

Toward The Golden Mountain

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150 Years of Chinese Lives in the Santa Clara Valley¹

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for the Cupertino Historical Society

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As a fourth generation Chinese American, Oscar award film-maker Jessica Yu's maternal family roots span over a century of Chinese American history in Santa Clara County. In 1881, great-grandfather Young Soong Quong came to work in San Jose's Chinatown when he was only eleven. Grandfather John C. Young was born in 1912 and grew up in San Jose Chinatown. He became a soy sauce manufacturer and a Second World War veteran who retired with the rank of full Colonel. Jessica's mother Connie Young Yu has been a civil rights activist, historian, fencing instructor, and novelist.

Today, Chinese Americans are one of several large Asian ethnic groups in Santa Clara County. They are an integral part of Silicon Valley's social and economic fabric. In 1990, Asian Americans made up 17.5 percent of the County's population, of which Chinese Americans led with 65,027 residents.²

Some may be surprised to learn that early Chinese immigrants participated in Santa Clara County's development since the Gold Rush period. Recounting their story helps us develop a more complete picture of the Valley's economic development and appreciate the social changes that has occurred. Moreover, these immigrant pioneers' struggles and achievements offer inspiration.

Impacted by both statewide politics and local conditions, the history of Chinese Americans in Santa Clara County is definable as four distinct periods covering almost 150 years.

I. Helping to Build the West (1851-1890s)

Reinforced by Hollywood, the media, and even public education, popular imagination still seems to cling to an image of a Wild West conquered only by Yankee grit and ingenuity. The historical presence and extent of economic participation by early Chinese immigrants have been largely downplayed or ignored until recent research by such historians as Him Mark Lai, Alexander Saxton, Ping Chiu, Sandy Lydon, Sucheng Chan, and Connie Young Yu.

Ubiquitous Presence in the West

Shocking as it might seem, the actual presence of early Chinese immigrants in the real West was roughly similar to the extent that Asian American presence is felt in California today. If one feels that Asian American presence in California seems ubiquitous when they were nine percent of the population in 1990, then arguably the same had been true between 1852 and 1880 when Chinese immigrants also accounted for about nine percent of the State's population.

When gold was discovered in 1848, California's predominantly Mexican population numbered only 14,000. Takeover by the U.S. the same year brought not only large numbers of Americans, but also many Chinese immigrants by the time of statehood in 1850. By 1852, only four years after the discovery of gold, Chinese immigrants had become the largest minority group in California. They numbered 20,026 or nine percent of the State population of 223,000. During the next three decades, the scarcity and seemingly insatiable need for labor in the entire West, combined with unrestricted immigration permitted by Congress, increased Chinese population to 75,218 by 1880, still nine percent of the State's population which has grown to 864,694.

Table 1. Chinese Population in California: 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900

	Chinese Population	% of Calif. Population
1860	34,933	9.2%
1870	49,310	8.8%
1880	75,218	8.7%
1900	45,753	3.1%

(Source: U.S. Bureau of Census; Chan: 1986, 48-49)

Early Economic Contributions

The sheer size of the Chinese labor force in mid-nineteenth century California made them key participants in developing the State's major economic sectors and public works infrastructure. For although Chinese immigrants were nine percent of California's population from 1852 to 1880, the fact that they were over 90 percent working-age men meant that they actually accounted for almost a quarter of the State's entire work force.

Sandy Lydon's extensive research on the Monterey Bay Region describes how Chinese fishermen pioneered the fishing industry from the early 1850s, apparently sailing their 30-foot fishing junks directly from China! The first documented Chinese resident in the Monterey Bay Region came with the Spanish and died in 1817. But even before that, Spanish explorer Juan Bautista de Anza who visited Carmel Bay in 1774 described a tantalizing sighting of "a strange wreck, of a type of construction which none of the Spaniards there had ever seen—no doubt, an oriental boat" (Lydon, 1985: 29).

From the 1850s to 1860s, Chinese accounted for a quarter of California's miners when mining dominated the State's economy. As mining waned, Chinese immigrants engaged in railroad building, swampland reclamation, agriculture, public work construction, commercial fishing, and manufacturing. Most Chinese immigrants worked as laborers, some as servants, cooks, laundrymen, while those with greater resources became merchants, manufacturers, and tenant farmers.

For two decades beginning in the 1860s, railroad building was the major economic activity throughout the entire West and Chinese laborers were the industry's mainstay. For instance, the legendary Transcontinental Railroad engaged 12,000 Chinese railroad builders. Chinese workers were 90 percent of the entire work force of the Central Pacific Railroad that completed the railroad from Sacramento, California through the seemingly impossible High Sierra to Promontory Point, Utah in 1869 (Takaki, 1989: 85-86).

By the 1870s, California's economy shifted to agriculture and manufacturing. In 1872, Chinese accounted for 46 percent of factory workers in San Francisco's four major industries that manufactured shoes and boots, garments, woolen blankets, and cigars.

By 1877, Chinese levee-builders transformed over five million acres of swampland in the Sacramento-San Joaquin river delta into one of the World's richest farming region and then stayed to work as farm laborers and tenant farmers. In 1880, Chinese accounted for 38 percent of the farm labor force in Sacramento County, 29 percent in Alameda County, and 33 percent in Santa Clara County (Takaki, 1989: 87; Chan, 1986: 306-307).

The list of early Chinese immigrant endeavors can go on to include work from salmon canneries to major public works construction. However, it is worth noting that since working conditions were often primitive and dangerous, many early Chinese immigrants contributed not only with their labor but also their lives in helping to build the West. Building the Transcontinental Railroad alone claimed the lives of an estimated 1,200 because of harsh winters, sickness, avalanches, and handling of early explosives (Yu, 1996: 46).

Chinese Immigrants in Santa Clara County

According to Connie Young Yu, the earliest record of Chinese presence in Santa Clara County was a news report in the *Alta California*, dated November 21, 1851, about a court trial which was conducted in English, Spanish, and two Chinese dialects! However, significant numbers of Chinese probably came during the 1860s to build the region's railroad system and to work in the Valley's embryonic fruit industry. The 1870 census reported 1,525 Chinese or 5.8 percent of the County's population (Yu, 1991: 19).

Table 2. Chinese Population in Santa Clara County: 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900

	Chinese Population	% of County Population
1860	22	0.2%
1870	1,525	5.8%
1880	2,695	7.7%
1900	1,738	2.9%

(Source: U.S. Census; Chan 1986: 49)

Building Santa Clara Valley's Railroads

In 1864, Chinese railroad workers built the San Jose-San Francisco Railroad during the Civil War, fulfilling the hopes of many who worked towards this end for years. Taking only two hours and ten minutes, most of Santa Clara County's agricultural produce to San Francisco went on this railroad. From San Jose, Chinese immigrants also built other railroads such as the ones to Stockton and Sacramento .

However, the most difficult and dangerous railroad that Chinese railroad workers built in the region was from San Jose over the mountains to Santa Cruz. This railroad employed over a thousand Chinese workers and was completed in 1880. Drilling the 6,243-foot Wrights summit tunnel alone took two-and-a-half years and claimed at least 31 lives from undetected tunnel gas explosions. Lydon wrote, "For every mile of railroad, one Chinese died" (Lydon, 1985: 92-101).



Chinese working on the California Railroad, ca 1860s.

Courtesy of the California State Railroad Museum

Vegetable-Farming and Strawberry-Growing Pioneers

For about a century beginning in the 1870s, agriculture dominated Santa Clara County's economy. By 1880, the value of Santa Clara County's orchard products ranked first in the State. In the same year, according to Sucheng Chan's research, 33 percent of the County's farm work force was Chinese. Among Chinese agriculturists, a third leased land to grow strawberries, 15 percent leased land for vegetable farms, while the remaining half were hired in the orchards (Chan, 1986: 113).

Table 3. Farm Laborers in Santa Clara County by Nativity: 1870, 1880, 1900

	% American	% European	% Chinese	% Japanese	% Mexican
1870	46.4	42.1	11.6	0	0
1880	38.8	28.4	32.8	0	0
1900	54.1	32.7	11.2	2	0

(Source: Chan 1986: 304, 306, 314)

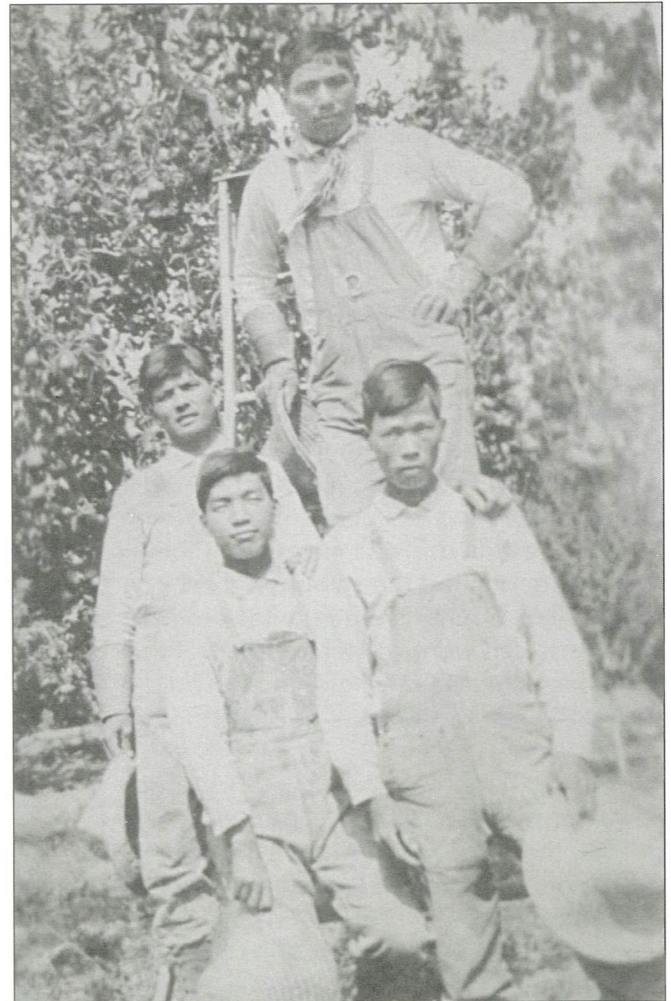
During the 1850s, land transferred rapidly from the Santa Clara Valley's Spanish-surnamed inhabitants to a number of large American landowners. By the time the Chinese arrived in the 1860s, they were unable to break into the established pattern of land ownership and could only become sharecroppers or farm laborers. The Chinese immigrants began to lease farms 10 to 25 acres and specialized in growing strawberries and vegetables (Lukes & Okihiro, 1985: 12; Chan, 1986: 124-131).

