terms of cash and capital flow were incalculable.

Merchants of all nationalities took part in the Hong Kong–San Francisco trade, and business collaboration assumed many forms. The trade had special significance for Chinese merchants in Hong Kong who worked with their counterparts in California as financiers, agents, exporters and importers, partners in associate firms, and much more. Indeed, these transpacific connections were multiple in nature, with personal, family, and native-place interests inextricably mixed with commercial interests. As early as 1852, Chinese merchants trading with California were recognized as a distinctly successful group.²³ In fact, one of the most long-lasting consequences of this traffic was the emergence of the so-called California Trade (known in Chinese as *jinshan hang* or the “Gold

Mountain Trade”), which dealt in import/export, retail and wholesale, remittances, foreign exchange, insurance and shipping, and other businesses between Hong Kong and the United States. The California Trade enjoyed an iconic status in Hong Kong as well as South China, its participants becoming some of Hong Kong’s wealthiest and most influential merchants. Moreover, the high-end consumption of California had an impact on other trades, including the south-north trade, and raised the value of trade at Hong Kong across the board.

While Chapter 4 deals with the cargo trade and merchant activities in general, Chapter 5 concentrates on the most lucrative export from Hong Kong: prepared opium for the pleasure of Chinese in California. This development might seem surprising at first glance, but it was actually a natural outcome of many factors, including the fact that Hong Kong was the premier distribution center for raw opium on the China coast. Perhaps less expected was the fact that Hong Kong’s opium should be deemed the best quality prepared opium by discerning smokers; indeed, consumers in California, who could afford the most expensive money could buy, made a fetish of the top Hong Kong brands. This was good news not only to the producers and shippers, but also to the colonial government, which depended on the opium monopoly for a large portion of its annual revenue. Since greater consumption of Hong Kong opium in California (and other Gold Mountain locales) would boost the value of the monopoly, it was in the government’s direct interest to ensure that large numbers of Chinese continued to emigrate and buy Hong Kong products abroad. To this end, it also made great efforts to ensure the Hong Kong brand name would stay on top. This story of prepared opium will reveal one of the most remarkable aspects of the relationship between the colonial government and Chinese merchants in the nineteenth century, and of economic development in Hong Kong.

Two very distinct features of Chinese emigration—the emigration of women and the repatriation of bones—are addressed in the next chapters. Most of the generalizations made about Chinese emigration in this book—and in most books on emigration, for that matter—in fact refer to male emigration. Female emigration was of a very different nature. Very few women went to the United States in the nineteenth century, and among those who did, many had been bought and sold for the highly profitable US market. Chapter 6 explores how a British colony, where slavery and human trafficking theoretically were illegal,

could have allowed such activities to take place. What role did the largely patriarchal values upheld by the Chinese merchant leaders play in such a context, and how did the social and political dynamics of a British colony play out in this matter?

Hong Kong met the desires of Chinese emigrants in many ways, from supplying prepared opium to supplying women. There was yet another desire: to be buried in the home village if one happened to die abroad—a desire underlined by deep-seated traditional values. It is well known that in the nineteenth century, most Chinese emigrants, instead of putting down roots in the new country, preferred to return home to grow old and die, and be buried among their ancestors and descendants. To provide comfort to those who had died and were buried overseas, mechanisms were set up to collect their bones for repatriation and final reburial. These were major exercises requiring a number of different resources, including money, organizational skills, goodwill, and transpacific connections. Many individuals and associations in Hong Kong were involved in facilitating bone repatriation, and behind activities so imbued with emotional and spiritual meaning were hard-nosed arrangements for the management of enormous sums of money and properties, and delicate political manipulation of mainland officials to promote the emigrants' interests at home. The story of bone repatriation will reveal other aspects of the complex relationships between Chinese communities in Hong Kong and California, and underline the pivotal role Hong Kong played in the Chinese diaspora.

This book attempts to examine the relationship between Hong Kong and emigration from different vantage points. While nineteenth-century Chinese emigrants traditionally have been studied mainly as laborers, I wish to show that many were not in fact laborers; there were traders, entrepreneurs, and investors, and many who started life as laborers ended up as shopkeepers and businessmen. I wish to show how Hong Kong related to them—laborer or otherwise—in their many facets: as passengers, consumers, remitters of money, victims of abuse, recipients of charity, and, underpinning all of these, as human beings with hopes and fears, diverse interests and many desires. I hope to clarify how deeply embedded Hong Kong was in the lives of individual migrants and the Chinese diaspora as a whole. It was not only the port through which they left China or through which they returned home, but it was a dynamic city that engaged in

continuous interaction with them at many levels throughout their sojourn. The transpacific corridor, ever shifting in shape, direction and form, was kept busy with the flow of people, capital, emigrants' savings, consumer goods, letters and commercial intelligence, coffins and bones. These movements energized the city and fueled its development; in turn, the city's energy affected the shape, color, and texture of the Chinese diaspora.

