
Sport and Recreation Among Chinese American Communities of the Pacific Coast From Time of Arrival to the “Quiet Decade” of the 1950s

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Scarcely a decade ago historian Roger Daniels observed that except for San Francisco and New York, little had been written about the Chinatowns in the United States.¹ Since then the number of books and monographs in which Asian American and Asian Canadian experiences have been examined has grown rapidly.² Whereas earlier writings tended to emphasize the intense discrimination that confronted these communities, as Daniels points out: “When one examines the positive aspects of Asian American history—that is, what these people did rather than what was done to them—other instructive patterns emerge.”³ Sylvia Sun Minnick’s *Samfow: The San Joaquin Chinese Legacy* is among the more recent works that provide a multidimensional view of people who “lived full lives.”⁴

Some of these more recent histories make passing reference to sport, recreation, and active pastimes. However, until Susan Zieff’s article appeared in the Spring 2000 issue of the *Journal of Sport History*, only Joel S. Franks’s recently published “Chinese Americans and American Sport, 1880-1940” (the focus of which is male participation and “the ‘major’ sports”) and the Chinese Historical Society of America’s *Celebration of Roots: Chinese Americans in Sports* (which includes general text and many photographs of individuals and groups who took great pride in their athletic accomplishments) had been explicitly concerned with this topic.⁵ More needs to be said about such participation from the “time of arrival” to “the quiet decade” of the 1950s.⁶

Gum San Dai Foo: Great City on the Golden Hill

In 1846, the somnambulant settlement of Yerba Buena (soon to be renamed San Francisco) consisted of fewer than one hundred inauspicious wooden structures and some five hundred inhabitants. Pastimes were those of the “Californio population—such things as *colea el toro*,⁷ horse racing, and bull- and bear-baiting.⁸ The population, both in size and diversity, would be dramatically altered when news of the discovery of gold at Sutter’s Mill near Coloma in 1848 spread rapidly throughout the world. Tens of thousands of individuals, the vast majority of whom were young, single, and male, arrived in California during 1849. Among the early arrivals were Chinese *soujourners* from Guangdong Province. Alexander McLeod reports that “three to four hundred Celestials dressed in silk robes, with banners and dragons,” participated in California’s 1850 Admission Day parade. The state’s Chinese population increased substantially when the Transcontinental Railroad, completed in 1869, needed Chinese labor (and paid them the lowest wages) to extend its trackage over the dangerous Sierra Nevada mountain range. According to the *Chinese Record*, participants in the 1877 Dragon Boat Festival spent part of the day at San Francisco’s Russ Gardens where they and “Americans” enjoyed the afternoon in harmony.⁹

Many became agricultural laborers and contributed indispensably to California’s economic base.¹⁰ Others settled in cities where they were relegated to the most menial of tasks—and to their own physical and cultural enclaves—typically referred to as “Chinatowns”; the largest of these, by far, was in San Francisco. The 1890 United States census reported 298,997 inhabitants (21,745 of whom were Chinese) located on the narrow peninsula south of the Golden Gate.¹¹ To the east, accessible by numerous ferry boats that plied San Francisco Bay, was the small town of Oakland, the terminus of the transcontinental railroad.

Residents of the San Francisco Bay Area enjoyed a wide range of sporting events; by the 1890s, these included hundreds of contests ranging from boxing and cycling to Caledonian games, baseball, football, and more.¹² Long hours of labor and a Confucian tradition that eschewed physical competitions were among the reasons that the early Chinese did not adopt Western sports. As sociologist Rose Hum Lee has observed: “[A] robust physique was equated with a peasant background.... The absence of competitiveness between groups and individuals on an impersonal basis, rather than kinship ties... resulted in the lack of emphasis on... man-to-man and team-to-team contests.”¹³

Public sentiment also inhibited participation. A newspaper account in 1885 derisively portrayed a boxing match between Ah Fat and Jim Bung. Two years later an article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* characterized a game of sandlot baseball as “mongolians wrestling with the technicalities of the great American game.” (Perhaps the reporter did not know—or care—that the Oriental Baseball Team from Connecticut’s recently closed Chinese Educational Mission had soundly defeated an Oakland team in 1881!)¹⁴

A federal law enacted in 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act, resulted in a considerable reduction of the state’s Chinese population.¹⁵ As the native-born numbers increased (to slightly over thirty percent in 1920), family life began to replace—but by no means eliminate—the earlier “bachelor society.” Families sought to inculcate in their children tradi-

tional values that stressed duty and obligation, obedience and respect, an appreciation of their own culture and, increasingly, that of the larger society. Many doubtless shared views such as those expressed by Mrs. Young Oy Bo Lee:

We were happy that all our children had a chance for a good education and the freedom to choose what they wanted to do in life. But it was difficult to see the children moving towards a more independent lifestyle and losing Chinese values and traditions. People in America seemed to think more about leisure activities.¹⁶

Education was held in high regard. By the 1930s, public schooling increasingly performed an important role in bridging the two cultures. So did sports and recreations. Children growing up in San Francisco's Chinatown attended the crowded—and segregated—commodore Stockton grammar school. Average daily attendance for the year 1920 was 683. By 1941, 945 children were enrolled, making this San Francisco's largest elementary school.¹⁷ In Oakland, Chinese youngsters were educated at Lincoln School (located in that city's Chinatown) before going on to one of the local high schools.¹⁸ In small San Joaquin Delta towns like Locke (where a Chinese population predominated), separate schools remained in operation until World War II. When the public school day ended, children were expected to attend Chinese school for two or more hours, where they studied the Chinese language, Confucianism, and history. Several sponsored sport teams. Sacramento's Confucian Chung Wah School, for example, had a baseball team as early as 1912; San Francisco's Yeung Wo Chinese School had a basketball team by 1924.¹⁹

Attendance at public secondary schools, which was the norm, did not ensure social mixing. As Connie Yu notes, students at San Jose High School in the 1920s "had their own parties... organized a Chinese Students Club with sports, dances, and picnics... [and had their own] competitive baseball league with Japantown's baseball team."²⁰ According to Laverne Mau Dicker, San Francisco's second and third generation Chinese youth "attempted to re-create among themselves the same activities and patterns they saw in their classmates. Sports, dating, sharp-dressing, cars, and popular music maintained the same central importance in the lives of Chinatown's teenagers as they did in adolescent life outside."²¹

Emergence and Growth of San Francisco's Chinese Youth Organizations

San Francisco's Chinese American community created a remarkable number of organizations and events whose aims included the social development of children and youth. The YMCA and YWCA were especially active.

The Young Men's Christian Association

In 1869, a committee appointed by the Board of Managers of the San Francisco Young Men's Christian Association (founded in 1853) recommended that classes to teach English to the Chinese in San Francisco be "held in one of the rooms of the Association on Sunday mornings from 9:30 to 10:30 o'clock." The following year, the Presbyterian mission organized a YMCA with about two hundred and fifty Chinese members. A request in 1887 to establish a separate Chinese YMCA branch apparently was not acted upon; hence, this work remained part of the Presbyterian mission for several years.²²

In 1911, with the leadership of Jone Wing Quong (recently arrived from Lingnan University in south China) and a group of local ministers, a separate Chinese YMCA was created in San Francisco. Lectures on health, education, and religion, classes in English and Mandarin, machine shop, mechanical drawing, and table games were among the first activities that it provided. When the Chinese YMCA moved into larger quarters in 1912, programs were expanded to include a youth orchestra, gymnastics, and organized hikes.²³ Attendance at summer camps at Lagunitas and Marin County soon brought some youngsters out of the confines of Chinatown. In 1936, fifty-two boys and their leaders journeyed to the San Francisco's YMCA Camp McCoy in Tuolumne County, which had permanent cabins, a dining hall, chapel, swimming pool, play fields, rifle range, boats, and opportunities for nature study, hiking, and horseback riding.²⁴

Approval of a separate Chinese branch within the San Francisco YMCA's Metropolitan Plan had been secured in 1916. The International Committee agreed to provide \$100,000 for the building if the local community could raise a matching \$100,000. Land was purchased at 855 Stockton Street and the corner-stone of a new building was laid in 1925. On February 22, 1926, the long awaited facility, with its attractive Oriental gateway, was formally dedicated. The large structure included living accommodations, a 40-by-70-foot gymnasium, a swimming pool, game rooms, social rooms, classrooms, and a billiard room. Of the \$208,000 total cost, Chinese American communities from across the United States had contributed \$108,000. The event elicited only passing notice in city newspapers, which noted that the new facility combined "Western and Chinese architecture into a pleasing ensemble."²⁵

Of the many activities that would be offered under the auspices of the Chinese YMCA, track and field and the Chinese Marathon were among the most significant. In 1919, a Chinese YMCA soccer team had defeated both Stanford University and the University of California.²⁶ The first Chinese YMCA track meet was held at Golden Gate Park in 1920. The following year athletes from Oakland, San Rafael, and Berkeley's Chinese Athletic Club also participated. In conjunction with its 1922 Athletic Carnival, the Y hosted its first "marathon"—a two mile run through the streets of Chinatown. The winner was Cheung S. Lee, who ran under the colors of the Yoke Choy Club.

The Yoke Choy [Disseminate Knowledge] Club had been founded in 1920 to promote Christianity, music, and athletics by eleven young men meeting at the Chinese Congregational Church. It quickly became prominent in track and field, winning the 1921 and 1922 Chinese YMCA meets. In 1926 and 1927 Yoke Choy fielded a tackle football team; it also was represented in basketball and tennis.²⁷ The Cathay Club, which evolved from the Chinese Boys Band (organized in 1911),²⁸ also became involved in athletics. Its basketball squad, organized in 1918, is said to have introduced competitive games to Chinatown.²⁹ The Cathay Relay, initiated in 1930, attracted entries from as far away as Sacramento and Stockton. Girls participated in the 1933 Cathay Relay Carnival, and also in the 1935 Boy Scout Troop 3 track meet.³⁰

Held as part of the Cathay Relays in 1933 and 1934, the marathon was reinstated as part of the Chinese YMCA's twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations in 1936. More than 150 competitors took part; Herbert Tom, an accomplished performer in several sports, was the

winner.³¹ The 1941 YMD (Young Men's Division) Invitational, which celebrated the Chinese YMCA's thirtieth anniversary, was heralded as Chinatown's first statewide track and field meet.³² Of the seven Ys entered in San Francisco's city-wide 1941 YMCA track meet, the Chinese branch scored twice as many points as did its closest competitor, the Central San Francisco YMCA.³³ According to Activities Secretary Henry Shue Tom, it was the Athletic Carnival and the marathon that "encouraged Chinese boys to go out for school teams."³⁴

The Chinese YMCA organized tournaments in softball and table tennis. It also entered basketball teams in both the City Recreation League and divisional YMCA tournaments, and competed in the Berkeley Japanese Athletic Union League. In its pool, the only one accessible to the Chinese population, a number of youths became proficient swimmers. In 1936, the Chinese Y placed second in the Northern California YMCA swimming meet. It won the 1931 and 1932 Californiads, a competition comprised of thirty-one physical, spiritual, and intellectual contests; from 1933 to 1936, it won the YMCA Decathlon, a special event that included crafts, hobbies, dramatics, scripture, music, sports, checkers, and chess.³⁵

*The Chinese Young Women's Christian Association*³⁶

In early 1916, eighteen women and two men from the various church missions working in San Francisco's Chinatown met to discuss what might be done to accommodate the needs of girls and women. A leader in these efforts was the Presbyterian missionary Donaldina Cameron, known as "the Angel of Chinatown" for her work in rescuing abandoned girls.³⁷ Following consultation with influential men and women of the Chinese community, plans were initiated for a Chinese Young Women's Christian Association. According to Thomas Chinn and Judy Yung, some parents were favorably inclined; others considered this a daring act, given the fact that "some women in Chinatown were still struggling to decide whether or not to stop binding their feet."³⁸ A Provisional Committee was created under the direction of Mrs. Ng Poon Chew, and in December 1916 San Francisco's Chinese YWCA opened in rented quarters.³⁹

It quickly became involved in a variety of community services ranging from helping young women from China adjust to American surroundings to giving talks on health and classes in English, cooking, dressmaking, piano, and gymnasium work. In 1917, instruction in marching, folk dancing, table tennis, tap dancing, and badminton was begun and a Bluebirds group for younger girls was created. Of the Chinese YWCA's 330 members in 1918, 62 lived in Oakland or Berkeley. Three years later a Chinese YWCA Center was opened in Oakland.⁴⁰ The Girl Reserves (formed in 1919) raised money to send five of the Chinese YWCA's members to the parent organization's large girls' camp at Asilomar, California in 1922. Responding to requests for basketball, the Board of Management turned to the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (Chinese Six Companies) for funds to rent a gymnasium in 1928.⁴¹ When the Central YWCA stipulated that one day and evening a week would be set aside "when the Oriental girls could use" its pool, the three Chinese members (with the concurrence of the "American" members) of the management board protested. It does not appear that any corrective action was taken; in 1933, the Chinese YMCA opened its pool to females.⁴²

The Chinese YWCA's meeting rooms were used by the Square and Circle Club,⁴³ the Chinese University Club (graduates of the University of California), and other groups involving Chinese American females.⁴⁴ As membership grew and programs expanded it became clear that larger quarters were needed. On October 8, 1932, an attractive building (designed by the noted architect Julia Morgan) was opened at 965 Clay Street. Chinese American communities on the West Coast had raised \$25,000 for its construction; the San Francisco YWCA contributed \$20,000. Describing the new facility, the *San Francisco Chronicle* noted: 'All decorations and appointments... are carried out in Pekinese style, with porcelain fish and birds and animals along the eaves.... Lacquer red predominates on the lower floor... from the bright design of the auditorium ceiling to the tiled walls of the office.'⁴⁵ The building, decorated with teak furniture and large Chinese lanterns, included handicraft rooms, a clubroom, and ten dormitory rooms. The auditorium, which could seat five hundred, also served as a gymnasium. Activities now included the always popular fashion shows; a posture clinic; tap, social, and square dancing; volleyball; badminton; table tennis; and basketball.⁴⁶ In 1947, the building was renamed the YWCA Clay Street Center.