By 1870, 104 Chinese farmers made up 42 percent of vegetable farmers and 256 Chinese made up 100 percent of the strawberry-growers in Santa Clara County. During this period, Chinese truck gardeners provided most of the vegetables in many California counties. Chinese vegetable-peddlers balancing a pole on shoulder with baskets suspended full of vegetables were a common sight in many cities and towns (Chan, 1986: 112).

The story of how Chinese immigrants pioneered and dominated strawberry-growing in the County provides interesting social and economic insights. Chan noted that "several local landowners were responsible for introducing strawberry cultivation to the Chinese." From the mid-1860s to the turn of the century, Isaac Bird and some two dozen other landowners brought Chinese immigrants to the County and leased parts of their farms to them for the cultivation of strawberries and other berries.

By 1870, 17 percent of the Chinese residents in the County were strawberry growers. The center of strawberry growing was in the area between San Jose and the town of Santa Clara. From 1870 to 1890, between 150 and 200 acres in the County were used for strawberry cultivation, employing about a thousand pickers each harvest season.

The relationship between landowners and their Chinese tenants, according to Chan, was "more or less a business partnership, with the Chinese providing the labor and the expertise for cultivation, and the landlords providing the land, the farming implements, the plants...some of the labor..." The profit, averaging about \$400 per acre, was divided equally between landlord and tenant (Chan, 1986: 124-131).



Gong Pui (picture front left) with a group of fruit harvesters, San Jose, ca 1907. Mr. Pui also worked at the National Dollar Store in San Jose.

Courtesy of Connie Young Yu

San Jose Chinatown

During the 1860s, a Chinatown began to form in downtown San Jose. By 1870, San Jose Chinatown had a population of 532 or 6 percent of the City's inhabitants. While two-thirds of the County's Chinese residents did not live in San Jose Chinatown, it did function as the center for cultural activities, business, recreation, employment, and temporary shelter for the larger Chinese community in the region (Yu, 1991: 19).

According to Yu, a directory of Chinese businesses in San Jose Chinatown published by Wells Fargo Company listed 77 businesses in 1878 and 88 businesses in 1882. Actually, the large number of businesses in San Jose Chinatown should not be surprising, since the population swelled to a few thousand during harvest time when Chinese workers would use it as a depot.

There were smaller Chinese communities in the County, especially near the Stanford farm or the New Almaden Quicksilver Mine where many Chinese also worked. Chinese immigrants worked and lived in areas as geographically dispersed in the County as Gilroy, Milpitas, Alviso, Campbell, Cupertino, Mountain View, and south Palo Alto (Yu, 1991: 19).

II. Exclusion and Decline (1882 to 1940s)

What happened to Asian immigrants during the period of political and social exclusion was a late-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century tragedy for American society. Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino immigrants were successively recruited to work in the West, then scapegoated and excluded during periods of economic and political crisis. Successive hate movements directed at each group culminated in immigration exclusion for Chinese in 1882, repatriation for Filipino immigrants in 1935, and internment of Japanese Americans in 1942.

In 1869, when the Chinese railroad workers rushed to complete the Transcontinental Railroad, they probably did not expect the massive influx of migrants from the East Coast. In the end, these late-comers would not only take away their livelihoods, but also threaten their very existence. Ironically, while their labor was no longer as indispensable in the West, Chinese immigrants became what Alexander Saxton called the “indispensable enemy” of the fledgling white labor movement. They were a convenient scapegoat when an economic depression hit California in the 1870s.

The underlying problem was that Chinese immigrants had never been treated with equality. This situation was true even during the earlier period when Chinese workers were praised by politicians and in newspapers. The social position of Chinese was defined as inferior to whites in the case of *People v. Hall* (1854) which ruled that Chinese cannot give evidence in court against a white person. Not only were Chinese workers paid less salary by employers, the State collected tax revenue that targeted only the Chinese. Between 1852 and 1870, through the Foreign Miner’s Tax, Fishing Tax, Police Tax, and other taxes, Chinese immigrants paid \$5 million which amounted to 25-50 percent of all California state revenue! (Takaki, 1985: 82)

When the Anti-Chinese Movement began to sweep California in the 1870s, mob violence, yellow journalism, and discriminatory laws represented an all-out effort to purge society of the “heathen Chinese” and to eradicate any trace of their presence. In 1879, the Workingmen’s Party successfully revised the California constitution to define Chinese immigrants as “foreigners ineligible to become citizens” and to declare them to be “dangerous to the well-being of the State.” This State constitution gave cities and towns the power for “the removal of the Chinese” or “for their location within prescribed portions” in cities. It also prohibited employers from employing “in any capacity, any Chinese.”

During the decades after the 1870s, literally hundreds of anti-Chinese laws were enacted at every level of government in California and other western states to affect every major aspect of life for Chinese immigrants. Congress passed unprecedented immigration laws severely restricting the entry of Chinese, including laborers (1882, 1892, 1902, 1904), women (1875), reentering citizens and residents (1884), businessmen (1893), students (1923), wives of citizens (1924). In California, Chinese children, along with Indians and Blacks, were excluded from public education (1860).

Other laws ranged from barring Chinese from securing business licenses (1872), owning real estate (1872, 1913, 1920), wearing queues (1873), and walking on sidewalks while carrying loads with pole and baskets (1870). Not only were interracial marriages prohibited in California, even women who married Chinese men lost their own U.S. citizenships (1922). The anti-Chinese laws were so harsh that the derogatory expression “a Chinaman’s chance” entered into popular usage to mean “no chance at all.”

The anti-Chinese laws were so severe that the Chinese population in California declined about 40 percent from 75,218 in 1880 to 45,753 in 1900. During the same period, Chinese population dropped from 8.7 percent to 3.1 percent of the State’s population.

The ferocity of the anti-Chinese movement varied depending on location and time. The momentum was harder to sustain in agricultural regions and with the passage of time. At the turn of the century, there were still exceptional examples of successful Chinese immigrants such as “Potato King” Chin Lung. Chin hired 500 farm workers to farm thousands of acres of Delta land. He earned an estimated \$90,000 in annual profits until he was forced out by the Alien Land Laws of the early 1920s. But more typical for the Chinese under exclusion was a segregated life at the economic periphery, scrounging for a living as laundrymen, cooks, servants, and the like (Lai, 1997: 29; Chan, 1986: 207-212).

Over the years, the anti-Chinese laws were challenged in court and repealed, yet some remained in the books into the 1960s.

The Anti-Chinese Movement in Santa Clara County

The anti-Chinese movement in Santa Clara County mirrored what was happening statewide. In 1869, the Ku Klux Klan claimed responsibility when both the Naglee Brandy Distillery and the Methodist Episcopal Church were burnt the same night. Both had spoken out for the Chinese earlier. In 1870, San Jose Chinatown was devastated by fire, then rebuilt, only to be torched again by arson in 1887. When Chinatown was destroyed in 1887, it was a bustling community of over a thousand residents. Only two months earlier, on March 25, 1887, the Mayor and entire city council declared Chinatown a public nuisance because it was in the way of San Jose's ambitious development projects.

The local movement was led by the Anti-Coolie Club, whose strategies included boycotting Whites who dealt with the Chinese. Local newspapers printed the minutes of the Anti-Coolie Club which always included the names of local businesses to be boycotted. Even the more moderate *San Jose Mercury* published sensationalized accounts of Chinese crimes and habits into the 1890s (Lukes & Okihiro, 1985: 14-15; Yu, 1991: 28-29).

Forced out of earlier blue collar occupations, Chinese immigrants resorted to marginal occupations such as the hand laundry business to survive. For a while, they were left alone as washing was considered "women's work" and beneath self-respecting White men. Nonetheless, in 1876, an Anti-Chinese and Workingmen's Protective Laundry Association was founded in San Jose. During the same year, the city council passed an ordinance condemning laundries which operated in wooden buildings in an attempt to drive the Chinese out of this business (*An Ethnic Sites Survey for California*, 1982: 116).

