

The social impact on their home town of Jinjiang emigrants' activities during the 1930s

Abstract

This paper focuses on emigration from Jinjiang and its impact on the home towns (*qiaoxiang*) in Jinjiang in the 1930s. The writer pays particular attention to the relation between Jinjiang emigrants and their home towns and thus provides a historical background for understanding the 'economic miracle of Jinjiang'. At the same time, the paper offers explanations for 'the economic miracle of coastal China' in recent years, particularly in Fujian and Guangdong.

Introduction¹

Jinjiang county (after 1992: city), where I was born, is one of the most famous *qiaoxiang*

¹ Some of the data in this chapter have been taken from a number of scattered and un-classified pieces related to the Jinjiang Overseas Chinese in the Jinjiang Archive; they are referred to as '*Jinjiang Huaqiao Archives*'. Other information is from interviews: these were carried out by the author, in September and October 1994, among 23 returned Overseas Chinese and Overseas Chinese relatives living in China, from 45 to 82 years old. The interviews were held in Jinjing, Shishi, Anhui, Longhu, and other towns in Jinjiang, with the aim to gather information for *qiaoxiang* studies: questions were asked on type of employment abroad, amount of money remitted to the family at home, on the type of relation maintained with the family and the home town, and so on. The interview materials are referred to as '*interviews*'.

(home towns²) in China. Since the beginning of China's policies of reform and opening up to the outside world in 1978, Jinjiang's economy developed rapidly to become one of the richest and most developed in present-day China's rural areas: only a few counties in the Pearl River Deltacanmatch it. Jinjiang's development depended largely on its emigrants overseas; through their activity Jinjiang became involved in international business networks; from them it received investments, learned advanced techniques and methods of management, and even received raw materials and access to overseas markets. However, only sixteen years ago, Jinjiang was poorer than most other counties in China (JXX, 1994: 6).³ Surprisingly, the splendid position of Jinjiang nowadays is the same as in the 1930s, when it was called 'the richest county in China'.

The backgrounds of emigration from Jinjiang

Jinjiang county, including Quanzhou,⁴ is situated on the coast of Southeast Fujian. Jinjiang is rocky and impoverished, by its limited supply of flat land and its mountainous geography. Livelihood is based on agriculture, fishing and overseas trade. People had for a thousand years made all, or part of, their livelihood from the sea. In the historical literature Jinjiang's overseas trade can be traced to the end of sixth century.⁵ From the Song and Yuan periods (960-1368) onwards, people sailed overseas for trade in an endless stream. Although a number of Jinjiang people emigrated overseas because of the disas-

² In this article, the term 'home town' may refer to Jinjiang as a whole, or to one of its villages or towns.

³ In 1978, the average income in Jinjiang was 168 *yuan* (in 1978, 1 US\$ was about 3.5 *yuan*); national average income was 303 *yuan*.

⁴ Quanzhou has been the capital of Jinjiang county until 1952. In this paper, all mentions about Jinjiang before 1952 include Quanzhou.

⁵ At the beginning of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 581-618), Lin Zhifei from Dongshi village in South Jinjiang sailed to Borneo (*Xishan Zazhi*, vol.3).

ter of war or for trade before the 18th century,⁶ there was hardly any overseas community of Jinjiang people. The most famous overseas Chinese community was Parian in Manila; most inhabitants here came from Haicheng County near Zhangzhou (*Haicheng Xianzhi*, vol. 8: 20).

Their long history of overseas voyages made that the Jinjiang people kept up the spirit of taking risks overseas. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Chinese junks, which dominated the South China trade, were mostly owned by Fujianese. Among them were many Jinjiang people. They were more sea-conscious than people from other parts of China. At the same time when the Dutch were called the carters at sea of Europe, the people from Jinjiang were called the carters at sea of China.

For many clans and villages in Jinjiang, going abroad is a tradition. It is not rare for families to have had their members emigrate overseas for several generations. Going abroad is not only a way for improving economic status or escaping disaster, but it is also a tradition, a way of life of, like the ancestors, taking risks to seek fortune. Although traditional China was a class society, where the intellectuals were highest and the merchants were lowest, in Jinjiang society the merchants, particularly the successful merchants, did not feel inferior to the scholars nor were they lower in social status. Up to the present-day the tradition of seeking fortune abroad has always encouraged Jinjiang people to emigrate overseas.

Large-scale overseas emigration from Jinjiang started from the second half of the 19th century onwards. It was motivated largely by population pressure. As early as the beginning of the 17th century population pressure

had already been a problem for livelihood. The population in Jinjiang was about 160,000, with cultivated fields of 330,000 *mu* (*Fujian Tongzhi, Shihuo Zhi*, vol. 12: 11-12). It is said that 3 to 4 *mu* per person was needed to keep a normal standard of living in 16th-19th century rural China. At the end of the 16th century Xu Fuyan, the Fujian governor, presented a memorial against the court policy of prohibiting travel overseas: 'Coastal Fujian is densely populated, the fields are far from sufficient to make a livelihood' (Shu-tong Haijin Shu, vol. 400: 8). Up to the 1830s, the population grew rapidly and amounted to about 800,000 (791,026 in 1829) (*Fujian Tongzhi, Shihuo Zhi*, vol. 21: 6-12). The tradition of taking risks overseas, over-population and the poor quality of the land pushed the people from Jinjiang to favor a maritime orientation and to seek opportunities elsewhere. Jinjiang people started to emigrate overseas in an endless stream from the 18th century onwards. Before 1893, overseas emigration was considered illegal by the laws of the Ming and Qing courts. However overseas emigration has never stopped. Gao Qizuo, the governor-general of Fujian and Zhejiang presented a memorial to the court in 1727 and described the scale of illegal emigration, which ranged from 200 to 500 persons for each ship sailing out.⁷