Ming Quong and Chung Mei Homes

Founded in Oakland in 1915 by Donaldma Cameron, with the support of the Reverend Lee Hong and the Presbyterian Board of National Missions, the Ming Quong Home was a refuge for orphaned girls and those whose families were unable to care for them. In 1936, the Ming Quong Home relocated to San Francisco, where "Miss Harris gave the girls physical training."⁴⁷ During the 1930s students from the affiliated Hip Wo Academy (run by the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational missions) participated in girls' basketball leagues.

Inspired by Cameron's work, Dr. Charles R. Shepherd, who had taught at Canton's Pui Ching Academy and was then the head of San Francisco's Chinese Baptist Mission, established the Chung Mei Home for boys in 1923. A summer camp at Locke and a variety of sports teams soon were organized. In 1935, the home moved from its original Berkeley location to a new building in El Cerrito. Because of the diverse ages of the boys, Shepherd established the Chung Mei Cadets and a Drum and Bugle Corps rather than a Boy Scout Troop.⁴⁸

Chung Mei's First Annual Field Day was held at the new grounds in 1936; Walter Christy, former track coach at the University of California, served as referee and starter. Reflecting upon its success, Shepherd wrote: "The introduction of this annual event into the life of our home has done much to stimulate the spirit of keen, clean competition and good sportsmanship."⁴⁹ By 1938, the Chung Mei Home housed seventy-eight boys. Its football and basketball squads played against "B" teams of local schools as well as against Oakland's Chinese Crusaders, the Richmond and San Pablo YMCAs, and other groups.⁵⁰ In 1941, the Chung Mei Home entered the largest out-of-town contingent in the Chinese YMCA's annual track meet.⁵¹

The Chinese Boy Scouts of America

In his oral history of Chinese American life in San Francisco from 1919 to 1991, Thomas Chinn (founder of the Chinese Historical Society of America) relates the following story.

Around 1910, before the Boy Scout movement had reached San Francisco, Chinatown resident Hugh Liang obtained a Scout *Handbook* from national headquarters. Some years later Chingwah Lee found this copy while playing in the churchyard of the Chinese Methodist Church. With the help of B.Y. Chu (Secretary of the Chinese YMCA) a group was formed in 1914. At the time there was no Boy Scout Council in San Francisco, so registration was arranged with the Los Angeles Council, and Troop 13, the first Chinese Boy Scout troop in America, was created. A San Francisco Boy Scout Council (with two “American” troops) was formed in 1916; when Troop 13 moved under its jurisdiction it was designated Troop 3.⁵² Oakland’s Chinese Boy Scout Troop 45 soon would provide similarly for youth of that city.

Because Boy Scouts had been translated as “the Boy Soldiers”—and according to Confucian values the military was considered the lowest occupation—parents initially had been reluctant to allow their sons to join. When it was made clear that the organization had nothing to do with “armed forces fighting against each other” they were more amenable. According to Thomas Chinn and Edwar Lee, at a time when the Chinese community was strongly divided into clan and district associations the inclusiveness of the Boy Scouts (where sons marched, camped, and played together) helped bring various factions together.⁵³

The original interest in out-of-door activities soon extended to sports. During the 1930s Boy Scout Troop 3 organized its own annual track meet. Eleven clubs—some from as far away as Fresno and Marysville—sent competitors in 1936.⁵⁴ It also became a formidable presence in West Coast basketball. In 1936, it defeated a visiting University of Washington Chinese Basketball Team by a score of 50-22, thereby gaining the “mythical title of Pacific Coast Chinese Champion”; in the preliminary contest, the Scout Juniors won a close contest against the Oakland Chinese Athletic Association by a score of 37-36.⁵⁵

Boy Scout Troop 34, established by the Catholic Chinese Social Center in fall 1935, was also a member of the Catholic Youth Organization (CYO). Boy Scout Troop 11 was inaugurated at the Chinese Methodist Church on January 5, 1936. Both groups organized basketball teams. Although far less active, the Girl Scouts also provided some sporting opportunities. Girl Scout Troop 14, formed by the Chinese Presbyterian Church in 1932, participated in the Troop 3 track meet and the 1933 Cathay Relay Carnival and competed in basketball against girls’ teams from various Chinese schools.⁵⁶

The Chinese Playground

Concerned that their boys had only narrow streets and alleys in which to play, the Chinese community urged the city to provide accommodations. In 1925, the San Francisco Playground Commission purchased a half acre⁵⁷ across from the uphill site upon which the Chinese YMCA would be built and set about creating the Chinese Playground. Opened in 1927, this consisted of a small area for children’s games and, on other levels, one court each for basketball, volleyball, and tennis. Under the direction of Oliver (Ollie) Chang, a graduate of the University of California, extensive activities and contests were arranged. Attendance figures for 1929-30, as reported in the San Francisco Playground Commission’s *Annual Report*, indicate its popularity. Of a total of 3,543,134 city-wide participations, the Chinese Playground accounted for 170,032, placing it fifth in the rankings of the city’s 29 facilities.⁵⁸

During the 1920s and 1930s, urban playgrounds in many parts of the country offered many activities for a range of participants; San Francisco was no exception. In addition to an extensive sports program, the Chinese Playground organized harmonica bands, dramatics, marble tournaments, and kite flying contests. Describing the city's first annual Kite Flying Contest (1928), the Playground Commission's *Annual Report* noted the enthusiastic interest that had been shown by Chinese children. In 1941, entrants from the Chinese Playground won twelve of the eighteen events in the boys' division; Ellen Mar won every event in the girls' division.⁵⁹

After years of entreaty, the San Francisco Playground Commission installed night lights in 1938. The federal government, through a Works Progress Administration fund, furnished \$4,230; the Playground Commission supplied the remaining \$2,818.⁶⁰ However, adequate play space for the community never was forthcoming. A 1941 petition to the Board of Education, the Recreation Commission, and mayor Angelo Rossi stated, in part:

Whereas, [a]pproximately 18,000 Chinese people are living in the congested and restricted area of Chinatown, and... [m]inor children constitute about 33 1/3% of the Chinese population... and [p]rivate yards and/or play spaces are practically non-existent... [we request that] land adjacent to the Commodore Stockton School property be purchased, and that it be converted into a playground to be used not only as a school yard... but also as a Public Playground after school hours.⁶¹

Space limitations notwithstanding, the Chinese Playground organized an astonishing number of events. It also was the venue for matches of the San Francisco Chinese Tennis Club. In 1937, it sponsored the First Annual Chinese Girls' Basketball League; eight teams took part. Six teams representing the Chinese Playground were entered in the 1940 San Francisco Playground Commission's basketball tournament.⁶²

St. Mary's Athletic Club

Church missions had been active in San Francisco's Chinatown since the mid-1800s. During the twentieth century, ten denominations vied for the attention of the second and third generations.⁶³ In 1920, Anthony Chan, a catechist from Canton, began to preach to residents in their own language. An offer to finance the building of a permanent Catholic Chinese School and Social Center was quickly accepted and the cornerstone for a two story building with a chapel, five classrooms, boys' and girls' clubrooms, and a large auditorium was laid on December 8, 1920. The Holy Family Catholic Chinese School (also known as Sing Ma-Li or St. Mary's) officially opened on August 1, 1921.⁶⁴

The new school enrolled over three hundred youngsters. It also ran a Chinese language school and provided evening classes in English for adults. The St. Mary's Drum and Bugle Corps was founded in 1932. The colorful St. Mary's All-Girls Drill Team, established in 1940, became a frequent participant at celebrations throughout California, at Portland's annual Rose Parade, and in other events. St. Mary's Athletic Club, established in 1935, became especially active in basketball, which was played on the school's small outdoor court. It also introduced boxing to the community's youth.⁶⁵ Mr. Leo Carr, a member of the Olympic Club boxing team, was engaged to supervise the clubs activities; Sammy Lee, who had fought as a bantamweight in the 1920s, taught boxing. The Chinese

St. Mary's Junior Basketball Team, 1937. *Courtesy Bancroft Library, University of California (reprinted from Chinese Digest, May 1937)*



YMCA also began to sponsor youth boxing. Although “combatives” did not engender great interest within the Chinese community, 400 spectators turned out for the 1936 St. Mary's Benefit Boxing Show, billed as the “first boxing show in history ever put on by a Chinese club.” The evening program included songs and dances by members of the school.⁶⁶

St. Mary's initiated its own basketball tournaments and also entered 80-, 90-, 100-, and 120 pound-class teams in Catholic Youth Organization competitions. In 1941, the four teams from St. Mary's defeated those of every other organization enrolled in the city's CYO League, thereby earning the right to enter the statewide basketball competition. St. Mary's athletes also competed in YMCA track meets and a variety of events sponsored by other groups.⁶⁷ Following World War II, “The Saints,” composed largely of young war veterans, were repeat winners of the National All-Oriental Basketball Tournament. The St. Mary's girls' team was especially strong during the 1940s and early 1950s when Helen Wong was acknowledged to be one of its most outstanding players.⁶⁸

Seattle and the Northwest

While Chinese communities across North America shared much in common, geographic location, size of the community, time of arrival, and other factors resulted in certain differences. Seattle provides one example. In 1905, the Port Townsend Immigrant Station—headquarters of the Pacific Northwest and located 80 miles away on the Olympic Peninsula—had been transferred to Seattle, whose Chinese American population always was much smaller than that of San Francisco. It also was more dispersed.

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>
San Francisco/Oakland	20,982	34,774
Los Angeles	4,736	9,273
Sacramento	1,508	3,852
Seattle	<u>1,781</u>	<u>2,703</u>
Total US	77,504	117,140

The Seattle community, centered around Jackson Street, also arranged various activities to foster the advancement of the younger generation. According to Harry Luke, baseball, scouting, and other activities were available on Saturday mornings at the Chong Wa Benevolent Association’s Chinese School (established in 1928). Over the years contests for girls as well as for boys in basketball, tennis, and other sports were played against Japanese American and other teams in the Seattle area. An All-Hawaiian basketball team visited in the 1930s.⁷⁰

The small Girl Scout Troop 75 was formed.⁷¹ Boy Scout Troop 254, which received support from the American Legion Auxiliary’s Cathay Post 186, acted as attendants at banquets of the China Club of Seattle. Established in 1916 by United States Commercial Attaché Julian Arnold to promote mutual trade and friendly relations, the China Club (which Arnold headed for several decades) contributed to China relief efforts and aided students from China. It joined with the University of Washington Chinese Students Club, the Seattle Chinese Tennis Club, and the Chinese Baptist Church to launch the first annual Pacific Northwest Christian Youth Conference summer camp. Held on Vashon Island, about 15 miles from Seattle in Puget Sound, the camp was intended to strengthen ties among young people in the Northwest and British Columbia.⁷² Portland’s Wah Kiang Club’s basketball team participated in the 1934 YMCA House League; its Chungwah Girls’ basketball team was likewise locally engaged. In 1936, the University of Washington Chinese basketball squad defeated the Portland Eagles (Wah Kiang), winners of the Portland YMCA tournament.⁷³

According to Paul Yee, the Methodist Young People’s Athletic Club of Vancouver, Canada organized a basketball team in 1924. Picnics and roller skating parties were organized by the Chinese Youth Association. In 1928, the Chinese Benevolent Association raised \$3,000 to equip the Chinese Playground on Pender Street. Shortly thereafter the Vancouver Chinese Tennis Club built its own courts and clubhouse. When the Chinese Students’ Club won the British Columbia Mainland [Soccer] Cup in 1934, Vancouver’s Chinatown “erupted in a wild celebration.”⁷⁴ A variety of events brought young people from Vancouver, Victoria, Portland, and Seattle together each year. Sixty gathered in Seattle in April 1949. Eight months later, 150 gathered on Vancouver Island for fellowship, basketball games, roller skating, and a semiformal dance.⁷⁵

Seattle’s Jackson Street Community Council sponsored basketball teams and a softball league; games usually were played at Garfield High School, which most Chinese youths attended, or at Collins International Field House. Cathay Post 186 sponsored softball

teams and entered the Nisei Commercial Bowling League. The Nam Chung Billiard Establishment sponsored a football team; its Thanksgiving week-end contest with Portland in 1949 concluded with the Third Annual Pigskin Prom.⁷⁶

The Chinese Baptist Church was the center of much of the social life of Seattle's community and the locale for meetings of the Chinese Tennis Club. The 1949 tournament with the Japanese Tennis Club consisted of ten singles (three for women) and four doubles matches, followed by the Annual Tennis Club Dance. Participants from Portland, Seattle, and Vancouver also participated in tennis matches. Golfers competed in tournaments sponsored by the Puget Sound Golf Association and against Japanese golfers in both the Seattle area and Portland. Skiing excursions to local slopes and to Mt. Hood were arranged; for some, fishing in Lake Washington was a favorite pastime.⁷⁷

Al Mar, a forward on the Whitman College (Walla Walla, Washington) basketball team, had set a school scoring record in 1942. Two weeks later Mar was in the Bay Area, where he tied for high scorer on a team that defeated Boy Scout Troop 3, winner of the Sixth Annual Wah Ying Tournament.⁷⁸ In 1947, Cathay Post 186 and the Nisei Veterans jointly initiated the Oriental-American National Basketball Tournament. Teams from California (the ultimate victor), Oregon, and Hawaii, as well as the state of Washington, participated.⁷⁹ Diminutive guard William "Woo Woo" Wong, who had begun his basketball career at St. Mary's, was named "Outstanding Player."⁸⁰ The event continued into the 1950s.

