Home County and Clan Origins of Overseas Chinese in Canada in the Early 1880s*

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The migration of Chinese to Canada began in 1858 when gold was discovered in the lower Fraser River in British Columbia.[1] The Chinese living in the United States were the first to enter Canada but soon many came directly from China by boat and landed at Victoria, where they obtained their mining licences before heading for the gold mining area.

Their entry was at first unrestricted and was, at one time, encouraged because the government of British Columbia was in great need of cheap labour in road and railroad construction and other manual jobs. However, when cheap Chinese labour began to compete with local white labour, it was unwelcome. The increasing clamour for restricting Chinese immigrants finally led to the passing of the Immigration Act of 1885, by which a $50 head tax was imposed on every Chinese entering Canada.[2]

This marked the end of the free immigration period for the Chinese. Throughout this period they had come from Kwangtung Province in South China and nearly all lived in British Columbia. According to the 1881 census, the population of Chinese in Canada stood at 4,383 of which 4,350 resided in British Columbia. A study of the Chinese in Canada in the early 1880s is therefore in a sense a study of the Chinese in British Columbia itself.

The purpose of this paper is threefold: to study the composition of the home county and clan origins of the Chinese in British Columbia in the early 1880s, to analyse their spatial distribution, and to examine the effects of county and clan affiliation on the organization of voluntary

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1 Chuen-yan Lai, "Chinese Immigrants into British Columbia and Their Distribution, 1858-1970," *Pacific Viewpoint*, Vol. 14, 1973, p. 102.

2 ———, "Chinese Attempts to Discourage Emigration to Canada: Some Findings from the Chinese Archives in Victoria," *BC Studies*, no. 18, 1973, p. 33.

associations and the monopoly of certain occupations and trades in overseas Chinese communities.

The study is based on two types of quantitative data and on information collected from interviews and correspondence with old-timers and leaders of various Chinese voluntary asociations in Canada and Hong Kong. The first type of quantitative data is the demographic figures published in the Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration of 1885.[3] Its enumeration of the Chinese in British Columbia was relatively complete because it was based on head counts. It also recorded the occupation and place of residence of each Chinese in the province.

The second type of quantitative data, which was discovered by the author during his work on the archives of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in Victoria, has not been utilized by any other researchers.[4] These unique data were compiled from the stubs of donation receipts during 1884 and 1885 in the Association's archives.[5] The 220 booklets of receipt stubs are used in this paper as documentary sources of the home county and clan origins of the Chinese in the early 1880s. On each stub was written: "Received from . . . (full name and county origin of the donor) . . . a donation of two dollars. If you plan to return to Kwangtung Province, bring this receipt to the Association for scrutiny before permission to leave Canada is granted."[6] The stub did not indicate

[3] Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration, Report and Evidence (Ottawa: Government Printer, 1885), pp. 363-365.

[4] Chuen-yan Lai, "The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in Victoria: Its Origins and Functions," *BC Studies*, no. 15, 1972, p. 55.

[5] Before 1884, there was neither a Chinese consulate nor an organization to represent the Chinese in Canada. In view of this, the merchants in Victoria began in April 1884 to organize the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, which then became a representative body acting as the mouthpiece of all the Chinese in Canada. When the Association was being formed, notices were sent out to the various Chinese communities in British Columbia, stating that a contribution of $2 per Chinese must reach Victoria before October 3, 1884, and that if anyone failed to make this contribution, he would have to pay $10 to the Association before being permitted to return to China. It was also laid down in the Association's Rules and By-laws of 1884 that the Association's protection, arbitration and beneficence would be denied to any Chinese who did not donate $2 to the foundation fund of the Association. It can be inferred that the donation was compulsory rather than voluntary and that the donation record should reveal the total number of Chinese in Canada if it is complete. The Association had such a power to impose this $2 donation because it was a well-organized umbrella organization governing the different societies, clubs and associations in Chinese communities in Canada during the nineteenth century and functioned as a spokesman for Chinese interests before the Chinese consulate was established in Canada.

[6] Chuen-yan Lai, "Socio-Economic Structures and Viability of Chinatown," in *Residential and Neighbourhood Studies in Victoria* (edited by C. N. Forward;

the donor's place of residence in Canada but his approximate whereabouts can be deduced from the place from which the booklet of stubs was returned to Victoria. These stubs were collected from over thirty localities in British Columbia and included a total of 5,056 donors' names in 1884 and 1885. This figure is only about half of the population enumerated by the Royal Commission of 1885 and is therefore incomplete.[7] The incompleteness may be attributed to three possible factors. First, many booklets of stubs were lost or discarded during the removal of the Association's office. Second, some miners who lived in very isolated or remote areas may have been unaware of the formation of the Association and either did not contribute or made their contributions long after 1885. Lastly, several thousands of Chinese coolies were recruited directly from China when the Canadian Pacific Railway was being built in British Columbia between 1880 and 1885. It is possible that many of them did not make their contributions because they, like some remote miners, were unaware of the establishment of the Association.

In spite of their incompleteness, the data based on the receipt stubs represent about half of the Chinese population in Canada in the early 1880s. Unless stated otherwise, these stubs are the sources of reference for this paper, including the tables, maps and diagrams.

The Chinese who had settled in Canada by the early 1880s came mainly from fourteen counties on the Pearl River delta in Kwangtung Province of South China[8] (Fig. 1). Nearly sixty-four percent of the Chinese immigrants from *Ssu I* (The Four Counties), about twenty-three percent from *San I* (The Three Counties), nearly eight percent from four other counties on the western part of the delta, and about four percent from the counties of Pao-an, Tung-kuan and Tseng-ch'eng on the eastern side of the delta (Table 1). The remaining one percent was

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Western Geographical Series, Department of Geography, University of Victoria, 1973) Vol. 5, Chap. 3, pp. 101-129.

[7] According to the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration, Report and Evidence, 1885, the number of Chinese in British Columbia stood at 10,492.

[8] There are many variations in the romanization and transliteration of Chinese names. For the sake of consistency, the Wade-Giles system of transliteration has, wherever possible, been used throughout the paper. *Ch'en* is used instead of *Chan*, although a Cantonese will be more familiar with the latter spelling of the surname than the former, which is based on the Wade-Giles system of transliteration. Spellings of place-names follow the U.S. Board on Geographical Names (Gazetteer No. 22 Mainland China, 2nd ed. Washington, D.C., 1968, two volumes). An exception has been made, and conventional spelling used, for large cities and provinces because their spellings have been commonly used in Western literature, e.g. Canton instead of *Kuang-chou*, and *Kwangtung* Province instead of *Kuang-t'ung* Province.

TABLE 1

HOME COUNTY ORIGINS OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA IN THE EARLY 1880s

County	*No. of People*	*% of Total*
THE FOUR COUNTIES		
T'ai-Shan	1,158	22.9
K'ai-P'ing	949	18.8
Hsin-Hui	615	12.2
En-P'ing	491	9.7
THE THREE COUNTIES		
P'an-Yu	798	15.8
Shun-Te	78	1.5
Nan-Hai	51	6.0
Hao-Shan	302	3.9
Tseng-Ch'eng	195	2.2
Chung-Shan	111	1.6
Pao-An	81	1.2
Hua-Hsien	62	1.0
Yang-Chiang	51	1.0
Tung-Kuan	50	1.0
Other*	64	1.3
TOTAL	5,056	100.0

*Other counties include San-shui, Ssu-hui, Tsung-hua, Wu-hua, Hsing-ning, Hui-yang, Kao-ming, Lo-chang, Mei-hsien, Ching-yuan, Hsin-hsing, Yang-chun and unspecified counties.

made up of people from many other counties of Kwangtung Province. The T'ai-shan people outnumbered those from other counties because they constituted over one-fifth of the total Chinese population in Canada in the early 1880s.