In the 18th century, the main destinations for Jinjiang emigration were Taiwan and Java. From the 19th century onwards, the

⁶ For example, in the period of Koxinga (in the mid-17th century) Qing troops and Koxinga's fought each other on the coast of Southeast Fujian for decades. A number of Jinjiang people escaped to Taiwan and Southeast Asia, particularly to the Philippines (*Jinjiang Lishi Zupu*, and other clan records).

⁷ His memory was as follows: 'When the commercial ships set sail recently, each of the ships reported to the authorities that it carried 60-80 passengers, including the merchants and the crew. Actually each of the ships carried 200-300 passengers. As they arrived at their overseas destinations, the illegal passengers stayed there and didn't return with the ships. There were even some rapacious shipowners, who dared to carry some 500 passengers and only a little cargo in a ship. They charged more than ten taels of silver for each of passengers.' (*Zhupi Yuzhi*, vol. 46: 37-38).

Philippines became the main destination.⁸

In the early 20th century tangled fighting between warlords, as well as the evil of banditry, also became a motivation to push Jinjiang people into escape to Southeast Asia. In 1913, the troops of the northern warlords (*beiyang junfa*) entered Fujian in order to dominate Fujian affairs. Meanwhile, the Cantonese warlords and later the Guomindang organized the southern troops and went into Fujian for the same purpose. Local powers in Fujian thereupon organized the so-called *minjun* (people's armies) in the name of 'local self-protection'. For some twelve years South Fujian became the main battlefield between the northern and southern warlords, and the local powers for the domination of Fujian. All these armies seized able-bodied men to become soldiers, collected military provisions, and plundered towns and villages. When one of the armies was defeated, the soldiers and officers were scattered and the majority of them became bandits. Robbing and kidnapping became endemic in Jinjiang. Going abroad turned out to be the best way to escape from the fighting between the warlords and from banditry. In 1920, some 40 young men from Chaokeng village in Shishi escaped from military conscription and went to the Philippines. In 1923, 80 per cent of the inhabitants from Chaodai, a village in Jinjing town in South Jinjiang, went to the Nanyang in order to avoid the disturbance of banditry (*interviews*). During the first two decades of this century almost every village in Jinjiang had people going abroad for safety reasons.

The spirit of overseas adventure which was based upon tradition and a strong sea consciousness, over-population and the poor quality of the land, and the insecurity of local society, constituted together the 'push fac-

tors' for overseas emigration since the second half of the 19th century.

On the other hand, there also existed strong 'pull factors' of immigration into Southeast Asia since the 19th century. Western expansion in the Far East following the Industrial Revolution in Europe resulted in an expanding Southeast Asian market and an increasing demand for cheap labor in mines and various kinds of plantations. The Chinese in the region were able to meet this demand by bringing in their countrymen in increasingly large numbers. During the period 1840-1940 some eight million Chinese immigrated into Southeast Asia. Most of the Chinese immigrants, particularly those who emigrated as coolies, were penniless and remained frustrated throughout their entire life abroad. However, a number of Chinese immigrants became successful merchants and got rich in pace with the growth of the Southeast Asian economy.

Unlike the emigrants from other regions in Southeast China, Jinjiang emigrants, most of whom went to the Philippines, worked more as businessmen than as laborers in Southeast Asia, particularly in the Philippines. Very soon after they migrated to the Philippines they became peddlers, shopkeepers, *sari-sari* store owners and general merchants, and some of them later succeeded as lumbermen, import-exporters and bankers. In the 1930s, the Chinese dominated the retail trade and a large percentage of the internal commerce of the islands (Purcell, 1980: 540). Many Jinjiang Chinese in the Philippines got rich in less than ten years. Mr. Cai Teqian from Anhui went to Manila at the beginning of the 1920s, and worked as an odd-job man in a candle factory. After working hard for several years he set up his own candle factories and became a millionaire (Wu, 1994: 29). Mr. Yang Sunlai and his son started a business in local produce in Luzon and owned more than thirty stores in the 1920s. Mr. Yang even bought steamers for regular navigation between Manila and Xiamen.⁹ Mr. Chen Qingji, the first

⁹ Interview with Yang Jinde, a distant nephew of Yang Sunlai, 65 years old at the time of the interview.

⁸ According to an investigation of tens of clan records made by the Nanyang Research Institute in the 1950s, of 326 family members who emigrated overseas since 1800, 170 went to the Philippines, 26 went to Malaya, 20 to Indonesia, 90 to Vietnam, 10 to Thailand and 5 to Burma; the destinations of another 5 families were not clear.

famous investor in Fujian *qiaoxiang* at the beginning of this century, earned his property in no more than ten years by dealing in groceries in Japan (Wu, 1994: 29). In the 1930s, there were some one hundred successful overseas merchants from Jinjiang. Each of them owned capital or property from hundreds of thousands to millions of *yuan* (Wu, 1994: 142-221; *interviews*; *Jinjiang Huaqiao Archives*).