I also address a lacuna in migration studies by putting forward the concept of an "in-between place."²⁴ Migration studies generally focus on the sending and the receiving countries as if assuming that only two places are ever involved. Yet migration is seldom a simple, direct process of moving from Place A to Place B. It involves frequent transits and detours, zigzags and crisscrosses, with migrants often going from locality to locality before finally settling down. In some cases, they settle in different places at different points in time; in others, after stopping and going many times, they return to the original locality, marking a circular migration pattern—the stereotype for Chinese migration to California in the nineteenth century. In the process of repeated, even continuous, movement, hubs arise that witness the coming and going of persons and things. Such hubs provide appropriate conditions allowing sojourners to leave and travel far and wide, while also furnishing them with a variety of means to maintain ties with the home village. I believe that by foregrounding Hong Kong's role in the migration to California, we can discover new and important aspects of migration as process and lived experience. In calling Hong Kong an "in-between place," rather than just a node or hub in order to accentuate the sense of mobility, I draw attention to a hitherto unexamined aspect of Chinese migration, one that may also enrich our understanding of other migration movements across different times and different seas.

If Hong Kong may be described as an "in-between" place, there are certainly other locations—like San Francisco and Bangkok, Singapore and Sydney—that may also be described in this way. How different would migration maps look if, instead of simply coloring Country A and Country B, we were to identify all the nodes, the "in-between" places, through which migrants pass and in which they reside temporarily or settle for good after they leave home? Would this not result in a more nuanced, albeit messier, picture of migration? Perhaps, the concept of "in-between places" can help us rethink the meaning of diaspora—literally,

the phenomenon of seeds dispersing from one origin. Perhaps it is time for us to reconceptualize the notion of diaspora as being more multidimensional and capable of assuming many forms and shapes; to understand that, in the process of scattering and re-scattering, returning and re-returning, the idea of one origin, one source, one home can in fact be replaced by a hierarchy of homes—even a hierarchy of “in-between places.”

I have often mused on this question. What might have happened if the discovery of gold in California had occurred in 1838, rather than 1848, when Hong Kong was still a largely unknown island dotted with fishing and farming villages, and a free port under a foreign flag on China’s doorstep did not exist? By being the right place at the right time—indeed, by a serendipitous stroke of fortune—Hong Kong was poised to become a hub for Chinese emigrants for the next century, and the nerve center of the overseas Chinese world. It is hoped that this book will fill an important gap in the history of Hong Kong, the history of modern China, and the history of migration.

Conclusion

It would be hard to exaggerate the immense impact of the California gold rush on Hong Kong history. By expanding horizons in terms of new geographical frontiers, new navigation routes, new markets, and new potential for networking, the gold rush brought far-reaching economic and social consequences. Whereas Hong Kong's function up to this point had been mainly to link the China market westward to Britain and Europe, and to North America via the Atlantic, through Southeast Asia and India, a good part of its attention was now diverted eastward to the emerging market across the Pacific. (For twenty-first century readers, think BRIC.) Although for years to come the raw opium trade continued to dominate Hong Kong's economy, this was greatly diversified as new cargoes and services appeared on the scene. The trickle of eastward shipping in the mid-1840s, taking China goods from Guangzhou to the Sandwich Islands, and occasionally to California itself, turned into a flood as vessels, heavy with a wide range of goods, sailed for San Francisco to satisfy the army of gold rushers arriving from all corners of the earth.

Gold Mountain fired the imagination of people in the Pearl River Delta, the region in China with the oldest and closest association with the West. Hong Kong, where the infrastructure of an entrepôt and shipping hub had been evolving for almost a decade, made the dream of gold possible. Together with the growing cargo trade, passengers boarding at Hong Kong for California turned the formidable Pacific into a superhighway between South China and the West Coast of North America. To a large extent, the Pacific became a Cantonese ocean. In the way that emigrants from Fujian and Chaozhou regions had earlier carved out enclaves for themselves in Southeast Asia, men from the Pearl River

Delta began spreading their dominance throughout the gold-rush countries—Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand—and beyond, fanlike, from the North Pacific to the South—almost always through Hong Kong.

Gold was the beginning of the story, but by no means the whole of it. By the end of the century, decades after the gold rush was over, Hong Kong was still thriving as a world-class Pacific port, the terminal for all major Pacific liners. With ever-widening and ever-deepening flows of people, goods, information and funds, coffins and bones, Hong Kong demonstrated that it was an enormously porous and fluid space, capable of generating amazing energy and mobility. Shipping—whether cargo or passenger—with its attendant trades and occupations including provisioning, insurance, ship repairing and fitting, warehousing, and stevedoring meant investment opportunities for businessmen and employment for thousands of working men and women. It was a heady time when the sense of the possible was infinitely heightened.

