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**Oral History 436-12**  
**From Far East to Old West Collection**  
**Interviewee: Liping Zhu**  
**Interviewer: unknown**  
**Helena, MT • July 22, 1998**

I'm Liping Zhu. I'm an assistant professor at Eastern Washington University. I teach history of the American West.

Interviewer: Can you describe why the Chinese first came to the United States and what they did when they came back here?

Liping Zhu: Chinese migration to, outside of China starts probably after the Spanish arrived in Asia and the European power came to colonize Philippines and Macau. So Chinese began to migrate to Spanish colony. They follow the Spanish galleon all the way to Mexico, New Spain. So it started much early than they arrived in the United States. So migration, the Chinese migration, to the United States is just part of this kind of global Chinese diaspora and particularly in around the mid-19th century when the European power forced China to open its door to European trade, also the Opium Wars and the humiliate the Chinese and weaken, significantly weaken the Ching Dynasty.

China had a various domestic foreign problems also in mid-century and the Taiping Rebellion and that devastate half of China, almost toppled the Ching Dynasty. The Taiping Rebellion alone killed twenty million Chinese. So because of this kind of a push effect and the domestic problem and the economic distress and the political unrest pushed Chinese out of China. So most of the Chinese who migrate to Southeast Asia to Australia, New Zealand, United States and Canada came from three provinces, Guangdong, Guangxi, and Fujian. The overwhelming majority of Chinese immigrants came from Guangdong province.

Meanwhile, in the 19th century, gold was discovered in North America, in Australia, in New Zealand. Now that pull effect also attract many Chinese to the United States. So between the gold rush of California, 1848 - 49 to the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, about 300,000

Chinese arrived in the United States. They came to the country in search of economic opportunity. Today we call "American Dream."

In the early years most of the Chinese, they didn't plan to stay. They want to strike rich and make little money, few hundred dollars; they can go back to their village and enjoy the rest of their life. But when time goes on, and some merchant and some people decide to stay but most people they never plan to stay in the United States for a long time.

Interviewer: What did the Chinese do when they came here?

Zhu: Chinese came to the United States in search of economic opportunity probably that is the exclusive, you know, reason, the only reason they came to this country. It's different from other immigrants, other immigrants like European or other, you know, immigrants from other, you know, continents that... sorry. I have to start over again.

Unlike other immigrants from European country and country in other parts of the world, Chinese immigrant came in search of economic opportunity only, so when they arrive in the United States, they try to find any job available to them. So in the early years, like, you know, placer mining was their main, you know, opportunity. And also they do laundry. Later years in the ... they were recruited as railroad workers.

Interviewer: The recruited in groups. Who recruited them [the Chinese]?

Zhu: In the late 19th century some railroad companies — like the Central Pacific, the Great Northern, Northern Pacific and the Southern Pacific — all these railroad companies began to recruit Chinese to work on the Transcontinental Railroad. First, some superintendent was hesitate whether Chinese were strong enough or physically strong enough to handle this construction work. Leland Stanford, one of the big four, told his superintendent, Stowbridge, said, "If Chinese can build the Great Wall, they can build the railroad." So they first try fifty Chinese for the Transcontinental Railroad constructions. They immediately show the success. So eventually they hire 10,000 Chinese for the Central Pacific. Later years, we see the Great North... and the Northern Pacific also hire a large number of the Chinese for the railroad construction.

Interviewer: What made the Chinese such good workers?

Zhu: According to my study, the Chinese was very adaptive to western environment. They know how to transform their technology and the farming equipment from rice field to the placer field (gold field) from China to the American West. For example, and the Chinese improve sluice box, improve rockers in placer mining and made it more efficient to get gold out of the mine.

Interviewer: How they improve the (unintelligible)?

Zhu: More examples, in ... probably I have to come back to that question...to think about it...details.

Interviewer: Okay. Where did the Chinese go to mine the gold and how did they end up in Montana?

Zhu: In 1850s, Chinese start mining mainly in California, the Sierra Nevadas. Then from mid-50s, they began to kind of a branch out to southern Oregon, eastern Washington, western Nevada, and in '60s they move into Idaho, Montana. In '70s they finally reach the Black Hills so the Chinese mining frontier moved gradually from the west coast to the interior.

Interviewer: How long did they stay? Did they kind of mine and leave or what was...