As we know, chain-migration was the most popular pattern of Chinese overseas emigration. This pattern of emigration was determined by social traditions at home which stressed communal rather than individualistic endeavor. It was obligatory for the Jinjiang people abroad to help their families, relatives or friends to go to their new country of residence. Quite frequently, the father's brothers were instrumental in making possible the emigration of their brothers' sons to the Nanyang. When one brother did well abroad, he would call for his brothers, and they would assist one another in this venture. When all the members of a family moved abroad, then it was the turn of their relatives and friends. Each of the immigrants has the duty to help those to emigrate who are related to him by blood or origin from the same village. These successful merchants not only set the example for their families and townsfolk in seeking their fortune abroad, which encouraged more people to take the risk of travelling overseas, but they also played an important role in organizing or assisting emigration. When a merchant was successful abroad, he would extend his benefits back along the lines of his social ties to his place of origin. He would not only send money home, but he would also make it possible for his own kinfolk and his townsfolk or village friends together with him to spread opportunities as widely as possible. Merchants were better able than poor people to pay the cost of trips for new emigrants, to offer a temporary lodging and to give or introduce jobs to them. The new emigrants, in return, kept a loyalty or confidence to their helpers, and worked for a lower wage for the helpers if they were also the employers.

Successful merchants played a key role in

chain-migration. Among the emigrants to the Philippines from the village of Mr. Cai mentioned above, about 70 per cent received his help for their trip. Mr. Yang and his son, mentioned above, set up a *langbang chu* (lodging place), and offered lodging and food to the townsfolk who were newcomers; each of them could even get 6 dollars (pesos; 1 peso was about 0.5 us\$) per month. Through his help more than six hundred people from his village arrived in Manila (*interviews*). Mr. Jiang Beiqiu from Shuduo village, who emigrated as a coolie to Indonesia, got rich and helped more than one thousand people from his village to go to Surabaya (*interviews*). In the 1930s, the following statement applied to any Chinese who emigrated from Jinjiang to the Philippines: 'Anybody who leaves his home for Luzon can easily find someone who is also from Jinjiang and who is close to him. Irrespective of whether he is rich or poor, he can't refuse to help in one way or another' (*interviews*).

The Jinjiang Chinese associations abroad are also an important pull factor for emigration. Most research on Chinese associations abroad pays particular attention to their economic functions. As soon as Chinese social organizations are established, they are used by Chinese to create networks of information, credit, employees and commerce. These networks, of course, play a very important role in Chinese economic life, particularly in the trading business based on extended credit. In the case of Jinjiang, I would like to stress here the functions of the Chinese associations for emigration.

Most of the Overseas Chinese associations are based on lineages or areas of origin, which all relate to the home town. In my interviews I have found that many associations abroad which are based upon lineages are tied to similar organizations or groups in the home town, irrespective of whether they are formally established or not. Therefore, the Jinjiang Chinese usually regard their associations abroad as an extension of their home town. For such an association to maintain close relations with the home town is not only a means of propaganda, but also a way to

prove its legitimacy to its members. Because the Chinese go abroad in a pattern of chain-migration, newcomers often settle down in the old emigrants' communities or maintain close relations with them. Therefore, the newcomers become part of the community on which the association is based, or they become new members of the association. In this way the association can extend its base and its influence in Chinese society. Because emigration from the home town was very important for maintaining relations between overseas communities and home towns, many Chinese associations, particularly the small ones – organized at the county level or below – stimulated emigration.

The first Pan-Fujianese association (*Fujian Huiguan*) was probably founded in Malaca in 1801. By the middle of this century Pan-Fujianese organizations, in which Jinjiang people played an active role, had been established in the main areas of Southeast Asia. The first Pan-Jinjiang association (*Jinjiang Huiguan*) was founded in Pulau Pinang in 1919. In 1930, Pan-Jinjiang associations had been founded in Singapore, Malaya and the Philippines. However, most Jinjiang associations are small and find themselves at county-level or below, e.g. township (*xiang*) and village (*cun*). These small associations, particularly in the Philippines, were founded even earlier; they also played more important roles in emigration than the larger ones (for lists of small associations based on lineage and place of origin in the Philippines up to the 1930s, see tables 1 and 2).

These small associations, usually under the leadership of rich merchants, always offered lodging to newcomers from their home town. The newcomers could get jobs through the associations' business networks, and, if necessary, have a guarantee from them. As association members, newcomers had opportunities for upward mobility. All of my interviewees confirmed that they had been helped to a greater or lesser extent by an association, or by its members.

