

---

## Some Aspects of Chinese Communities in British Columbia Towns

W. E. WILLMOTT

Most students of overseas Chinese have limited their attention to Chinese communities in large cities. Studies have been made of the Chinese in Bangkok, Singapore, Manila, Semarang, Tokyo, Liverpool, London, San Francisco, and Vancouver, among others.<sup>1</sup> Not so much attention has been paid to the overseas Chinese communities outside the major urban centres, although in many countries, as in Canada, the Chinese have settled in small towns as well as in the cities.<sup>2</sup> The result of this concentration of interest has been a picture of overseas Chinese society as one organized through a great number of associations with complex links between them. The relationships between these urban associations and the smaller communities have not been examined.

In this paper, I discuss Chinese communities in the small towns of British Columbia and their relationship to the Chinese associations in Vancouver and Victoria. During the year 1961-62, I visited over twenty towns which

<sup>1</sup>Richard Coughlin, *Double identity: The Chinese in modern Thailand* (Hongkong University Press, 1960); Maurice Freedman, *Chinese family and marriage in Singapore* (London: HMSO, 1957); Donald E. Willmott, *The Chinese of Semarang* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960); Wu Chu-huei, *Analysis of characteristics of overseas Chinese: A sociological study* (Tokyo: Asahi, 1961, in Japanese); Maurice Brody, "The Chinese in Great Britain," in Maurice Fried (ed.), *Colloquium on overseas Chinese* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1958); Ng Kwee Choo, *The Chinese in London* (London: Institute of Race Relations, 1968); Jacques Amyot, *The Chinese community of Manila* (University of Chicago, 1960); Stanford M. Lyman, *The structure of Chinese society in nineteenth-century America* (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1961); W. E. Willmott, "Chinese clan associations in Vancouver," *Man*, v. lxiv no. 49 (March-April 1965), pp. 33-7.

<sup>2</sup>A few studies that deal with overseas Chinese in small towns and rural areas are: William Newell, *Treacherous river: A study of rural Chinese in North Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1960); T'ien Ju-k'ang, *The Chinese of Sarawak* (London School of Economics, 1953); George William Skinner, *Leadership and power in the Chinese community in Thailand* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958); W. E. Willmott, *The political structure of the Chinese community in Cambodia* (London: LSE Monographs in Social Anthropology [in press]).

contained Chinese communities.<sup>3</sup> When the study was undertaken, there were about 24,000 Chinese in the province, of which about 18,000 lived in the Vancouver area and 2000 in Victoria. The remaining 4000 lived in some sixty towns and villages throughout the province.<sup>4</sup> Information from the twelve largest of these communities is summarized in table 1.

A cursory glance at the table will show that the size of Chinese population

TABLE 1: PRINCIPAL CHINESE COMMUNITIES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

| Town                        | Popu-<br>lation <sup>a</sup> | Chinese<br>popu-<br>lation <sup>a</sup> | Sex<br>ratio <sup>c</sup> | Total<br>Chinese<br>businesses <sup>b</sup> | Rest-<br>aurants <sup>b</sup> | Associ-<br>ations <sup>b</sup> |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---|---------------------------|---|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Port Alberni <sup>d</sup>   | 15,804                       | 286                                     | 3                         | 11  | 5                             | 4                              |
| Prince Rupert               | 11,661                       | 254                                     | 4                         | 10  | 6                             | 4                              |
| Nanaimo                     | 13,551                       | 240                                     | 2                         | 16  | 8                             | 5                              |
| Nelson                      | 6,873                        | 230 <sup>b</sup>                        | 7                         | 8   | 6                             | 3                              |
| Duncan                      | 3,575                        | 200 <sup>b</sup>                        | 7                         | 20  | 7                             | 4                              |
| Prince George               | 13,261                       | 196                                     | 9                         | 13  | 7                             | 6                              |
| Kamloops <sup>d</sup>       | 16,131                       | 191                                     | 9                         | 13  | 6                             | 4                              |
| Vernon                      | 9,974                        | 145                                     | 5                         | 7   | 5                             | 4                              |
| Quesnel                     | 4,701                        | 85 <sup>b</sup>                         | 3                         | 13  | 4                             | 0                              |
| Ashcroft                    | 835                          | 80 <sup>b</sup>                         |                           |   |                               |                                |
| Trail-Rossland <sup>d</sup> | 547                          | 69                                      | 7                         | 5   | 3                             | 0                              |
| Kelowna                     | 12,926                       | 62                                      | 7                         | 10  | 6                             | 4                              |

<sup>a</sup>From the 1961 census of Canada.