Zhu: Yes, there was a high population mobility and some people just stay for a few season, and then they make enough money and go home, enjoy the life. Some merchant and some people they decide to stay for quite a long time. But the heyday for Chinese mining is 1850, late '50s, '60s, and early '70s. But it start in late 1870s, early 1880s and this mining industry began to make shift from the placer mining to hard rock mining and the corporations began to move in because the hard rock mining required more capital and less muscle. So you need large amount of capital so this kind of significantly reduced the opportunity for many individuals. So that's why in starting, you know, 1880s and the Chinese placer mining began to decline, like all the

placer mining in general. So usually you look at American west, this Chinese mining community exists roughly from like late '50s or early '60s to 1910, 1900, 1910. So they stayed for a few decades. So that's why the Chinese made significant impact on western mining and the development.

Interviewer: Are there statistics that show how many Chinese went back to China? How do we know what happened to them?

Zhu: Yes, the ... a large number of the Chinese, you know, made, you know, returned to China. We say between 1849-1882, about 300,000 Chinese arrived in the United States but according to the census of 1880s roughly about 10,000 Chinese in the United States. That shows a significant number of Chinese in the return to China — like the Italian immigrants and other European immigrants — and the Chinese also move back, forth between Asia and North America.

Interviewer: How many Chinese women immigrated and what were the conditions behind the lifestyle of the Chinese women?

Zhu: In most part of the 19th century in...the Chinese male/female ratio was very big, roughly twenty to one in the American West. And most of this women who migrate to the United States were in prostitution and a few were housewives. This gender imbalance didn't change until the 20th century. So because of this gender imbalance, Chinese community doesn't have a kind of a regular Chinese community or like ethnic community like others in the west and so it created a kind of a very strange community. Now, of course, some of the Chinese miners, they were married but they just left the wife at home and they adventure to North America and hope to strike it rich and go back.

Interviewer: Are there many Chinese who married other immigrants or Native Americans?

Zhu: There...yes...ah. There were few cases of interracial marriage, but the percentage of this interracial marriage between Chinese and non-Chinese was very small in the 19th century. According to scholars, research, study, we found out that there was some interracial marriage

between Chinese man and Irish woman, Chinese woman and black man, Chinese woman and Native American man, but the percentage of this interracial marriage was almost insignificant.

Interviewer: Can you describe what a typical Chinese mining community would be like and what they did for entertainment, like, what they did when it was snowing?

Zhu: Chinese miners on the American frontiers tried to build their own communities and they were not just coolies who worked all the time. They know how to enjoy. They play. And they gamble. So in the evening or in the off season, like winter season, and the Chinese gamble quite a bit and some Chinese may ... went into mountain, do hunting, and they did all sorts of things and they drink but they didn't dance that much, as the Irish did. Chinese you know have this particular affection for gambling. The most popular games for Chinese on the American frontier was the white pigeon ticket, usually called Chinese lottery. So they use eighty Chinese characters that you...that gamblers will buy, you know, the number, you know, they purchase character...each character costs you money. The more characters you choose, the more chance, you know, would have chance for you to win. So each year or each evening or twice a day, and they will draw the lottery and the winner will get the money from the company and this Chinese game was extremely popular in the 19th century. In 1930 and the people in Montana continued to play this Chinese game illegally. And in 1932 or 33... in 1932 Nevada began to legalize gambling and they made this Chinese game American game. They used a new name, called Keno. The probably this is one of the Chinese many contributions to American culture...keno game.

(Break in tape)

Zhu: According to my discovery the Chinese mortality rate...

Interviewer: Why don't you start talking about **(unintelligible)**?

Zhu: Scholars, writers, and historians tended to portray Chinese in many negative ways. They looked at Chinese as a victim of this American aggression...Chinese as a victim of the racial

violence, economic exploitation, and of political oppression. But my argument is that the American West actually provide a great deal of economic opportunity. So some Chinese did strike rich and return home. According to my study, in Idaho, in the Black Hills, South Dakota, and I found out many Chinese willing to pay for the mining claim...for like a few thousand, \$10,000, \$80,000 for a mining claim. Now that means, they had quite a bit of money. They were not all poor, or coolies. Most of them were independent miners, like other immigrant pioneers.