When a group of young Chinese American women and men "working together toward bettering our community"⁸¹ inaugurated a monthly newsletter titled *The Epoch* in early 1949, the significance that they attached to sports appeared evident from the outset:

The Chinese community of Seattle presents a varied and loosely-knit group... our ultimate aim is to unite the people of the Community and arouse in them the drive toward greater cooperation.... Athletics and sports... are an important part of our lives both socially and for entertainment.⁸²

Los Angeles

Before 1950, the aggregate size of the Los Angeles Chinese American community was approximately one quarter that of San Francisco/Oakland. It was also much more dispersed, especially after the city's small original Chinatown was demolished in 1933 to make room for Union Station. A one-block square enclosed Chinatown, described as the only Chinese community in America that had been "planned beforehand," opened in 1938.⁸³ Children attended the public schools in their neighborhoods; many also attended Chinese school. By the 1930s clubs, hobbies, and especially sports were becoming instrumental in bringing the widely scattered community together.⁸⁴ Some churches created sports teams; a girl scout troop was formed in 1942.

Youthful respondents to a survey of recreational interests conducted by Mabel Sam Lee in the late 1930s ranked sports first, music second, and dancing third. According to Sucheta Mazumdar, after the Apablaza Playground in old Chinatown had been converted to commercial uses it was necessary for many participants to travel considerable distances to the Downey Playground or the All Nations Foundation Gymnasium.⁸⁵ The small 9th Street Playground was the venue for two girls' and two boys' basketball teams. The Los

Angeles Chinese Tennis Club, which competed against similar groups in southern and central California and played in Pacific Coast Chinese Tennis Association tournaments, also met there.⁸⁶

The Mei Wah Club, which was organized in 1931 to encourage friendships and an ethic of service, established a popular Girls Drum Corps. It also competed in basketball against the Lowa Auxiliary Girls' Club, formed in the mid-1930s by teenagers and college women who wanted to play the game. Lowa Auxiliary was affiliated with the YWCA, but had no official connection with the Lowa Club. When it disbanded following World War II, a group of sports minded young women from the Chinese Catholic Center formed the Cathayette Girls' Club.⁸⁷

The Lowa Club of Los Angeles, the area's most active male sports group, engaged in softball, tennis, volleyball, ping pong, and basketball competitions during the 1930s. Its basketball teams often journeyed north to San Francisco—and also to Seattle. In 1936, Lowa defeated the Croatian Athletic Club to win the Southern California AA Division Basketball Championship.⁸⁸ San Diego's Wildcats were winners of that city's 140-pound basketball championship in 1937. Football was also played. The *Chinese Digest* in 1936 reported that a recently formed tackle football team, victorious in its initial game against Manual Arts High School, had tied Pasadena's Crown City Japanese team.⁸⁹ Beginning in 1937, football teams from Los Angeles and San Francisco would meet several times as part of "Rice Bowl" festivities.



Los Angeles Lowa Basketball Team, 1936 Southern California Oriental Champions. *Courtesy Bancroft Library (reprinted from Chinese Digest, February 1937)*

Chinese American Newspapers and Rice Bowl Festivities

The San Francisco-based *Chinese Digest*, which first appeared on November 15, 1935, was dedicated to dispelling misunderstandings and stereotypes, informing Chinese Americans about their cultural heritage, and fostering acceptance in the larger society. By 1936, the weekly *Digest* had representatives in ten California towns, Portland, Seattle, New York, and Honolulu. Under the leadership of founder, editor, and sport enthusiast Thomas Chinn, the *Digest* gave extensive attention to sports and recreation.⁹⁰ It unquestionably helped stimulate interest and participation. A lengthy account of the Sixth Annual Athletic Meet that had taken place in Shanghai, China in 1935 informed readers that a film of the event would be shown locally.⁹¹ Regarding the Shanghai Meet, Tau Pan wrote enthusiastically: “[A]n army of 3,000 boys and girls from various parts of China participated, fighting and competing, putting forth every ounce of their energy in a battle for athletic supremacy.”⁹² Those athletes who challenged stereotypes of Chinese Americans as “physically awkward and uncoordinated” received similar praise. An editorial in autumn 1936 asserted: “Chinese athletes throughout the United States enjoyed one of the greatest, if not actually the greatest year in history.”⁹³ Citing Ed Williams, coach at San Francisco’s Polytechnic High School, the *Chinese Digest* applauded his characterization of their team spirit, sportsmanship, and elusiveness on court and field.⁹⁴

The bi-weekly *Chinese News*, which Chinn began in 1940, also gave considerable attention to sport. The San Francisco-based *California Chinese Press*, begun in 1940 by William Hoy and Charles Leong, did likewise and provided more (albeit brief) information about sporting events in Chicago, New York, and other cities.⁹⁵ All three announced annual Big Game dances and sports events organized by the Chinese Students Clubs at the University of California, Stanford, and various local colleges; they also urged readers to patronize local businesses such as Hall’s Sport Shop, Yankees Sport Shop, the Shangtai Cafe, and Eastern Bakery (all of which at one time or another sponsored teams) and to attend Bowl of Rice activities.⁹⁶

Following Japan’s July 1937 attack on Shanghai, San Francisco’s Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association set about collecting funds to send to Nanking.⁹⁷ Nationwide efforts were initiated by the United Council for Civilian Relief for China and the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China. These soon evolved into annual “Bowl of Rice” celebrations. The *San Francisco Chronicle’s* headline describing the first Rice Bowl parry and parade, held on June 17, 1938, declared “300,000 Throng Chinatown for Rice Bowl Fete.” St. Mary’s Drill Team, the Chung Mei Drum Corps, Boy Scout Troops 3, 11, and 34, and Locke’s Chinese School were among the groups that marched.⁹⁸ By 1940, Chinese communities in 39 states were organizing Rice Bowl celebrations.⁹⁹

The very public nature of sport made it a useful contributor to these efforts. In 1937, the first of several Rice Bowl football games was held at San Francisco’s Ewing Field. A crowd estimated at 2,000 watched the local favorites defeat rival Los Angeles by a score of 7-0.¹⁰⁰ The star of the 1939 San Francisco Rice Bowl team (victorious for the third time) was full back Marshall Leong, who had played for three years on the Mission High School varsity. Described by local sports writers as “the best Chinese football player of the season,” the six-foot, two-hundred-pound Leong was selected to play in the East-West DeMolay all-star game, and received recruiting offers from several colleges and universities.¹⁰¹



Third Rice Bowl Football Championship, 1938 (San Francisco 24, Los Angeles 0). *Courtesy Bancroft Library (reprinted from Chinese Digest, January 1939)*

Football, Tackle and Touch

Tackle football was the game played at the Rice Bowl and in various leagues that were formed in the 1930s and 1940s. As early as 1919 the *San Francisco Chronicle* had noted that a group organized by Sam Kai Kee was desirous of arranging games with any team that averaged 145 pounds.¹⁰² The Yoke Choy Club had a tackle football team in the 1920s. In 1937, the *Chinese Digest* reported that the undefeated Unknown Packers (a lightweight team sponsored by St. Mary's) was about to face its hardest game with the Oakland Chinese; the other teams in the league were Civic Center, Organized Boys Club, and Chung Wah.¹⁰³ Of the five teams in the 1940 Northern California Chinese Football League, three were from San Francisco—Hip Wo, Dragoners, and St. Mary's Packers; the other two were Sacramento's Black Panthers and Oakland's Young Chinese Athletic Club. "All-Star Team" awards were distributed at a dance held at the Chinese YMCA. Nine teams were expected to compete in 1941.¹⁰⁴ Chinese youths also played on high school varsities in Oakland, San Francisco, Vallejo, Salinas, Watsonville, and other towns.

Touch football—along with basketball and volleyball—was included in the program that Chinese Playground Director Oliver Chang had begun in 1935; the YMCA organized a league. Youngsters also entered the city-wide annual Football Feature, which consisted of distance and accuracy in passing and punting.¹⁰⁵ While football certainly had its enthusiasts, lack of adequate playing space was one reason why this game did not attain the same participation rates as did basketball. Additionally, an article that appeared in the Chinese Press in 1943 stated: "[We] don't go in for bodily contact sports such as football because [our] ancestral philosophy is against knocking people down and hurting them."¹⁰⁶

The Growth of Baseball and Softball

The Waku Auxiliary, which organized "the first Oakland All-Chinese Girls' Basketball Team in 1929," also created girls' teams in track and softball; games took place on the playground at Lincoln School.¹⁰⁷ The nearby Oakland Chinese Center, founded in 1935 by a group of Chinese business and professional men to provide a place "where youngsters

[could] find wholesome recreation,” supported the local Boy Scout troop as well as various sports teams.¹⁰⁸

Dazhi Lum recalls that Oakland’s Wa Sung Athletic Club began in 1923 when he and other boys began meeting every Sunday in Chinatown. Led by the Bowen brothers—Ed, George, and especially Albert (also known as Lee Gum Hong)—the group organized a baseball team in 1926. Albert also pitched for the Oakland High School varsity. According to Steve Lavoie, *Oakland Tribune* librarian, the Depression had caused a serious decline in attendance at Pacific Coast League baseball parks and promoters were seeking ways to attract fans. Because Al Bowen enjoyed a loyal following among the Chinese community, arrangements were made for him to pitch an exhibition game for the Oakland Oaks on September 28, 1932.¹⁰⁹ In 1935, when the Wa Sung Athletic Club finished “among the leaders in the Berkeley International League,” the team included Fay Chinn, an “All-City” second baseman at Oakland’s McClymonds High School.¹¹⁰

Japanese American baseball thrived in California’s Central Valley.¹¹¹ When the Wa Sung visited in 1936, they lost to both the Fresno Japanese and the Fresno Police. One contributing factor, the *Chinese Digest* suggested, was the pre-game generosity of the Fresno Brewing Company.¹¹² Undeterred, the Wa Sung went on to defeat the Berkeley Grays, a local African American club, by a score of 13-10 to begin the second half of the Berkeley International League championships.¹¹³ The erstwhile Bowen pitched for the Oaklanders and accumulated four hits in six times at bat. The following week they defeated the Aztecs (a Mexican team) to gain undisputed first place.¹¹⁴ The Wa Sung played throughout California as well as in Nevada and Oregon before disbanding in 1938.¹¹⁵

Two hundred spectators were present at the opening games of a six team San Francisco Chinese Softball League in 1936. Because Chinatown lacked adequate space, games had to be held some distance away at the Margaret S. Hayward and Funston playgrounds.¹¹⁶ In Oakland, the proximity of Exposition Field (with its three well-kept diamonds) to Chinatown fostered participation in softball and baseball. According to Hector Eng, softball received an impetus when the China War Relief Association staged a benefit exhibition at the Pacific Coast League’s Seals Stadium as part of 1937 Rice Bowl events. The Wa Sung and teams representing the Oakland Chinese Center, the SF Chinese Merchants, and the Oakland Dragonettes (who had won the Berkeley Girls’ Softball League) participated. Left-handed pitcher Gwenlyn Wong, who had led the Dragonettes to their undefeated 1937 season (and now was a student at UC’s Medical School), captained the Lucky Stores team that won the 1941 Alameda County women’s softball championship.¹¹⁷

The Significance of Basketball

During the 1920s, the Namwah Athletic Club had participated in Pacific Athletic Association competitions; basketball became the most extensively played sport within and among Chinese communities up and down the West Coast. The Shangtai Cagers, formed in 1934, included several former high school players.¹¹⁸ In 1935, several members of the Wah Ying Club, which also had played in the 1920s, launched an annual basketball tournament to “revive enthusiasm” for the game. Five teams from San Francisco participated the first year; among these was the Boy Scout Troop 3 team that had averaged fifty points a game during a recent tour of Southern and Central California.¹¹⁹

Oakland, Berkeley, San Jose, Palo Alto, Salinas, Stockton, Watsonville, San Rafael, and Monterey all had teams. The tiny Central Valley town of Locke had three. Sacramento's Chung Wah School, one of four Chinese teams entered in that city's 1936 basketball tournament, won the Northern California YMCA Chinese championship.¹²⁰ In the southern part of the state Santa Barbara reorganized its Sun Wah basketball team and looked forward to contests in Los Angeles.¹²¹ The Chinese YMCA, St. Mary's, and various Chinese language schools created teams in several weight categories—a practice that was fairly widespread at the time. In their first appearances St. Mary's "varsity" defeated the Chan Yings, and its 120-pound team defeated the Red and Grey Club (composed of former Lingnan University students).¹²²