Heinlenville: The Birth and Demise of an Exclusion Chinatown

After San Jose Chinatown was burnt in 1887, 71 year-old John Heinlen, at great public outrage and risk to his family, invited the Chinese to build a new Chinatown on his property on Sixth Street between Taylor and Jackson. This new Chinatown also became known as Heinlenville. As a Chinatown founded during exclusion, Heinlenville was a gated community, with barb-wired high fence, fire-resistant brick buildings, complete with night watchmen.

During its heyday from 1888 to 1905, Heinlenville had 350 to 500 residents. An entire American-born generation grew up in Heinlenville. Heinlenville also served as a community homebase for the County's remaining Chinese community. From 1880 to 1900, the Chinese population declined from 2,695 or 7.7 percent of Santa Clara County's population, to 1,738 or 2.9 percent of the County population. In 1931, as the number of residents continued to decline, Heinlenville was razed during the depression. Even the Ng Shing Gung Temple, the symbol of San Jose's last Chinatown, was demolished in 1949 despite attempts to preserve it (Yu, 1991: 20, 44).

American Heroes

During the early twentieth century, active hatred against Chinese immigrants was shifted to Japanese and Filipino immigrants who were increasingly portrayed as a threat to California. While most Chinese could only find work as pickers, packers, servants, cooks, and laundrymen in Santa Clara County at this time, the exceptional few who were able to rise above the rest were recognized by the larger society. Notable examples were Sgt. Sing Kee the war hero, entrepreneurs Tom Foon Chew and Joe Shoong, and Dr. Frank Chuck the scientist.

Sgt. Sing Kee was a hero of the First World War. Born in Saratoga in 1895, Sing Kee saw action with the 77th or "Liberty" Division in France's Argonne Forest. For extraordinary heroism, he was awarded one of only 22 Distinguished Crosses given during the First War. On June 13, 1919, Sing was given a hero's parade when he returned to San Jose. The *Mercury News* reported that "San Jose tendered Sing Kee...a great ovation upon his arrival...Sing has received the adulation of a nation, which has acclaimed him as one of its truest heroes" (Yu, 1991: 92).

Tom Foon Chew was a colorful entrepreneur who was Americanized, popular with the newspaper media, with powerful friends such as A.P. Gianinni who founded the Bank of America. Chew was left alone to operate the successful Bayside Cannery in Alviso from 1906 until his death in 1931 when the company faded into oblivion. By 1924, Chew's canneries were packing 600,000 cases of fruits and vegetables and grossing over \$3 million per year. Entrepreneur Joe Shoong had a shirt factory in San Jose that failed, but later he founded a chain of nine National Dollar Stores in the 1920s and 1930s. Selling clothes to working class people, the San Jose store was one of his largest (Lukes & Okihiro, 1985: 49; Yu, 1991: 103).



Sargent Sing Kee (standing) with his parents and two younger brothers, ca 1919. For his extraordinary heroism in action, Kee was awarded one of only 22 distinguished crosses granted during W.W. I by General John Pershing. All of Chinatown came out to meet him at the train when he returned home.

Courtesy Connie Young Yu

Dr. Frank Chuck invented the original process for producing powdered milk in the 1930s. He was also one of the first Chinese to receive a doctorate degree from Stanford in 1925. A year before Chuck arrived at Stanford, a Chinese student who was given a room in Encina Hall was "thrown out bodily" by white students. In 1919, Chuck and others built the Stanford Chinese Club House, after fundraising throughout the Bay Area Chinese American community. Excluded from the dorms, generations of Chinese students lived at the Stanford Chinese Club House. Chuck himself worked as a cook for Professor Cubberley in exchange for room and Board.

Upon graduation, Chuck was fortunate to find employment in San Francisco. In 1942, he decided to settle in Palo Alto. He did not face opposition when he bought a piece of land, but did so when he started to build and move-in. He started his own research lab and later developed a chemical compound to cure coccidiosis in chickens, carrying out his experiments with the help of Cupertino farmers (Yu, 1985: 19-23).

III. The Beginnings of a Chinese American Middle Class (1943 to 1960s)

With China as a U.S. ally, World War Two brought an image change for Chinese Americans. The media began to portray images of Chinese heroism in the Pacific War. Lin Yutang, a China-born intellectual, found a nationwide American audience for his writings extolling Chinese culture. International relations were the main reason that the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act was finally repealed in 1943. Chinese immigrants were finally allowed to become naturalized citizens and a token annual quota of 105 was set aside for Chinese immigration.

The Second World War also initiated a gradual opening of employment opportunities for Chinese Americans. The labor shortage during the War allowed women and minorities to be employed in the defense industry, and many Chinese Americans took advantage of these opportunities to get out of Chinatowns. For the next three decades—despite the Communist takeover in China, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War—Chinese American social acceptance and economic opportunities continued to improve. A new generation of researchers and intellectuals, initially from China, then later from Taiwan and Hong Kong, found homes in U.S. universities. Some Chinese immigrant scientists later became very prominent. For instance, professors Chen Ning Yang and Tsung Dao Lee of Columbia University received the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1957, professor Samuel Ting of MIT received the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1976, and professor Yuan T. Lee of UC Berkeley received the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1986.

In Santa Clara County, the Second World War brought in a new defense industry and an economic boom which continued after the war. The population in the County increased rapidly as many moved here to take advantage of the growing job market and fine weather to establish families. During this early post-War period, the gradual opening of society toward minorities allowed two different groups of native-born Chinese Americans, flower growers and young professionals, to join the middle class.

When Chrysanthemum was King

During the post-Second World War period, the flower industry was a major occupational field of Chinese Americans in Santa Clara County. From less than two percent of total agricultural value in 1945, the flower industry in the County grew to 22 percent of the total value by 1968. By the 1960s, the single biggest crop in the County was Chrysanthemums, with Japanese American and Chinese American growers each producing half the crop (Hom, 1971: 49; Lai, 97: 36-37).

The beginnings of the flower industry can be traced to Italian farmers in the 1880s. At the turn of the century, Jim Mock, a garden foreman at the Stanford farm, appeared to have learned growing techniques from a Japanese farmer. By 1924, the Chinese Flower Growers Association was formed with 26 growers.

Many of the early Chinese growers started out in the San Mateo hillsides, leasing land and moving from place to place. After the War during the 1950s, Chinese growers were able to buy land and many nurseries were started in Mountain View and Sunnyvale. Other nurseries were also started in Milpitas, Cupertino, and Fremont. As urbanization intensified during the 1960s, growers began to move to Berryessa, then Gilroy and Morgan Hill.

The experience of Marshall Mok in Cupertino is typical of many Chinese growers. In 1950, Cupertino was still mostly orchards with about 500 families. In 1955, Cupertino, with a population of 1,746, incorporated into a city with a vote of 225 to 183. In 1957, Mok bought five acres in Cupertino for \$4000. Around this time, about a half dozen Chinese families, mostly second or third-generation growers, also bought land in Cupertino to grow flowers (Levy, 1991: 144; McCormack, 1996: 132).

Mok started to grow asters but later switched to chrysanthemums. Flower growing was a very labor-intensive business but financial rewards were high. Mok had to work 12 to 14 hours a day and the entire family had to help. In 1960, he built the first greenhouse in Cupertino that allowed the flowers to bloom all year round. The best years for Mok were from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s. By the 1980s, South American imports took over the U.S. flower market. Finally, Mok asked his son Robert to develop their land for housing in 1986 (Cupertino Courier, 11 Feb., 1995: 6, 7, 16).

Founded in 1956, the Bay Area Chrysanthemum Growers Association grew to 140 Chinese growers in the late-1970s. In 1968, as the biggest crop in Santa Clara County, chrysanthemums had a value of \$9,392,000 or 12

percent of all agricultural production. Amazingly, the County's chrysanthemum crop was grown on only 158 acres of land. Compared to tomatoes, the second largest crop in the County, which had just a per acre value of \$980, chrysanthemum had a per acre value of \$59,000! (Lai, 1997: 30-41, Hom, 1971: 47-54)

Among Chinese flower growers who have become prominent in the County are Gordon Chan and Paul Fong. Gordon Chan, whose grandfather was the legendary "Potato King" Chin Lung, grew up on the Peninsula where his father grew asters in East Palo Alto in the 1940s. Chan graduated from Cal Poly in 1959 with a major in horticulture. A key leader among flower growers and in the wider community, Chan became the first Chinese American to serve on the County Farm Bureau and the County Planning Commission during the late-1980s.



Sorting the flower tops for seeds.

Courtesy of the California History Center

Paul Fong, whose grandfather and father were both flower growers, grew up in Sunnyvale during the 1960s. An owner of a flower business and a college professor, Fong also helped to develop his family's land for housing. Paul Fong is the first from a Chinese flower-grower family to attain an elected office, serving currently as board president of the Foothill-De Anza College District.

Chinese American Professionals in the Stanford Area

For a period during the 1950s and 1960s, the Stanford area was the center for the Chinese American community in Santa Clara County. As Chinese Americans were increasingly able to enter the professions after World War Two, many also began to move to the suburbs. Palo Alto, with good schools and next to Stanford University, was a favorite for many Chinese Americans. Most of these young professionals were American-born, but they were joined by some recent Chinese immigrants.

A brief examination of the careers of a few prominent Chinese American physicians during this period provides a sense of the increasing opportunities in this profession. Dr. Kao Liang Chow, a student at Harvard came from China during the 1940s, and became a professor at the Stanford Medical School in 1961. Dr. Christopher Chow, who grew up in San Francisco Chinatown, joined Kaiser Permanente Medical Center in 1963 and was Physician-in-Chief in 1978. Dr. Eugene Dong, a third generation Chinese American from Watsonville, joined the Stanford Medical School in 1966 and was promoted to associate professor of cardiovascular surgery in 1972. Dr. Roger Eng, a Seattle native, moved to Los Altos as a young dentist in 1967 and became the first Chinese American mayor in Santa Clara County in the late 1970s (Yu, 1985: 19-54).