It is interesting to find that the Philippine Chinese from Jinjiang founded many more associations, and that they usually had many

Table 1. Jinjiang associations based on lineage in the Philippines (1930s).¹⁰

<i>Association name</i>	<i>Year of establishment</i>	<i>Surname</i>
Youweitang Zongtang	1908	Chen
Xihe Lin Zongqin Zonghui	1908	Lin
Rangde Wu Zongqin Zonghui	1908	Wu
Lipu Tang	1911	Si
Hongnong Zongqin Zonghui	1915	Yang
Taiyuan Wang Zongqin Zonghui	1922	Wang
Jinxiu Zhuang Zongqin Zonghui	1929	Zhuang
Jiangxia Wang Zongqin Zonghui	1930	Wang
Longxi Li Zongqin Zonghui	1933	Li
Xu Zongqin Zonghui	1936	Xu
Su Zongqin Zonghui	1937	Su
Fenyang Guo Zongqin Zonghui	1938	Guo

Zongqin Zonghui (General Lineage Association)
Source: Wu, 1994:66-67; Jinjiang Huaqiao Archives.

more opportunities to engage in business than Chinese from other regions in any other country. According to an investigation by the Colony Taxes Office, about 100,000 Chinese in the Philippines owned 8,455 retail stores and 3,335 wholesale stores. I believe that half of these stores were owned by Jinjiangese.¹¹

¹⁰ The associations from before the 1930s in this table are all single-surname organizations. Since the 1940s, several multi-surname associations appeared, often called *Lian Zong* ('Allied Clans') (Wu, 1994: 75-76; Amyot, 1973: 87-89; *Jinjiang Huaqiao Archives*).

¹¹ In the 1930s, Fujianese amounted to about 80 per cent of the population of Philippine Chinese; the other 20 per cent were mostly from Guangdong. The economic position of the Fujianese was usually better than that of the Cantonese. The Jinjiangese made up about 50 per cent of the Philippine Fujianese; they were usually richer than the others from Fujian.

Table 2. Jinjiang associations in the Philippines based on town or village (1930s).

<i>Association Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Year of establishment</i>	<i>Town (T) or Village (V) of origin</i>
Xibin TXH*	Manila	1910	V.
Xingtian TXH	Manila	1919	V.
Yuli TXH	Manila	1920	V.
Weijiang TXZH	Manila	1922	V.
Cebu branch TXH of Weijiang TXZH	Cebu	1922	V.
Fuquan TXH	Manila	1924	V.
Shenfu TXZH	Manila	1926	T.
Kuanren TXH	Manila	1928	V.
Yanta TXH	Manila	1928	V.
Jindong TXH	Manila	1928	V.
Qingmeng TXH	Manila	1930	V.
Rongjing TXH	Manila	1931	V.
Yangdi TXH	Manila	1931	V.
Longxie TXH	Manila	1933	V.
Jinfeng TXH	Manila	1933	V.
Yongning TXH	Manila	1934	T.
Hankou TXH	Manila	1934	V.
Qianjiang TXH	Manila	1934	V.
Jinshang of Cushang TXH	Manila	1934	V.
Yinghua TXH	Manila	1935	V.
Chendai TXH	Manila	1935	T.
Liujiang TXH	Manila	1935	V.
Hongshan in Wufu TXH	Manila	1935	V.
Feihua SiXiang Hui	Manila	1935	V.
Nanxiamei TXH	Manila	1937	V.
Gaokeng TXH	Manila	1937	V.
Jintang TXH	Manila	1937	V.
Huafeng TXH	Manila	1937	V.
Shati TXH	Manila	1937	V.

TXH: Tongxiang Hui (Home Townsfolk Association)

TXZH: Tongxiang Zonghui (General Home Townsfolk Association)

Source: see table 1.

Reasons for close relations with the home town

In the present century, the overseas Jinjiang people, particularly in the Philippines, kept much closer relations with their home town than the other Overseas Chinese, until these relations were much weakened by China's closed-door policy during the 1950s-1970s.¹²

The fact that Jinjiang had closer overseas relations, particularly with the Philippines, can be explained in terms of geographical, economic and sociological factors.

Geographically, the Philippine archipelago is the nearest region in Southeast Asia for Jinjiang emigrants. From Manila to Xiamen (*Amoy*) or Dongshi, the main harbor of Jinjiang, the distance is hardly 675 miles. In the period of the Chinese junks, it was only some seven days' direct voyage with a following wind from Xiamen to Manila. In the steamer period this voyage was shortened to only about sixty hours. The easier and cheaper trip between sojourning place and home town undoubtedly encouraged the choice of Manila as the first destination of emigration for the Jinjiang people, and it is one important reason why the Philippine Chinese came back home much more frequently than the other Chinese from Fujian in Southeast Asia.

Economically, most Chinese from Jinjiang in the Philippines kept a higher economic position than the other Overseas Chinese. Their purpose in seeking their fortune overseas was to return home to enjoy a life of ease, but the proportion of emigrants who eventually returned to China is very small. However, they retained their emotional attachment to the home town. Theoretically, any Chinese emigrant had a duty to make contributions, especially financial, to his home town and relatives. In practice, only the

¹² Since the end of the 1970s, as China carried out its open-door policy, close relations were restored on a big scale. Although large-scale overseas emigration stopped, other relations, such as those based upon business, investments, culture, education and exchange visits, became closer than ever. Influences from the Overseas Chinese on the home town can nowadays be felt in every corner of Jinjiang.

Table 3. Sex ratio of Chinese in Southeast Asia by 1930.