The majority of the immigrants in Canada belonged to a few large clans. The term 'clan' has been indiscriminately used in the past to translate both the Chinese words *tsu* and *tsung*. In recent years, *tsu* has been more clearly termed a 'lineage,' and *tsung*, a 'clan.'[9] A *tsu* is primarily an

[9] M. Freedman, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China* (London: The Athlone Press, 1958), p. 2.

extension of joint family with unilineal descent and is based on the consanguine principle, institution of ancestral halls, ritual lands and ancestral graveyards, and other characteristics.[10] Its ancestry is usually traceable genealogically. When two or more *tsu* bear a single surname and are linked by a common distant ancestor, they belong to the same *tsung*. Based on this *tsung-tsu* system, the overseas Chinese assume that all the people with the same surname are offspring of a common, remote ancestor, and that they belong to the same 'clan' and are *tsung-ch'in* (meaning clansmen) to one another. Accordingly the Chinese population in Canada in the early 1880s could be divided into 129 clans, each of which was little more than a group of people possessing a common surname and claiming to have descended from a common ancestor. The division revealed that most of the clans were very small. About half of the 129 clans had fewer than ten persons each, and ninety percent fewer than a hundred persons each (Table 2). The ten large clans with over a hundred

TABLE 2

CLASSIFICATION OF CLANS ACCORDING TO THEIR SIZE

Size (Persons/ clan)	*No. of Clan*	*Population*	
		Number	*%*
Over 400	3	1,472	29.1
200-300	3	690	13.6
100-199	4	608	12.0
50- 99	15	1,124	22.2
30- 49	14	524	10.4
10- 29	23	413	8.2
5- 9	22	140	2.8
1- 4	45	85	1.7
TOTAL	129	5,056	100.0

persons each accounted for over half of the total Chinese population in Canada. The Chou, Li and Huang clans predominated in their membership (Table 3).

[10] Some references on the topic of the Chinese *tsung* and *tsu* are: F. L. K. Hsu, *Clan, Caste and Club* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1963); Han-yi Feng, *The Chinese Kinship System* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Harvard University Press, 1948); Kung-chuan Hsiao, *Rural China Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967); and Hsien-chin Hu, *Common Descent Group in China and its Functions* (New York: Viking Fund Inc., 1943).

TABLE 3

POPULATION OF THE TEN LARGE CLANS

Clan	*No. of Persons*	*% of Total*
Chou	534	10.6
Li	523	10.3
Huang	415	8.2
Ch'en	250	4.9
Lin	235	4.6
Liang	205	4.1
Hsieh	193	3.8
Ma	171	3.4
Liu	132	2.6
Wu	112	2.2
Other	2,286	45.3
Total	5,056	100.0

Two significant features have been observed in the examination of the clan-county relationship. The first one is that each county's population was dominated by people from a few clans (Fig. 2). The people of T'ai-shan county in Canada, for example, numbered 1,158 of which nearly fifty-four percent were represented by the four clans of Li, Ma, Lin and Huang, twenty-one percent by the six clans of Ch'en, Wu, Hsu, Liu, Chen and Liang, and the remaining by fifty-five other clans. The clan composition of K'ai-p'ing county was another example. Its population in Canada was 949, but the number of people from the Chou clan alone stood at 408 or forty-three percent of the total from that county.

The other significant feature of the clan-county relationship is that members of each clan had come mainly from one or two counties (Fig. 3). The Chou clan in Canada, for example, had a membership of 534, of which 408 were from K'ai-p'ing, fifty-five from P'an-yu, thirty-eight from Hsin-hui and thirty-three from other counties. Other examples were that over ninety percent of the Ma and Chen had come from T'ai-shan; about ninety-five percent of the Chiang and eighty percent of the Hsiao from P'an-yu; and over seventy-five percent of the Kuan, Chou, T'an and Ssu-Tu from K'ai-p'ing county. In many small clans, the members had originated from only one county. For instance, all the fourteen members

of the Chan clan had come from Tseng-ch'eng county. From the examination of this clan-county relationship, it can be inferred that most of the migrants from China to Canada in the early 1880s were members of extended family groups or clans from a county or a group of counties. This reflects the process of a chain migration, which is also very characteristic of the migration of the Italians, Greeks and people of other nationalities.[11]

The Chinese were concentrated in a few specific localities in British Columbia in the early 1880s. On Vancouver Island, they were found in two cities: Victoria, the then most important port along the Canadian Pacific coast, and Nanaimo, a booming coal-mining centre. On the mainland of the province, the Chinese were concentrated in three types of location. The first type included Savona's Ferry, Thompson River, Kamloops and other places along the route of the Canadian Pacific Railway where thousands of Chinese were employed to build the railroad (Fig. 4). The second type of locality was the gold-bearing stream valleys and gold mining towns such as Yale, Quesnel Mouth, Quesnel Forks and Stanley where they worked mainly as miners and farm labourers. The last type included places like New Westminster, Port Moody and Granville where many were employed in fish-canning factories, farms and sawmills.

The coefficient of localization was used to measure the relative regional concentration of the Chinese from a given county or clan compared with the total Chinese population in British Columbia which was used as a base magnitude. The coefficient is computed by halving the sum of the absolute differences between the percentage of Chinese from a given county or clan in a locality, and that from all the counties or clans. The computation of the coefficient of localization for the T'ai-shan people is illustrated in Table 4. If they had settled with exactly the same distribution as all the Chinese in British Columbia, the coefficient would be zero, but it would approach unity should all the T'ai-shan people be found in one locality. From Table 4, the coefficient is 0.259, which is smaller than one. The T'ai-shan people were therefore relatively dispersed in comparison with the distribution of the Chinese in British Columbia. Similarly, the low coefficients for the people from Hsin-hui, K'ai-p'ing and En-p'ing counties indicate that they were more widely dispersed than those from Yang-chiang and Nan-hai counties (Table 5). Generally speaking, the

[11] J. D. Macdonald and L. D. Macdonald, "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighbourhood Formation and Social Networks," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, Vol. 42, 1964, p. 82.

TABLE 4

THE COMPUTATION OF THE LOCALIZATION COEFFICIENT FOR T'AI-SHAN PEOPLE

Locality	*Total Chinese Population*		*T'ai shan People*		$\lvert N - n \rvert$
	No. of Persons	*% of Total N*	*No. of Persons*	*% of Total n*	
Savona's Ferry	987	19.5	190	16.4	3.1
Victoria	672	13.3	183	15.8	2.5
Yale	524	10.4	113	9.8	0.6
Quesnel Mouth	405	8.0	17	1.5	6.5
New Westminster	309	6.1	51	4.4	1.7
Lillooet	277	5.5	5	0.4	5.1
Thompson River	254	5.0	11	0.9	4.1
Nanaimo	245	4.8	149	12.9	8.1
Dog Creek	198	3.9	98	8.5	4.6
Quesnel Forks	180	3.6	88	7.6	4.0
Kamloops	174	3.4	24	2.1	1.3
Stanley	163	3.2	86	7.4	4.2
Nicola River	104	2.1	7	0.6	1.5
Soda Creek	99	2.0	25	2.2	0.2
Lytton	97	1.9	13	1.1	0.8
Dease Creek	63	1.2	25	2.2	1.0
Cache Creek	61	1.2	8	0.7	0.5
Chist Creek	57	1.1	13	1.1	0
Granville	51	1.0	18	1.6	0.6
Harrison River	36	0.7	13	1.1	0.4
Williams Creek	36	0.7	1	0.1	0.6
Port Moody	22	0.4	7	0.6	0.2
Prince Rupert	22	0.4	7	0.6	0.2
Other	20	0.4	6	0.5	0.1
TOTAL	5,056	100.0	1,158	100.0	$\lvert 51.9 \rvert$

$$\text{Localization Coefficient} = \tfrac{1}{2} \Sigma \frac{\lvert N - n \rvert}{100} = 0.259$$