In 1965, the Stanford Area Chinese Club, an outgrowth of an effort to establish a Chinese language school for children, evolved into a social, cultural, educational, and service organization. A number of other prominent Asian American advocacy organizations in the County today also trace their beginnings to the Stanford area's Asian American leaders. Asian Americans for Community Involvement (AACI), the largest social service agency for Asian Americans in the County, was founded by Dr. Allan Seid and others in 1973 to provide a voice for Asian Americans. Steve Wing, who grew up in Palo Alto, together with Richard Konda and other law students at Santa Clara University, founded the Asian Law Alliance (ALA) in 1977 as a legal service organization. Henry Gee also founded a local chapter of the Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA) in Mountain View during this period.

IV. Helping to Build Silicon Valley (1964 to present)

The 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Immigration Reform Act initiated a new era of social and economic opportunities for Chinese Americans. This environment allowed an unprecedented number of highly educated Chinese professionals to participate in Silicon Valley's development since the 1970s.

The 1964 Civil Rights Act, in repudiating minority exclusion, provided the legal foundation for Chinese American access to increasing occupational sectors and levels. The result is that after the Second World War, the Chinese American community developed a bimodal occupational pattern. Instead of concentrating in low-paying marginal occupations, Chinese Americans have become concentrated in both high-income professional and low-paying service sectors after the War. Moreover, a change in the County's social attitudes toward Asian Americans is reflected in the election successes of two Japanese Americans. Norman Mineta was elected as San Jose Mayor and then U.S. congressman from the 1970s to 1990s, while Mike Honda was elected County supervisor and then state assemblyman in the 1990s.

The 1965 Immigration Reform Act's impact on the Chinese American community was equally dramatic. By repudiating the discriminatory policies of the past, this immigration law offered every country the same annual immigration quota of 20,000 for applicants eligible on the basis of either family reunification or U.S. labor need. The result was a tremendous increase in Asian immigration.

Unlike early Chinese immigrants who were mostly from poor backgrounds, a significant proportion of post-1965 Chinese immigrants were from well-educated, urban backgrounds from the prospering economies of Taiwan and Hong Kong. The total Chinese American population increased from 237,297 in 1960 to 1,645,472 in 1990.

Silicon Valley's Chinese Immigrant Engineers and Entrepreneurs

If Chinese immigrant laborers were a "ubiquitous" sight in nineteenth century California, the same could be said about Chinese immigrant engineers in Silicon Valley today. Perhaps as many as one in four high-tech engineers in the Valley is Chinese American, the majority of whom are immigrants with advanced degrees.

Since the 1960s, many immigrants and international students, after attending U.S. universities for advanced degrees in fields such as electrical engineering, have settled in Silicon Valley. The microprocessor's invention in 1971 and the subsequent explosive growth of Silicon Valley had high-tech companies competing to recruit all the advanced degree-holders that American universities could produce. From 1965 to 1979, 53 percent of Chinese immigrants between 25 and 64 were college educated. Of these Chinese immigrants, an estimated one-third were international students who were able to change to immigrant status based on U.S. labor needs (Chang, 1988: 99-100).

Although finding jobs in the high-tech professions was usually not too difficult, many Chinese Americans have found that climbing the corporate ladder is a different matter. Even in Silicon Valley, Chinese Americans face glass ceiling challenges similar to women and other minorities. Two notable exceptions are Dr. David Wang, senior vice president of worldwide business operations at Applied Materials, and senior vice president and general manager of Intel, Albert Yu. In a 1991 survey of Silicon Valley Asian Americans in the private sector, 60 percent expressed an interest in managerial positions. However, 50 percent in the same survey also believed that their advancement to managerial positions was limited by their race (*Qualified, But...*, 1993: 13).

Not surprisingly, Chinese immigrant engineer-entrepreneurs also appeared during the 1970s. Many of the early entrepreneurs began in small offices and even garages, often financed with only small loans from relatives and friends. In time, some grew into successful public companies. Prominent immigrant pioneers and companies started during the 1970s include David Lee's Qume, Dr. David Lam's Lam Research, Stanley Wang's Pantronix, David Tsang's Micro Computer and Oak Technology, and of course, Dr. Winston Chen's Solectron.

Dr. Winston Chen and Solectron's success story are a testimony about Silicon Valley opportunity. Solectron has become the second largest electronic manufacturing service company in the U.S., with sales of \$2.8 billion in 1996. Chen had received a bachelor's degree in civil engineering in Taiwan, coming first in his class, even before he came to the U.S. In the U.S., he received both masters and doctoral degrees from Harvard University. While working at IBM, Chen received six invention patents and five IBM invention awards.

In 1978, Chen and a group of Chinese and Japanese American who "felt that they had gone as far as they could at IBM" took over an ailing Solectron. Developing a management style that combines the IBM system with a more Asian emphasis on collective shared vision, Solectron was recipient of the prestigious Baldrige National Quality Award in 1991. Out of a total worldwide work force of 15,000, Solectron employs over 7,000 people locally. In 1994, Chen retired as Solectron's board chairman at the age of 53. A devoted Buddhist, he wanted to concentrate his energy on charitable work (Liu, 1995: 185-187).

In the 1990s, the number of Chinese American entrepreneurs have increased rapidly in Silicon Valley. The number of other small startups owned by Chinese Americans number over a thousand companies—encompassing computers, semiconductors, software, multimedia, biotechnology, and networking.

In 1997, there are over a hundred public companies founded by Chinese American entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley, with a market value of over \$10 billion. In addition to the pioneers above, many Chinese American entrepreneurs have successfully taken their high-tech companies public. Prominent examples include Dr. Tu Chen's Komag, Dr. John Chen's Pyramid Technology, James Fang's Supercom, Charles Liang's Super Micro, Bing Yeh's Silicon Storage Technology, Bruce Yen's Data Expert Co., Fred Chan's ESS, Jeff Lin's Asante, Frank Lin's Trident Microsystems, Dr. Frank Kung's Gene Lab, Ken Fong's Clontech, as well as Dr. Jackson Hu of S3 and Dr. T.C. Wu of Atmel. In addition, important venture capitalists include Dr. Ta-Lin Hsu and Chuck Chan. In every case the founder is an immigrant who found success in Silicon Valley.³

A Vibrant Community Which Values Integration and Culture

While Chinese Americans today live throughout Santa Clara County, the West Valley area, including Cupertino, Saratoga, Los Altos, Palo Alto, and Los Altos Hills, has become the location of choice because of the excellent schools and pleasant environment.

In Cupertino, a community which has grown from about 500 households in 1950 to over 15,000 households in the 1990s, Chinese Americans probably account for one in five residents. Given that most families have school age children, the percentages of Chinese American students in local schools are even higher.

Living in an open and more tolerant society, this generation of Chinese immigrants has integrated faster than previous immigrants. Chinese American parents are very involved in their children's education and they actively support PTA activities. Furthermore, they have formed an Asian American Parents Association to have a closer relationship with the school districts.

Chinese Americans are increasingly active in community activities, with many contributing in leadership roles. Greg Jow, the son of a Cupertino flower grower, became president of the Cupertino Rotary Club. Nicol Lea, whose parents owned a local restaurant, became president of the Cupertino Chamber of Commerce. And Rosemarie Twu is currently president of the Sunnyvale-Cupertino League of Women Voters.

Known for their insistence on educational excellence, the list of Chinese Americans in educational leadership positions in Santa Clara County is impressive. Those elected to serve on various school boards include Tommy Shwe, Dr. Michael Chang, Homer Tong, Barry Chang, T.N. Ho, Cynthia Chang, Dr. Hsing Kung, Emily Lee Kelley and Jessica Lee. Entrepreneurs David Lee is a University of California regent, Stanley Wang is a California State University trustee, and Dr. Winston Chen is a Stanford University trustee. Dr. Lester Lee was also nominated as a University of California regent. Dr. Gloria Hom, whose grandfather was Bayside Cannery Owner Tom Foon Chew, had been a trustee for the California State Board of Education. Dr. Rose Tseng is chancellor of West Valley-Mission Community College District. Dr. Bernadine Chuck Fong, whose father was Dr. Frank Chuck, is president of Foothill College and also a Stanford University trustee. Dr. Chui Tsang was also recently appointed president of San Jose City College.

Historically excluded from the political process, Chinese American voter participation is about the same as the general population in Santa Clara County in recent years. For instance, 58.8 percent of total registered voters compared to 57.2 percent of Chinese American voters participated in the 1994 general election.⁴ There are currently three Chinese Americans, unrelated to each other, out of some 90 city council members in Santa Clara County. Attorney Henry Chang Manayan is mayor of Milpitas, college professor Dr. Michael Chang is a Cupertino city council member, and realtor Hedy Chang is a Morgan Hill city council member. James Chang is Superior Court judge. (None are related to each other.)