Region	Year	Females	Males	Sex ratio
Indochina	1921	101,390	184,320	1:1.8
Malaya and Singapore	1931	570,261	1,134,191	1:2
Dutch East Indies	1930	474,231	758,769	1:1.6
Philippines	1933	12,584	59,054	1:4.7

Source: Purcell, 1980: 179, 224, 234, 386-87, 505

rich could fulfill this responsibility. Through remittances, they were able to come and go more frequently, and maintain a higher level of investment and donations, and closer relations than the poor ones.

Sociologically, most emigrants from Jinjiang to the Philippines were male; until the 1930s, they kept their families in the home town. In 1899, there were only 2,000 Chinese females among the 22,000-23,000 Chinese in Manila. In 1918, the proportion of Chinese females to males was about 1:13 (3,098 females and 40,699 males) (Purcell, 1980: 504). Sojourning was characteristic of most of pre-20th century Chinese emigration to Southeast Asia as a whole. Shortly after 1900 more women began to emigrate to join male family members in Southeast Asia; this became a wave in the 1920s. By the beginning of the 1930s, the proportion of Chinese females to males began to go into equilibrium in all of Southeast Asia, except for the Philippines (see table 3).

In many instances the Philippine Chinese from Jinjiang maintained wives and children in their home town, which resulted in dual families. It was not uncommon for the emigrant to take a second wife in the Philippines and have mestizo children. However, the emphasis was upon the family in the home town; the family in the Philippines or other countries in Southeast Asia was largely a convenience and a local business asset. In the mind of Jinjiang Chinese in the 1930s, only the family and children in the home town were legitimate. Their wives kept in Southeast Asia were called 'barbarian women', and the mestizo children were called 'barbarian boys'. They were all considered as alien according to traditional ideas, and even by the emigrants themselves. These traditional ideas persisted until large-scale emigration stopped after 1949.

Because of the particular factors mentioned above, the Jinjiang emigrants, most of them in the Philippines, kept much closer relations with their home town than the other Overseas Chinese from Fujian. This can be shown by the frequency of the Chinese visits from the Philippines to the home towns (see table 4).

The impact of Overseas Chinese activity on Jinjiang society

The impact of the Overseas Chinese on Jinjiang society in the 1930s was all-embracing, ranging from politics, economy, culture and education, to language, habits and even lifestyle. Here I will only treat the impact on the economy, education and politics.

Table 4. Numbers of Overseas Fujianese leaving and entering China through Xiamen, 1935-1940.

Year	Singapore		Java		Luzon		Sumatra		Vietnam	
	in	out	in	out	in	out	in	out	in	out
1935	22,137	15,135	6,171	7,585	11,935	9,883	1,811	727	74	91
1936	22,129	17,020	5,952	7,343	15,945	10,499	1,869	1,626	197	256
1937	34,138	12,518	7,643	4,986	16,509	8,961	1,750	954	657	853
1938	13,230	8,063	5,776	2,074	13,668	4,742	954	1,078	419	470

Source: Fujiansheng Dang'anguan, 1990: 147

Table 5. Distribution of Overseas Fujianese in 1939.

Vietnam	81,500	Malaya and	
Dutch		Singapore	980,386
East Indies	806,885	Philippines	88,400
Siam	625,000	Burma	77,438
North Borneo	27,214	other*	143,098
<i>total</i>		2,829,921	

Source: Zheng, 1940: 110.

* Other countries include Taiwan, Japan, Hong Kong, et-cetera

Economically, remittances are the most important contribution of the Overseas Chinese to Jinjiang society. Almost all the remittances to Fujian were sent to Xiamen, and then distributed to each of the counties. It has been estimated that the number of Overseas Fujianese in the various countries of East and Southeast Asia amounted to 2,829,921 persons in 1939 (see table 5).

The Overseas Fujianese in Indochina, Burma and Siam sent much less in remittances to the home town than those in the other regions. Most remittances were sent

Table 6. Amount of remittances to China, 1929-1938; 1000s of *yuan**

<i>Year</i>	<i>China</i>	<i>Fujian</i>	<i>Jinjiang**</i>
1929	280,000	57,952	
1930	316,300	64,100	13,750
1931	421,200	76,820	13,668
1932	323,500	53,182	11,622
1933	305,700	51,274	11,550
1934	232,800	46,368	9,328
1935	316,000	54,805	9,053
1936	320,000	62,356	13,590
1937	450,000	61,000	8,837
1938	600,000	74,857	18,390

Sources: Zheng, 1940: 97, 107.

* During the period 1920-1932, 1 US\$ was 1.92 *yuan* on average.

** There are no statistics on remittances to Jinjiang for the period 1920-1929

Table 7. Remittances to Xiamen from the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya and Singapore, Vietnam, Burma, and Siam, 1936-1938 (in *yuan*)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Philippines</i>	<i>Dutch East Indies</i>	<i>Malaya and Singapore</i>
	<i>total average*</i>	<i>total average</i>	<i>total average</i>
1936	19,000,000	215 8,744,437	11 26,441,091
1937	18,628,421	211 5,340,438	6.7 28,808,827
1938	17,131,047	194 8,462,919	10 22,892,466

	<i>Vietnam</i>	<i>Burma</i>	<i>Siam</i>
	<i>total average</i>	<i>total average</i>	<i>total average</i>
1936	331,380	4 1,027,632	13 110,460
1937	554,250	6.8 1,145,715	15 132,620
1938	245,673	3 821,360	10.6 122,569

Source: Zheng, 1940: 105.