TABLE 5

LOCALIZATION COEFFICIENTS FOR PEOPLE OF EACH COUNTY AND CLAN

County	*Localization Coefficient*	*Clan*	*Localization Coefficient*
Yang-chiang	0.560	Ma	0.741
Nan-hai	0.491	Chou	0.486
Shun-te	0.491	Lin	0.467
Tsen-ch'eng	0.480	Hsieh	0.351
Pao-an	0.478	Li	0.333
P'an-yu	0.449	Liu	0.325
Hao-shan	0.448	Wu	0.311
Tung-kuan	0.428	Huang	0.184
Chung-shan	0.416	Liang	0.166
Hua	0.403	Ch'en	0.160
En-p'ing	0.399		
K'ai-p'ing	0.378		
T'ai-shan	0.259		
Hsin-hui	0.219		

smaller the counties, the greater the concentration. The coefficients of localization for the ten large clans indicate that the Ma, Chou and Lin clans, who had come mainly from one or two counties, were most concentrated, and that the Ch'en, Liang and Huang clans were most dispersed partly because they had originated from more counties (see Fig. 3).

The localization coefficients for people by home county origin and by clan also indicate that the overseas Chinese in Canada still retained their traditional residential habit, namely, that related families, clansmen, fellow-villagers and close friends tended to live together or close to one another. This resulted in two types of concentration in a locality: the localization by home county origin and localization by surname. In the early 1880s, seventy-seven percent of the Chinese in Quesnel Mouth had come from K'ai-p'ing; about sixty percent of the Chinese in Nanaimo were from T'ai-shan; nearly sixty-five percent of the Chinese in Thompson River and nearly sixty percent of Lillooet's Chinese population were P'an-yu people; over forty percent of Kamloops' Chinese were Tseng-ch'eng people; and nearly fifty-eight percent of the Chinese in Lytton

belonged to Hsin-hui county. These were typical examples of localization by home county origin (Fig. 5). The second type of localization was typified by places such as Nanaimo where nearly forty-five percent of its Chinese were surnamed Ma; Yale where the Li people accounted for twenty-two percent of its Chinese population; and the Thompson River where nearly sixteen percent of its Chinese were surnamed Hsieh (Fig. 6).

Based on the observations of these two types of localization, it can be inferred that there had been a stream of migration from a few villages in China to specific places in British Columbia where lineage groups might have been maintained. Such phenomena are found, for example, in the distribution of the three large clans in British Columbia, namely, the Chou, Li and Huang people. The Chous from K'ai-p'ing and Hsin-hui counties were concentrated in Quesnel Mouth and those from P'an-yu county were found mainly in Lillooet (Table 6). Similarly, most of the Lis from T'ai-shan county settled in Victoria, Savona's Ferry and Yale but the Lis from Hsin-hui were found mainly in Savona's Ferry and Yale, and those from Hao-shan confined themselves in Savona's Ferry (Table 7). Although the Huang people were more widely scattered, those from K'ai-p'ing county settled mainly in Dog Creek after they arrived in Canada (Table 8).

The localizations by clan and by home county origins are still evident in cities where there has not been a great immigration of Chinese after World War II. They are, nevertheless, not so obvious in cities where new arrivals have come in large numbers in the past two decades, mainly because after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Chinese of different provinces came to Hong Kong and Taiwan, from which many have emigrated to the United States and Canada.

The home county and clan origins of the overseas Chinese have much influence on various aspects of their society in the host country. One important influence is the monopoly or dominance of certain trades and occupations in a city by people of the same county or clan. Based on the data of the Royal Commission Report of 1885, less than two percent of the Chinese in British Columbia were managerial, professional and technical people but over eighty-six percent were pedlars, cooks, servants and all sorts of workers and labourers engaged in agriculture, logging, mining or manufacturing (Table 9 and Fig. 7). In some localities, certain occupations were taken up mainly or exclusively by one or two clans from a county. Quesnel Mouth, for example, had a Chinese community of some 400 souls, of which over half were the Chou people from K'ai-p'ing (Table 10). Such a phenomenon is simply an extension of those in South

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CHOU PEOPLE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA ACCORDING TO THEIR HOME COUNTY ORIGINS

LOCALITIES in B.C.	*HOME COUNTY ORIGINS*						*Total*
	K'ai p'ing	*P'an-yu*	*Hsin-hui*	*En-p'ing*	*Hao-shan*	*Other*	
Victoria	3	9	2	4	3	2	23
Savona's Ferry	38	4	7	—	5	—	54
Nanaimo	1	—	—	3	—	—	4
New Westminster	5	—	2	1	—	2	10
Quesnel Mouth	262	—	16	—	—	1	279
Thompson River	5	12	4	—	—	2	23
Lillooet	—	17	—	—	—	—	17
Yale	2	6	3	—	—	1	12
Kamloops	—	—	1	—	—	6	7
Lytton	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nicola River	4	2	—	—	—	—	6
Quesnel Forks	19	—	—	—	—	—	19
Stanley	17	1	1	—	—	—	19
Soda Creek	13	2	—	—	—	—	15
Cache Creek	10	—	—	1	—	—	11
Chist Creek	7	—	—	—	—	—	7
Dease Creek	7	—	—	—	—	—	7
Dog Creek	1	2	—	—	—	—	3
William Creek	12	—	2	—	—	1	15
Harrison River	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Others	2	—	—	—	1	—	3
	408	55	38	9	9	15	534

China where many villages are inhabited predominantly or entirely by people of a single surname.[12] Because over four-fifths of the Chinese inhabitants in Quesnel Mouth were miners and farmers (Table 11), it can be inferred that these occupations were taken up mostly by the Chou

[12] O. Lang, *Chinese Family and Society* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1968); and J. M. Meskill, "The Chinese Genealogy as a Research Source" in M. Freedman, ed., *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1970).

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF THE LI PEOPLE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA ACCORDING TO THEIR HOME COUNTY ORIGINS

LOCALITIES in B.C.	*HOME COUNTY ORIGINS*								
	T'ai-shan	*Hsin-hui*	*Hao-shan*	*P'an-yu*	*K'ai-p'ing*	*En-p'ing*	*Chung shan*	*Other*	*Total*
New Westminster	219	123	48	39	24	22	13	35	523
Victoria	70	9	1	6	4	3	9	6	108
Savona's Ferry	56	47	33	4	12	11	2	4	169
Nanaimo	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
New Westminster	9	15	4	5	1	1	—	2	37
Quesnel Mouth	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4
Thompson River	1	—	—	10	—	—	—	1	12
Lillooet	—	—	—	3	2	2	2	2	10
Yale	50	41	6	9	5	5	—	4	119
Kamloops	2	2	4	—	—	—	—	4	12
Lytton	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nicola River	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	3	10
Quesnel Forks	8	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
Stanley	8	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	10
Soda Creek	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	5
Cache Creek	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Chist Creek	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Dease Creek	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Dog Creek	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	7
William Creek	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Harrison River	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Others	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	4
	219	123	48	39	24	22	13	35	523

clan from K'ai-p'ing county, the overwhelming majority of the town's Chinese population. Similarly, based on the distribution of Chinese in each town according to their occupations, surnames and home county origins (see Figures 5, 6, and 7) it can be deduced in what occupations and in what places for those occupations people of individual clans and home county origins might be found. For example, nearly all of the Mas