A common interest that ties different generations of Chinese Americans together is the celebration of their ancestral culture. In 1987, the Chinese Historical and Cultural Project, co-founded by Gerrye Wong whose father managed San Jose's National Dollar Store in the 1920s, raised over half a million dollars from American-born and immigrant Chinese Americans to rebuild the Ng Shing Gung Temple, the symbol of the last Chinatown in San Jose. This building is now used to introduce local Chinese American history as part of the San Jose Historical Museum. The enormous commitment to maintaining culture is also reflected by some 10,000 students that attend the dozen or so Chinese schools in the County. Completely staffed by volunteers, these language schools typically meet on either Friday evenings or Saturday mornings.

The Next Generation

A new generation of Chinese Americans that has come of age is already making contributions to U.S. society in areas more diverse than their parents. For instance, local gymnast Amy Chow won an Olympic gold medal at 16, Jennifer Yu was the U.S. national women's fencing champion at 25, local film-maker Jessica Yu won an Oscar at 31, Stanford graduate student Jerry Yang co-founded Yahoo! at 28, tennis star Michael Chang won the French open at 17, actor B.D. Wong won a Tony award at 26, architect Maya Lin designed the Vietnam Veteran Memorial at 21. While these prominent extraordinary achievers are not the average Chinese American, their successes inspire us all in recognizing the possibilities in America today.

Notes

1. This article was written at the request of the Cupertino Historical Society on the occasion of their exhibition on the history of Chinese Americans in the Santa Clara Valley. Special thanks to the many friends who provided advice and assistance: Connie Young Yu, Francis Wong, Prof. Marlon Hom, John Handley, Ethel Worn, Charles Liggett, Marshall Mok, George Koo, Regina Lau, Dr. Ken Fong, Ken Hao, Debbie Chen, Lily Liu, and Fiona Han. However, I alone am responsible for any factual or interpretive error.

2. Unless otherwise noted, all population data are from U.S. census reports.

3. Information on Chinese American high-tech companies were compiled with the assistance of Dr. Ken Fong of Clontech; George Koo, Chairman, Asian American Manufacturers' Association; Ken Howe of Hambrecht & Quist.

4. Voter information provided by Registrar of Voters, Santa Clara County.

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「庫比蒂諾歷史博物館」(Cupertino Historical Museum)於1997年四月十九日起展開長達一年的「華人文物歷史展覽」，介紹一百五十年間聖他克拉拉縣華裔奮鬥歷史。目的在於推廣華人文化，讓主流社會認識華裔歷史背景，藉著文化交流促進融合。

庫比蒂諾市議員暨迪安薩大學「亞洲亞美系」主任張錫宏(Michael Chang)博士特別為此著作「一百五十年聖他克拉拉谷華裔奮鬥史」，介紹華人在美發展歷史。

張錫宏將一百五十年間華人史區分為四部份：一八五一年至一八九〇年代，華人協助建設西部時期；一八八二年至一九四〇年代，排除華人時期；一九四三年至一九六〇年代，華人逐漸打入中產階級；一九六四年迄今，協助建設矽谷。

I. 華人協助建設西部時期 (1851 到 1890s)

甫榮獲奧斯卡「最佳紀錄短片獎」的製片家虞琳敏(Jessica Yu)為華裔第四代，她的母系家族洽能反應聖他克拉拉縣華人歷史。一八八一年，虞琳敏的曾祖父 Young Soong Quong 年僅十一歲，來到聖荷西中國城工作。祖父 John D. Young 在中國城裡出生長大，經營一家醬油廠，後成為二次大戰退伍軍人，退伍官階為上校。她的母親 Connie Young Yu 曾是人權運動積極份子、歷史學家、劍術指導員、以及小說家。

今天華裔僅是聖縣內許多亞裔族群之一，就矽谷整體社會、經濟組織來看，一九九〇年亞裔佔聖縣人口的百分之十七點五，其中華裔為最大族群，共有六萬五千零二十七人。

令許多人感到驚訝的是，自淘金熱潮開始，早期中國移民在聖縣也參與鐵路建造及農業發展。再次描述華人的故事有助於我們對聖縣社會變遷的瞭解及尊重，對谷地發展有更完整的概念，並且能從移民先鋒者的奮鬥及成就中獲得啟發。

美國政治、社會大環境及地方情況的變遷對聖縣華人歷史發展有很大影響。

協助開發西部 (1851 — 1890s)

由於好萊塢、傳播媒體、甚至大眾教育的不斷強調，大家似乎仍保留一個刻板印象——西部拓荒單單是由美國北方人(Yankee)的勇氣及智慧爭服而來。據歷史記載，早期中國移民參與經濟開發的史實一直被忽視，直到最近歷史學家一如 Him Mark Lai、Sucheng Chan、Ping Chiu、Alexander Saxton、Sandy Lydon、Conni Young Yu 等人進行研究後才漸受重視。

華裔足跡遍及西部

或許令人訝異，早期華裔佔西部人口的比例實際上與今天亞裔佔加州總人口的比例差不多。一九九〇年亞裔佔加州人口總數的百分之九，如果你覺得現在處處可見亞裔，當時情況相當，一八五〇至一八八〇年，中國移民也大約佔加州人口的百分之九。

一八四八年加州發現金礦時，原先佔加州人口大多數的墨西哥裔僅有一萬四千人，同年美國接收加州，不僅帶來大量美國人，一八五〇年加州也新進許多中國移民。一八五二年，發現金礦後第四年，中國移民成為加州最大少數民族團體。加州二十二萬三千人中，華人佔百分之九，人數達兩萬零二十六人。後來的三十年間，整個西部地區勞工短缺，需求不斷，加上國會對移民並無限制，一八八〇年中國移民人口增至七萬五千二百一十八人，加州人口也成長至八十六萬四千六百九十四人，中國人仍佔百分之九。

圖表：加州中國人口：（1860，1870，1880，1900）

	中國人口	佔加州人口比例
1860	34,933	9.2%
1870	49,310	8.8%
1880	75,218	8.7%
1900	45,753	3.1%

（資料來源：美國人口調查局；Chan：1986，48-49）

早期經濟貢獻

十九世紀中期，加州中國勞工之人數眾多使他們成為參與發展加州主要經濟區域及公共建設的族群。雖然一八五二年至一八八〇年間，中國移民僅佔加州總人數的百分之九，華裔移民中有百分九十為工作年齡男人，華人幾乎佔整個加州勞工總數的四分之一。

Sandy Lydon 在蒙特瑞灣地區（**Monterey Bay Region**）進行之大規模研究指出，中國漁民自一八五〇年代早期在捕漁業中開先鋒。根據文獻記載，蒙特瑞灣區第一位中國居民是與西班牙人一起來美，於一八一七年去逝。更早期，西班牙探險家 **Juan Bautista de Anza** 於一七七四年來到 **Carmel Bay**，曾描述一幕奇特景像「一艘奇怪的船身殘骸，一種西班牙人從未見過的建造方式一無庸置疑，是東方船。」

一八五〇年代至一八六〇年代，礦業成為加州經濟大宗，當時加州礦工中有四分之一是中國人。當礦業勢微後，中國移民致力於鐵路建造、沼澤地再利用、農業、公共建設、商務漁業、以及製造業。大多數中國移民為勞工，有些是服務生、廚師、開洗衣店，而一些有資本的則成為商人、製造商、佃農。

一八六〇年後二十年，整個西部的主要經濟活動是鐵路建造業，而中國勞工是鐵路工業之主力。舉例來說，橫貫大陸鐵路動用一萬二千名中國鐵路工人完成西部部份。一八六九年，這條傳奇性鐵路自加州通過 High Sierra 山脈到猶他州。

一八七〇年代，加州經濟轉向農業及製造業。一八七二年，華人在舊金山的四項主要工業—鞋靴製造業、成衣業、羊毛毯業、雪茄工業—佔勞工總數的百分之四十六。一八七七年，中國築堤建築工人將沙加緬度—聖賈昆河 (San Joaquin) 三角洲上五百萬畝的沼澤地化成世界上最富庶的農場地，並留在農場裡作農場工人或佃農。一八八〇年，中國人佔沙加緬度農場勞工的百分之三十八，阿拉米達縣佔百分之二十九，聖縣佔百分之三十三。

早期中國移民的貢獻還包括製作鮭魚罐頭以及主要公共建設。然而，工作環境總是簡陋又危險，許多華人不只付出勞力，甚至奉獻他們生命以建設西部。建造橫貫大陸鐵路時，據估計有一千兩百名華工因為寒冬、生病、崩塌、爆炸而犧牲生命。

聖縣中國移民

Connie Young Yu 針對聖荷西華人的研究發現，聖縣中國人口確定記載最早出現在 *Alta California* 一八五一年十一月二十一日的一篇新聞報導中，該報導是關於一件由英語、西班牙語、及兩種中國方言的法庭審判。然而，大批華人可能是於一八六〇年代，為了地區鐵路系統以及新興的水果工業帶來的就業機會而移入。一八七〇年人口普查報告，聖縣有一千五百二十五名華人，佔全縣人口的百分之五點八。

圖表二： 聖他克拉拉縣華裔人口： 1860， 1870， 1880， 1900

	華裔人口	佔聖縣人口比例
1860	22	0.2%
1870	1,525	5.8%
1880	2,695	7.7%
1900	1,738	2.9%

(資料來源：美國人口普查；Chan 1986：49)

鐵路連結谷地

一八六四年美國內戰時期，鐵路華工建造自聖荷西至舊金山的鐵路路段，圓了兩作者多年的心願。只要花兩小時又十分鐘，大部份聖縣農業產品皆可藉由這條鐵路運到舊金山。此外，由聖荷西到斯達頓 (Stockton) 以及到沙加緬度的多條鐵路都是由中國工人建造。