And also, one thing I have to tell is there was a very interesting fact that the Chinese mortality rate in almost all the western state and the territories in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century were lower than the mortality rate of the white...almost half of them. That means Chinese were more likely to survive on the American frontier than white miners or pioneers did. But why, I would like to tell you because...and I think the Chinese diet played a very important role. The Chinese diet contained more vitamin rich vegetables, unlike a white pioneer's diet. The white pioneer's diet included all Bs we say — beef, bread, butter, beans, and etc. The Chinese diet contained more vegetables. So it would prevent certain kind of a disease, and a...like scurvy...and so the Chinese diet made Chinese pioneers much more healthy.

Also the Chinese medicine play an important role in reducing the Chinese mortality rate, because before the pharmaceutical revolution in the early 19th century, the western medicines and the Chinese medicines shared the same principle but the Chinese medicine was much more sophisticate than western medicines. So that's why the herbal medicine was extremely effective in dealing with chronic disease. So this Chinese doctors on the American frontier, in the frontier communities, were able to deal with this, cure disease very effectively. So they have the...build...gradually build their reputations. In the later years, in the late 19th century early 20th century, many American whites went to see Chinese doctors for necessary, not alternative, medicine.

Interviewer: Can you give an example of where they got the different herbs and what kind of chronic diseases they treated?

Zhu: Chinese community has a kind of a trading network so they import all... most of the Chinese medicine from China and distribute to frontier communities. So even in Montana, in the Black Hills, in Idaho City, Idaho, you can get all sorts of Chinese, you know, herbal medicine.

Interviewer: What kinds of diseases did they treat?

Zhu: Most effectively? For example, like a flu, like a stomach problem, like a skin infection, like a diarrhea, all this kind of a, you know, common problem and they can treat them very effectively.

Interviewer: (Unintelligible) You make the point between necessary and alternative. Do you think that something was lost in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and then is now being regained that the pioneers knew? Or, what...

Zhu: In these days I think the Chinese medicine is gaining recognition among Americans. More and more Americans are in search of a Chinese medical treatment instead of American western medical treatment but it show, because many cases show Chinese medicine was very effective in dealing certain kinds of problem.

Interviewer: Can you describe the Chinese world view that, I mean, this fits with the medicine in that they were using some of these cures for injuries. Can you describe how the Chinese, especially the pioneers, may have come to this country, what their attitude may have been towards the west in contrast in to what they were thinking? Well, not contrast, but what they were thinking in China about, what did they carry with them about attitudes about being Chinese?

Zhu: The Chinese attitude toward the western country was always negative because they call all westerners, all foreigners, barbarian, devils. Even in Cantonese language today, still use devil referring to foreign and westerners. And so, for a long time...and a...Chinese government prohibit Chinese citizens, subjects to migrate to foreign countries. That's a capital crime. This law was not abolished until 1911 after the Ching Dynasty was overthrown. But, the Chinese people just disobeyed the law, were willing to take the risk. That showed the economic opportunity somewhere outside of China was so large that Chinese immigrants were willing to take this risk and violate the law and migrate to foreign countries like the United States.

Interviewer: When they came here they had problems. The people who were already here were calling them barbarians. How did they react, the Chinese?

Zhu: Of course, I agree with many previous scholars' argument, and the Chinese suffered great deal in the United States because of this political discrimination, economic exploitation, and the racial persecution. But meanwhile, Chinese were not passive victims of this racial violence, and you know, racial discrimination. The Chinese made effort to challenge discrimination and injustice.

They fought hard everywhere in the West to challenge injustice. So they fought American in court. They fought American western in economical battlefields. They fought them anywhere else. Actually Chinese were very aggressive. For example, many people always like to talk about racial violence against the Chinese. Actually, more Chinese were killed by Chinese themselves. According to my study, and the Chinese in the west, many of the Chinese in the west...in the...were very aggressive. They habitually carried bowie knives and six shooters. Oh, they were willing to use violent means to either challenge their opponent or punish their friends...enemies. So many court case show that the Chinese committed various crimes and that they murdered people, they robbed banks, they hold up stagecoach, and they stole chicken from their neighbor, and, ah, they set fire to their enemy's house. So I would argue Chinese were not just victims. They were also victim and the villain.

Interviewer: (unintelligible) They still had to fight against the political, with the Chinese Exclusion Act and the Geary Act.

Zhu: That's right. In 19th century the late 19th century, the American government passed the Chinese Exclusion Act. Actually the Exclusion Act include, you know, several ones and starting in 1882. But the Chinese did fight against the Exclusion Act. And in every aspect, in legal aspect, Chinese how to play with...no...play this American political game using one political faction against another. So Chinese usually worked closely with the Republican Party and against the Democratic Party. The Republican Party in the 19th century was the champion of equal rights after the Civil War. So usually this Republican officials willing to defend a Chinese

in the court. Their lawyers and the government appointees tried to help the Chinese. So the Chinese really played their traditional game — use one barbarian against another.