<sup>b</sup>Figures based on information from Chinese residents.

<sup>c</sup>Men per woman, estimated from informants.

<sup>d</sup>Metropolitan area, including suburbs and satellite towns.

does not correlate with the size of the town. One must look for historical reasons to explain the presence and size of the Chinese community in each town in the province.

The Chinese originally came to British Columbia during the gold rush of 1858, the first arriving with miners. By 1862 it was estimated there were over 5000 Chinese in Barkerville alone. Few of them were miners; the vast majority was employed in providing the services required by the sudden growth

<sup>3</sup>With the exception of a very small number from North China, all the Chinese in Canada are from the province of Kwangtung in Southern China. The vast majority comes from an area southwest of Canton known as *Si-Yi* (Sz-Yap), although about one-tenth comes from the environs of Canton itself. [The research reported here was supported by a grant from the Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of British Columbia. I am indebted to Professor Stanford Lyman for some historical material and to Mr. Berching Ho for assistance in the research. The word "town" is not used here in the legal sense but merely to mean a small urban centre. All the centres discussed here are legally *cities* with the exception of Quesnel (*town*) and Ashcroft (*village*).]

<sup>4</sup>The Chinese population figures in this paper are from the 1961 Canada census unless otherwise indicated.

of population – such as cooking and washing – and in supplying unskilled labour. By 1867 the gold rush had subsided, and although a few Chinese remained in the areas to work the placer waste, most moved to the coast, later to enter railroad construction, where they were joined by thousands more from China who came individually or on contract to build the Canadian Pacific Railway.

With the completion of the CPR in 1886, there was a movement of Chinese into the cities of Victoria and New Westminster. However, many remained in the interior and turned their attention to other pursuits in the growing towns along the railroads. Some, who had learned institutional cooking in the railroad and mining camps, opened restaurants. Others took in laundry. Still others began truck-farming, labouring long hours to grow vegetables for settlers who now yearned for something more than sourdough and bacon.

With the prohibition on Chinese immigration in 1923, the Chinese communities in the interior began to wane, for those returning to China were not replaced by new arrivals and the depression of the 1930s forced many Chinese to seek the security of the larger communities in Vancouver and Victoria. When immigration was reopened in 1947 for the Chinese, many families moved into the smaller towns for the first time, settling in Chinese communities which had been composed until then almost entirely of elderly men. By this time, however, the advent of refrigerated transport had already spelled the end of much of British Columbia's market farming. The once-famous Ashcroft potato and the Vancouver Island tomato were soon replaced by newcomers from Idaho and California. Since 1956 there has been a steady decline in the population of Chinese communities in smaller towns; some members moved to Vancouver and others to eastern Canada. Consequently, in almost all the larger Chinese communities in the towns of British Columbia one can only get an impression of former life and opulence. A few old pensioners live in a lodge which was once bustling with active and ambitious younger men, and they speak with nostalgia about how things were "in the old days" when their community was a going concern.

In fact, the twelve major Chinese communities in smaller towns are made up primarily of older men. The reported sex ratio among Chinese in these communities, with the exception of Nanaimo, varies between one woman in four to one in ten, while the ratio is close to one in three in Vancouver. The discrepancy is made up mostly of pensioners but also partly of young restaurant help, many of whom have relatives in Vancouver or Victoria.

With the exception of Quesnel and Trail, each of these towns has an area recognized as Chinatown, where are found the premises of the Chinese associations, the less expensive Chinese restaurants, and usually one or two boarding houses and a grocery store dealing in Chinese foodstuffs. Chinatown in Nanaimo, a phenomenon with several unique characteristics that will be discussed later in this paper, burned to the ground during the summer of

1959, but it is possible that new buildings in the same area will recreate once again a geographic focus for that Chinese community.