然而，對於一千名中國鐵路工人來說，一八八〇年橫越重重山脈建造自聖荷西到聖他克魯滋 (Santa Cruz) 的鐵道是該區最難也最危險的工程。光是打通六千兩百四十三英尺的 Wright 山頂燧道就花了兩年半時間，因隧道內瓦斯造成的多次爆炸，喪失三十一條華工人命。Lydon 記述，「每一英尺鐵道，就有一名華工死亡。」

菜農園藝及草莓種植先鋒者

自一八七〇年後的一個世紀，聖他克拉拉谷地經濟以農業為主。根據 Sucheng Chan 詳盡的研究調查，一八八〇年，聖縣果園產品產值冠於加州，聖縣農場勞工中百分之三十三為華人。大約有三分之一華人務農專家租借地種植草莓，百分之十五租借土地種菜，另外剩下的一半在果園中工作。

圖表三：聖縣農場勞工（依出生地）：1870 1880 1900

	美國人	歐洲人	中國人	日本人	墨西哥人
1870	46.4	42.1	11.6	0	0
1880	38.8	28.4	32.8	0	0
1900	54.1	32.7	11.2	2.0	0

（資料來源：Chan 1986；304，305，314）

一八五〇年代，土地由聖縣西班牙裔居民手中疾速轉到多數美國地主手裡。華人移民於一八六〇年代來美，沒辦法打破既成的土地歸屬模式，他們只能當作佃農或農場勞工。華人開始租借十到二十五英畝的農場，專門種植草莓和蔬菜供當地開銷。

一八七〇年，一百零四位華裔農人佔聖縣菜農的百分之四十二，而聖縣二百五十六位草莓種植者全為華人，市場佔有率為百分之百。這段時間裡，中國菜農提供加州大多縣份之蔬菜需求。華人賣菜小販肩上扛著一根扁擔，兩邊吊著裝滿蔬菜的籃子，是在許多城鎮中常見的景象。

中國移民如何於聖縣草莓種植業開先鋒並佔據重要地位的故事，讓人們對聖縣社會、經濟發展有更深一層認識。Chan 的研究指出—「許多地主負責為華人介紹草莓種植方式。」一八六〇年代中期到世紀交替之時，Issac Bird 和大約二十四個地主將中國移民帶來聖縣，並把部份土地租給華人種植草莓及其它莓類。

一八七〇年，百分之七十聖縣居民為草莓種植者。草莓種植業的中心位於聖荷西及聖他克拉拉之間。一八七〇年到一八九〇年間，聖縣有一百五十到二百畝土地用於種植草莓，每到收成季節，雇用大約一千名採收人員。

根據 Chan 的研究，地主和中國佃農之間「多少是生意合夥關係，華人提供勞力和種植技術，地主提供土地、農場工具、植物…和一些勞力…」中國人同時獲得種植專家的美名。產品營利平均每畝四百元，由地主和佃農平分。

聖荷西中國城

一八六〇年代，中國城開始在聖荷西漸漸成立。一八七〇年，聖荷西中國城已有五百三十二人，佔聖荷西居民的百分之六。然而縣內有三分之二的華人並非住在中國城內中國城於當地扮演的角色是文化活動中心、商業、休閒、工作據點，為當地中國社區提供一處暫時庇護所。

根據 Yu 指出，「富國銀行」(Wells Fargo) 曾發行一本聖荷西中國城商業目錄，一八七八年列出七十七家商店，一八八二年列舉八十八家商店。事實上，中國城裡眾多的商業活動並不足為奇，每次收成時節一到，華人把中國城當成倉庫，城內人數擴張為好幾千人。

當然，聖縣也有一些小型中國社區，特別是靠近史丹福農場或 **The New Almaden** 水銀礦場附近，許多中國人在那兒工作。華人移民工作及居住的區域，分佈縣份包括吉洛依、密爾比達、**Alviso**、**Campbell**、庫比蒂諾、山景城、**Mayfield**、和柏拉阿圖附近。

□

II. 對亞裔之排斥及其勢微（1882 到1940s）

於政治及社會各層面排斥亞洲移民是十九世紀後期至二十世紀中期美國社會中的一齣悲劇。中國、日本、及菲律賓移民不斷在西部被雇用為勞工，而政治、經濟危機時期成為代罪羔羊並被排拒。

一連串針對少數族群的仇恨運動於一八八二年排除華人、一九三五年遣返菲律賓移民、一九四二年拘禁日裔後達到頂點。

一八六九年，鐵路華工加緊趕工完成橫越大陸鐵路，幾乎沒人料到東岸會擁進大批移民，他們也沒察覺到這些「後來者」不僅將搶走他們的生計，更威脅他們的生活。當華人的勞力在西部不再「不可獲缺」時，正如 Alexander Saxton 所說，中國移民成為起步白人勞工眼中「不可獲缺的敵人」。一八七〇年代，加州經濟蕭條，中國人理所當然成為代罪羔羊。

潛在的問題是，即使早期有些政治人物或報紙誇讚中國勞工，華人仍沒有被平等對待。People v. Hall (1854) 這件名案例裡，可以明白看出中國人社會地位不如白人，該法庭案件判決中國人不能在法庭上做證對抗白人。此外，不僅雇主支付較少薪資與華工，當時加州政府特別針對中國人徵稅。一八五二年到一八七〇間，可謂「加州萬萬稅」—外國礦工稅、漁業稅、警察稅及其它一些稅收，中國移民支付五百萬稅金，為加州收入總額的百分之二十五到五十。

一八七〇年代，反華裔運動襲捲加州，上百條反華人的行文法案在加州各政府階層及其它西部諸州實行，影響中國移民生活各個主要層面。國會通過史無前歷之移民法案，嚴格禁止華人人入境，包括勞工（1882，1892，1902，1904），女人（1875），再入境公民及居民（1884），商人（1893），學生（1923），公民妻子（1924）。當時加州的華人和印第安人、黑人，都被排除在公立教育之外（1860）。

其它法案，諸如不許中國人申請商務安全執照（1872）、不允擁有不動產（1872，1913，1920）、禁止華人留辮子（1873）、不許挑著扁擔及籃子行走在路間（1870）等。此外，禁止異族通婚，在加州，白人女子若與華人男子結婚即失去美國公民身份（1922）。反華人法案如此嚴厲，以至於有一流行說法——「中國人的機會」（a Chinaman's Chance）即指「完全沒有機會」。

因為反華人法案甚囂塵上，加州中國人口由一八八〇年的七萬五千二百一十八人降低至一九〇〇年的四萬五千七百五十三人，減少百分之四十。同時，全美華裔人口比率由原來的百分之八點七降低至百分之三點一。

反華人運動隨時間及地點逐漸改變，經歷一段長時間後，特別在農業地區，情況漸趨緩和。於世紀交替之際，一些成功華裔農人的發展可見例外，例如「馬鈴薯大王」（Potato King）Chin Lung，一年收益達九萬美金。直到一九二〇年代，Chin Lung 被愈發嚴厲的「外國人土地法」（Alien Land Laws）強迫出局。更多典型排除華人的實例是於經濟層面隔離華人，他們只能謀得洗衣工人、廚師、以及服務生之類的工作。

過了幾年，反華人法案在法庭內受到挑戰，最後被廢止，但有些仍保留在書籍中，一直到一九六〇年代。

聖縣反華人運動

聖縣反華人運動恰能反應全國情形。一八六九年，Naglee Brandy Distillery 及 Methodist Episcopal Church 兩所曾經挺身為華人說話的教堂於同一天晚上被人縱火，三K 黨聲稱為其所為。一八七〇年，聖荷西中國城被火燒毀，重建過後，一八八七年再度被人放火，焚毀這個上千人集中活動的忙碌社區，使城內居民無家可歸。早在兩個月前——一八八七年三月二十五日，市長及市議會指稱中國城是一處「公眾污點」因它阻礙了聖荷西的龐大發展計劃。

地方運動由「反苦力社團」(Anti-Coolie Club) 領頭，其策略包括聯合抵制與華人共事的白人。地方報紙，如聖荷西水晶報，刊登聳動聽聞的華人犯罪及不良生活習慣報導，以及「反苦力社團」會議記錄，上面總有受杯葛地方商號的名稱。

被排擠於早期藍領階層外，中國移民只能靠一些「邊際職業」賴以為生，如人工洗衣業。有段時間，華人僅能擔任一些曾被人認為是「女人工作」的清洗職務，地位不如自尊高的白人男子。然而，一八七六年，「反華人及勞工保護洗衣協會」(Anti-Chinese and Workingmen's Protective Laundry Association) 在聖荷西成立。同年，市議會通過一項法令，反對在木製屋內經營洗衣業，終將華人趕出洗衣業。

Heinlerville：中國城之生與逝

聖荷西中國城於一八八七年被火燒毀後，七十一歲的 John Heinlerville 不顧廣大群眾的憤怒、冒著家人安危，邀請華人在第六街，Taylor 街及 Jackson 街之間的私有土地上建立一座新中國城，後來新城為紀念他，被稱作「Heinlerville」。新中國城於排斥移民時期建立，是一座設有城門的社區，倒鉤鐵絲高牆、防火磚塊建築、晚上派守夜者輪班執勤。