Also, we say, and the Chinese regularly break the law — the Chinese Exclusion Act. And they...after the law was passed. I should repeat. After the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882, Chinese tried to enter the United States illegally. In 19th century, the two major smuggling centers of the illegal Chinese immigrants were British Columbia and El Paso, Texas. Today El Paso, Texas was a major smuggling center of Mexican immigrants. But, in 19th century, that was a major smuggling center of the Chinese illegal immigrants.

I found an interesting story in the newspaper in 1880. One group of Chinese tried to get into the United States from British Columbia. So they dress up like Native American, so they thought they could fool U.S. Custom Officer, try to cross border from British Columbia to Washington territory. But the custom officers eventually recognized and caught them and deported them. That show they did challenge the Chinese Exclusion Act.

Interviewer: They did this too with the paper sons.

Zhu: That's right. That's a good point. Chinese also tried to forge, you know, the documents and claim they were United States citizens before the Chinese Exclusion Act, particularly after the San Francisco earthquake and fire in 1906. Chinese were delighted because the fire not only wiped out most part of the city of San Francisco; it burned all the government documents in San Francisco. So, according to the U.S. law, if you were American citizen at the time, you could bring your family and sons, daughters, children to the United States. So, since documents had been burned, so most of the Chinese went to American court and claimed they were citizens. They were born in San Francisco Chinatown. So and they get two friends to be witness and went to court and the judge, American government, cannot prove any fraud and forgery because the documents were gone. So Chinese used this and to bring more friends into the country or their family members. So...and a now...we don't know exactly how many people entered illegal immigrants, they used, you know, falsified documents. But after 1906, up to, you know, in the next few decades, there were tens of thousands Chinese enter the United States as a "paper son." But, some scholars did a study, they look at how many Chinese woman were living in San Francisco right before the earthquake. So they calculate, if all these paper sons migrate to the

United States, with two children of these women, and a...these women in San Francisco had to give a birth, each of them, had to give a birth to 800 children.

Interviewer: But they didn't stay? The immigration figures, the census figures don't show that they were still here.

Zhu: Which ones?

Interviewer: Paper sons.

Zhu: No, many stayed. So that's kind of, ah, through this incident, we say that illegal immigration and paper sons and the... really help Chinese significantly to maintain the, you know, number of the population. Otherwise the Chinese population would have declined more rapidly.

Interviewer: Would you say that it was also the smarter, the more (unintelligible) Chinese that (unintelligible).

Zhu: That's right. If you got your U.S. citizenship and, ah, then you can go back each year to bring back a son, a kid. So some person, you know, they just sell, you know, this paper to the village, you know, friend. So they claim this person is... this person can claim this person is his son or daughter. So Chinese continue to migrate to the United States even after the Chinese Exclusion Act. They find a loophole or they find a way to challenge the law, to break the law.

Interviewer: Most of these were sons (unintelligible).

Zhu: That's right. Men, young men.

Interviewer: And then they would work in, where they typically (unintelligible)? Did they typically have commercial passes or did they come and labor? (unintelligible)

Zhu: Most of the Chinese immigrants came to the United States after they arrived, they tried to find you know all kinds of a job available to them and around the turn of the century, the most of the people work as cooks, house servants, domestic works, and many in the western community, when mining, you know, had already begun to decline.

Interviewer: Were these jobs still better than what they could find in China?

Zhu: Of course. Even though Chinese received lower wages than white workers did in America, but this economic opportunities for Chinese here in the United States were much better than the opportunities at home. So that's why even after Chinese Exclusion Act was passed and still so many Chinese were trying to get into the United States, even illegally. Back home maybe in late 19th century, early 20th century the Chinese poor, Chinese peasant could make few pennies a day. But in the United States, they, a person could make at least a dollar, two dollars a day. So it's a much better life here than the life in China.

Interviewer: Did they send a lot of this money home, or did they keep money and invest in **(unintelligible)**.

Zhu: Most people send their money home through the Chinese merchant, Chinese commercial network, and the Chinese ship. But we don't know exactly how much they send back. Most people I think, you know, send money home and...to support their family. Quite a few willing to stay here permanently and they were willing to invest but it show that's not the common case.