During the 1930s Chinese boys attending San Francisco's several public high schools formed the Chi Hi Basketball League; games were played on the court at the Chinese YMCA.¹²³ The Girls Chi Hi Basketball League (composed of teams from San Francisco Junior College and four high schools—Commerce, Galileo, Polytechnic, and Girls High) played most of its games on the court at the Chinese YWCA.¹²⁴ Responding to numerous requests for basketball, the YWCA also organized its own team and required, as was typical at the time in girls' sports, that each participant "present a health certificate or take a health examination."¹²⁵

The Mei Wah Girls' Club won the City of San Francisco Recreation League's eleven team tournament in 1935. Chinese Girl Scout Troop 14 played the first game of its 1936 season against the Chung Wah School on the San Francisco Chinese Presbyterian Church's small court—and hoped that contests soon might be arranged with Portland's Chung Wah Girls' Basketball Team.¹²⁶ Erline Lowe, described as Chinatown's "foremost all-around girl athlete," coached both of the Catholic Daughters of America (CDA) teams that won their divisions in the 1938 city-wide Girls Basketball League.¹²⁷ During the 1940s and early 1950s, the St. Mary's Girls' "Saints" became a formidable presence in CYO tournaments.¹²⁸

Across the Bay, the Crusaders and Imperial Five played at Oakland's Chinese Presbyterian Church. Teams from the Young Chinese AC competed in the Oakland Jewish Center's 1935 All-Nations League as well as against the San Jose Chinese Students' Club, Berkeley Chinese AC, the Agun AC of Irvington, and local Japanese, Korean, and Filipino teams.¹²⁹ In spring 1936, Chinese students from the University of Washington played seven games in the Bay Area. Upon winning the final contest, San Francisco's Troop 3 claimed "the mythical Pacific Coast Chinese Basketball Championship."¹³⁰

In late 1940, the Wah Kue Basketball Club of San Francisco purchased a Chevrolet and left on a 3,000 mile game-playing and self-described "good will" tour of the Pacific Northwest, Utah, Montana, Idaho, and North Dakota, during which they played against Chinese and other local teams. The Chinese Playground entered six teams in the 1940 city-wide Playground League, and was represented in the Recreation Department's Second Annual Basketball Pentathlon. Meanwhile, youngsters from the Chung Wah, Hip Wo, St. Mary's, and Baptist schools were participating in their own Inter-School Chinese Basketball League; the first three entered girls' as well as boys' teams.¹³¹

In 1941, with ten teams entered in the Sixth Annual Wah Ying Basketball Tournament, Boy Scout Troop 3 defeated the Chinatown Merchants to retain the title. Four St.

Mary's teams qualified for the state-wide CYO tournament. Repeat winners of the City Recreation League Girls' "C" Division, the Mei Wahs, moved into Class "A."¹³² The Young Men's Division of the Chinese YMCA, victorious over the West Berkeley YMD, went on to defeat southern California champion Iowa in a game that was preceded by a contest between the Iowa Auxiliary and the Junior Collegiates.¹³³ The 1941 Four Cities Tournament (Salinas, Monterey, Watsonville, and Palo Alto) was won by San Francisco's visiting Cathay Club. A dancing party, as was often the case with such sporting events, culminated the festivities.¹³⁴

Chinese Athletes on High School and College Teams

During the 1920s, Foon Kai Kee, a graduate of and star quarterback at Dinuba High School in California's Central Valley, had played second base on Yale's varsity. Not to be outdone by her athletic brothers, sister Bessie Kee captained her senior high school softball team and played on the Wah Kue girls' basketball team.¹³⁵ Chinese athletes participated as members of numerous high school varsities and college teams. In addition to the aforementioned individuals, some examples include Fred Hong Wong, Polytechnic High School forward who was named to the *San Francisco Chronicle's* prep squad. Earl Wong (who played on the Boy Scout Troop 3 varsity) was a forward on the University of California's 1935 freshman quintet. Ed Yee was on the football squad at San Francisco State College. Jack Look played tennis and basketball at San Rafael High School. Leslie Fong (quarterback) and Woodrow Louie (end) were "stars" on the Vallejo High School football team. Allie Wong, a member of the Wa Sung baseball team, played on both the Oakland Technical High School varsity and an American Legion team.¹³⁶ Hock Ong reached the finals of the 1937 United States badminton championships. Born in British Malaya, Ong had



Hock Sim Ong, Chinese Badminton Champion. *Courtesy Bancroft Library (reprinted from Chinese Digest, May 1937)*

learned the game as a student at Cambridge. While studying international law at the University of California he won the California state tournament. In 1941, Kenneth Kai Kee was a guard on the University of California 130 lb. basketball team and Elwood Tom was on the freshman track squad. Henry Yee, said to be the only Chinese in the United States “competing in intercollegiate swimming,” was a member of the UC varsity.¹³⁷

Tennis

Thomas Chinn recalls that he and several friends began playing tennis on city courts in North Beach in 1924, going early in the morning “before the white boys and girls came out.”¹³⁸ Attitudes that precluded—or severely limited—their participation in many public arenas did not deter Chinese American communities from taking steps to create their own organizations and events. In late 1935, an article in the *Chinese Digest* reported: “Tennis, a sport considered a silly game a few short years ago by many young Chinese, is one of their most popular games today.” Enthusiasts recently had formed the Chinese Tennis Association of San Francisco (better known as Chitena). Membership soon reached one hundred and fifty; Dr. Theodore Lew (a dentist) served as first president. Two years later, Chitena President H. K. Wong noted that although “comparatively new” to the Chinese community, the game was continuing to grow in popularity.¹³⁹

Chitena conducted local, state, and regional tournaments and held elegant annual award banquets, dances, and other social events. Eleven-year-old Henrietta Jung (a protegee of Fred Mar, coach of several young Chinatown players) was described by the *San Francisco Examiner* as the “main attraction” of 1935 tennis exhibitions.¹⁴⁰ Towns and cities up and down the West Coast took up tennis. A source of pride for participants, the contests served important civic and social purposes for the larger Chinese American community. A small orchestra accompanied players from San Francisco when they traveled to compete against Stockton’s Chinese Tennis Club in 1936 and played at the dance that followed the games. For its trip south for matches with the Los Angeles Chinese Tennis Club, Chitena chartered a bus and brought along the Mei Wah basketball team that was scheduled to play against a local girls’ team. The week-end concluded with a gala Sport Dance at the Westgate Masonic Ballroom.¹⁴¹

Jennie Chew and Henrietta Jung met in the semi-finals of the Girls’ Division of the 1936 *San Francisco Examiner’s* inaugural Amateur Tennis Tournament. Upon defeating



Mixed doubles winners and runners up of the 1938 spring Tennis Tournament, *l-r.* Ben Chu and Mary Chan (winners), Henrietta Jung and Willie Gee (runners up), *Courtesy Bancroft Library (reprinted from Chinese Digest, May 1938)*

Susan Tivol in the finals, Chew was crowned tournament champion.¹⁴² In 1936, the San Francisco Lodge of the Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA)¹⁴³ and Chitena joined in sponsoring the First Chinese Pacific Coast Tennis Championships; singles winners were Tahmie Chinn and Erline Lowe. Two years later seventy-four individuals from seven California towns participated.¹⁴⁴

A crowd of enthusiastic spectators gathered at the Chinese Playground court in October 1940 for an exhibition between Chinese Davis Cup player W.C. Choy and the current Pacific Coast Chinese champion Peter Gee. Born in China in 1914, Choy had graduated in 1935 from Cambridge University, where he was the first Chinese on the tennis team. His appearances in Los Angeles and San Francisco were part of a tour to raise funds for war ravaged China.¹⁴⁵ In August 1941, when Chitena and the CACA sponsored the Sixth Annual Pacific Coast Tennis Tournament, Lee's Sport Shop donated the new perpetual trophy. Defending singles champions were Peter Gee (winner in '37 and '40) and Henrietta Jung (winner in '38, '39, and '40). Among its many civic and social activities, the San Francisco Chinese Tennis Club joined with the Shangtai Cafe to sponsor a special track meet in 1936 billed as "the Olympics of America"—Troop 3 was expected to dominate the boys' division; Mei Wah, Oakland's Waku Auxiliary, and the Canton Noodle Factory comprised the girls' division.¹⁴⁶

Golf

The beginnings of the Chinese Golfers Association of America have been traced to a chance meeting in 1928 between George Jue and CC. Wing at San Francisco's Lincoln Golf Course. In an effort to foster interest, Wing began to sponsor tournaments; he served as first president of the San Francisco Chinese Golf Club, founded in 1938.¹⁴⁷ In addition



Fifth Annual Chinese Golf Championship. *Courtesy Bancroft Library (reprinted from Chinese Digest, February 1938)*

to annual tournaments, the club held “hole-in-one” competitions and special events. Forty men and women participated in the 1941 President’s Special Tournament at Crystal Springs Golf Club in Burlingame. Two months later, 46 golfers from Oakland, San Francisco, Santa Barbara, and San Luis Obispo came together for a tournament at the Harding Park course. George Jue won the 1942 Chinese Golfers Association tournament (the last to be held for the duration of the war).¹⁴⁸

Other Sports

These were by no means the only sports and active recreations in which Chinese Americans took part. George Ong won the Chinese Branch competition during the 1935 city-wide YMCA billiard tournament. The following year, thirty young people participated in a billiard tournament sponsored by St. Mary’s.¹⁴⁹ The Chinese YMCA started body-building classes. James Lee, a member of the Oakland YMCA weightlifting team, won the Northern California 132-pound championship in 1938-39.¹⁵⁰

Although prohibited from participating at the same time as the general population, rollerskating parties were popular with Chinese American youth in many towns and cities. The Chinese Sportsmen’s Club provided fishing excursions and fishing derbies for those interested in less active recreations.¹⁵¹ Beginning a tradition of several decades, the Chinese Christian Union Fellowship Council held its first conference at Zephyr Point, Lake Tahoe in July 1933. Classes, lectures, and discussions were held in the mornings; during the afternoons and evenings conferees enjoyed swimming, tennis, hiking, musical programs, and other pastimes. In February 1941, the UC Chinese alumni sponsored their first week-end skiing trip.¹⁵²

Northern California “flyweight” Sammy Foey participated in the 1935 Golden Gloves Tournament. Harry Jung was winner of Northern California and Pacific Athletic Association 105-pound championships. Two entries from the CYO of Salinas were slated to appear in the 1940 Golden Gloves Boxing Tournament. The following year Hawaiian-born Kui Kong Young defeated bantamweight champion Lou Salica, prompting the *Chinese News* to declare: “For the first time... a Chinese is within a hair’s breath of becoming world champion in boxing.”¹⁵³

Bowling aficionados had pursued their favorite pastime for several years before the First Annual Pacific Coast Chinese Bowling Tournament was held at Bakersfield in November 1940. The following year, eleven cities participated in the Second Annual Tournament, held at San Francisco’s Chinese Bowling Alley. In association with Fresno’s 1941 Chinese Mid-State Bowling Tournament, the Fay Wah Auxiliary sponsored its Second Annual Fall Dance and invited Chinese servicemen from Ft. Ord and other military establishments to attend.¹⁵⁴

World War II and Its Aftermath

In 1919, the city of San Jose (40 miles south of San Francisco) had turned out to greet Lou Sing Kee, the “most highly decorated local enlisted man in the Great War.” The son of immigrants, Kee had received the Distinguished Service Cross for single-handedly operating his regiment’s message center in the Argonne Forest while enduring mustard gas attacks and constant bombardment.¹⁵⁵ Two decades later, Chinese Americans again would

rise to the defense of their country. A headline in the *California Chinese Press* on November 22, 1940 announced: "First Four Chinese Named Available for Military Service." Before the war ended twelve thousand would serve. The *Chinese Press* patriotically proclaimed: "The California Chinese today are predominantly Americans, either through the privilege of birth or by derivative citizenship... their future is the future of America, and their social and political ideals are those of the American democracy."¹⁵⁶

As America's involvement in World War II intensified, civilian attention increasingly turned to military and defense matters. Barriers were dropped, permitting Americans of Chinese descent to join the Merchant Marine and other branches of the armed services. One hundred and thirty-five men who had attended the Chung Mei Home served in the military forces.¹⁵⁷ Florence Lee became San Francisco's first member of the Women's Army Corps—one of several hundred Chinese American women who joined. Chinese units of the American Women's Volunteer Service initiated war bond drives and a Chinese company of the California State Guard was formed.¹⁵⁸

Residents of Chinatowns from Portland to New York opened their community centers to servicemen. The California Chinese State Guard unit invited them to enter its table tennis tournament. The Chinese YMCA offered its showers and swimming pool. The Chinese YWCA initiated a fitness program, engaged in Red Cross work, collected clothing for war refugees, and organized dances to which they invited Chinese servicemen.¹⁵⁹ The Chinese Young Women's Society, organized in July 1944 at Oakland's Chinese Presbyterian Church, provided similar social activities.¹⁶⁰

The war sparked a variety of changes for the Chinese American community, whose help was needed at shipyards and in other wartime industries. More individuals found work outside of Chinatown; federal housing near essential industries also became available. Some women as well as men gained access, albeit limited, to professional fields and trades that formerly had been closed to them.¹⁶¹ These developments helped break down barriers and set the stage for ultimate careers outside Chinatown.