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HUANG PEOPLE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA ACCORDING TO THEIR HOME COUNTY ORIGINS

LOCALITIES in B.C.	*HOME COUNTY ORIGINS*									
	T'ai-shan	*Hsin-hui*	*K'ai-p'ing*	*P'an-yu*	*Hao-shan*	*Tseng-ch'eng*	*En-p'ing*	*Hua Hsien*	*Other*	*Total*
Victoria	13	3	—	15	2	5	3	—	2	43
Savona's Ferry	5	18	5	1	13	—	7	—	11	60
Nanaimo	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	13
New Westminster	6	1	1	—	4	—	—	—	1	13
Quesnel Mouth	15	2	5	—	—	1	—	—	1	24
Thompson River	—	2	2	13	—	4	—	—	—	21
Lillooet	—	—	—	11	3	—	—	9	—	23
Yale	10	5	1	12	16	2	6	1	1	54
Kamloops	2	—	—	—	—	12	—	—	3	17
Lytton	2	5	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	8
Nicola River	1	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	1	6
Quesnel Forks	23	11	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	37
Stanley	7	1	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	13
Soda Creek	9	3	—	2	—	1	—	—	2	17
Cache Creek	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	2
Chist Creek	2	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Dease Creek	7	1	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	15
Dog Creek	2	4	23	1	—	—	—	—	—	30
William Creek	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Harrison River	3	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
Others	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	5
	119	61	56	56	41	27	19	10	26	415

from T'ai-shan worked in Nanaimo as cooks and servants, most of the Huang from Tseng-ch'eng were engaged in mining and farming in Kamloops, and many Lis, Lins and Huangs from Hao-shan county were railway workers in the neighbourhood of Savona's Ferry.

The monopoly of certain occupations by certain clans or county people was attributed to three possible factors. First, it was not uncommon in South China for a clan to occupy a piece of land and try hard to expel

TABLE 9

OCCUPATION OF THE CHINESE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1884

Occupation	*No. of Persons*	*% of Total*
Managerial		
Merchants	120	1.1
Restaurant keepers	11	0.1
Professional and technical		
Doctors	42	0.4
School teachers	8	0.1
Sales		
Pedlars	67	0.6
Service and recreation		
Cooks and servants	279	2.7
Washermen	156	1.5
Barber	71	0.7
Prostitutes	70	0.7
Agricultural, logging or mining workers		
miners (mainly gold-mining)	1,709	16.3
Coal miners	727	6.9
Farm labourers	686	6.5
Wood-cutlers	230	2.2
Fuel-cutlers	147	1.4
Vegetable gardeners	114	1.1
Production process		
Fish bands	700	6.7
Saw-mill workers	267	2.5
Boot-makers	130	1.2
Brick-makers and layers	85	0.8
Labourers except those engaged in agricultural, logging or mining operations		
Railroad workers	2,900	27.6
Store employees	302	2.9
Ditch diggers	156	1.5
Other workers	296	2.8
Occupation not stated		
Married women	55	0.5
Girls	33	0.3
Boys under 17	529	5.0
New arrivals	602	5.7
TOTAL	10,492	100.0

SOURCE: This table and Figure 7 are computed from data in the Royal Commission Report on Chinese Immigration of 1885. Occupational classification follows that used in the 1971 Census of Canada. All the occupations except prostitutes were male.

TABLE 10

HOME COUNTY AND CLAN ORIGINS OF CHINESE POPULATION IN QUESNEL MOUTH

County	*Clan*							
	Chou	*Hsieh*	*Huang*	*Ch'en*	*Wang*	*Chung*	*Other**	*Total*
K'ai-p'ing	262	27	5	1	—	—	17	312
Hsin-hui	16	—	2	—	5	4	2	29
T'ai-shan	—	—	15	—	—	—	2	17
Tseng-ch'eng	—	—	1	—	—	—	15	16
Pao-an	—	—	1	2	—	—	8	11
Shun-te	—	—	—	5	—	—	3	8
Tung-kuan	1	—	—	—	—	—	5	6
Chung-shan	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4
En-p'ing	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	2
TOTAL	279	27	24	9	5	4	57	405

*This includes twenty-nine other clans.

TABLE 11

OCCUPATIONS OF THE CHINESE POPULATION IN QUESNEL MOUTH, 1884

Occupation	*No. of Persons*
Miners and farmers	490
Store employees	8
Merchants	4
Doctors	4
Prostitutes	2
TOTAL	508

SOURCE: Report of Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration, 1885, p. 364. All the occupations except prostitutes were male.

from it people from other clans or places who then had to go elsewhere for a livelihood. Freedman remarked that "where economic conditions have been favourable, lineages have tended to exclude outsiders or cast out their neighbours of other surnames and to develop into massive single-lineage settlements."[13] Having this attitude of monopolizing land-ownership in their home villages, some overseas Chinese might have developed a similar attitude towards occupations and trade. For example, about 400 Chinese in Winnipeg in the late 1880s were said to have emigrated from Chen Shan Tsun, a village in Hao-shan county, and most of them were surnamed Li.[14] For many years, they had lookouts posted at the roads and railroads entering Winnipeg and tried to prevent by all means other Chinese from coming to compete with their laundry business in the city. This practice ceased only after the Li Clan Association in Vancouver persuaded their clansmen in Winnipeg to change their attitude.

The second possible factor was that common dialect was and still is an important element in employment preference. The T'ai-shan dialect, for instance, is the main tongue of the Chinese in North America although it is a local dialect in China. "In any business dealings with the Chinese in the United States, not to speak or understand Toishanese (T'ai-shan dialect) can be a handicap. Even those who speak Mandarin or other dialects fluently are sometimes ridiculed by the Toishanese (T'ai-shan people) as being unable to speak Chinese."[15] In other areas where Chinese were settling in the nineteenth century, people of the same speech group usually dominated certain occupations and trades. In the early 1830s in Siam, for example, most of the Teochiu were agriculturalists, the Hakkas artisans, and the Hainanese pedlars or fishermen.[16]

The last factor was that when a job in a Chinese shop became vacant, preference was given to relatives, clansmen, fellow-villages or close friends. People of the same county or clan grouped themselves into *t'ang-k'ou* (associations) for the sake of mutual help among their fellow-villagers or clansmen. New arrivals in Canada had to join the associations of their own county or clan or other kinds of associations; otherwise they would

[13] M. Freedman, *Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwangtung* (London: The Athlone Press, 1966), p. 12.

[14] Gustavo Da Rosa, *A Feasibility Study for the Development of Chinatown in Winnipeg*, 1974, pp. 62-64.

[15] B. L. Sung, *The Story of the Chinese in America* (New York: Collier Books, 1967), p. 19.

[16] V. Purcell, *The Chinese in South East Asia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 84.

find it difficult to get a job in the Chinese community or even in the white society. In the early 1880s there were many associations founded by people from individual counties. In Victoria, for example, *Yu-ch'ing-t'ang* and *Ch'ang-hou-t'ang* were associations founded respectively by the people from T'ai-shan and Chung-shan counties. They were called 'big counties' in Canada because of the large number of their people there. The so-called 'small county' people sometimes found that they had few job opportunities in a community dominated by 'big county' people and banded together to form a united association of their own counties. Nan-hua-shun United Association, for example, was such an organization whose members were people from Han-hai, Hua and Shun-te counties. All the above associations may be called *homotopic* associations because their membership is open only to people of the same county or counties.[17] Usually the members of a *homotopic* association speak the same or similar dialects.