Stretching in all directions, the effect of the California trade stimulated other trades, particularly the Nam Pak trade. With increasing density, old shipping and trade routes that ran from north to south intersected and overlapped at Hong Kong with new ones that ran from east to west. Goods from North and South China, Southeast Asia and India—rice, medicines, dried marine products, sugar, tea, and much more—were transshipped to feed the high-end consumption market of California, sometimes for redistribution to South America and the rest of the United States. In return, Hong Kong became the redistribution hub for ginseng, bullions, quicksilver, wheat, flour, and other exports from California. The bond between Hong Kong and San Francisco grew tighter with every transaction, be it the chartering of a ship, the collecting of a debt or the granting of an advance on cargo. Passage money and emigrants' remittances were extraordinary sources of capital that added special vibrancy to the traffic. Networks among merchants, particularly Chinese merchants, expanded and became ever more complex.

The consumption habits of the Chinese community in California, to a large extent, dictated the composition of the trade. The emergence of the high-income, big-spending Chinese emigrant, popularly dubbed the “Gold Mountain sojourner,” had long-term consequences. Trade in Hong Kong was upgraded across the board because of the high value of the California trade. Likewise, as

a result of the sojourner's taste for fine, expensive California flour, for instance, flour found a market in China and Southeast Asia, and Hong Kong rose as the unlikely distribution hub for the product. Who would have dreamed in 1850 that Hong Kong would one day become the flour capital of the region, reaching out as far as Vladivostok? Or, for that matter, that the granite quarried on the island would be turned into curb stones in San Francisco?

Nor would anyone have imagined that prepared opium would ever become Hong Kong's leading export. The preference, even fixation, of California's Chinese for Hong Kong's prepared opium led to a rise in the profits of opium merchants as much as in government revenue—both the Hong Kong and US governments. How deeply Hong Kong's political, social, and economic development was enmeshed with Chinese emigration is highlighted by this trade; through it, the twists and turns in the intricate relationship between the colonial government and Chinese businessmen, and among Chinese businessmen themselves, become manifest.

Hong Kong and the Diaspora

Yet Hong Kong's relationship with California was far from purely commercial. Among the Chinese, diasporic dimensions loomed large. Personal, family, and native-place networks coincided with business ones, often strengthening each other. Funds in different guises flowed back and forth across the Pacific with great fluidity. Trade and shipping aside, remittances sent by emigrants featured strongly in Hong Kong–California connections and quickly became an invaluable and integral component of Hong Kong's financial structure, providing capital for trade and other activities and boosting the colony's position as an international foreign exchange center. Remittances came in many forms and through different channels, and served different purposes. Money such as that sent by the Chong How Tong to the Kai Shin Tong, earmarked as investment to sustain the repatriation of bones, illustrates how deeply interpenetrating were the financial, social, cultural, and ritual arrangements between Chinese merchants in California and their counterparts in Hong Kong.

The repatriation of bones, like the remittance of emigrants' savings, required extraordinary efforts by far-flung networks of organizations and individuals,

involving long-term strategic planning, management and an inordinate amount of goodwill on all sides. Both activities, equally ways by which emigrants maintained ties with the homeland, were full of emotional meaning. Remittances, especially among ordinary Chinese workers in California duty-bound to support their families in China, were often money earned from back-breaking work and saved through relentless self-sacrifice. Sadly, the need to live up to the image of the glamorous Gold Mountain sojourner frequently exacerbated the burden. Bones were returned so that emigrants who had died abroad could enjoy a proper burial at home, among family; only then would they escape the terrible fate of becoming wild, hungry ghosts. Bone repatriation was a widely celebrated charitable act, as it comforted the souls of the dead and brought peace of mind to the living. Even though opportunities for profit often existed in the convoluted arrangements behind these exercises, and organizers frequently had their own agendas, it was always the philanthropic and altruistic nature that was emphasized in public discourse, and for the ordinary emigrant and the families of the deceased, this was probably all that mattered. Hong Kong was not just a common entrepôt in the minds of emigrants, but a vital link between them and home, fulfilling their many desires.

Organizations that made bone repatriation possible included *tongxiang* organizations, multipurpose institutions that tended to a wide range of their members' needs. These organizations were poignant transnational social spaces where native-place and dialect-group loyalties were reaffirmed, and shared identities constructed and regenerated. They were, furthermore, sites for creating and accumulating financial and social capital that had global application. They were mechanisms that bonded migrants to the native place, almost invariably with their counterparts in Hong Kong acting as intermediaries. *Tongxiang* networks between Hong Kong and California, and across the globe, underline Hong Kong's central position in the transnational world of the Chinese diaspora even as they augmented the coherence and unity of that world.