The emergency precluded-or reduced-participation in various sports. The Seventh Wah Ying Basketball Tournament, scheduled before the bombing of Pearl Harbor, was the last to be held. The Thirty-first Chinese YMCA track meet and the marathon were held in May 1942; following the 1943 running, both were cancelled for the duration of the war.¹⁶² Minus several of its star players, Chitena journeyed to southern California for its 1942 matches with the Los Angeles Tennis Club. The Chinese Press suspended operations between 1943 and 1948; the *Chinese News* ceased publication.

Following the termination of hostilities, sporting activities again came to the fore. The Berkeley Chinese Athletic Club (inactive during the war) was reactivated. The YMCA Marathon was reinstated in 1946. Events in 1948—the year that the State of California declared unconstitutional its 98-year-old ban against miscegenation (interracial marriages)—reflected the range of sporting activities in which California's 30,000 Chinese Americans now engaged. Frank Chow, a World War II gunnery instructor, represented the United States in marksmanship at the 1948 London Olympic Games.¹⁶³ The Fourteenth Annual Chinese Golfers Association invitational tournament attracted 120 entrants from California and the Northwest.



Start of 1948 or 1949 Marathon. *Courtesy Bancroft Library*

When the Wah Ying Club's basketball tournament was not reinstated, the Chinatown Veterans of Foreign Wars Post (founded in 1945) began one of their own. The Chinese Optimist Club (a group of young businessmen concerned about the lack of constructive activities for youth) also organized a basketball tournament—and obtained the services of Tommy Chew (who had learned boxing in college) to coach “a youth amateur boxing group.”¹⁶⁴ Howard Choe, winner of the Southern California crown, participated in the National Skeet Shooting Championships. The Ming Swingers, Chinatown's popular folk dance group, gave lessons at the YWCA and participated in the 1948 city-wide Centennial Portola Festival.¹⁶⁵

The San Francisco Clippers (a group of youths from seventeen to nineteen), one of a half dozen Chinese football teams in Northern California following the war, arranged to play Oakland's Cathayans.¹⁶⁶ In 1948, the San Francisco Chinese Basketball team, again paced by twenty-one year old “Woo Woo” Wong, defeated the Berkeley Nisei quintet 49-45 in Seattle to capture its second crown at the National Oriental Basketball Tournament.¹⁶⁷ Wong also was on the University of San Francisco freshman quintet; in 1949, he and his USF varsity teammates won the New York Invitational Basketball Tournament.¹⁶⁸

Chinese athletes continued to be represented on high school and college teams. Bight halfback Chang Tsang, who led Oakland Technical High School to its first league championship in a decade, was elected by the student body as “Mr. Football.” Galileo High School graduate Zeppelin Wong was coxswain for the Stanford freshman crew. Henry Yee (Cal's captain) was named to All-American collegiate swimming teams in 1947 and 1948; Peter Lum was on the University of California track team; Ed Lee was on the Cal wrestling varsity. Marshall Leong received a football scholarship at Oregon State College, where Hawaii's Joe Tom was a back-up to quarterback Norm Van Brocklin.¹⁶⁹

Participation was equally as robust in 1949. The Chinese Sportsmen Club held its thirteenth annual outing. The Chinese Badminton Club organized its Fourth All-Chinese Badminton Tournament and offered weekly classes at the Chinese YWCA. Charlie Low,

owner of the popular Forbidden City Night Club and said to be “the only polo playing Chinese in the United States,” was named president of the newly formed Pacific Coast Polo League. Ex-Coast Guardsman George Ow again won the YMCA Marathon.¹⁷⁰ The St. Mary’s girls, the city-wide CYO champions in 1947 and runners up in 1948, were considered major contenders for laurels in the annual Basketball Festival sponsored by the Catholic Mission. A team from Locke won Sacramento’s Lincoln Christian Center Girls Basketball League. Los Angeles’s Wah Kue Chinese basketball team, winner of the Southern California Nisei Athletic Union AA League, traveled north and lost both its games to strong Bay Area Nisei squads. St. Mary’s “Saints” lost to a visiting all-star team from Manila.¹⁷¹ The Third National Oriental Basketball Tournament, this time played at San Jose State College before an estimated 2,500 spectators, was won by the Hawaii Niseis.¹⁷²

Sacramento’s Dr. Daniel Yuke won the 1949 Pacific Coast Chinese golf championship; San Francisco’s Clara Chan received the women’s title. The Sacramento Chinese Golf Association’s Third Annual Invitational Tournament was won by ex-infantryman Tommy Yee.¹⁷³ Interest in tennis continued to grow. In addition to “A,” “B,” and “C” tournaments, Chitena now sponsored “Junior Tennis” events. The 1949 Chinese Pacific Coast Tennis Championships (held in conjunction with the First National Championships) were so popular that it became necessary to reserve additional courts at the North Beach Playground. Forty-five year old Gene Louie won the men’s singles; Helen Wong captured her third singles crown and went on to play Maureen Connelly, the US Junior Davis Cup champion, in Junior Davis Cup matches at Santa Barbara’s Montecito Country Club.¹⁷⁴

H.K. Wong, the first Chinese American to have been named to committees of the Northern California Tennis Association, was elected to its Board of Directors in 1949. The American Bowling Congress was less welcoming. The *Chinese Press* reported: “ABC Keeps Its Racial Discrimination.”¹⁷⁵ Nonetheless, interest in the sport was expanding rapidly among Chinese Americans in several parts of the country. Ten teams participated in the Los Angeles Chinese summer bowling league; the sixteen teams in a spring handicap league were by no means the only ones active in San Francisco. At the second annual Chinese American Citizens Alliance bathing beauty contest and picnic twenty young swimmers presented what was described as the community’s “first aquacade.”¹⁷⁶ Expressing considerable pride, the *Chinese Press* reported in August 1949 that “San Francisco’s youngsters of Chinese ancestry are as ‘American’ as any teenagers of Anglo-Saxon stock, as evident by the vigorous athletic activities engaged in by Chinatownians.”¹⁷⁷

Continuing Needs at the Beginning of the “Quiet Decade” of the 1950s

Community leaders long had recognized that sports and recreation offered positive ways for young people to occupy their free time. In February 1941, the *Chinese Press* had lamented that “Juvenile delinquencies have increased in our community... crimes unheard of a decade ago are being traced to Chinese boys today.”¹⁷⁸ The situation was exacerbated by a shortage of adult leaders. Parents and community leaders repeatedly urged the San Francisco Recreation Commission to open the Chinese Playground on Saturday and Sunday nights and create new play areas. The Board of Education finally purchased a small piece of property adjacent to the Commodore Stockton School, thereby making possible a somewhat expanded program of active and sedentary recreations.¹⁷⁹

Following the war, the need for qualified leaders for youth organizations became greater. An influx of GI families added to the burdens of Chinatown's already-overextended agencies. Juvenile delinquencies increased; skating parties in Oakland twice were broken up by youths from San Francisco. The most frequently cited reasons for the continuing disturbances were a loosening of traditional Chinese values and the breakdown of family ties. These were the same concerns to be found within American society at large. According to Director of the California Youth Authority Karl Holden, the resident population of California's correctional schools had "increased by approximately 65 percent during the five-year period July 1, 1943 to June 30, 1948." Sociologist Rose Hum Lee, who undertook a study of San Francisco's Chinatown in 1949, faulted families for failing to instill in their children proper values and "the wise use of leisure time" and criticized the community for offering too little "to young people in the way of non-commercial wholesome recreation."¹⁸⁰ Bob Lee, secretary of the Chinese Students' Christian Association, whose 1950 dance and carnival had been broken up by "several Chinatown hoodlums," urged organizations and individuals to become more constructively involved. The Neighborhood Council began to explore how best to bring about the needed corrections¹⁸¹

As these discussions continued, North Korea invaded South Korea. On July 23, 1950, nineteen young Chinese Americans from the Bay Area were among members of the 12th Signal Company of the United States Marine Corps Reserve unit that was ordered to report to Camp Pendleton. Within three months news of battle casualties incurred at Inchon were reaching the public.¹⁸²

The Korean conflict had comparatively little effect on the sporting activities of the Chinese community or those of the general community. Seattle's Chinese community participated in the Seafair, presenting lion dancing and other activities at the "International Centre," the new designation for its "Chinatown."¹⁸³ St. Mary's Chinese Girls' Drill Team participated in Detroit's 250th anniversary celebrations. Helen Wong retained her singles title at the Third National and Sixteenth Pacific Coast Chinese Tennis Tournament. The San Francisco Chinese Golf Club's 1951 tournament was the largest in its history. Two hundred women and men participated in the Sixth Annual Chinese Pacific Coast Bowling Tournament. In late December, the San Francisco Chinese Team (led by "Woo Woo" Wong) defeated the San Francisco Fire Department on the court of San Francisco's new Chinese Recreation Center.¹⁸⁴

The recently opened Chinese Recreation Center, built at a cost of \$417,000, included a basketball pavilion, an auditorium, club rooms, craft rooms and shops, an outdoor basketball court, and a playground for small children.¹⁸⁵ While the new Center was very welcome, community leaders remained concerned that play space was still insufficient for a population whose density had reached 30.6 per acre.¹⁸⁶ The San Francisco Housing Authority, it was believed, was compounding the problem with its plans to eliminate recreational space in the much-needed Ping Yuen and North Beach Place housing projects. At a meeting of the Central Neighborhood Council, chairman Lim P. Lee objected, noting that parents wanted recreational facilities for young children that were in close proximity to their residences.¹⁸⁷ In early 1952, a Chinese Recreational Council was organized to "promote interest in activities" among youth. At precisely the same time an urgent call

was made for a scoutmaster for Boy Scout Troop 3.¹⁸⁸ Chinese communities throughout North America soon would confront new imperatives.

Epilogue

Chapter 10 of the Nee's documentary history of an American Chinatown—*Longtime Californ'*—opens with the following observation: "In the quiet decade of the fifties that particular confluence of historic factors which had kept Chinatowns in existence for a century seemed to dissolve."¹⁸⁹ The easing of restrictive housing covenants in 1947 had made it possible for families to move away from Oakland's historic Chinatown; in San Francisco, many relocated to the middle-class Sunset and Richmond districts. Opportunities in occupations and professions—although still limited—continued to expand. The *Seattle Chinese Community Newsletter* reviewed changes that had occurred in that city since the 1940s and asked "Who Needs Chinatown?" The second and third generations had become even more widely dispersed. Many might attend certain annual events but few maintained community ties. The Newsletter further noted that although there was "a common feeling of support" for refugees who were arriving from Hong Kong, the outlook of the newcomers and the resident population was, in many ways, markedly different.¹⁹⁰

Frank Mar has described economic and physical changes that occurred in Oakland's Chinatown following the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act, which abolished the limits that had been set in the 1943 repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Tens of thousands of immigrants now arrived annually. The East Bay Chinese Youth Council established programs in "tutoring, employment, counseling, legal assistance, and recreation."¹⁹¹ A new sense of ethnic pride and a desire to bring to the fore the untold story of the contributions of individuals of Chinese ancestry—joined with the social and political ferment of the 1960's—infused adults, and especially youth, with a new sense of purpose.¹⁹² Interest in Kung Fu, Karate, Wu Shu, and other martial arts grew markedly. Demands for bilingual classes, teachers and counselors of Asian ancestry, and ethnic studies programs at colleges and universities accelerated.¹⁹³ Concerns expressed by the Chinese Six Companies regarding the dangers of busing and federal anti-poverty programs were stridently rejected by those who held that such views did not "represent the majority of Chinese parents with school age children nor any significant number of the more forward thinking of the younger generation."¹⁹⁴

Chinese Population in the United States, 1950-1980¹⁹⁵

1950	117,629
1960	237,292
1970	435,062
1980	812,178

New attitudes regarding what has been called "the youth culture" spilled over into sports and recreation across the nation. In 1969, a National YWCA Conference, which

was attended by delegates from San Francisco's Chinese YWCA, rejected what was referred to as the Y's "learn yoga, basket-weaving, and cha-cha your way to social success image" and "supported legalization of marijuana, repeal of abortion laws... [and] the Vietnam moratorium."¹⁹⁶ The "new games" movement, albeit short-lived, served as a rejection of what some saw as excessive competitiveness.¹⁹⁷ At the same time, television relentlessly celebrated the spectacle of the Super Bowl and politicized Olympic games. The adoption of one model for school-based sport, which followed the enactment of Title IX in 1972, contributed to a loosening of commitments to broad-based sport programs such as those that had existed in the inter-war decades. A survey undertaken by a group of "community-minded students" from the University of California in 1969 found that the need for recreational services in San Francisco's Chinatown was greater than ever.¹⁹⁸

By the late 1970s, the intense ferments of "the 60s" had become somewhat moderated. To raise funds for the Chinese Hospital, Chitena co-sponsored the First Annual Community Tennis Championship and organized a benefit tournament for Chinese for Affirmative Action (a non-profit civil rights organization).¹⁹⁹ A benefit road race was sponsored by the Chinese Hospital Auxiliary, the Chinese Community Center, and *Runner's World*. The 1978 YMCA Marathon, the first to be run since 1949, attracted 381 female and male runner (only 71 of whom were Chinese Americans). The 1978 Chinese tennis championships (now sponsored by Chitena and the Chinatown Savings and Loan) celebrated 43 consecutive seasons.²⁰⁰ The San Francisco Chinese Basketball Team held a benefit game against the San Jose Zebras at the Chinese Recreation Center. During the same season, five teams entered the junior division of what a writer for the *East/West* newspaper described as the "first annual recreation and parks summer neighborhood' basketball league. "First" seems a strange designation given the extent of such offerings during the 1930s. How quickly the past is forgotten!²⁰¹

The Louie sisters—Marisa, Marcie, Marna, and Maureen ("Peanut")—emerged as formidable figures in the world of tennis. Other Chinese American athletes soon would gain honors in their particular sports. Writing of these accomplishments, the Chinese Historical Society of America recently declared: "Today's athletes like Michael Chang, Tiffany Chin, and Michelle Kwan" are achieving their own triumphs and, in so doing, "elevat[ing] Chinese American communities." *A Celebration of Roots: Chinese Americans in Sports*, published in 1996 by the Chinese Historical Society of America, also honored the many contributions of those individuals who had preceded them. Such achievement in the face of adversity should be a lesson to us all!²⁰²

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1. Roger Daniels, *Asian Americans: Chinese and Japanese in the United States Since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 71-72.
 2. Among many that might be cited are Timothy P. Fong, *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); Jeff Gillenkirk and James Motlow, *Bitter Melon: Inside America's Last Rural Chinese Town* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, c. 1987); Paul Yee, *Saltwater City: An Illustrated History of the Chinese in Vancouver* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988); David Chuenyan Lai, *Chinatowns: Towns Within Cities in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988).
 3. Daniels, *Asian Americans*, 4.