When railroad construction and truck-farming declined, the economic basis of the Chinese communities in the interior of British Columbia shifted to a small variety of businesses: groceries, restaurants, drygoods, laundries, shoe repairs, and taxis. One or two Chinese professionals – doctors, lawyers, or engineers – are to be found in some towns. Very few Chinese in small towns are in the working class, with the exception of a few sawmill workers around Duncan and stevedores at Port Alberni.

More than half of the Chinese businesses in the twelve towns discussed here are restaurants. In smaller communities – Williams Lake, for instance – one or two restaurants are often the only Chinese businesses and account for the entire Chinese population. Restaurants demand a larger personnel than do stores, particularly when they operate the long hours customary for Chinese restaurants. A single establishment may support a dozen men besides the owner and his family. To a greater extent than other small businesses, therefore, restaurants attract a Chinese population to the smaller towns.

Over one-quarter of the Chinese businesses in these twelve towns are groceries. In earlier times each truck-farmer peddled his vegetables from door to door and was thus a retailer as well as a farmer. There is still one such vegetable peddler in Nanaimo; the last one in Trail retired in 1960 at the age of eighty when he discovered that he was eligible for an old-age pension. As truck-farming became less profitable, it was natural for the Chinese to move into retailing imported greens and foodstuffs. Furthermore, food wholesale companies had been built up by Chinese in Vancouver and were able to supply retailers all over the province.

Every Chinese interviewed affirmed that some years ago there had been many Chinese laundries in each town. Today, however, only six remain among the twelve towns, and smaller centres have none at all. The advent of mechanized washing has all but wiped out hand laundries in British Columbia.<sup>5</sup>

### **Voluntary Associations**

It is well known that overseas Chinese are unique among immigrant groups in Canada in the extent to which they organize voluntary associations within their community. While Italians, Germans, Japanese, and Hungarians may have mutual-aid and cultural societies, none of them produces as proportionately large a number of cross-cutting associations as do the Chinese. The

<sup>5</sup>It is interesting to note that Chinese hand laundries are still evident in Montreal, where they are found scattered throughout the city. Why they have been viable in the east and not in British Columbia would make an interesting study in economic anthropology.

fact that the Japanese do not organize to the same extent indicates that the Chinese case cannot be explained merely as a reaction to racial discrimination but must be related to the socio-cultural peculiarities of southeastern China.<sup>6</sup> The reader may find a body of literature on this subject if he wishes to examine it further.<sup>7</sup>

Overseas Chinese associations in Canada are of four major types: clan associations, in which membership is limited to Chinese of one or several specific surnames; locality associations, in which membership is limited to Chinese from one village or country in China; fraternal associations, which on principle any Chinese may join, the only ones in Canada being the Chinese Freemasons and the Kuomintang;<sup>8</sup> community associations, which are formed to represent an entire Chinese community, e.g., the Chinese Benevolent Association of Vancouver.

Of the twelve towns listed in the table, only Kelowna, Duncan, and Prince George have clan associations. In each case, one surname predominates in the town, but only in Prince George does the clan association (the *Zhi-de Tang*, Chi Tak T'ong)<sup>9</sup> form a significant political grouping. In Kelowna, it is little more than a boarding house for men of the surname *Huang* (Wong), and in Duncan the principal leader, named *Zheng* (Cheung), has established a small office for his clan association as a matter of family prestige, but there are neither members nor activities. In small communities where there is a significant concentration of one surname, an active leader may occasionally solicit contributions for a clan association in Vancouver. Although the Vancouver association may count them as branches, these groupings seldom have officers and do not form corporate bodies.

Locality associations are found only in two towns: Port Alberni and Nanaimo. It is the same association in both cases – the *Yu-shan Hui-guan* (Ue-Shaan Ooi-koon) – which groups the minority of the Chinese that comes from the city of Canton. I have not been able to determine why these locality associations emerged here, when in no other comparable community

<sup>6</sup>The difference between Japanese and Chinese immigrant communities in North America is examined in Lyman, "Contrasts in the community organization of Chinese and Japanese in North America," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, v. 5, no. 2, pp. 51-67.

<sup>7</sup>The following references are among those of interest on the subject of social organization in Southeastern China: Maurice Freedman, *Chinese lineage and society* (London: LSE Monographs in Social Anthropology, 1966); Daniel Harisson Kulp, *Country life in South China* (New York: Columbia University Teachers' College, 1925); Lin Yueh-hua, *The golden wing* (London: Kegan Paul, 1948).