The Tung Wah Hospital, above all, with its monumental work for the welfare of emigrants, epitomized Hong Kong's special relationship with Chinese emigration. It offered relief to poor, sick, and disabled sojourners, and sought to eradicate abuses in the emigration process, including kidnapping, the sale of women as prostitutes abroad, and gambling rackets on ships. It acted as an

indispensable channel of information between Chinese abroad and those at home. Decade after decade of bone repatriation work especially touched the hearts of emigrants and their families, and earned the hospital the profound respect and gratitude of Chinese around the world. On another level, the Tung Wah demonstrated what Chinese merchants could do to bring moral order to society—a function that hitherto had been performed in China primarily by the literati-gentry. When Chinese merchants in California proposed organizing a hospital based on the Tung Wah, “with its perfection,” they were acknowledging it as a new social and cultural model for overseas Chinese. They could not have paid it a greater compliment.

Hong Kong, we can see, occupied a special place in the consciousness of emigrants. For many emigrants leaving China, Hong Kong was their first stop outside China, and paradoxically also their first stop in China on their return home. With its fuzzy borders, it must have been difficult at times to tell where China began and the rest of the world ended. Not a few returned emigrants chose to remain in Hong Kong rather than return immediately to their hometowns, and on occasion that stopover could last the rest of their lives. No doubt some must have been attracted by Hong Kong’s relative stability and, given the anti-Chinese brutality of California, freedom from racial violence, but the dynamic business environment and its vibrant connections with communities and markets in all directions must also have been particularly alluring. Hong Kong appears to have interfaced so seamlessly with China and the outside world that for those wishing to remain equally connected with their home in China, and friends and business opportunities they had left behind in California, it was a good place to be. But might not the social and cultural in-betweenness of Hong Kong—its transitional character—also have induced them to do so? With those returnees who had assimilated well in the host country, such as Fung Tang, one might even wonder whether choosing to reside in Hong Kong was not a means to escape the culture shock they might encounter in the home village. The comfort zone that Hong Kong offered might have contributed to its reputation as the second home of overseas Chinese.

Lesson in Openness

A study of Chinese emigration to California reveals some fundamental characteristics of the nature of Hong Kong society, one of which was certainly its openness. Its status as a duty-free port, open to shipping and trade of all nationalities, enabling through-movement in a relatively free and economical way, ensured its status as the predominant embarkation port for Chinese migrants. Naturally, openness alone was an insufficient condition for a great embarkation port. For passengers, personal safety was a primary concern. In the mid-nineteenth century, this included safety from kidnapping, from being tricked into signing exploitative contracts and from being herded into overcrowded or unseaworthy vessels. Provoking strong opposition among Hong Kong's merchants, the Chinese Passengers' Act of 1855 was enacted for imperial rather than colonial interests, but the Act and subsequent legislation provided a modicum of safety for free emigrants, however ineffectively and indifferently it was administered. By curtailing some of the worst abuses of the trade, Hong Kong stood out as a beacon of free emigration, distinct from other ports such as Macao where coerced emigration occurred with impunity.

Hong Kong was also open in another sense: it provided Chinese merchants with an unprecedented space not only to do business but also to play new social roles and claim new social status. Though never a level playing field, as foreign—especially British—business was always at a greater advantage, Hong Kong's thoroughly commercial atmosphere allowed Chinese who were enterprising to get ahead. Chinese and foreign merchants had a common language in money-making that led to competition as well as collaboration and, despite inherent racism, grudging mutual respect. Some might call it a common culture of greed. In this unprecedentedly open environment, the structure of Chinese society was reconfigured. In the absence of the literati-gentry class that for centuries had dominated Chinese society, Chinese merchants in Hong Kong were able to play top dog in the local community and among Chinese abroad. Making full use of their wealth, organizational skills, and worldliness, they provided leadership in charitable work, implementing cultural ideals that brought comfort and security to emigrants at every step of their sojourn, and that in turn established their legitimacy as community leaders. Though operated in different ways and

for different ends, native-place organizations, the Tung Wah Hospital, and Gold Mountain firms all demonstrated the potency of merchant power. The capacity to build and sustain webs of obligation that provided reassurance in situations of uncertainty, whether in business or migration, was a cornerstone of that power.

It was, of course, not all sweetness and light. It is without irony that Hong Kong's openness, which was one of its greatest assets facilitating all kinds of flows, also made life easy for smugglers, kidnappers, and other kinds of criminals. Nor should it surprise us that the leading embarkation port was also the nerve center of multidirectional and overlapping transnational networks for buyers and sellers of women who supplied overseas demands for prostitutes and concubines. Hong Kong might have been a colony of Britain, where anti-slavery had become official ideology since the early 1800s, but it was also a Chinese city in many ways, a Chinese city where Chinese practices, virtues, and vices persisted. Rising Chinese merchant power is even more clearly manifest in the merchants' defense of "Chinese traditions" in their demanding the need and right to distinguish between "licit" and "illicit" trafficking in girls and women. The inertia and apathy of the majority of colonial and consular officials, added to the economic interests of players in this most commercial of cities, combined to diminish the effect of the anti-slavery laws and marginalize those, such as Judge John Smale, who attempted to champion them. Hong Kong's political, social, and cultural environment had a direct bearing on what kinds of women might proceed overseas—for surely, if British laws against slavery and human trafficking had been enforced seriously by Hong Kong's officials and in its courts, the passage of purchased women to America and elsewhere would have been prevented.