4. Sylvia Sun Minnick. *Samfow: The San Joaquin Chinese Legacy* (Fresno, CA: Panorama West Publishing, 1988), xvii-xviii. I thank Rose Hong for providing a copy of this. Among other works that provide such views are L. Eve Armentrout Ma with Jeong Huei Ma, *The Chinese of Oakland, Unsung Builders* (Oakland, CA: Oakland Chinese Historical Society, 1982); *Linking Our Lives: Chinese American Women of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Chinese Historical Society of Southern California, 1984); Connie Young Yu, *Chinatown, San Jose, USA*, 2d. ed. (San Jose, CA: San Jose Historical Museum, 1993); Judy Yung, *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
5. Susan G. Zieff, "From Badminton to the Bolero: sport and Recreation in San Francisco's Chinatown, 1895-1950," *Journal of Sport History* 27 (Spring 2000): 1-29; Joel S. Franks, "Chinese Americans and American Sports, 1880-1940," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives, 1996* (Brisbane, CA: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1996), 133-47; Philip P. Choy *et al.*, eds., *A Celebration of Roots: Chinese Americans in Sports* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1996).
6. The phrase "the quiet decade" is used in Victor G. and Brett de Bary Nee, *Longtime Californ': A Documentary Study of an American Chinatown* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982), 253.
7. Grasping a bull by the tail, riding alongside, then throwing the animal over.
8. See for example, William Robert Garner, *Letters from California, 1846-1847* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 110-11, 142-57.
9. Alexander McLeod, *Pigtails and Gold Dust* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1947), chapter 7; [San Francisco] *Chinese Record*, 30 June 1877.
10. See for example, Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
11. *Report of the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census, 1890: Part I* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1995), 11, 670-71. The population figure for Chinese residents is from Daniels, *Asian Americans*, 71.
12. Deane A. Lamont, "Sport and Leisure in the Building of an Urban Community: The Case of Oakland, California, 1850-1906" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1996); Roberta J. Park, "San Franciscans at Work and at Play, 1846-1869," *Journal of the West* 22 (1983): 44-51.
13. Rose Hum Lee, *The Chinese in the United States of America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), 139.
14. "Colors," *San Francisco Examiner*, 27 Jan. 1885; Ruthanne Lum McCunn, *Chinese American Portraits: Personal Histories, 1828-1988* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1988), 23-24; Franks, "Chinese Americans and American Sport," 136.
15. Extended for ten years in 1892, 27 Stat. 25, the ban was made permanent in 1904, 33 Stat. 428. Repeal by executive order in 1943 set stringent limits on the number of immigrants who would be admitted, 57 Stat. 600; it was not until after the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act that large numbers began to arrive in California and the rest of the United States, 79 Stat. 911.
16. Mrs. Young Oy Bo Lee, "From China to America: Chinese Culture and Heritage, 1928-1980," Donated Oral Histories Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California.
17. Mary B0-Tze Lee, "Problems of the Segregated School for Asiatics in San Francisco" (M.A. thesis, University of California, 1921). Dedicated in 1914 as the "Oriental School," the name was changed in 1924 to Commodore Stockton at the urging of the Native Sons of the Golden State (the original name of the Chinese American Citizens Alliance).
18. Minnick, *Samfow*, 262-64; Ma and Ma, *Chinese of Oakland*, 56.
19. Thomas W. Chinn, *Bridging the Pacific: San Francisco Chinatown and Its People* (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1989), 115.
20. Yu, *Chinatown, San Jose*, 98-100.
21. Laverne Mau Dicker, *The Chinese in San Francisco: A Pictorial History* (New York: Dover, 1979), 21-22, 102, 152. Judy Yung, likewise, observes that girls growing up in the 1920s were becoming increasingly "eager to keep up with fashion, learn to dance, participate in sports, and date... [M]any

- joined Christian organizations or formed their own social groups... in which they could participate in American activities." Yung, *Unbound Feet*, 48.
22. "The Chinese District," *1871 Lick House Tourists' Guide, Giving Principal Routes from Chicago and Saint Louis to San Francisco*, 115; Clifford M. Drury, *San Francisco YMCA: 100 Years by the Golden Gate, 1855-1953* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1963), 65-66, 92, 100. The Japanese YMCA, established in 1886, also grew out of the Presbyterian mission.
 23. Chinn, *Bridging the Pacific*, 116-22; Thomas W. Chinn (ed.), *Historical Sketch: Fiftieth Anniversary Chinese YMCA, San Francisco, 1911-1961* (San Francisco: YMCA, 1961), 10-17.
 24. "YMCA Summer Camp," San Francisco *Chinese Digest*, 31 July 1936.
 25. Drury, *100 Years*, 151, 169-79, 225. Shipping magnate Captain Robert Dollar (a member of the board of directors and a supporter of Y work in China) gave \$25,000. "New Chinese 'Y' Attracts Notice," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 20 Feb. 1926.
 26. Chinn, *Bridging the Pacific*, 125.
 27. *Ibid.*, pp. 125-28. Founding members were students at local colleges and universities.
 28. A group of youths had decided to organize a band similar to that of the popular Columbia Park Boys Band of the adjacent North Beach Italian community. Instruments were secured with the help of the Chinese Six Companies; and in 1913 the band introduced public dances to the Chinese community. It merged with a similar group from Oakland in 1914 and soon changed its name to Cathay. Over the decades, the Cathay Club band played at many important functions of the Chinese community as well as for events such as the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition, the California State Fair, and the 1943 visit of Madame Chiang Kai Shek.
 29. Herbert Heim, "Cathay Club of San Francisco," *Chinese Digest*, 20 Mar. 1936, 27 Mar. 1936, 3 Apr. 1936; "Cathay Club," San Francisco *Chinese Press*, 19 Feb. 1943.
 30. "Troop Three Meet Success," *Chinese Digest*, 19 Jun. 1936.
 31. "The YMCA Marathon in 1922," *Chinese Digest*, 26 Jun. 1936; "'Y' Track Results," *Chinese Digest*, 10 Apr. 1936; "Herbert Tom Wins Marathon," *Chinese Digest*, 17 Jul. 1936.
 32. "YMD Track Meet and Marathon Set for June 8," *Chinese Press*, 30 May 1941.
 33. Henry Shue Tom, "History of the YMCA," *Chinese Digest*, 10 Jul. 1936; "'Y' Wins Citywide Meet," San Francisco *Chinese News*, 1 Jun. 1941.
 34. Tom, "History of the Chinese YMCA".
 35. "Chinese 'Y' Takes League Tilt," *Chinese Digest*, 20 Mar. 1936; "Start Softball Tournament," *Chinese Digest*, 10 Apr. 1936; "Athletics," *Berkeley Bussei*, Spring 1941; "Chinese 'Y' Swimmers Vanquish Japanese 'Y,'" *Chinese Digest*, 1 May 1936; "'Y' Team Second," *Chinese Digest*, 19 Jun. 1936.
 36. This section owes much to the diligence of Corrine Wong who undertook an independent study under my direction in spring 1994, obtained copies of relevant materials from the Chinese YWCA, wrote an excellent paper, and presented her research at the 1995 Convention of the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance.
 37. Jane Kwong Lee, "Chinese Women in San Francisco," *Chinese Digest*, Jun. 1938; Mildred Crowl Martin, *Chinatown Avenging Angel: The Story of Donaldina Cameron* (Palo Alto, CA: Pacific Books, 1977). In January 1937, the *Chinese Digest* had changed to a monthly publication schedule.
 38. This pertinent observation is made in both Chinn, *Bridging the Pacific*, 110, and Yung, *Unbound Feet*, 95.
 39. Although headed by white women until 1932, a Chinese Board of Management exercised a significant role in setting policy and implementing programs. See Preliminary Work for the Organization of a Chinese Young Woman's Christian Association, ca. 1916; Matters Discussed at the First Meeting of the Provisional Committee for Chinese Work, 16 Jun. 19 16; Provisional Committee of the Chinese Young Women's Christian Association, 23 Aug. 1916; Provisional Committee, 18 Sep. 1916. Copies of YWCA committee reports, minutes, and related documents courtesy of Corrine Wong.

40. Program, YWCA Clay Street Center: Fiftieth Anniversary Dinner, 4 Nov. 1966; Meeting of the Committee of Management of the Young Women's Christian Association, 28 Oct. 1921; Ma and Ma, *Chinese of Oakland*, 57-58.
41. Regular Meeting of the Committee of Management of the Chinese Young Women's Christian Association, 7 Jul. 1922; Minutes of the Committee of Management of the Chinese Center [YWCA], 14 Dec. 1928.
42. Regular Monthly Meeting of the Committee of Management of the Chinese Young Women's Christian Association, 2 Oct. 1925; "Sports Shorts," *Chinese Digest*, 31 Jul. 1936; "Activities at the YWCA," *Chinese Digest*, 28 Aug. 1936.
43. Initiated in 1924 by a group of young women at the Chinese Congregational Church, the Square and Circle Club became the most prominent of San Francisco's Chinese American women's organizations.
44. Work of the Chinese YWCA, 10 Feb. 1930.
45. "Chinese YWCA Opening Set for Saturday," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 5 Oct. 1932.
46. Committee of Management Minutes, 12 May 1932.
47. Ma and Ma, *Chinese of Oakland*, 44-45; "Ming Quong Home Observes Anniversary," *Chinese Digest*, 22 Nov. 1935; Martin, *Chinatown's Angry Angel*, 159.
48. Charles R. Shepherd, *The Story of Chung Mei* (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1938), 69, 133; "Chung Mei Home Now Has Gateway," *Chinese Digest*, Mar. 1938.
49. "Chung Mei Field Day," *Chinese Digest*, 26 Jun. 1936, 13; Shepherd, *Story of Chung Mei*, 250.
50. "Chung Mei Challenges," *Chinese Digest*, 22 Nov. 1935.
51. "YMCA Track and Field Meet a Big Success," *Chinese News*, 15 Jun. 1941.
52. Thomas Chinn, *A Historian: Reflections on Chinese-American Life in San Francisco, 1919-1991* (Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1993), 28-30, 54-55.
53. *Ibid.*; Moonbeam Tong Lee, *Growing Up in Chinatown... The Life and Work of Edwar Lee* (San Francisco: Fong Brothers Printing, 1987), 46-52.
54. "List of Clubs Entered in Troop Three Meet," *Chinese Digest*, 5 Jun. 1936.
55. "Varsity Trims UW; Juniors Win," *Chinese Digest*, 27 Mar. 1936.
56. "Scout Troops Are Friendly Rivals," *Chinese Digest*, 29 Nov. 1935; "Chinese Scouts Gain," *Chinese Digest*, 29 Nov. 1935; "Troop 11, BSA Inauguration," *Chinese Digest*, 10 Jan. 1936. Although chartered under the sponsorship of churches, these scout troops were open to youngsters of any denomination or creed.
57. Only two of the city's twenty-nine playgrounds (Michelangelo and Presidio Heights, each at 0.43 acres) were smaller.
58. San Francisco Playground Commission, *Annual Report, 1923-30: Review of Activities*, 54-55. The breakdown was: boys (92,010); girls (45,126); men (9,951); women (9,293); spectators (13,652).
59. San Francisco Playground Commission, *Annual Report, 1928-29*, 22; "Chinese Overwhelms Rivals in Kite Tournament," *Chinese Digest*, 20 Mar. 1936; "Chinatown Boy Kites Won Twelve of Eighteen—But a Girl Did Better," *Chinese Press*, 14 Mar. 1941.
60. "Playground Illuminated," *Chinese Digest*, Aug. 1938.
61. "More Play Space for Chinatown's Children Urgently Needed!" *Chinese News*, 1 Mar. 1941; "New Playground Petition Signed by More than 2,000," *Chinese News*, 15 Mar. 1941. Enrollment figures were: Commodore Stockton School (960), Jean Parker School (650), Catholic Chinese Center (300). The majority of the remainder were enrolled in various public junior and senior high schools.
62. "Girls' Basketball Tournament," *Chinese Digest*, Dec. 1737; "Six Playground Teams Entered in City Basketball Tourney," *Chinese Press*, 14 Mar. 1940.
63. Yung, *Unbound Feet*, 151.