一八八八年至一九〇五年為全盛時期，Heinlerville 城內有三百五十到五百位居民，培育下一代美國土生華裔。中國城亦是一些不顧反華人法令，仍然留在聖縣內華裔的「本壘」。一八八〇年到一九〇〇年，聖縣華裔人口由二千六百九十五（佔總人口百分之七點七），降低至一千七百三十八人（百分之二點九）。因為人口不斷減少，一九三一年經濟蕭條時期，Heinlerville 被夷為平地。就連聖荷西中國城的象徵——「五聖宮」(Ng Shing Gung) 也不顧「保城護土」人士的反對，於一九四九年拆毀。

美國英雄

二十世紀初期，對中國移民的仇恨逐漸轉向日本及菲律賓移民，他們被認為是加州的「威脅」。在聖縣，大多中國移民只能從事採集者、包裝工人、服侍者、廚師、或洗衣工人之時，少數超脫出來，特別有成就的華人在廣大社會中為大家熟識。最著名的包括戰爭英雄 Sing Kee、企業家 Tom Foon Chew 和 Joe Shoong，以及科學家 Frank Chuck。

Sing Kee 為一次世界大戰英雄，一八九五年在沙拉度加出生，他曾與美國「七七軍團」（別名：「自由軍團」）在法國作戰。因為傑出英雄事蹟，Sing Kee 得到一次世界大戰僅有的二十二個「十字勳章」(Distinguished Crosses) 之一。一九一九年六月十三日，Sing Kee 返國時，受到聖荷西民眾迎接英雄式的列隊歡迎。聖荷西水星報

報導，「聖荷西親切歡迎Sing Kee．．．在他抵達時給與熱烈歡迎．．．Sing 為全國崇拜偶像，使他成真英雄之一。」

Tom Foon Chew 是一位生活彩多姿的企業家，非常美國化，頗受媒體喜愛，他有一些極強勢的朋友，如「美國銀行」創始人— **A. P. Gianinni**。Chew 自一九〇六年在阿維索（Alviso）成功經營 **Bayside Cannery** 罐頭廠，直到一九三一年去世，之後罐頭工廠變得沒沒無聞。一九二四年，Chew 的罐頭工廠每年製造六十萬箱水果及蔬菜罐頭，平均每年總收入超過三百萬美元。**Joe Shoong** 在聖荷西經營製鞋廠失敗，於一九二〇年代及一九三〇年代創立九家連鎖店—**National Dollar Stores**，專賣衣服給勞工階級，聖荷西分店為最大連鎖店之一。

Dr. Frank Chuck 於一九三〇年代發明製造奶粉的原始方法。一九二五年他在史丹福大學拿到博士學位，是華人在史大最早得到博士的人之一。

就在 **Chuck** 到史丹福大學的前一年，一名中國學生被分配到 **Encina Hall** 宿舍，他被白人學生從宿中「丟出來」。於是**Chuck**和其它一些人向灣區亞裔社區募款，一九一九年建立「華人社團房舍」（**Chinese Club House**）。因為華人被排除在校舍外，有好幾代史丹福華裔學生住在「華人社團房舍」。Chuck 親自為 **Cubberley** 教授當廚師，以交換房間。

畢業後，**Chuck** 很幸運地在舊金山獲得工作機會。一九四二年，他決定於柏拉阿圖定居。**Chuck** 並未被禁止買土地，但建造房子及搬進社區時都遭鄰居反抗。他開始成立自己的實驗室，之後發展出一種化學混合物，可以治療一種雞的常見疾病。藉庫比蒂諾農人的協助，他得以進行實驗。

III. 華裔中產階級崛起 (1943 到 1960s)

因二次世界大戰時中美兩國為盟國，改變美國社會對華人的印象。媒體開始強調太平洋戰爭中華人的英雄事蹟。中國知識份子林語堂，撰寫讚頌中華文化的文章，得到廣大美國群眾回響。主要因為國際關係轉變，一八八二年訂定的「華人排除法案」(Chinese Exclusion Act) 終於在一九四三年廢除。中國移民獲準歸化入籍成為美國公民，每年有一百零五個保障名額。

二次大戰也逐漸開啓華裔的工作機會。戰爭時期勞工短缺，國防工業提供許多工作機會與婦女及少數族裔，而華裔也能利用此機會離開中國城。後來的三十年，即使中國大陸被共產黨佔據、發生韓戰及越戰，華裔開始被社會接受，同時獲得更多機會。更重要的是，新一代的研究學者、知識份子開始從大陸來美，後來台灣、香港留學生很多。移民學者之中，哥倫比亞大學的楊振寧及李政道教授於一九五七年榮獲諾貝爾物理獎；麻省理工學院 (MIT) 丁肇中在一九七六年也得到諾貝爾物理獎；柏克萊大學李遠哲於一九八六年獲得諾貝爾化學獎。

二次世界大戰為聖他克拉拉縣帶來新興國防工業以及經濟繁榮，戰後仍繼續成長。許多人為了景氣就業市場及適合建立家園的良好氣候移居聖縣，使縣內人口急速成長。戰後初期，社會漸漸接納少數族裔，其中在美土生的兩類華裔一種花商及年輕專業人才，得以打入中產階級。

菊花稱王

二次大戰後，種花工業為聖縣華裔主要從事行業。一九五四年，種花業佔總農作物產量不及百分之二；一九六八年達到總農業產值的百分之二十二。一九六〇年代，聖縣農作物中最大量收成作物為菊花，日裔及華裔種植者各佔產量的一半。

種花工業起源可以回溯至一八八〇年代義大利農人開始。於世紀交替時， Jim Mock ，史丹福的園藝工頭，向日本人農人習得種植技術。一九二四年，二十六位種植者成立「中華種植協會」(Chinese Flower Grower Association) 。

許多早期華人種植者由聖馬刁山坡地開始，租借土地，不斷更換地點。戰後一九五〇年代，華人種植者有能力買土地，在山景城及桑尼維爾地區開始建立許多花廠，其它分佈在密爾比達、庫比蒂諾、及佛利蒙等地。六〇年代，都市計劃緊鑼密鼓展開之後，種植者開始移到貝律耶薩 (Beryessa)、吉洛依 (Gilroy)、和莫干山麓地區 (Morgan Hill) 。

庫比蒂諾 Marshall Mok 的經驗為許多華人種植商的典型。一九五〇年，庫比蒂諾僅有約五百戶人家。當時庫比蒂諾仍是一片果園。Mok 在一九五七年以四千萬美元買了五畝地，就在二年前庫市才以二百二十五票對一百八十三票的表決，決定將庫比蒂諾規劃為都市。此時，大約有六戶華裔人家，大多為第二或第三代種植者，在庫比蒂諾買地種花。

Mok 最初種植紫苑 (asters)，後來改種菊花。種花工業必須投入極大耐心及時間，但利潤很高。他每天必須工作十二到十四小時，而且全家都必須幫忙。一九六〇年，他在庫比蒂諾建立第一座溫室，裡面的植物終年都能開花。Mok 經營花業的全盛時期

為六〇年代中期至七〇年代中期。八〇年代，南美洲進口花商佔據美國花業市場，一九八六年，他要求兒子 Robert 發展土地建築業。

「灣區菊花種植者協會」(Bay Area Chrysanthemum Growers Association)於一九五六年成立，一九七〇年代後期會員已有一百四十位華人。一九六八年，菊花成為聖縣最大農產物，產值達九百三十九萬兩千元，佔農產品總額的百分之十二。令人驚訝的是，菊花種植地僅佔一百五十八英畝。與聖縣第二大作物，一蕃茄相較，菊花每英畝產值五萬九千元，蕃茄每畝僅有九百八十元。

聖縣華裔種植者中，最著名的應屬陳國男(Gordon Chan)及方文忠(Paul Fong)。陳國男的祖父正是 Chin Lung，他是一九一〇年代「中國馬鈴薯大王」。陳國男在灣區長大，他的父親於一九四〇年代在東柏拉阿圖種植紫苑。一九五九年他從 Cal Poly 畢業，主修園藝學。陳國男是種植商，同時是社區中主要領導人物。一九八〇年代，他成為聖縣「農場局委員會」(The County Farm Bureau)，與聖縣計劃委員會的第一位華裔委員。

方文忠的祖父和父親皆為種花商，他於一九六〇年代在桑尼維爾長大。方文忠為花業經營者，也是大學教授，亦從事家族土地建築開發。他是第一位出身於華裔種植花商家族、獲選為政府執行官員的華人，目前是山麓一迪安薩大學學區委員會主席。

史丹福大學一帶的華裔專業人才

五〇年代及六〇年代時期，史丹福大學一帶為聖縣華裔社區的中心。二次大戰後，華裔進入專業領域的人數日益增加，許多人開始移居郊區。柏拉阿圖因為學區好，又位於史丹福大學旁，成為華人最喜愛的居住地。大部份年輕專業人才在美國出生，亦有一些新進華人移民加入。

大略看看這段時期一些華人著名物理學家，即能瞭解社會已對華人開放許多機會。Kao Liang Chow 醫師，四〇年代自中國大陸到哈佛大學念書，一九六一年成為史丹福醫學院教授。Christopher Chow 醫師在舊金山中國城長大，一九六三年加入 Kaiser Permanente 醫療中心，一九七八年當上總醫師。Eugene Dong 是 Watsonville 華裔第三代，一九六六年加入史丹福醫學院，一九七二年升為心臟血管手術科副教授。Roger Eng 醫師來自西雅圖，一九六七年移居洛杉磯，當時為一年青牙科醫生，後來成為聖縣第一位亞裔市長。