The effect of openness on the press was especially pervasive. A channel of information on markets and prices, shipping schedules and cargo space, customs regulations and immigration laws, the press—both in the English and Chinese languages—was essential for facilitating shipping, trade, and emigration. Of particular significance was the growth of the Chinese press in this open atmosphere, for Hong Kong offered not just an economic, social, and political space unlike anything on the mainland, but an unprecedented intellectual space as well. Its Chinese newspapers served many purposes. Besides generally educating their readers about the bigger world and advocating political and commercial reforms, both locally and in China, they also focused on promoting

the interests of emigrants, including demanding the establishment of Chinese consuls to protect Chinese abroad. To do so, they published views that were at odds with the Chinese government's official policy—for example, that the government should set up consulates abroad to protect emigrants, who were officially still criminals. Such freedom of the press would have been unthinkable on the mainland, where such comments would have been treasonable, not to mention the fact that commoners were, in any case, barred from commenting on public affairs. It would appear that Hong Kong's Chinese press, though long studied as a pioneer in the history of Chinese journalism, has never been given sufficient credit as the tail that wagged the dog. Perhaps it is time for its newspapers to be studied seriously as businesses and not just vehicles for ideas. When this happens, it becomes clear how “progressive” newspapers such as Wang Tao's *Xunhuan ribao* reflected the business interests of their owners, the Chinese merchants of Hong Kong.

I have often marveled at how such a small place could have had such a large impact on the world. To understand a place like Hong Kong—which was so porous, so receptive to outside influences, and in turn exerted so much influence on processes beyond its shores—it is clearly futile to look only within its physical borders. Much more than a fixed physical territory, “Hong Kong” may better be defined as layers of overlapping historical experiences, its “boundaries” measured by the social, political, economic, and cultural processes and networks that centered or touched upon it, stretching in all directions. What is required is a wider-angle lens for looking at the multiplicity of roles that a place like Hong Kong embodied.

The In-between Place: Paradigm for Migration Studies

There was, strictly speaking, no emigration *from* Hong Kong, only emigration *through* it. This may partly explain why Hong Kong's role in the history of Chinese migration has largely been overlooked by migration scholars, who tend to focus on either end of the migration process—the sending country (Place A) and the receiving country (Place B). In recent years, scholars have focused more on *qiaoxiang*¹—localities that have sent large numbers of people overseas—and placed greater emphasis on the *interconnectedness* between the two ends; but

despite this, little consideration has so far been given to the places and processes in between. Hong Kong's experience demonstrates that an in-between place could play a defining role in the process.

Hong Kong was the hub that witnessed the constant coming and going of persons, as well as funds, goods, information, ideas, personal communications, even dead bodies and bones. With both centripetal and centrifugal forces at play, it provided the conditions allowing sojourners to leave China and travel far and wide, while also furnishing migrants with a variety of means to maintain ties with the home village. Mechanisms—formal and informal, legal and illegal—that recruited migrant workers played as essential a part as the “commercial intelligence” that informed merchants of opportunities abroad. Networks of different types, often transnational in nature, coincided and overlapped. Social organizations tended to the material and psychological well-being of migrants in transit by providing accommodation, job opportunities, occasions for ritual and religious participation, financial relief, and a sense of community among fellow sojourners. These services, which made the migratory journey both physically possible and emotionally less lonely and terrifying, were an integral part of the infrastructure of an in-between place.

What other in-between places were there besides Hong Kong? In the context of nineteenth-century Chinese migration, San Francisco, Singapore, Bangkok, Victoria and Vancouver in British Columbia, and Sydney and Melbourne in Australia immediately come to mind as embarkation ports, transit points and places of work and residence, sometimes over quite long periods. Some Chinese arriving in San Francisco, for example, stayed and worked there until they returned to China; others used it as a stepping stone to other localities, both within California and beyond. In some instances, while they moved from place to place, migrants repeatedly returned to San Francisco, using it as a home-base to wait for new employment or investment opportunities, or for other activities that required dense and overlapping linkages.

Philip Kuhn speaks of the countless “corridors” that linked Chinese migrants in the destination countries with their native homes, and claims that “the essence of the matter is not the separation but the connection.”² Connection was key, certainly, and he might have added that the corridors—kept open and vibrant with the flow of people and things—constantly were reconfigured.

Hong Kong was the nexus of thousands of such criss-crossing and multidirectional corridors.