64. *St. Mary's Chinese School, 50th Anniversary Program*,
65. "St. Mary's AC Established," *Chinese Digest*, 27 Dec. 1935.
66. "Promising Boxers," *Chinese Digest*, 15 May 1936; "Large Crowd Witnesses St. Mary's Fights," *Chinese Digest*, 28 Aug. 1936.
67. "Three Games Sunday," *Chinese Digest*, 15 May 1936; "CYO Basketball," *Chinese News*, 15 Mar. 1941; "YMCA Track and Field Meet a Big Success," *Chinese News*, 15 Jun. 1941.
68. *St. Mary's Chinese School, 50th Anniversary Program*.
69. Lee, *Chinese in the United States*, 420.
70. "Seattle Girls Drop Thriller," *Chinese Digest*, 10 Apr. 1936.
71. Chinese American Girl Scout Troop Records, 1958 (courtesy Wing Luke Asian Museum Archives, Seattle).
72. "The China Club of Seattle," Seattle *Chung Hua*, n.d.; *Chung Hua*, Oct. 1945 (courtesy of Manuscripts and University Archives, University of Washington); "Seattle's Good-Will Bridge to China," *Seattle Times*, 22 Feb. 1948.
73. "Portland News," *Chinese Digest*, 6 Dec. 1935; "All Star Seattle Squad Wins," *Chinese Digest*, 24 Apr. 1936.
74. Paul Yee, *Saltwater City: An Illustrated History of the Chinese in Vancouver* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 70-71, 75-76, 90-91, 102-03.
75. "PNCCYC Rally," *The Epoch* [Seattle], Dec. 1949 (copies of *The Epoch* courtesy Wing Luke Asian Museum Archives).
76. "Seattle Bowling," *Chinese Press*, 1 Oct. 1948, 7; "Clippers Tie Nisei Vets—0-0," *The Epoch*, Nov. 1949; "Pigskin Parade," *The Epoch*, Nov. 1949.
77. "Jackson Street Community Council," *The Epoch*, May 1949; "Tennis Club Meets," *The Epoch*, May 1943; "In the Huddle," *The Epoch*, May 1949; "Sportlab," *The Epoch*, Jun. 1949.
78. "Al Mar Breaks Whitman Record," *Chinese News*, 15 Mar. 1942; "SF Tumbles from Casaba Supremacy," *Chinese News*, 1 Apr. 1942.
79. "Oriental Tourney," *Chinese Press*, 24 Dec. 1948.
80. "'Woo Woo' Wong Is Outstanding Casaba Tosser," *Chinese Press*, 21 Jan. 1947.
81. "Epoch's Epic," *The Epoch*, Apr. 1949.
82. "Editorial," *The Epoch*, Apr. 1949.
83. "New Chinatown Open in Los Angeles," *Chinese Digest*, Aug. 1938; Marjorie Lee, "Building Community," in *Linking Our Lives*, 96.
84. Lee, "Building Community," 91. The three centers were: Chinatown proper, the 9th and San Pedro produce market area, and an enclave near the University of Southern California.
85. Mabel Sam Lee, "The Recreational Interests and Participation of a Selected Group of Chinese Boys and Girls in Los Angeles, California" (M.S. thesis, University of Southern California, 1939). 38-48, 62-63; Sucheta Mazumdar, "In the Family," in *Linking Our Lives*, 38.
86. "Girl Scouts: First LA Chinese Troop Organized," *Chinese Press*, 14 Dec. 1942; "LA Chinese Win 3rd Tennis March," *Chinese News*, 1 Dec. 1941.
87. Lee, "Building Community," 107-11.
88. "LA Softball Club Wins," *Chinese Digest*, 18 Sep. 1936; "Scouts Beat Iowa," *Chinese Digest*, 27 Dec. 1935; "Iowa Wins Title," *Chinese Digest*, 24 Apr. 1936.
89. "Recent Sports Activities in San Diego," *Chinese Digest*, May 1937; "Football," *Chinese Digest*, 2 Oct. 1936; "LA Gridders Win Initial Debate," *Chinese Digest*, 9 Oct. 1936; "Chinese, Japanese Gridders Battle to a Tie in LA," *Chinese Digest*, 30 Oct. 1936.
90. "Why the Digest?" *Chinese Digest*, 15 Nov. 1935; Chinn, *Bridging the Pacific*, 164.
91. Tau Pan, "Chinese Olympics Attract Thousands," *Chinese Digest*, 22 Nov. 1935; "Picture of China Meet to be Shown," *Chinese Digest*, 27 Mar. 1936. On the wider political contexts of the various

- games held in the Nationalist area, see Fan Hong, *Footbinding, Feminism and Freedom: The Liberation of Women's Bodies in Modern China* (London: Frank Cass, 1997), especially chapter 8.
93. Tau Pan, "Chinese Olympics Attract Thousands."
 94. "Chinese Enjoy Greatest Year in Athletics," *Chinese Digest*, 13 Nov. 1936.
 95. "Coach Lauds Chinese Athletes," *Chinese Digest*, 27 Mar. 1936; *Celebration of Roots*, 13.
 96. For example, "Chinese Win Nisei [New York City] Softball League." *Chinese Press*, 16 Sep. 1949; "Inter-City Kegling Match in Houston," *Chinese Press*, 14 Jan. 1949.
 97. "New Sport Shop Opens," *Chinese Digest*, 9 Oct. 1936.
 98. "Chinese Prepare for War," *New York Times*, 11 Jul. 1937; "Sino-Japanese Conflict in North China and Shanghai," *Chinese Digest*, Sep. 1937; "Chinese in America Send Funds for China War Chest and War Relief," *Chinese Digest*, Sep. 1937.
 99. "Chinatown Holds Open House Tonight," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 17 Jun. 1938; "300,000 Throng Chinatown for Rice Bowl Fete," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 18 Jun. 1938; "SF Chinatown's 'Bowl of Rice' Pageant," *Chinese Digest*, Jul. 1938.
 100. "Bowl of Rice Party Season in 39 States," *Chinese News*, 15 Dec. 1940.
 101. "SF Defeats LA in Benefit Football Game," *Chinese Digest*, Jan. 1938.
 102. "San Francisco Defeats Los Angeles in Rice Bowl Contest," *Chinese Digest*, Jan. 1939; "Marshall Leong Rated Best Footballer," *Chinese Digest*, Feb. 1939.
 103. "Chinese Eleven Looks for More Grids to Conquer," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 Nov. 1919; Franks, "Chinese Americans and American Sport," 140-41; Howard Ah-Tye, "Portrait of a Community: The Chinese of Oakland," *Asian Week*, 2 Apr. 1993; Ma and Ma, *Chinese of Oakland*, 54.
 104. "Undeclared So Far," *Chinese Digest*, Dec. 1937.
 105. "Northern California Lightweight Football League Starts With a Bang," *Chinese News*, 1 Nov. 1940; "Football Season is On!" *Chinese News*, 15 Sep. 1941.
 106. "Football Contest," *Chinese News*, 15 Sep. 1941.
 107. "Essay on Sports: Chinese Boys Prove Tops in Competition," *Chinese Press*, 28 May 1943.
 108. Ma and Ma, *Chinese of Oakland*, 55-56.
 109. Willard T. Chow, "The Reemergence of an Inner City: The Pivot of Chinese Settlement in the East Bay Region of the San Francisco Bay Area" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1974), 143. The building, located in Lincoln Park (which was operated by the Oakland Recreation Department), was presented to the city with the stipulation that one room be set aside for the Chinese Center. "Oakland Chinese Center Has Served Community for Over a Decade," *Chinese Press*, 14 Feb. 1949.
 110. Steve Lavoie, "When Baseball Discovered Asians," *Oakland Tribune*, 24 Jan. 1993. Hawaiian-born Kenso Nushida, a star in the San Joaquin County Japanese Athletic League, pitched for the opposing Sacramento Solons.
 111. "Baseball Personalities," *Chinese Digest*, 20 Dec. 1935.
 112. The salience of baseball for Japanese Americans has been discussed by Samuel O. Regalado, "Sport and Community in California's Japanese American 'Yamato' Colony, 1930-1945," *Journal of Sport History* 19 (1992): 130-43 and Michael L. Mullen, "Ethnicity and Sports: The Wapato Nippons and Pre-World War II Japanese American Baseball," *Journal of Sport History* 26 (1999): 82-114.
 113. "Wa Sung Loses Doubleheader," *Chinese Digest*, 22 May 1936; "Wa Sung—A Softball Team," *Chinese Digest*, 16 Oct. 1936.
 114. The Grays were one of four teams in the Berkeley Colored League, "League Standings," *San Francisco Spokesman*, 18 Jun. 1932.
 115. "Wa Sung Wins Hard Tussle," *Chinese Digest*, 17 Jul. 1936; "Wa Sung Leads Berkeley Loop," *Chinese Digest*, 24 Jul. 1936.

115. Dazhi Lum, "The Early Days of Wa[h] Sung Athletic Club," *Wa Sung Club, Oakland Chinatown-East Bay, Community Directory, 1998*, 94-95. Lum credits his Wa Sung training with preparing him to play on the Oakland High School baseball and basketball teams.
116. "Softball Favorites Win," *Chinese Digest*, 25 Sep. 1936; "Eastern Bakery Defeats Dresswell in Best Game," *Chinese Digest*, Oct. 2, 1936; "Chinese Softball," *Chinese Digest*, Mar. 1938.
117. Hector Eng, "Chinese and Softball," *Chinese Digest*, Mar. 1938; *Chinese News*, 15 Oct. 1941.
118. "Namwah and Chi-Fornians Tilt," *Chinese Digest*, 29 Nov. 1935; "Shangtai Cagers," *Chinese Digest*, 22 Nov. 1935.
119. "Chinese Scouts Have a Powerful Team," *Chinese Digest*, 22 Nov. 1935; "Five Teams Entered in Basketball Championships," *Chinese Digest*, 29 Nov. 1935.
120. "Young Chinese Beats Peninsula Five," *Chinese Digest*, 6 Mar. 1936; "Watsonville Five Downs Salinas," *Chinese Digest*, 28 Feb. 1936; "Chinese Boys Star on Capital 'Y' Teams," *Chinese Digest*, 6 Mar. 1936; "Oakland 'Y' Loses Title Game," *Chinese Digest*, 20 Mar. 1936; Gillenkirk and Motlow, *Bitter Melon*, 38. Ping Lee, a forward on the 1937 Locke team, also played at Sacramento's Courtland High School.
121. "Sun Wah Cage Team Reorganizes," *Chinese Digest*, 9 Oct. 1936.
122. "St. Mary's AC Wins Double Header," *Chinese Digest*, 6 Mar. 1936.
123. One such instance was the team formed by boys attending Francisco Junior High School. "Francisco Chinese Form Team," *Chinese Digest*, 27 Mar. 1936.
124. "Girls League," *Chinese News*, 15 Oct. 1941.
125. "Basketball at YWCA," *Chinese Digest*, 17 Jan. 1936.
126. "Basketball," *Chinese Digest*, 13 Dec. 1935; "Portland Girls Have Basketball Team," *Chinese Digest*, 29 Nov. 1935; "Oakland News," *Chinese Digest*, 13 Mar. 1936.
127. "Girls League," *Chinese Digest*, Jan. 1938; *Chinese Digest*, 18 Sep. 1936.
128. The author refereed many of these contests and can attest to the quality of play and the intensity of the competition. The ideologies of the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Association were less pervasive in Catholic parochial schools than in many of the public high schools, and certainly the colleges.
129. "Young Chinese Teams to Start Practice," *Chinese Digest*, 20 Dec. 1935; "Young Chinese 115's Win League Tilt," *Chinese Digest*, 6 Mar. 1936; "Chinese Defeat Koreans and Filipinos," *Chinese Digest*, 20 Mar. 1936.
130. "Washington Impresses Bay Area Fans," *Chinese Digest*, 3 Apr. 1936; "Varsity Trims UW," *Chinese Digest*, 27 Mar. 1936.
131. "Wah Kues Cover 3,000 Miles," *Chinese News*, 1 Jan. 1941; "Basketball Pentathlon," *Chinese News*, 15 Feb. 1941; "Chinese Playground Enters League," *Chinese News*, 15 Nov. 1940.
132. "All-Hi League in Full Swing," *Chinese News*, 1 Oct. 1940; *Chinese News*, 15 Dec. 1940; "Scouts Win in Wah Ying League Finals," *Chinese News*, 15 Feb. 1941; "Girls Basketball," *Chinese News*, 1 Mar. 1941.
133. "Basketball League," *Chinese News*, 1 Dec. 1940; "CYO Basket Ball," *Chinese News*, 15 Mar. 1941; "YMD Noses Out Lowa 39-37 in LA Thriller," *Chinese News*, 1 Apr. 1941; "LA Lowa Hoopsters Lose to SF," *Chinese News*, 15 Apr. 1941.
134. "Four Cities Tournament Climaxed," *Chinese News*, 15 Mar. 1941.
135. *Celebration of Roots*, 22; Ma and Ma, *Chinese of Oakland*, 54. According to Franks, "Chinese Americans and American Sports," in 1919 Sam Kai Kee also headed a baseball team called "Sing Fats" (137).
136. "Baseball Personalities," *Chinese Digest*, 27 Dec. 1935; "Vallejo Develops Brilliant Players," *Chinese Digest*, 29 Nov. 1935 (both also played on the school's basketball team; and Fong was a catcher on the baseball team); "Fred Wong Gets Recognition," *Chinese Digest*, 27 Mar. 1936.