<sup>8</sup>Both Freemasons and Kuomintang are political parties in the setting of the politics of China. In Canada, however, their significance transcends their political programs and in many cases is not related to them. They serve primarily as fraternal associations with ritual, economic, and political functions within the Chinese community.

<sup>9</sup>All Chinese terms are presented in the contemporary Chinese romanization of Mandarin, followed in parentheses by the Cantonese equivalent romanized according to *The student's Cantonese-English dictionary*, by Meyer and Wempe (3rd ed.; New York: Field Afar Press, 1947).

do we find them. The proximity of the two towns suggests a single initiative, perhaps on the part of a minority leader wishing to establish his place in the Chinese community.

The most important type of voluntary association in the Chinese communities under study is the fraternal association. Each of these associations has a meeting hall and usually a boarding house for a dozen or so older men. All twelve communities have or had Chinese Masonic Lodges, and eleven have or had chapters of the Kuomintang. In no case, however, was the Kuomintang as large as the Freemasons, and today, with the possible exception of Kamloops, it has only slight influence in each community. The Masonic Lodge, then called the *Zhi-gong Tang* (Chi Kung T'ong), at Barkerville was the first Chinese association of any kind in Canada and was established at the height of the gold rush in 1863. It was organized along the lines of the *Hong-men Hui* (Hung Moon Ooi) – the Triad secret societies of China and Southeast Asia – and it recognized a history stretching back three hundred years to the beginning of the Manchu dynasty.<sup>10</sup> When the Chinese community in Canada began to accommodate to the larger Canadian society, members of the *Zhi-gong Tang* translated its name as Chinese Freemasons, although there is no connection between this association and the Freemasonry of Europe. The Kuomintang is a relatively recent fraternal association, having been formed as a political party in China by Sun Yat-sen in 1912. Its influence among the Chinese in this country was strongest during the second world war, when it represented to the overseas Chinese the patriotic struggle of their motherland in co-operation with the other four allied powers. Since the war, and particularly since 1949 when the Kuomintang lost control of China, it has diminished drastically in influence in British Columbia.

Community associations, grouping together the entire Chinese community, have emerged in only three towns in British Columbia outside Vancouver

<sup>10</sup>Stanford M. Lyman, W. E. Willmott, and Berching Ho, "Rules of a Chinese secret society in British Columbia," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, v. 27 no. 3 (1964), pp. 530-9. Those interested in exploring the background of the Chinese Freemasons may find the following references helpful: L. F. Comber, *Chinese secret societies in Malaya: A survey of the Triad Society from 1800 to 1900* (Singapore: Donald Moore, 1959); Maurice Freedman, "Immigrants and associations: Chinese in nineteenth-century Singapore," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, v. iii, pp. 25-48 (The Hague, 1960); K. S. Latourette, *The Chinese: Their history and culture* (New York, 1956); Lyman, *op. cit.*; G. Schlegel, *Thian Ti Hwui: The Hung-League or Heaven-Earth-League* (Batavia, 1866); W. L. Wynne, *Triad and Tabut: A survey of the origin and diffusion of Chinese and Mohammedan secret societies in the Malay Peninsula A.D. 1800-1935* (Singapore, 1941). For a discussion of Chinese secret societies in North America see Stanford M. Lyman, "Chinese secret societies in the Occident," *Canadian Review of Anthropology and Sociology*, v. 1-2 (May 1964), pp. 79-102. The Dart Coon Society, *Da-zhuan She* (Tat K'un Sea), an inner lodge of the Chinese Freemasons, is not treated separately here, although chapters exist in at least five of the Masonic Lodges mentioned. Its membership is made up of the most trusted Freemasons, and its functions today do not appear to extend beyond the internal organization of the Masonic Lodge, although in the past it was often entrusted with whatever fighting the Freemasons were involved in.

and Victoria. The Chinese Benevolent Association in Prince George and the Prince Rupert Chinese Association were both formed during the second world war. They emerged not in response to discrimination, as had been the case in Victoria and later in Vancouver, but primarily to organize Chinese support for the war effort. The Chinese community found itself the local representative of that brave ally who had fought against Japanese imperialism with such determination and self-sacrifice, and discrimination was consequently less in this period than ever before. Although today these community associations have sharply reduced their activity, each runs a Cantonese school on a part-time basis, and each elects officers annually from among the total Chinese population in its town.