The diasporic world may be conceived as both concrete and abstract. In one sense, it was “fixed” and geographically defined—not only because the native home was a specific locality on the map, but because “corridors” and “in-between places” concretely determined shipping routes, channels of remittances, markets for goods and cultural products, sources of capital, and sites for investment, *and* in turn were determined by them. In another sense, this world was a shifting, groundless, constructed notion; the idea of home, being portable, could be carried by the emigrant wherever he went.³ The corridors between Place A and Place B were not fixed. Pulled this way and that by competing forces, corridors were twisted and turned, bent and stretched, as the migrant roamed along, changing the shape of the diaspora in the process.

So far in the scholarly literature, the Chinese diaspora has been considered mainly in terms of geographical space. But, *time* played an important part too. *Over time*, the old “home” might gradually lose its emotional and cultural hold on the migrant, or be made inaccessible by war or revolution or some other calamity. In these situations, in-between places could become substitute homes, complementing or even undermining and replacing the old one. When overseas Chinese called Hong Kong a “second home,” they demonstrated the pliability of the idea of home and recognized that it was possible to have more than one.

The diaspora is not flat. Emphasizing in-between places enables us to re-visualize it as a multidimensional and, yes, messy phenomenon molded by a hierarchy of “homes”—ranging from the “original,” “ancestral” home to secondary or tertiary ones—and a hierarchy of “in-between places,” its shape ever-changing in the unending process of dispersal and re-dispersal, returning and re-returning. Just as the diaspora’s shape changes, so does its *tone*, for the corridor between the old “home” and the migrant’s locale could get eroded and lose its intensity. Or it could be reinforced during “high-temperature” moments such as the Japanese invasion of China in the 1930s, when the corridors vibrated and bulged with China-bound migrants and war donations. The situation is ever fluid and dynamic.

To use another metaphor. Like a river that transforms the shape of its banks, every migrant that passes through a locality makes a social, economic,

and cultural difference to it, however minute, and in in-between places like Hong Kong and San Francisco, the footprints of countless migrants, like the layer upon layer of alluvial sediments, defined and redefined their landscape. The migration experience of individuals was multilayered too, their hearts and minds being filled with memories and influences and associations of many in-between places. We can see a deeper picture of the larger migration process by taking “in-between places” into consideration as important component parts of the individual migrant’s lived experience.

What about other migration movements? For example, during the century between the 1830s and 1930s, Liverpool and Hamburg, Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, the port of Santos in Brazil, Philadelphia in the United States, and Ouidah in Benin on the African coast certainly played the part of in-between places, and there must have been many more. It would be interesting to compare in-between places—geographical, logistical, financial, cultural, emotional in-between places—in different migration strands. If, instead of merely marking Place A and Place B on a migration map, we were to insert in-between places as well, how different the map would look. And how much more meaningful it would be for tracking the movements of people, and for understanding the layered effects of migration.

A study of Hong Kong’s different roles in Chinese migration from the mid-nineteenth century can tell us much about Hong Kong’s development and its transpacific ties. But it can do more than that: it can present a new picture of the migration process—a process that affected those who moved as well as those who did not—and provide a better understanding of the relationship between place and mobility. The concept of the in-between place, I believe, may serve as a useful paradigm for the study of migration movements by alerting scholars to the need to look more widely and deeply across the physical, economic, social, and cultural landscapes of human migration, and seek out hitherto unexplored interconnections that would bring new insights into migration as a collective process and as the lived experience of individuals.

Notes

Introduction

1. James Gerber, "The Trans-Pacific Wheat Trade, 1848–1857," in *Pacific Centuries: Pacific and Pacific Rim History Since the Sixteenth Century*, edited by Dennis O. Flynn, Lionel Frost, and A. J. H. Latham (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 125–151, pp. 125, 130.
2. James P. Delgado, *Gold Rush Port: The Maritime Archaeology of San Francisco's Waterfront* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009), p. 52.
3. Delgado, *Gold Rush Port*, p. 3.
4. Delgado, *Gold Rush Port*, p. 9.
5. According to Dennis O. Flynn, Dennis Frost, and A. J. H. Latham, the first Pacific century was the century of Spanish supremacy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries based on American silver, and the second Pacific century was brought on by California gold. See their "Introduction: Pacific Centuries Emerging," in Flynn, Frost and Latham, *Pacific Centuries*, pp. 1–22.
6. The *Blue Book* was a compilation of statistics and information on the income and expenditure of the government. It was published annually and submitted to the Colonial Office in London, often accompanied by a covering letter by the governor of Hong Kong on the year's developments.
7. See Appendix 1 for table on Hong Kong exports to San Francisco, 1849.
8. Mary Hill, *Gold: The California Story* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), p. 42. The longest trip took 300 days in a paddle-wheel steamer. San Francisco was located some 13,600 miles from London by sailing vessel and about 500 miles further still from New York, which explains why it was not a regular port of call in the sea lanes of the time before the gold rush. See Thomas Berry, *Early California: Gold, Prices, Trade* (Richmond: Botswick Press, 1984), p. 2.
9. "Arrival of the Clipper *Challenge*. This splendid vessel has performed the quickest passage between the coast of China and Northwestern America yet recorded in our