* This is the average amount of remittances per overseas Fujianese, based on statistics for the population of Fujian in 1939

from the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya, and Singapore. The total amount of remittances to Jinjiang in the 1920s and 1930s was much larger than the amount sent to other areas in South China (see tables 6 and 7).

Besides the remittances coming in through banks and post offices, the Overseas Chinese carried a lot of cash on them when they came back home, to cover the expenses in their home town. According to an estimate from the 1930s,¹³ each of the Chinese passengers from the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies brought back home about 150 *yuan* on average; about 200 *yuan* was brought in by the Chinese from Malaya and Singapore. This means that in this manner some 7-8,000,000 *yuan* flowed into Fujian (see table 8).

In 1939, about 80 per cent of the 88,400

¹³ By the *Xiamen Qiaowu Ju, Churuguo Chu* [The Xiamen Office for Chinese Overseas Affairs, Emigration and Immigration Department] (Zheng, 1940: 42-44).

Table 9. Highway traffic companies owned by Overseas Jinjiangese, 1919-1931.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Company</i>	<i>Investor</i>	<i>Sojourning country</i>	<i>Length (km)</i>	<i>Capital (silver\$)</i>
1919	Quan An	Cheng Qingji	Japan	109	1,130,000
1923	Quan We	Li Qingquan and others	Philippines	47	200,000
1927	Xi An	Lin Qingji Xu Jingquan	Indonesia	34	250,000
1928	Shi Dong	Cai Xiaoren	Philippines	22	120,000
1929	Shi Pu	Xu Yijun Xu Guowei	Philippines	4	18,000
1931	Shi Yong Han	Cai Peiqing	Philippines	20	200,000
Total:				236	1,958,000

Source: Jinjiang Huaqiao Archives

Philippine Chinese were Fujianese; among them, the Jinjiang people accounted for about 50 per cent, or 35,000 persons (FZM, 1940: 43). If we assume that the average yearly amount, during the period 1935-1937, of remittances, and the money brought back was constant during the 1930s, then the Philippine Fujianese sent back yearly 18,554,023 *yuan* (16,709,473 *yuan* of remittances plus 1,874,550 *yuan* personally brought in), or 210 *yuan* per capita during the 1930s. This makes 11,230,000 *yuan* per year for Jinjiang, since at least 40 per cent of this amount went to Jin

Table 8. Money brought into Xiamen by Overseas Chinese, 1935-1938.

<i>Years</i>	<i>Number of people</i>	<i>money (in yuan)</i>
1935	9,883	1,482,450
1936	10,499	1,574,850
1937	16,509	2,476,350
1938*	3,204	480,600

Source: Zheng, 1940: 43.

* In the summer of 1938 Xiamen was occupied by the Japanese Army; for this reason the Chinese dared not return home through Xiamen

jiang.¹⁴ In 1935, the population of Jinjiang numbered 669,785, or 133,957 families (FZM, 1932: 68), which means that each family in Jinjiang received 84 *yuan* per year from abroad. In the rural areas of South China the normal cost of living for a family was only about 150 *yuan*, so that the money sent by the Overseas Chinese covered more than 50 per cent of the living expenses of the total population in this county. The remittances and investments from abroad made Jinjiang the richest county in China in the 1930s. Only two villages in the suburbs of the national capital, Nanjing, could have competed with it.

Investments were another major contribution by the Overseas Chinese to the Jinjiang economy. Almost all the modern enterprises in Jinjiang were established by Overseas Chinese. Normally speaking, Overseas Chinese investment in China was aimed at maximizing profits. Therefore, Xiamen attracted much more Jinjiang capital from abroad than Jinjiang itself. During the 1920s and 1930s, in order to maximize profits,

¹⁴ The amount of money brought to Jinjiang by Overseas Chinese includes only that from the Philippines. There must have been some money, but not too much, brought back to Jinjiang by Chinese from the Dutch East Indies, Singapore and Malaya.

Jinjiangese abroad invested large amounts of capital in industry, commerce and real estate in Xiamen, which was the most important port in the province, and the economic center of South Fujian. Investment in Jinjiang was to a greater or lesser extent related to the home town's public welfare, or providing for private convenience after the return home.

The most significant investment from abroad in Jinjiang was in highway communication. In 1913, Mr. Chen Qingji, who was born in Anhui and had gotten rich in Japan, set up a motor vehicle and highway company in Anhui; this company achieved no results in the years after. In 1919, he established another firm, the Quan(zhou)-An(hai) Traffic Company, and, in 1922, built the first highway from his home town to Quanzhou; he was the first in Jinjiang to use a motorized vehicle in public traffic. This highway was also the first highway built by private capital in Fujian province. Up to 1931, a primary network of highways was constructed in Jinjiang; all of the 16 highways were built by Overseas Chinese capital (see table 9).