Interviewer: Was there an effort by the Chinese to assimilate American. Or was there an effort to retain their own cultural heritage?

Zhu: Like many other, you know, immigrants, Chinese tried to be assimilate into the mainstream of American culture, meanwhile to preserve their own culture and ethnic identity. There are many examples. For example, like Chinese still celebrate their traditional holiday. They still practice their religions and, ah, they still maintain some kind of a social tradition. But Chinese also participate in various American activity. According to my study in many frontier towns,

Chinese were first invited to participate in the celebration of the 4th of July and to participate in various American events, activities. And also Chinese try everything to be like Americans. For example, today, if you go to a Chinatown or you are looking for a Chinese restaurant you can find the name more Chinese like China Dragon, Empress, Chinese Kingdom, or China Kitchen, that kind of a thing. But in 19th century, most of the Chinese restaurants had American name like a Philadelphia Cafe, Lincoln Restaurant, Bodeca Cafe, and etc. And some Chinese operate boarding house and they use the name Dublin Hotel. It's totally different. So sure, the Chinese did try to be assimilated and because of the rejection of the larger society this assimilation process kind of was slow than people expected.

Interviewer: Did they try to appeal to American tastes? How did they react, even with food they served both themselves and their American customers?

Zhu: Yes. Chinese food didn't became very popular among Americans until after the second World War. So in the late 19th century and early 20th century, most of these Chinese restaurants served American food. So you look at the menus, the main entrees like roast beef, French toast, apple pie. It's not chop suey, chicken chow mein. So the Chinese restaurant mainly do American custom.

Interviewer: And these were efforts at assimilation.

Zhu: Yes. Also for survival reason and for economical reason basically. Most of the customers were Americans...westerners, miners, pioneers, so they had to appeal to traditional custom.

Interviewer: You describe earlier to me, what were some of the religious habits of the Chinese? Especially the miners in Virginia City (unintelligible).

Zhu: Chinese on the American frontier usually practiced their own religion. This is kind of a, the strongest hold of their cultural identity. Even though some, you know, western missionary tried to...I should use the words...convert even, you know. I have to repeat this again.

Probably the religion, Chinese religion is the strongest hold of their cultural identity and most of the Chinese on the American frontier usually practiced their own religion even though some Western missionaries, American missionaries tried to convert Chinese into Christians, and it was not very successful. Only a small number of Chinese were converted, unlike the Japanese immigrant and the Korean immigrant. These two ethnic Asian communities contain a large percentage of Christians. The Chinese community did have very small number of Christians.

(Break in tape)

Interviewer: What was important to prove citizenship? (unintelligible) How many citizens (unintelligible)?

Zhu: Citizenship directly affected the Chinese life in, you know, this country. Before 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act, Chinese were eligible for citizenship, but in the early years a lot of the people they never intend to stay so very few applied for citizenship. Some did. But most didn't. So after the Chinese Exclusion Act, the Chinese were no longer eligible for citizenship. This political discrimination eventually, you know, became disadvantage for ... in economic field because later in the early 19th, in early 20th century and various western states passed called Alien Land Ownership Law. So, if you're not U.S. citizen, you cannot own land in this country. So that kind of hurt Chinese, Japanese, and other Asian immigrants significantly. So the citizenship was crucial to Asian immigrants.

Interviewer: (unintelligible) How did they rationalize (question about Chinese feelings towards Americans).

Zhu: Yeah. Chinese, they call all westerners were barbarians, but if you they lived in this country for quite a bit of time, some began to appreciate, you know, the culture, the technology advantage, advancement of this country, of course you had to make a certain kind of a compromise in order to live as a minority in this country. So they make certain kind of a culture and a political compromise but meanwhile they always tried to main their cultural identity. Every, you know, first generation immigrant has the same kind of experience. Until the second,

third generation they become more assailable to the main culture. So you look at second and third generation of Chinese, they...

(Break in taping – some unintelligible conversation)

Zhu: Although Chinese have their bias toward Americans and the foreigners, but many Chinese, after living in this country for few years or a long period, decide to adopt local culture and tried to be a part of the big community, meanwhile maintaining their culture identity. So that's why Chinese participate many American events. Also Chinese invite Americans to their activities, events. The most common thing is the Chinese New Year celebration in almost all western communities. Chinese usually invite their friends, American friends, American business partners to their celebration of Chinese New Year.