On the other hand, *homonymic* associations will accept for membership all those bearing the same surname or surnames, unite people of different counties or dialect groups, and help develop a sense of relationship through the catalyst of a supposed common remote ancestry. Such an association is merely "a group of émigrés who have formed themselves into a kind of colonial replica of the home lineage in which they continue to hold membership. They are not an independent lineage or lineage segment in the making, because they have not chosen a genealogical point of reference to define themselves as a unit within a large unit."[18] In Victoria, *Lung-hsi-t'ang* (formed by the Li people) and *Chiang-hsai-t'ang* (by the Huang people) were some of the city's old-established *homonymic* associations. *Ming-i-t'ang* (later known as *Lung-Kang Kung-so*) was a special type of *homonymic* association whose membership was open to people surnamed Liu, Kuan, Chang and Chao.[19]

Some 'small surname' people claimed to have descended from an ancient mythical emperor or a remote legendary ancestor, and with this feeling of relationship they united together in order to increase their numerical strength and to stand against the 'oppression' of 'big surname' people. *Su-yuan-t'ang* recruited its members from people surnamed Lei,

[17] The two words, *homotopic* and *homonymic*, were coined from Greek: homotopic (*homos*, same + *topos*, place), and homonymic (*homos*, same + *onyma*, name).

[18] M. Freedman, *Chinese Lineage and Society*, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

[19] The clan relationship of peoples surnamed Liu, Kuan, Chang and Chao is based on the legendary sworn-brotherhood of four heroes of the Three Kingdom Period (A.D. 220-280), namely, Liu-pei, Kuan-yu, Chang-fei and Chao-yun.

Kuang and Fang, and *Nan-yang-t'ang* from people with surnames of Yeh, Teng or Yuan. *T'ieh-ch'eng Ch'ung-i-hui* is another specific type of *homonymic* association. It was open to all 'small surname' people from Chung-shan county but it denied membership to any person surnamed Liu because the association was formed with its prime objective to unite people of 'small surname' to fight against the people of Liu, a 'big surname' people in Chung-shan county. Such a discrimination is still practised by the association.

There are many other types of overseas Chinese voluntary associations but a study of them is beyond the scope of this paper.[20] These associations are an important social mechanism which serves primarily the need of overseas Chinese, helps them adjust to the new environment, and provides them with social security in face of cultural deprivation and political and economic exclusion in a white society. These associations are also an integrating mechanism through which the solidarity with clansmen or fellow-villagers is maintained. This solidarity, however, may become a divisive force when conflicts of interest occur among the associations. Sometimes, traditional hatreds or feuds between one village and another or between one clan and the other pass onto the overseas Chinese. This inter-village or interclan strife, exacerbated by local conflicts of interest, might lead to inter-association rivalry which was a contributing factor to the 'tong wars' in the past and causes dissension in some Chinese communities today.[21]

The patterns of residence and surname/county distribution similar to those in British Columbia can be found in other parts of the world where Chinese were settling in the nineteenth century. For example, the Cantonese were concentrated in Miri, the Hakkas in Kuching and the Foochow people in Simanggang in Sarawah, which is now a part of Eastern

[20] Many research papers have been written about the functions of various types of Chinese voluntary associations. See, for example: W. E. Willmott, "Chinese clan Association in Vancouver," *Man*, Vol. 64 (1964), p. 34 and "Some Aspects of Chinese Communities in British Columbia," *BC Studies*, No. 1 (1968-69), pp. 30-34; and L. W. Crissman, "The Segmentary Structure of Urban Overseas Chinese Community," *Man*, New Series Vol. 2 (1967), p. 194; and M. Freedman, *Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore* (H.M.S.O., London, 1957), pp. 92ff.

[21] It should be noted that many of the 'tong wars' in Chinatowns were merely gang fights. For example, the three gangs of the Hop Sings, Guey Sings and Sen Suey Yings in San Francisco's Chinatown fought over prostitutes and gambling spoils in the 1930s. That city's present 'tong wars' are clashes among the youth gangs known as the ABCs (American-born-Chinese) and the FOBs (Fresh-off-the-boats) who have emigrated recently to the United States from Hong Kong, Taiwan and other places.

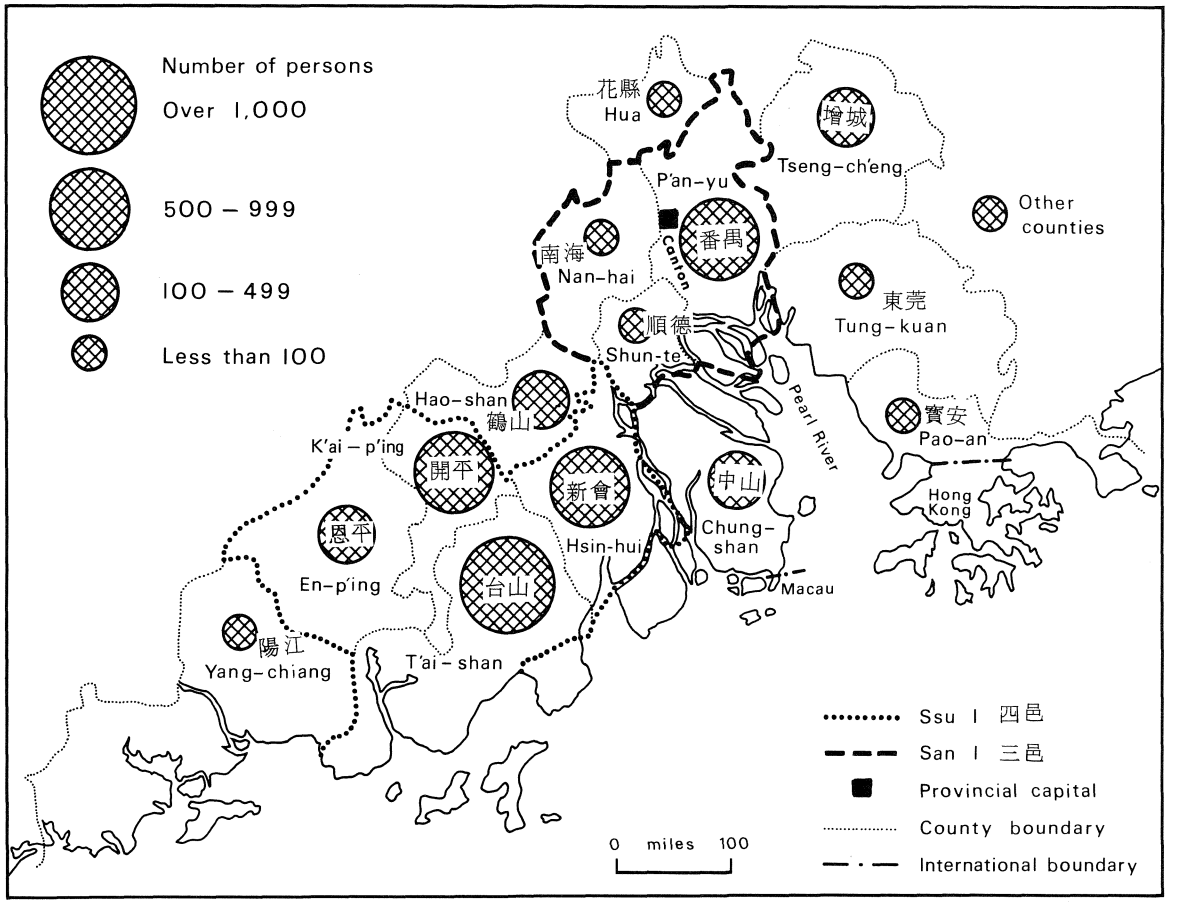

FIG. 1. Major Migration Fields of Overseas Chinese in Canada in the early 1880s.