- annals of modern voyages. She left Hong Kong on 19th March and the coast of Japan on 5th April arriving in this harbor early yesterday morning—33 days' time!" *Alta California*, April 23, 1852.
10. Bush to Webster, April 11, 1851: US National Archives, Despatches from US Consuls in Hong Kong, 1844–1906.
 11. William Speer, *The Oldest and Newest Empire: China and the United States* (Hartford, CN: S.S. Scranton & Co., 1870), p. 486.
 12. This was probably an exaggerated figure. The problem of statistics is discussed in Chapter 2. See also Chapter 1, note 3.
 13. Bonham to Newcastle, June 13, 1853, #44 in *Hong Kong Blue Book* 1852, pp. 136–137. See also E. J. Eitel, *Europe in China* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1983 [1895]), p. 359.
 14. Henry Anthon Jr., Vice-Consul to Peter Parker, Chargé d'Affaires for the United States, Canton, March 25, 1852, in *American Diplomatic and Public Papers—United States and China, Series I: The Treaty System and the Taiping Rebellion, 1841–1860* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources), 21 volumes, vol. 17: *The Coolie Trade and Chinese Emigration*, p. 151.
 15. For Chinese migration to the inland states, see Sue Fawn Chung, *In Pursuit of Gold: Chinese American Miners and Merchants in the American West* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2011) and Arif Dirlik (ed.), *Chinese on the American Frontier* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001); for Chinese in the Southern states, see Lucy M. Cohen, *Chinese in the Post-Civil War South: A People Without a History* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1984). For the range of occupations other than mining, see Ping Chiu, *Chinese Labor in California, 1850–1880: An Economic Study* (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1963).
 16. For an overview of Hong Kong and Chinese emigration, see Elizabeth Sinn, "Emigration from Hong Kong before 1941: General Trends," in *Emigration from Hong Kong*, edited by Ronald Skeldon, pp. 11–34 (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong), and Elizabeth Sinn, "Emigration from Hong Kong before 1941: Organization and Impact," in *Emigration from Hong Kong*, edited by Ronald Skeldon, pp. 35–50 (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press). The discrepancy in the numbers may be explained partly by the fact that many of the emigrants who had returned to China (either permanently or on visits) via Hong Kong had departed from another port, possibly Whampoa, Xiamen, Shantou, or Macao.
 17. Using different sets of statistics from myself, Kaoru Sugihara gives the following figures for the total number of emigrants "immigrating to" and "immigrating from" Southeast Asia between 1869 and 1939:

Table I.1 Emigrants departing from Xiamen, Shantou, and Hong Kong, 1869–1939

| | Xiamen | Shantou | Hong Kong |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Number of migrants departing | 3,655,719 | 4,910,954 | 6,154,777 |
| Number of migrants returning | 2,156,266 | 1,906,657 | 7,590,908 |

Sources: See Kaoru Sugihara, “Patterns of Chinese Emigration to Southeast Asia, 1869–1939,” in *Japan, China and the Growth of the Asian International Economy, 1850–1949* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 247–250.

18. For instance, in July 1852, some 8,000–15,000 contract laborers were being processed for shipment in Xiamen. See Robert Schwendinger, *Ocean of Bitter Dreams: Maritime Relations Between China and the United States, 1850–1915* (Tucson, AZ: Westernlore Press, 1988), p. 29. Xiamen continued to dominate the older emigration routes to Southeast Asia, and for a few years in the 1850s the trade to Havana, but it never became an international passenger port of the same status as Hong Kong. By the early twentieth century, Hong Kong had become the major transshipping point for Xiamen passengers, both inbound and outbound.
19. *The Economist*, March 8, 1851, reprinted in Hong Kong’s *China Mail*, May 29, 1851.
20. Bowring to William Molesworth, October 6, 1855: #147: Great Britain, Colonial Office, Original Correspondence: Hong Kong 1841–1951, Series 129 (hereafter, CO 129)/52, pp. 108–114; Bowring to Edward B. Lytton, October 22, 1858: #141: CO 129/69, pp. 332–336.
21. Bush to Webster, April 11, 1851: Despatches from US Consuls in Hong Kong, 1844–1906.
22. Eitel, *Europe in China*, p. 344.
23. As early as 1852, merchants trading with California were recognized as a separate category. In a report on the annual colonial rent and police rate roll, it was stated that “premises occupied by Merchants and Agents doing the chief of their business with California and South America” paid \$1,000 (*The Friend of China*, September 18, 1852).
24. This idea of the “in-between” place should not be confused with the concept of “liminality.” Liminality is used in anthropological and migration studies to describe “in-betweenness” in people’s emotional, psychological, or political state of being. See Antonio Nossia and Michal Lyons, “Inhabiting Space of Liminality:

Immigrants in Omonia, Athens,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 35, no. 4 (2009), pp. 601–624. “Liminal zone” is also being used to describe a kind of “in-between” place with reference to the legal status of migrants (Conversations on Europe: “Fortress Europe’: Pushing Back Unwanted Migrants,” <http://lsa.umich.edu/umich/v/index.jsp?vgnextoid=413cf0baa84be210VgnVCM100000a3b1d38dRCRD&vgnnextchannel=c937d8d398e42110VgnVCM10000096b1d38dRCRD>), viewed April 28, 2011. “Liminal” is used as well in diaspora studies to describe a transitional stage in the process of political development for an emigrant community. See Ramla M. Bande, *Black Star Line: African American Activism in the International Political Economy* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008). I am not using “in-between place” in any of these senses here.

Chapter 1

1. See Appendix 1 for table on Hong Kong exports to San Francisco, 1849.
2. *The Economist*, March 8, 1851, reprinted in Hong Kong’s *China Mail*, May 29, 1851.
3. Bonham to Newcastle, June 13, 1853, #44 in *Hong Kong Blue Book* 1852, pp. 130–139, 136–137. The number of 30,000 is probably inaccurate. The Hong Kong government did not keep very accurate records of emigrants, partly because of general negligence and inefficiency. Until 1856, when the Chinese Passengers’ Act was enforced, there was no need for inspection of ships or to report on their passengers, and even after its enactment, vessels carrying fewer than 20 passengers were not subject to the Act, and therefore those passengers were not counted. In addition, a certain amount of under-reporting by ships’ captains was common. See tables in Appendix 2, which show discrepancies between different sets of figures.
4. Many books have been written on the China trade before the Opium War. One of the most recent, informative, and insightful is Paul A. Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the Canton Coast, 1700–1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005).
5. See Austin Coates, *Macao and the British, 1637–1842: Prelude to Hongkong* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988).
6. T. N. Chiu, *The Port of Hong Kong: A Survey of Its Development* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1973), p. 16, quoting E. M. Gull, *British Economic Interests in the Far East*, 1943, pp. 19–20. Despite its great significance, the development of Hong Kong as a shipping center has not been studied seriously. Baruch Boxer’s *Ocean Shipping in the Evolution of Hongkong* (Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Geography, 1961), which is basically the only study of its kind, is very preliminary. More insight is offered by Bert Becker in his “Coastal Shipping

Association of San Francisco] in, *Xianggang Taishan Shanghui huikan* 香港台山商會會刊 [Journal of the Taishan Chamber of Commerce of Hong Kong] vol. 7 (Hong Kong, 1988), p. 68.

84. This is observed also by Marlon Hom in “Fallen Leaves’ Homecoming,” p. 319. Hom has some personal experience in this regard too. His wife’s paternal grandfather, an immigrant from Taishan, had left America to retire and die in China, but in the mid-1980s his father-in-law returned to China to bring his father’s remains to San Francisco for a tertiary but final burial in the cemetery managed by the Ning Yeung Huiguan. Hom’s own family debated in 1992 whether to return the remains of his own great-grandparents and great-great grandparents—who were emigrants in America but returned for burial in Xinhui county—to America where the family could continue “grave-sweeping,” but this was opposed by other branches of the family.

Conclusion

1. Even recent works on the Chinese diaspora still engage mainly in a dichotomous homeland–hostland discourse—for example, Laurence J. Ma, “Space, Place and Transnationalism in the Chinese Diaspora,” in *The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility and Identity*, edited by Laurence J. Ma and Carolyn Cartier (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), pp. 1–49. Some of the main *qiaoxiang* studies have been undertaken at Leiden and Amsterdam under the auspices of the International Institute for Asian Studies. Publications emerging from these studies include *Qiaoxiang Ties: Interdisciplinary Approaches to “Cultural Capitalism” in South China*, edited by Leo Douw, Cen Huang, and Michael R. Godley (London: Kegan Paul, and Leiden: International Institute for Asian Studies, 1999), and *Rethinking Chinese Transnational Enterprises: Cultural Affinity and Business Strategies*, edited by Leo Douw, Cen Huang, and David Ip (Richmond: Curzon, 2001). Another center for *qiaoxiang* studies is at Xiamen University, led by Professors Lin Jinzhi and Zhuang Guotu.
2. Philip Kuhn, *Chinese Among Others: Emigration in Modern Times* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008), p. 4.
3. For the idea of groundlessness, see Emmanuel Ma Mung, “Groundlessness and Utopia: The Chinese Diaspora and Territory,” in *The Last Half Century of Chinese Overseas*, edited by Elizabeth Sinn (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1998), pp. 35–48; *Ungrounded Empire: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism*, edited by Aihwa Ong and Donald M. Nonini (New York: Routledge, 1998).

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