137. "Allie Wong Mighty in Defeat," *Chinese Digest*, Mar. 1938; "Chinese Badminton Champ Gives Exhibition," *Chinese Digest*, May 1937. On badminton in San Francisco's Chinatown, see Zieff, "From Badminton to the Bolero"; "Chinese in Cal Sports World," *Chinese News*, 1 Mar. 1941.
138. Chinn, *Historian's Reflections*, 33-35. According to Chinn, there were few problems provided the Chinese "gave up the courts" when other players arrived. *Ibid.*, 35.
139. "Tennis in San Francisco and Chinatown," *Chinese Digest*, May 1937.
140. *Chinese Digest*, 22 Nov. 1935; Franks, "Chinese Americans and American Sport," 143.
141. "Chitena Sport Excursion Changed to May 24," *Chinese Digest*, 15 May 1936; "Sports Shorts," *Chinese Digest*, 22 May 1936; "LA Awaits Chitena," *Chinese Digest*, 29 May 1936.
142. "Portland Girls' Tennis Tournament to Start on 23rd," *Chinese Digest*, 21 Aug. 1936; "Chinn Wins Singles Title; Lowe Women's Champion," *Chinese Digest*, 21 Aug. 1936; "Chinese Girl Wins," *San Francisco Examiner*, 20 Jul. 1936; "Jennie Chew Wins 2nd Title," *Chinese Digest*, 24 Jul. 1936.
143. Founded in 1895 as the Native Sons of the Golden West, the name had been changed in 1915. The objectives of the CACA included: "to promote the general welfare and happiness of its members and the Chinese communities, to quicken the spirit of American patriotism, to insure the legal rights of its members and to secure equal economical and political opportunities for its members." Chinn, *Bridging the Pacific*, 111-13.
144. These were San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Sacramento, Watsonville, and tiny Isleton. At approximately the same time a combined Portland/Seattle tennis team was playing matches in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Santa Barbara and Fresno. "Pacific Coast Tennis Tournament," *Chinese Digest*, Oct. 1938; "Northern Boys on Tour," *Chinese Digest*, Oct. 1938.
145. "Chinese Davis Cupper Wins Local Exhibition," *Chinese News*, 15 Oct. 1940.
146. "Pacific Coast Tennis Tourney," *Chinese News*, 1 Aug. 1941; "Girls' Track Teams Prepare," *Chinese Digest*, 14 Aug. 1936; "Entries for Track Close Sep. 8," *Chinese Digest*, 4 Sep. 1936.
147. "First Ball Was Smashed 'Way Back in 1928'," *Chinese Press*, 14 Dec. 1951.
148. "Golf Results," *Chinese News*, 15 Aug. 1941; "Golf Results," *Chinese News*, 1 Nov. 1941; "George Jue Is Champ in Gold Clubs Last Tourney," *Chinese Press*, 3 Nov. 1942.
149. "City-Wide Billiard Tournament," *Chinese Digest*, 28 Feb. 1936; "Chinese 'Y' Pool Tourney Ends," *Chinese Digest*, 6 Mar. 1936; "St. Mary's Billiard Tourney Ends," *Chinese Digest*, 22 May 1936.
150. Following discharge from the army, Lee began to study martial arts and became a friend and associate of noted martial arts expert and film star Bruce Lee after the latter moved to Oakland. Dinner program, "In Memory of James Yimm Lee," First Annual Jun Fan Jeet Kune Do Seminar, San Francisco, 11 Jan. 1997. (courtesy Grace Shie).
151. "Fishing Derby," *Chinese Digest*, Nov. 1938; "Sportsmen's Club 12th Annual Outing Slated," *Chinese Press*, 5 Nov. 1948.
152. "Chinese Young People's Christian Conference," *Chinese Digest*, 13 Mar. 1936; "First Snow Outing," *Chinese News*, Feb. 1941.
153. "Promising Boxer," *Chinese Digest*, 13 Dec. 1935; "Boxing," *Chinese Digest*, Oct. 1938; "Sports," *Chinese News*, 1 Dec. 1940; "A Salute to David Kui Kong Young, Coming Bantamweight Champ," *Chinese News*, 15 Nov. 1941.
154. "First Annual Pacific Coast Chinese Championship Tournament," *Chinese News*, 1 Nov. 1940; "2nd Annual Chinese Bowling Tournament," *Chinese Press*, 29 Aug. 1941; "Fresno Weekend Dance and Bowling Tournament," *Chinese News*, 1 Nov. 1941.
155. Yu, *Chinatown, San Jose*, 91-93.
156. "Editorial," *California Chinese Press* [San Francisco], 22 Nov. 1940.
157. "US Navy Bars Lowered," *Chinese Press*, 29 May 1942; Chung Mei Celebrates Twenty-Fifth Year," *Chinese Press*, 1 Oct. 1948. In May 1942, United States Navy regulations restricting Chinese to service as messmen and stewards were rescinded.

158. "Women in the War," *Chinese Press*, 26 Mar. 1943; "Its All About the AWVS's Bond Booth...", *Chinese Press*, 13 Nov. 1942; "First Chinese State Guard Unit Formed," *Chinese Press*, 23 Jan. 1942.
159. "Soldier Welcome Center and Ship Worker's Sports to be Planned," *Chinese Press*, 28 Aug. 1942; "Chinese State Guard Opens Ping Pong Tournament," *Chinese Press*, 20 Nov. 1942; "The Women's Angle: YWCA Open House Features Defense Program," *Chinese Press*, 20 Jan. 1942; YWCA.. Fiftieth Anniversary Dinner.
160. *CYWS, 1944-1994: To Bridge the Years*, I am grateful to Grace Shie, who undertook an undergraduate research project under my direction in 1996, for information concerning the CYWS.
161. "Defense Homes Are Possible," *Chinese Press*, 21 Aug. 1942.
162. "Wah Ying League," *Chinese News*, 1 Feb. 1942; "Chinese YMCA Track Meet," *Chinese News*, 1 Jun. 1942; *Chinese Press*, 12 Jun. 1942; "Chinatown Run All Set to Go This Sunday," *East/West* [San Francisco], 1 Feb. 1978.
163. "Olympic Tryouts: Frank Chow Competes in the Pistol Event," *Chinese Press*, 9 Jul. 1948; "Pistol Champ Hits Target," *Chinese Press*, 21 Jan. 1949.
164. "They Plan for Chinatown Youths," *Chinese Press*, May 6, 1949.
165. "Chinese Champ at National Shoot," *Chinese Press*, 1 Oct. 1948; "Ming Swingers Swing Into Action..." *Chinese Press*, 22 Oct. 1948. Formed following the 1943 Lake Tahoe Conference, the Ming Swingers gained popularity after the war. In 1947 they joined the Folk Dance Federation of California. "Ming Swingers."
166. "New SF Clipper Grid Team Tussles With Oakland Cathayans Sunday," *Chinese Press*, 5 Nov. 1948; "Eagle Grid Squad Ends Season with 91 Pts..." *Chinese Press*, 7 Jan. 1949.
167. "Champ Casaba Team Needs Tourney Funds," *Chinese Press*, 1 Oct. 1948; "Chinese Cagers Win Again in Second National Tourney," *Chinese Press*, 9 Dec. 1949. The average age of the thirteen player squad was 21.4 years. Over half were from San Francisco City College; others were from San Francisco State College and USF, "These Are Best Chinese-American Basketballers in the Country..." *Chinese Press*, 7 Jan. 1949.
168. "'Woo Woo' Wong Is Outstanding Casaba Tosser for USF Frosh," *Chinese Press*, 21 Jan. 1949.
169. "Sports," *Chinese Press*, 8 Dec. 1950; "Sports Briefs," *Chinese Press*, 9 Jun. 1948; 'Collegiate Swim Team Honor for Henry Yee,' *Chinese Press*, 3 Dec. 1948; "Sports Briefs," *Chinese Press*, 14 Jan. 1949.
170. "3 Active Girl Scout Troops in Chinatown," *Chinese Press*, 26 Jan. 1949; "Robert Poon, Thomas Wong Reach Badminton Finals," *Chinese Press*, 23 Sep. 1949; "Badminton Classes Open to Beginners," *Chinese Press*, 29 Jul. 1949; "Charlie Low is Polo League Head," *Chinese Press*, 20 May 1949; "Geo. Ow Wins Third Time; Keeps Perpetual Trophy," *Chinese Press*, 29 Jul. 1949.
171. "Outstanding Chinese Girl Cagers," *Chinese Press*, 14 Jan. 1949; "Locke Girl Cage Team Wins Sac'to League," *Chinese Press*, 1 Apr. 1949; "Wah Kue Cagers Drop Pair to Drakes Nissies [sic]," *Chinese Press*, 8 Apr. 1949; "Filipino Olympic AI-Stars Clip SF Chinese," *Chinese Press*, 14 Jan. 1949.
172. "Hawaii Nisei Upset Saints: Win All-Oriental Crown," *Chinese Press*, 30 Dec. 1949.
173. "Tommy Yee Takes Title in Sac'to Golf Invitational," *Chinese Press*, 3 Jun. 1949; "Dr. Daniel Yuke Wins Golf Tournament," *Chinese Press*, 9 Sep. 1949."
174. "Extra Court Reserved for Tennis Tourney," *Chinese Press*, 29 Jul. 1949; "Exclusive: How Tennis Champs Fought," *Chinese Press*, 16 Sep. 1949; "Helen Wong Home from Jr. Davis Cup Matches," *Chinese Press*, 25 Nov. 1949.
175. "H.K. Wong is First Chinese Chosen a Director of No. Cal. Tennis Ass'n," *Chinese Press*, 21 Jan. 1949; "ABC Keeps Its Racial Discrimination," *Chinese Press*, 25 Mar. 1949.
176. "Wing Co. Keglers Win Handicap League," *Chinese Press*, 20 May 1949; "Sonny Boys Still Ahead in L.A. Summer Bowling," *Chinese Press*, 20 May 1949; "YMCA Aquacade," *Chinese Press*, 1 Jul. 1949.

177. "Chinese Compete in Sports All Year," *Chinese Press*, 19 Aug. 1949.
178. "Chinatown Petitions for a New Playground to Combat Delinquency," *Chinese Press*, 28 Feb. 1941.
179. "Sports, Games, Crafts Scheduled for the Youngsters at Playground," *Chinese Press*, 19 Jun. 1942; "Action on New Playground," *Chinese Press*, 3 Jul. 1942.
180. "Fight Breaks Up Oakland Skating Party," *Chinese Press*, 18 Feb. 1949; "Chinatown Youths Need Foster Homes," *Chinese Press*, 19 Aug. 1949; Rose Hum Lee, "Community Not Interested in Youth, Sociologist Charges," *Chinese Press*, 17 Feb. 1950; "Report of Activities for the Month of August 1948," *Youth Authority Report for the Governor; Council for Meeting of Sep. 27, 1948*, Sacramento, 1. However, it needs to be noted that it is extremely difficult to state with assurance cause and effect relationships. In 1950, the Chief of Statistics, California Department of Justice reported: "No state in the United States thus far has been able to develop a systematic method or provide the machinery necessary to record reliable and accurate information on the amount of crime and delinquent acts." In Ronald H. Beattie and Irvin W. Ramseier, "Measuring Crime and Delinquency," *California Youth Authority Quarterly* 3 (Summer 1950): 8-13.
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182. "Chinese Marines Go!," *Chinese Press*, 29 Jul. 1950; "War Casualties," *Chinese Press*, 20 Oct. 1950.
183. "Drum Corps to Parade in Detroit," *Chinese Press*, 27 Jul. 1951; "Seattle Seafair Now in Progress," *Chinese Digest*, 10 Aug. 1951.
184. "Harold Chang Wins First Place Laurels..." *Chinese Press*, 14 Sep. 1951; "Chinese Pacific Coast Bowling Tournament," *Chinese Press*, 7 Sep. 1951; "Chinese Tennis Championship Sidelights," *Chinese Press*, 21 Sep. 1951; "Sports Parade." *Chinese Press*, 28 Dec. 1951.
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190. "Chinatown, 1999," Seattle *Chinese Community Newsletter*, Dec. 1961; "Chinese Communities React to Refugee Problem," *Seattle Chinese Newsletter*, Sep. 1962.
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