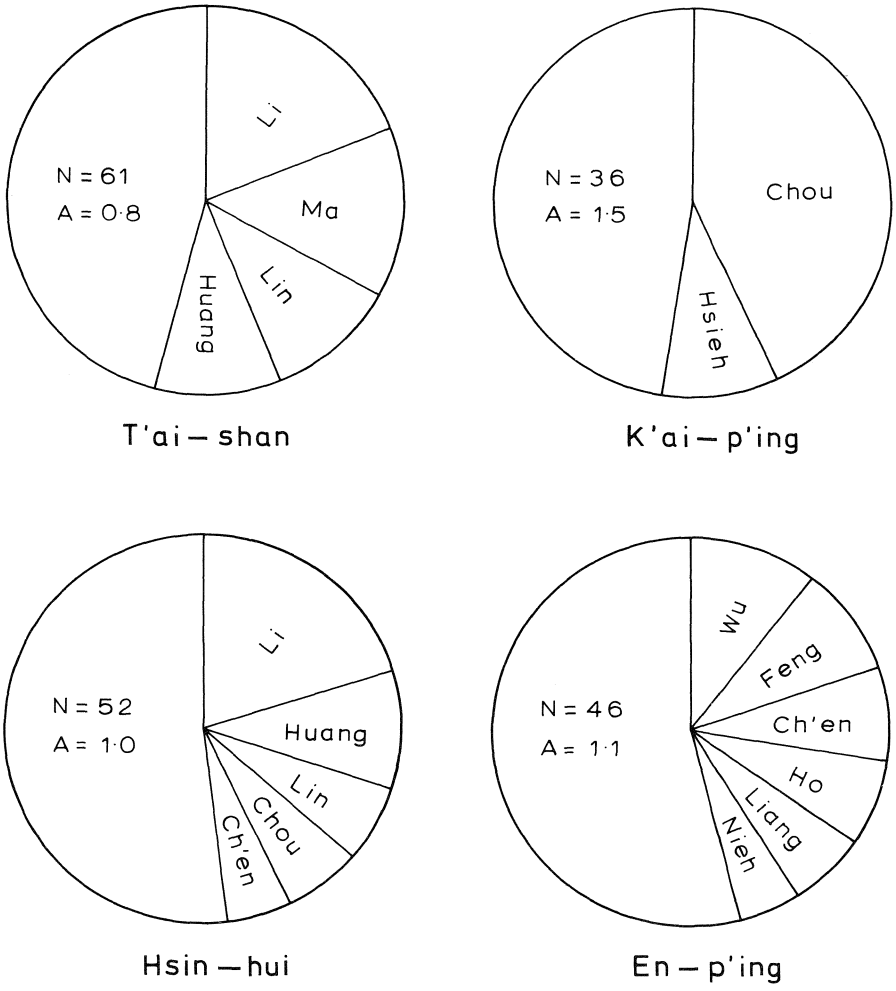

FIG. 2. Clan Composition of the *Ssu I* People in Canada.

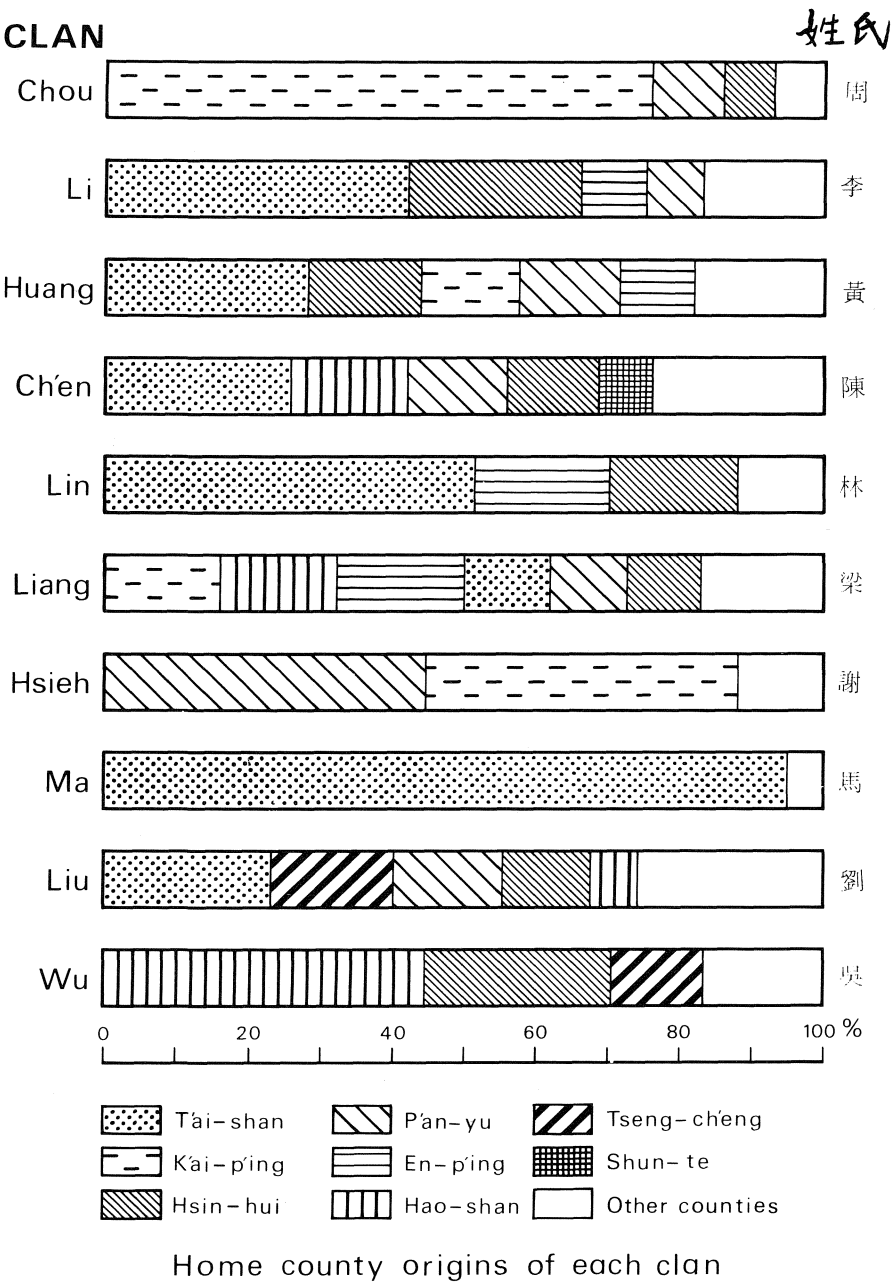

FIG. 3. Home County Origins of the Ten Large Clans in Canada.

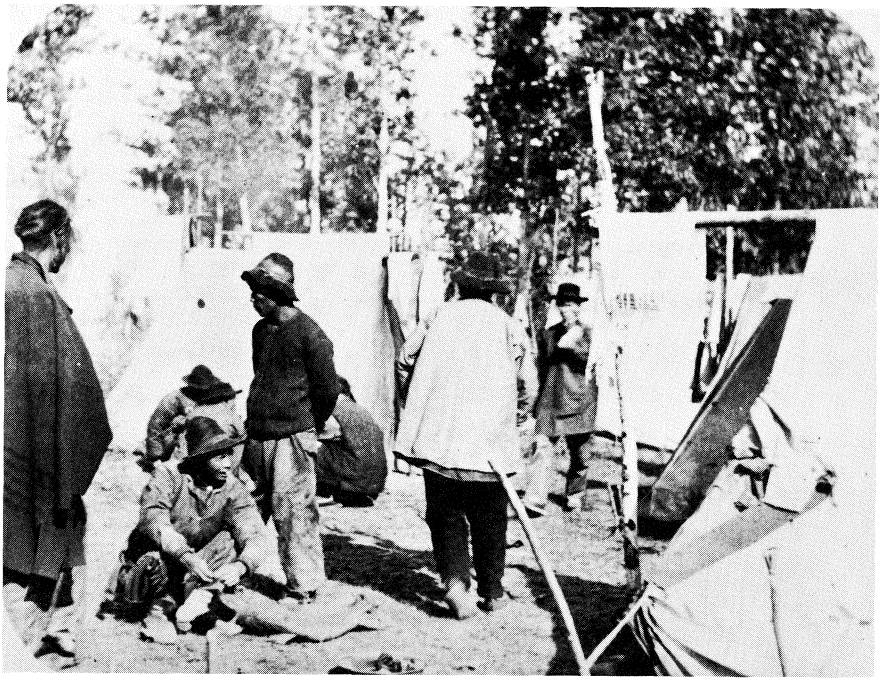

FIG. 4. Camps of Chinese Railroad Labourers at Kamloops.
Courtesy of Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.