In 1932-33, Mr. Chen Qingji, together with other Overseas Chinese, built a pier of 60 metres in Dongshi. In 1946, the Weitou Tongxiang Hui (Weitou Home Townsfolk Association) in Manila collected money to purchase boats for voyages between Weitou and Xiamen. In 1916, the first electric light company was organized by the Overseas Chinese in Quanzhou, which marked the beginning of the use of electric power in Jinjiang. In the next decade the Overseas Chinese organized electric light companies one after another in their home towns, such as Qingyang, Yonglin, Shishi, Jinjing, etc. (*Jinjiang Huaqiao Archives*). On the investments in public traffic and the electric sector, into which the Overseas Chinese put large amounts of capital, little profit was made, or even losses. They were not so much aimed at making profits, as providing for their financiers' own convenience after their return to their home town. However, these investments greatly promoted the development of transport, commerce and even light industry in Jinjiang.

As early as 1889, the Overseas Chinese be-

gan to engage in commerce in their home town. In this year, Mr. Cai Ding from Luzon came back to his home town Anhui, and set up a cloth store (Wu, 1994: 94). Up to the 1930s, more than a hundred stores and trading companies were set up by the Overseas Chinese. These stores spread over all the towns of Jinjiang, each of them with a capital of thousands or tens of thousands of *yuan* (*Jinjiang Huaqiao Archives*). The overseas investments in industry began as late as 1931 in Dongshi, where Mr. Cai Zhenghuan from Luzon invested 150 thousand *yuan* to set up a textile mill. In the next year another textile mill was set up there with 120 thousand *yuan*, by Mr. Zhang Xunshen from Indonesia. In 1935, three dyeing mills were set up, also in Dongshi, by people from Malaya and Singapore. Through these overseas investments, Dongshi became the main industrial center of Jinjiang before 1949, and remained so even after that year. In 1931-37, overseas investments involved the sectors of cigarette making, winery, ceramics, grain milling, soy sauce-making, etc..

The Jinjiang Overseas Chinese investments in commerce and industry in the home town was not as large as their investments in Fuzhou or Xiamen. In 1929, Mr. Li Qingquan, who was born in Jinjiang and became a successful entrepreneur in Luzon, and others from Manila, collected one million *pesos* to build a paper mill in Fuzhou, the provincial capital. In that same year he and his colleagues collected two million *yuan* to set up a bank in Xiamen (Lin and Zhuang, 1985: 154).

The overseas money flowing into Jinjiang through remittances, cash carriers, and investments stimulated the prosperity of industry, commerce and communications, which resulted in a change of the labor and income structure. Many laborers left agriculture for commerce, the service industries, and manufacturing. In the 1930s, about 50 per cent of labor was engaged in Jinjiang's non-agricultural sector, while 83 per cent of labor on average was kept in agriculture in the whole province, including counties and cities (see table 10). As to the income structure, family income from agriculture was 17.1 per cent in

Table 10. Male labor structure in Jinjiang, 1936.

Jobs:	Agri- culture	Industry & service	Fishing	Com- merce	Others
100%:	48	18.6	2.3	20.2	10.9

Source: JX, 1964: 26-28

Jinjiang in 1936, but 69 per cent on average in the whole province.¹⁵

The Overseas Chinese were the founders of modern education in Jinjiang. No other sector has drawn so much money from Overseas Chinese. It has been a tradition for the Chinese abroad, personal or in associations, poor or rich, to donate for education in the home town. Most Chinese associations abroad have welfare programs for the aid of their home districts. Programs for the improvement of education have always been prominent. In 1905, Mr. Jiang Baoqi from Indonesia set up an elementary school in his village, the first in Jinjiang. From then on, many Overseas Chinese spent a lot of money on education in their home town. In 1928, the first middle school was set up by Mr. Gui Huashan and Mr. Cai Deyuan from the Philippines. Up to 1933, there were 120 primary schools and 8 middle schools, 45 per cent of which were set up and managed by Overseas Chinese. The other schools were subsidized, to a greater or lesser extent, by Overseas

¹⁵ In the 1930s, the movement of labor from agricultural to non-agricultural occupations had gone quite far. After 1949, labor had to move back to agriculture as overseas relations were almost cut off. In 1978, 84 per cent of labor was in agriculture, and 61 per cent of income still was from agriculture. After 1978, the movement of labor to non-agricultural occupations started again as overseas relations were restored. In 1993, only 10 per cent of labor, mostly elderly men working part-time, was engaged in agricultural work. Meanwhile, some 300,000 laborers from other counties or provinces, almost equal in number to the local labor force, flowed into Jinjiang, and worked in factories or in the service sector. At present, only 6 per cent of income is from agriculture. Jinjiang exports more than 50 per cent of its gross product.

Chinese. Of all the 474,000 *yuan* of educational funds in Jinjiang in 1935, the Overseas Chinese donated 434,000 *yuan*; the government's financial allocation was only 30,000 *yuan* (FHBW, 1992: 216). The fanatical donations by Overseas Chinese for the education in their home town has lasted up to the present, except for a few years during the period of the 'Cultural Revolution'. Nowadays every school in Jinjiang is subsidized by Overseas Chinese. Sometimes there was such competition to provide these subsidies among Overseas Chinese or their associations, that it resulted in subsidizing beyond the real needs in some places.

Overseas Chinese donations to welfare programs covered all public facilities in Jinjiang. In the 1930s, all the hospitals, stadiums, libraries, cinemas, bridges and roads were built or subsidized by Overseas Chinese.