The development of community organization in Nanaimo is unique in British Columbia. According to informants in Nanaimo, Chinatown was originally in the dock area, near the present CPR ferry terminal, but the Chinese moved from there to another downtown district before the turn of the century. Early in the twentieth century a fuel company bought all the land of the second Chinatown and began to raise rents. In retaliation, the Chinese community organized a non-profit company, known as the *Hua-xing Shi-ye Gong-si* (Wa-Hing Shat-ip Kung-Sz), the Rising China Holding Company, which raised capital by selling several thousand shares in order to buy eight acres of land on a hill in the outskirts of Nanaimo. The Chinese community then built a new Chinatown on the hill, complete with road, sanitation, etc., each business or association renting land from the Company and erecting its own building. Since no shares could be sold to non-Chinese, the Company remained entirely controlled by the Chinese community. Chinatown was thus quite independent of Nanaimo, and the Company operated as a *de facto* government for many years until Nanaimo's Chinese began to participate in the wider community by learning English and moving into other parts of town.

At its height, Nanaimo's Chinatown contained associations of all four types and resembled Vancouver and Victoria much more than it did the other communities we have been discussing. Besides the *Hua-xing*, there were present both fraternal associations, several locality associations, and half a dozen clan associations, each with separate premises in the area.

During the summer of 1959, a fire completely demolished the buildings in Chinatown, leaving nothing but rubble on a scorched hilltop. Many citizens of Nanaimo, both Chinese and non-Chinese, tired of looking up at the sordid backs of Chinatown's rickety old wooden buildings, felt that the fire was in some ways a blessing. Nevertheless, it left two hundred people – mainly elderly men – homeless, and it destroyed the community organization. By then the *Hua-xing* had ceased to be all-powerful among the Chinese, and the fire effectively destroyed its remaining influence. The Freemasons, the only association to rebuild in the area to date, have emerged as the new focus

of a greatly reduced community organization. All other associations, whether clan, locality, or fraternal, appear to have gone into eclipse.

In several towns that do not have Chinese community associations, one finds the rudimentary form of organization that predated the Chinese Benevolent Associations in such larger cities as Vancouver and San Francisco. This is a temporary association, known as *jie-fang* (kaai-fong), which is called together whenever an emergency arises that demands Chinese community effort.<sup>11</sup> The duties of the *jie-fang* are assumed by the various Chinese businesses, each in turn offering its facilities to collect material or financial donations from all the Chinese to meet the emergency, whether it be a fire, a business failure, or a charitable campaign in the non-Chinese community. The *jie-fang* is entirely *ad hoc*, having no continuing officers or premises.

### Discussion

From the exposition above, it is evident that the most powerful association in each of the Chinese communities examined here is the Chinese Masonic Lodge. In the period before the second world war, when the Kuomintang had some strength in Canada, these communities were engaged in factional dispute between Freemasons and Kuomintang that served as much to contain the Chinese community within its own boundaries as did the virulent discrimination that characterized many Canadian towns of that era.<sup>12</sup> Leaders tried to rally the Chinese to one party or the other and thus succeeded – perhaps unwittingly – in ensuring the cohesion of the Chinese community as a whole.<sup>13</sup> Factionalism made certain that politics for the Chinese was entirely within the Chinese community, rather than in the relationships between Chinese individuals and the non-Chinese society.

This unity of disputants began to break down during the war, when it was replaced by the all-embracing unity of the war effort. After the war, when the Chinese were again allowed to immigrate to Canada, the smaller Chinese

<sup>11</sup>Originally, *jie-fang* grouped business enterprises rather than individuals. Today, however, although businesses take turns in organizing it, the *jie-fang* groups all willing Chinese in the community.

<sup>12</sup>The explanation given by Freemasons for their dispute with the Kuomintang is not adequate to account for the continuing animosity today in places such as Vancouver, and one must look more for functional explanations. According to them, Sun Yat-sen betrayed the Freemasons after the revolution of 1911 by closing them out of the newly-formed Kuomintang, although they had provided much of the support among overseas Chinese without which Sun would certainly have failed. For instance, the principal Masonic buildings in North America were heavily mortgaged to provide Sun with funds. Relations today are much friendlier in the small towns than in Vancouver, perhaps because of the small numbers involved.