Interviewer: (unintelligible)

Zhu: There are several interesting stories probably a little long. One's the Chinese funeral. The Chinese funeral is the one typical case of cultural exchange. Chinese always invite white to attend Chinese funeral. In the early years, Chinese community in the west, many communities didn't have their own band to lead the funeral. So they usually hired local Irish band to lead the Chinese funeral, usually from downtown and to the cemetery. So there were several occasions that Irish band decide to play a joke on Chinese. So, according to my study, and there were several reports that when Chinese gradually lower the coffin into grave, the Irish band began to play "Down Went McGinty." Chinese didn't know what that mean, but it showed the culture exchange. Probably today people think it's really strange and at that time, the 19th century, they think it was common. One got paid, and, ah, provide service.

Interviewer: (Asks question about Chinese funerals –unintelligible).

Zhu: Chinese, according to Chinese tradition, Chinese want to be buried at their birth place, at home, in their home village. So that's why, when Chinese die in America, they want their bones to be shipped back to China. So that's a common practice in late 19th century. So of course you

have to join, you know, the society of members and a part of, you know, a group and they will take care of your business, if you die. You have to pay a due. So it's pretty common. So Chinese burial ground usually contained a kind of separate section in, you know, a cemetery, you know mostly more western communities. If there was a Chinese appearance, and you could find a Chinese section in cemetery. So after a few years of the death of this person and his friend will come to take all the bones and put into a box or container and send back to China to the... his family member and then buried in China.

Interviewer: (unintelligible)

Zhu: No. I've never heard of it any tax, special tax on Chinese graveyard. No. And later years, we say toward the turn of the 20th centuries, and more Chinese died and they ... bones were never shipped back to China. In some community like a Boise, Idaho, and other places, you can still find Chinese sections in the cemetery and that they were buried there.

Interviewer: What happened when the Ching Dynasty fell? How significant was (unintelligible)?

Zhu: After the collapse of the Ching Dynasty and the Chinese feel...most of the people felt liberated because the Ching Dynasty was a minority dynasty. This minority group and the Manchurian, they forced, they tried to force their own culture on the majority. For example, the Ching Dynasty required every Chinese man to have a pigtail, a queue. So actually it's not the tradition and the culture of majority Chinese. So after 1911, the collapse of the Ching Dynasty, people immediately began to cut their queue, the pigtail. And so, probably that's another effect to lure many Chinese back to China, since American passage several Chinese Exclusion Acts, and American businessmen plan to begin to import more Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos into this country. So Chinese probably have their hope for a new day in China. So that's why in the first ten years it's kind of a turning point and, ah, you look at many western communities, Chinese population began to decline significantly from 1910 to 1911 and after that by 1920, many Chinese communities in the interior West were gone.

Interviewer: (unintelligible)

Zhu: That's right. And because of the Chinese Exclusion Act, Chinese were not able to reproduce. So the Chinese Exclusion Act was basically caused this racial genocide. So because there was gender imbalance, there were so few woman and the Chinese community was not able to maintain the size. So by the early 20th century, then most of the Chinese communities in the interior west began to decline.

Interviewer: (unintelligible) – question about fireworks

Zhu: Yes. The Chinese fireworks became very popular on the Fourth of July in the 19th century and some Chinese merchants (Chinese grocery store) always had newspaper ad in American newspaper to sell fireworks for the Fourth of July or the week before. The Americans were willing to buy and this is probably the, another major contribution Chinese to the American culture. So you look at this frontier newspapers in the early 19th centuries, and around you know the Fourth of July...a week before or a week after you see this newspaper ad advertising Chinese fireworks and a many American store later became to carry Chinese fireworks. This shows another culture, example of a culture exchange. So today we still have this kind of a Chinese frontier legacy.

Interviewer: (unintelligible)

Zhu: No, not that much. Before the Chinese immigrate, immigrant come to the United States, a very few Americans...that's not part of the American tradition to shoot so many fireworks. Only after the Chinese arrive.

(unintelligible conversation)

Zhu: Before Chinese immigrants came to the United States in mid-19th century, and, ah, there was no such a tradition of shooting so many fireworks on the 4th of July and, Chinese fireworks became much more popular in the late 19th century among Americans. Today we still have

this...Chinese frontier heritage. It became, this Chinese culture became a part of American culture. Okay.

Interviewer: I think that's it.

Zhu: Okay.