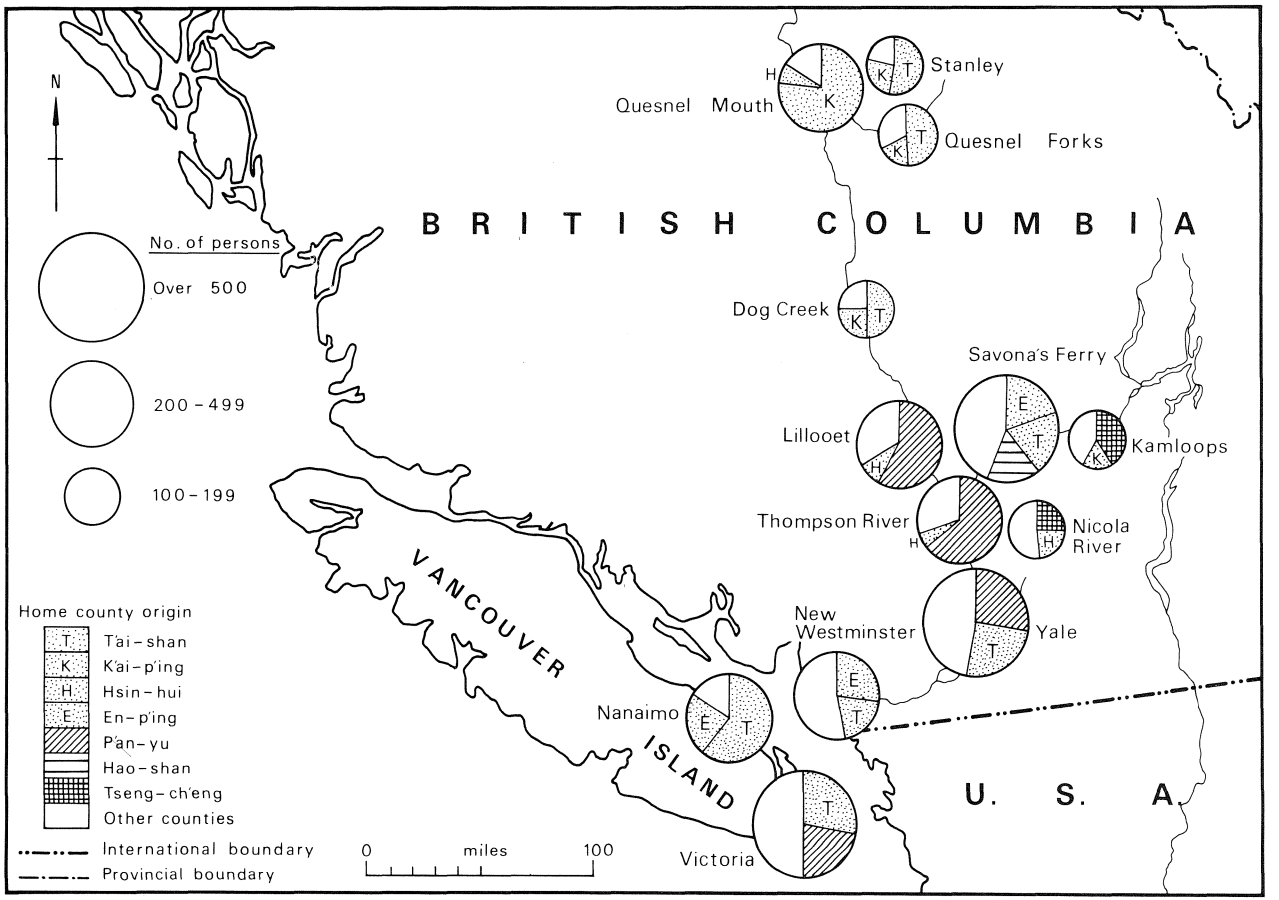

FIG. 5. Distribution of Major Chinese Settlements by Home County Origin in British Columbia in the early 1880s.

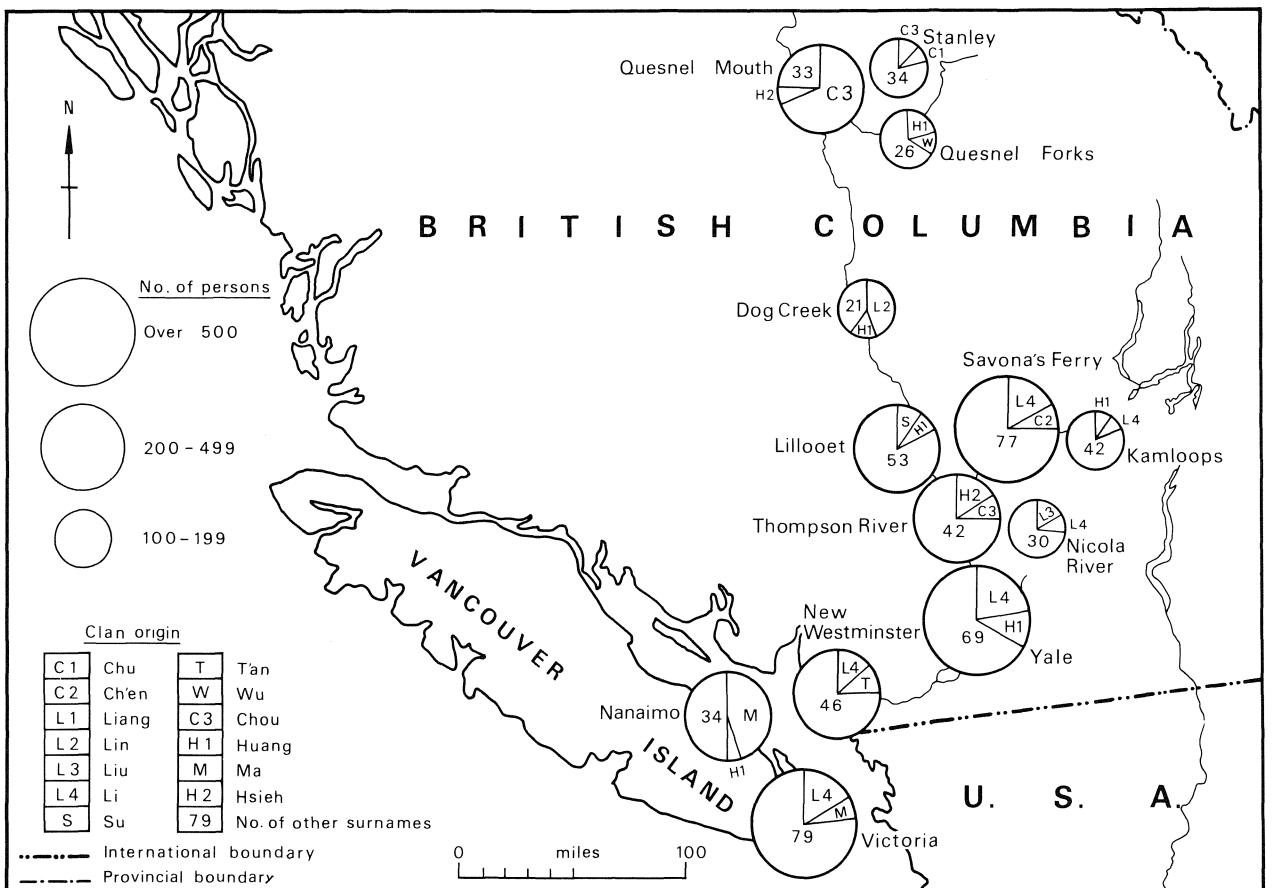

FIG. 6. Distribution of Major Chinese Settlements by Clan Origin in British Columbia in the early 1880s.