<sup>13</sup>For discussion of how factionalism promotes cohesion, see Max Gluckman, *Custom and conflict in Africa* (Oxford University Press, 1955). Lyman has applied this to nineteenth-century Chinese society in San Francisco (*op. cit.*).

communities in British Columbia were enlarged by the arrival of new immigrants, many of them in families, who were not interested in factional disputes but were more highly motivated towards assimilation into Canadian society. Furthermore, by this time Canadian-born Chinese educated in English were beginning to form a significant portion of the Chinese population and refused to join any Chinese associations. In these circumstances, the power of the Kuomintang was eclipsed, and the influence of the Freemasons was limited essentially to the older men in the community. Since these form a much larger proportion of the Chinese in the small towns, the Freemasons have a stronger influence there than in the cities.

At one time the Freemasons in British Columbia were organized into districts, with regional headquarters – *zhi-bu* (chi-po) – for each district. At the turn of the century, Nelson, for instance, was the headquarters for District Three, with branches – *fen-bu* (fan-po) – in Trail, Rossland, Fernie, Kimberley, Cranbrook, Lethbridge, and Calgary. Today each branch looks directly to Vancouver as the headquarters. The decline of regional organization has come about not only because of diminished population, but also from the breaking down of the definition of the Chinese community, so that most of the Chinese no longer recognize any hierarchic organization among the Chinese in the province. In such circumstances, business relationships – which look to Vancouver for supplies and personnel – and family relationships supplant the organization as the main links between Chinese communities.

That the smaller communities look to Vancouver as the centre is beyond doubt. Although mining has virtually ended among Chinese, they still speak of leaving Vancouver for the interior as *re-kang* (yap k'ong), "entering the excavations," with the connotation of leaving civilization for the "bad country." Many, particularly the younger men, travel from the small towns to Vancouver quite frequently. But if Vancouver is a centre, it is an economic and cultural, not a political, one. The three community associations have no organizational links with the Chinese Benevolent Association in Vancouver. Although Masonic Lodges are branches of an all-Canada association with headquarters in Vancouver, one gets the impression that there is considerable autonomy even among the Freemasons. And, of course, many Chinese today refuse to join any association.

Victoria, previously the headquarters for all Chinese in Canada, continues to look upon itself as the headquarters for Vancouver Island communities. One gets a different impression from visiting these communities, however, for, with the exception of Duncan, the Island communities look to Vancouver in the same way as do the communities in the interior: as an economic and cultural centre.

I conclude that what was once a hierarchical polity, comprising all the Chinese communities in British Columbia and with headquarters in Victoria,

has declined drastically in recent decades and particularly since the second world war. In its place, one finds autonomous communities, themselves with minimal social organization, who look to Vancouver as the economic centre and origin of Chinese cultural influence in Canada. This change has come about partially through drastic reduction in Chinese population in the small towns, but also through assimilation, particularly among the younger immigrants and the Canadian-born Chinese.

From these findings, one would expect to see the Chinese associations in smaller towns gradually disappear as the older generation dies out over the next two decades. This decline will probably occur somewhat faster than for parallel associations in Vancouver for two reasons: a smaller community cannot maintain its identity as rigidly as one that can embrace the larger portion of economic relationships of its members; the associations in the small towns do not have the heavy capital investment that similar associations in Vancouver maintain. It will not be long before the political structure of each small Chinese community will have so few functions that the community will cease to have a polity distinguishable from the polity of the small town in which they live.

To say that Vancouver is the economic and cultural centre is, of course, not adequate. The quality of relationships between the smaller communities and the centre is by no means clear as yet, and this is a subject that could be fruitfully explored in further research. When formal associational ties give way to the ties of business and family, it would be interesting to know just how these relationships differ from ties among non-Chinese businessmen and within non-Chinese families. An examination of traditional economic practices and family relationships in China will go a little way in answering this question, and one might well begin by examining them as they exist in the attitudes and beliefs of different categories of Chinese in Canada. In this way, we can move another small step towards our understanding of what we mean by "Chinese," in Canada or in the world.