一九六五年，「史丹福華人社團」(Stanford Area Chinese Club)發展為一社會、文化、教育、服務性組織。另外，今天聖縣至少有兩個重要亞裔組織是由柏拉阿圖亞裔領袖開始。「亞裔社區參與組織」(AACI—Asian American for Community Involvement)是聖縣針對亞裔的社會服務團體，由 Allan Seid 與一些其它人於一九七三年成立，為亞裔發聲。Steve Wing，在柏拉阿圖長大，與 Richard Konda 和一些聖他克拉拉大學法學院學生於一九七七年共同建立「亞裔法律協會」(ALA—Asian Law Alliance)，為一法律服務組織。

IV. 華人協助創建矽谷（1964年至今）

一九六四年的「公民權利法案」及一九六五年「移民改革法案」為華裔社會、經濟機會開創一個新局面。七〇年代，不計其數的高等教育華裔專業人士能加入矽谷發展。

一九六四年「公民權利法案」不再排斥少數族裔，提供法律基礎，不論就業範圍及層面，華裔都有更多機會。二次大戰後，華裔不再局限於薪資低微的行業，華裔社區發展出一種雙重職業模式——高收入專業領域，或是低薪奉服務業。此外，社會對亞裔態度的轉變，由聖縣內兩位日裔選舉成功之實例可見一般。**Norman Mineta** 曾於一九七〇年代及一九九〇年代先後獲選為聖荷西市長及美國國會議員。**Mike Honda** 曾獲選為縣議員，九六年當選為州眾議員。

一九六五年「移民改革法案」對華裔社區同樣有重大影響。棄絕過去的歧視法令，每年提供各國數量相同的保障名額，只要是合法申請人，不論是家庭團聚或勞工需求，允許移民兩萬人。這項法案使亞裔移民劇幅增加。

不同於家庭背景窮困的早期移民，一九六五年後，大部份華人移民受過良好教育，由經濟富庶的台灣及香港等地來美。華裔總人口數由一九六〇年的二十三萬七千二百九十七人增加至一九九〇年的一百六十四萬五千四百七十二人。

矽谷華裔移民工程師及企業家

若說十九世紀加州移民華工「無所不在」，那麼今天矽谷華裔工程師也可以如此描述。人說矽谷工程師中，四個裡面就有一個為華裔，大部份是受高等教育的移民。

六〇年代起，許多移民及留學生來美國的各大學裡接受研究所教育（諸如電機工程學系），畢業後留在矽谷。自一九七一年微處理器發明後，矽谷急劇發展，使高科技公司競相徵求大學畢業的研究生。一九六五年到一九七九年，二十五歲至六十四歲的華裔移民中，百分之五十三持大學畢業學歷，據估計其中三分之一為留學生，他們都能藉美國勞工需求為理由，得到移民身份。

雖然於高科技專業領域內找工作並「不困難」，但大部份華裔發現，要爬上高層職務則不然。即使在矽谷，華裔就如同婦女及其它少數族裔一般，面臨玻璃天花板問題，其中 **Applied Materials** 全球營運資深副總裁**王寧國 (David Wang)** 以及英特爾資深副總裁**虞有澄 (Albert Yu)** 為兩個特例。根據一九九一年針對矽谷私人機構亞裔員工的一項調查，百分之六十表示對管理職務有興趣，但有百分之五十相信在管理職務進升的機會受限於少數族裔背景。

中國移民工程師及企業家於七〇年代開始出現。大部份早期企家是在小辦公室裡起家，有些甚至就在車庫裡，只靠與親戚、朋友借貸的少數資金經營。過了一段時間，一些已成為上市公司。在這段時期成功的移民先鋒及公司有**李信麟的 Qume**、**林傑屏的 Lam Research**、**王大壯的 Pantronix**、**臧大化的 Micro Computer and Oak Technology**、以及**陳文雄的 Solectron**。

陳文雄及其公司 **Solectron** 的成功故事，可作為「矽谷給與華裔機會」的一項測試。**Solectron** 是美國第二大電子製造服務公司，一九九六年營業額高達二十八億元。陳

文雄在台灣得到土木工程學士，第一名畢業，在美國哈佛大學獲得碩士及博士學位。當他在 IBM 工作時，曾有六項專利發明，並榮獲五項 IBM 發明獎。

一九七八年，陳文雄和小組中一些日裔及華裔認為「他們在 IBM 已經已經走到頭了」，於是出來之自創 Solectron。Solectron 發展一套管理模式，結合 IBM 系統與亞裔重視的團體共享精神，一九九一年榮獲聲望極高的「Baldrige National Quality Award」獎。Solectron 全世界共有一萬五千名員工，本地員工有七千人。陳文雄是一位虔誠佛教徒，五十三歲（一九九四年）時自委員會主席職務退休，致力於慈善事業。

九〇年代，矽谷華裔企業家疾速增加，有超過一千家華裔成立的草創公司一半導體、軟體、多媒體、生化科技、及網路。

一九九七年，矽谷上市公司中有一百多家為華人創立，市場價值超過一百億。其它成功華裔企業家及成立之高科技公司包括：陳都的 Komag、程守宗的 Pyramid Technology、方敬華的 Supercom、Charles Liang 的 Super Micro、Bing Yeh 的 Silicon Storage Technology、Bruce Yen 的 Data Expert Co.、陳兆良的 ESS、林元闓的 Asante、林建昌的 Trident Microsystems、孔繁建的 Gene Lab、方瑞賢的 Clontech、胡國強的 S3、以及吳聰慶的 Atmel。除此之外，重要的資本家有徐大麟和陳卓權。以上每一個公司的創建者都是華裔移民在矽谷成功的實例。

充滿生命力的社區，重視整合與文化

今天亞裔居住在聖縣，西谷地區（the West Valley）—包括庫比蒂諾、沙拉度加、洛斯阿圖、柏拉阿圖、以及洛斯阿圖山麓，因為良好的學校使之成為華人最佳選擇居住地。

庫比蒂諾，自一九五〇年的五百戶人家成長至九〇年代的一萬五千戶住家，華裔佔其中五分之一。幾乎每個華裔家庭都有學齡小孩，使庫市華裔學生比例更高。

在一個較為開放、容忍度較高的社會裡，這一代華裔比以前移民更快融入主流社會。華裔父母非常關心子女教育，積極主動參與學校家長會活動。他們甚至組成「亞美家長協會」，以求與學區更密切聯繫。

華裔家長積極參與社區活動，其中許多扮演領導角色。涂馬左齡為庫比蒂諾—桑尼維爾「婦女選民聯盟」現任主席；Greg Jow 為地方種花商之子，曾為庫比蒂諾扶輪社主席；李明妮（Nicol Lea）的父母在地方開餐館，她曾擔任庫比蒂諾商會主席。

華裔追求完善教育不遺餘力，聖縣教育領袖名單上華裔表現傑出。在各學區被選為學區委員的有隋景祿、張錫宏、湯顯洲、張昭富、賀宗寧、張琛、龔行憲、李榮華、以及李薇。企業家 David Lee 為加州大學董事；王大壯為加州州立大學董事；陳文雄為史丹福大學董事；李心培曾獲提名加州大學董事；洪孫麗美的祖父（母方）是 Bayside 罐頭工廠老板 Tom Foon Chew，她曾任加州教育委員會董事；張蘊禮是西谷米森學區大學校長；鄺卓美蓮的父親為 Frank Chuck，她是山麓大學校長，同時為史丹福大學董事；曾聚廉近日被指派為市區大學校長。

歷史上曾有一段很長時期華裔沒有投票權，近年來，華裔投票率已和聖縣一般大眾當。舉例來說，一九九四年大選，百分之五十八點八注冊選民中，華裔投票率為百分之五

十七點二。目前聖縣九十餘位市議員中有三位華裔，律師鄭國民（Henry Chang Manayan）出任密爾比達市市長、大學教授張錫宏擔任庫比蒂諾市議員、不動產經濟人劉海蒂為莫干山市議員。

對祖先傳承文化的共同興趣緊密結合各代華裔。一九八七年，Gerrye Wong（其父為二〇年代聖荷西 National Dollar Store 經理）創設「中華歷史文化計劃」，向美國本土華人及華裔移民募得五十萬元，建造「五聖宮」（Ng Shing Gung Temple）。五聖宮是以往聖荷西中國城的象徵，它是聖荷西歷史博物館的一部份，專門負責介紹華裔歷史。華裔保存中華文化的熱心亦可從縣將近一萬名學生參加十二所中文學校反應出來。中文學校為義務性語言學校，通常在週五晚上及週六早上上課。

下一代

華裔新一代已在美國社會各方面表現傑出，領域比上一代更多元化。例如，華裔女編導虞琳敏（Jessica Yu）三十一歲即榮獲奧斯卡金像獎；體操選手周婉儀（Amy Chow）十六歲贏得奧運金牌；史大研究生楊致遠（Jerry Yang）成為年青企業家，二十八歲創建「雅虎」（Yahoo!）；網球名將張德培（Michael Chang）十七歲贏得法國公開賽；演員 B.D. Wong 二十六歲獲得東尼獎；建築師林瓔（Maya Lin）二十一歲設計越「戰退伍軍人紀念堂」（Vietnam Veteran Memorial）。雖然不是每個華裔都能有這些優異表現，但他們的成就讓我們看見當今美國社會中存在的各種機會。