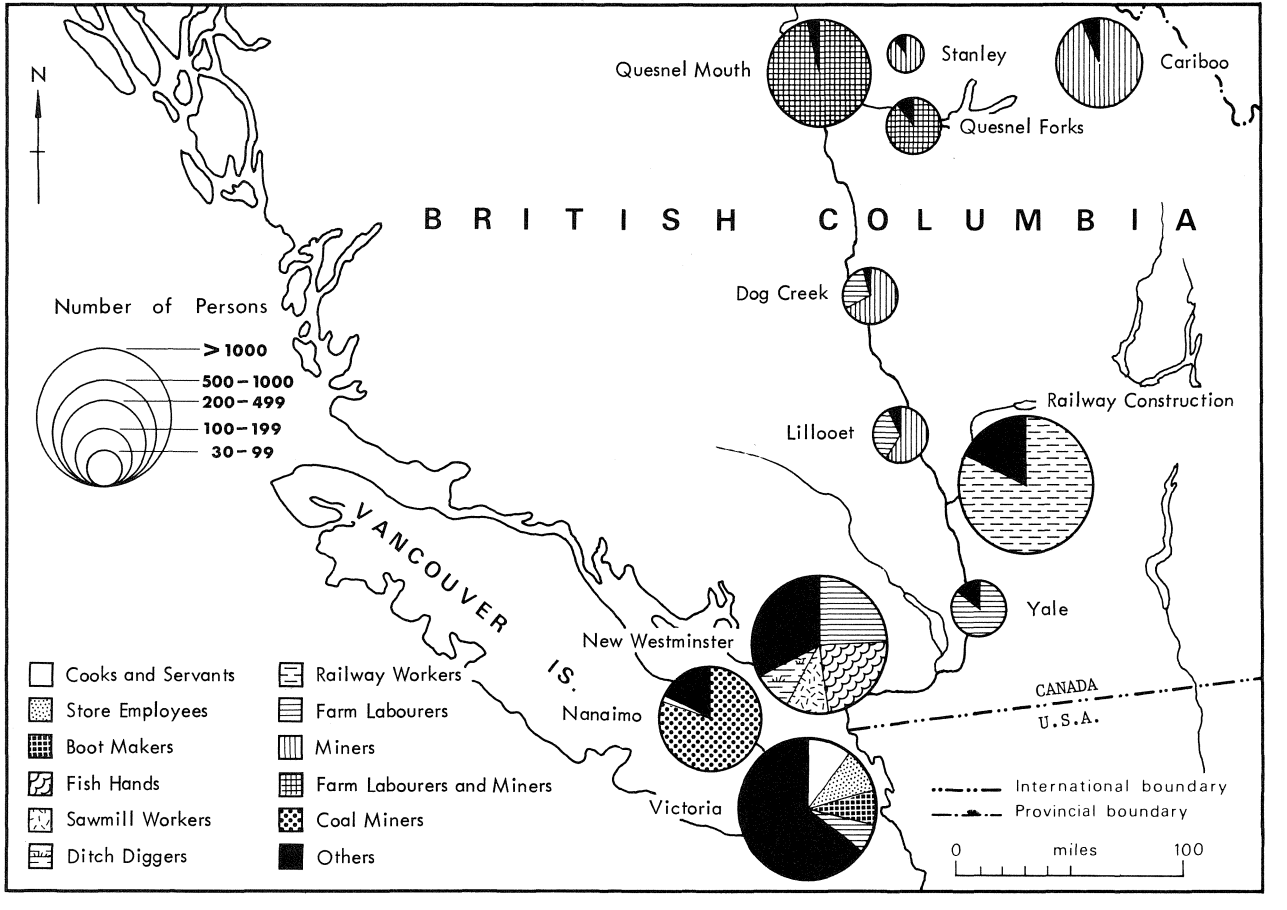

FIG. 7. Distribution of Major Chinese Settlements by Occupations in British Columbia in the early 1880s.

Malaysia.[22] The linked type of migration was also very similar to what was observed by Professor Edgar Wickberg as one major pattern in the late nineteenth century Philippines.[23] Similar patterns of localization are observed in the United States although no articles have been published on this subject. For example, the T'ai-shan people were widely scattered in American cities, but congregation according to clanship was quite marked in individual cities: the Ch'en clan was highly concentrated in Seattle, the Huang clan in Los Angeles, the Huang and Li clans in San Francisco, the Kuang clan in Sacramento, the Chen in Santa Barbara, the Mei clan in Chicago, the Yu clan in Detroit and the Li clan in Washington, D.C.[24] Professor Mark Lai also observed that the surname/county localization led to the formation of economic groupings in San Francisco Bay area, where most of the drygoods stores were owned by the Chinese from Lung-tu in Chung-shan county, laundries by the Yu clan of T'ai-shan county, and fruit and candy stands by the Hsieh clan of K'ai-p'ing county. Most of the butchers were from Chiu-chiang in Nan-hai county, and chrysanthemum growing was nearly monopolized by the villagers of Huang-liang-tu in Chung-shan county.

This study has shown that the migration fields of the overseas Chinese in Canada in the early 1880s were fourteen counties in Kwangtung Province, of which T'ai-shan, K'ai-p'ing and P'an-yu were the primary source areas. Nearly fifty-eight percent had come from these three counties and a large proportion of the remaining forty-two percent from Hsin-hui, En-p'ing and Nan-hai counties. It has also revealed that over half of the emigrants belonged to ten clans, of which the Chou and Li were predominant in numbers. The majority of the members in each clan had come from one county and possibly from one village. This pattern reflects the process of a chain migration.

After the Chinese arrived in Canada, nearly all of them settled in British Columbia, where people from the same county or the same clan tended to reside in the same city or locality. For instance, the people from P'an-yu county predominated in Lillooet and the number of Chous was overwhelming in Quesnel Mouth. This localization by home county origin or surname characterized the spatial distribution of the Chinese in British Columbia. It seems that Chinese migration to other parts of the

[22] V. Purcell, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

[23] E. Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life 1850-1898* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).

[24] Personal communication with Professor Mark Lai, Director of the Chinese Historical Society of America, San Francisco.

world in the nineteenth century also exhibited the same phenomena observed in British Columbia. The obvious effects of these patterns of residence were the monopoly of certain occupations and trades by certain clans or people from certain counties, and the organization of various *homotopic* and *homonymic* associations. These associations acted as centripetal as well as centrifugal forces in the unity of the Chinese communities in Canada. On the one hand, each association was a significant organization which ensured aid in time of need, helped develop a positive group sentiment and enhanced the feeling of group life among the overseas Chinese. On the other hand, the intense allegiance of members of their own associations also generated a centrifugal force which weakened the unity of the community. This study of the home county and clan origins of Chinese immigrants is therefore essential research for the understanding of the overseas Chinese communities in the late nineteenth century.