The Overseas Chinese, by their economic strength and their emotional ties to the home town, paid particular attention to the political situation there. The case of the 'Movement for Saving Home Towns' in the 1920s and early 1930s shows how deeply the Overseas Chinese were involved in their home towns' politics.

As mentioned above, during the 1920s, South Fujian became a battlefield for warlords who fought each other for the power to rule Fujian. Social control broke down and the people of *qiaoxiang* areas had no means of living. On 17 October 1920, the leading Philippine Chinese Wu Kecheng (Rafael Go-tauro), and Zheng Huancai, both born in Jinjiang, and Li Wenxu held a meeting in Gulangyu Island in Xiamen, for the informal discussion of home town affairs. Many leading figures in the Chinese communities of Southeast Asia were invited to participate in this meeting. At the meeting they reached the conclusion that the only way to save their home towns was that in Fujian, or in South Fujian, local self-governement would be installed. In 1924, the Nanyang Minqiao Jiuxiang Hui (Association of the Southeast Asian Fujianese for Saving their Home Towns) was organized in Manila, and its members spread wherever the Fujianese lived in Southeast

Asia. Mr. Li Qingquan (Dee C. Ch'uan), also from Jinjiang, was elected as president, and Xue Minlao (Albino Sycip) from Xiamen as vice-president. This association pursued five goals: a) restore social security by proper means; b) promote elementary construction and maintain permanent peace; c) develop production and improve people's living standards; d) maintain relations with other social organizations and cooperate with them to strive for local welfare; e) cultivate moral integrity and stimulate the spirit of sacrifice (NWZB, 1986: 35-37). Unlike other Chinese associations, the Jiuxiang Hui's purpose was only to serve the interests of their home towns. More interesting were its methods of pursuing its goals. From beginning to end in the Movement for Saving Home Towns the Jiuxiang Hui kept up strong pressure on the national and provincial authorities to achieve its goals. In 1925, Li Qingquan and the Jiuxiang Hui sent a telegram to the Peking government and the Fujianese authorities, and urged them to dispatch troops to suppress the bandit army headed by Chen Guohui. In response to these demands, the Peking government ordered Fujian's governor to send troops and attack Chen's troops; these were defeated, but not totally pacified. In 1927, when the Nanking government was set up, Mr. Li Qingquan urged Chiang Kai-shek, the president of the Nanking government, to pacify the bandits in Fujian. But Chiang did nothing because the war between the Nanking government and the warlords of Guangxi was about to start. In 1931, Mr. Li and the Philippine Chinese Chamber of Commerce appealed to Chiang, asking him to dispatch the 19th Route Army to Fujian and preside over provincial affairs. The 19th Route Army was well-known for its determined fighting against the Japanese, when the latter invaded Shanghai in 1931. But it was not directly controlled and favored by Chiang. Chiang, however, agreed to the demand of the Philippine Chinese, and sent these troops into Fujian. Urged by the Overseas Chinese, the 19th Route Army suppressed Chen Guohui's bandits and executed Chen. Meanwhile, the Overseas Chinese col-

lected a lot of money in Southeast Asia for the 19th Route Army. In April 1933, a committee called the *Guofang Mujuan Weiyuanhui* (Committee for the Collection of Donations for National Defence) was organized in Manila, promoted by the Philippine Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Cai Tingkai and Jiang Guangnai, both heads of the 19th Route Army, and Mr. Li Qingquan were all honorary members of this committee. The committee appealed to Chinese society for contributions to Fujian's national defence (*Fujian Guofang Juan*). The Philippine Chinese donated some US\$ 800,000 to the 19th Route Army. After the failure of self-government in Fujian, which was established and dominated by the 19th Route Army, the Overseas Chinese still kept their attention to the political situation in South Fujian. Eduardo Co-seteng, a famous Philippine Chinese businessman, was promoted by the Overseas Chinese to be nominated as mayor of Xiamen in 1933-34 (Tan, 1972: 302-03).

The Overseas Chinese were involved deeply in home town politics before 1949. They concerned themselves with everything happening in their home towns; this varied from involvement in the local administration through constant contacts with higher-level governments, to mediation in inter-village lineage feuding.

Conclusion

From the beginning of this century to the 1930s, Overseas Chinese exerted a stronger influence on Jinjiang than on any other *qiaoxiang* in China. It is the Overseas Chinese, to a great extent, who determined the orientation and process of social development in Jinjiang. Because of their better economic position and stronger identification with their home town, the Philippine Chinese played a most active role in their overseas and home town societies. Overseas Chinese financial resources formed the *qiaoxiang*'s economic basis on which cultural, educational and welfare programs, as well as modern business enterprise could be de-

veloped. Since the time when the Overseas Chinese looked upon their countries of residence as their permanent home, and large-scale emigration had become impossible, *qiaoxiang* ties decreased in value. However, China's open-door policy since the end of the 1970s became a new motive force for reviving the close relations between the Overseas Chinese and their *qiaoxiang*. As soon as China's new economic policy started to be carried out, the Overseas Chinese acted as pioneers from the outside world, and penetrated China's markets, in which their *qiaoxiang* were the first point of debarkation. By offering starting funds and acting as mediators between overseas and domestic markets, the Overseas Chinese played again an important, even decisive role in their *qiaoxiang*'s economic development, even though it differed from their role during the 1930s.

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