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18. San Joaquin County, "Book I of Miscellaneous," bk. 37, 489, bk. 35, 113; Sacramento County, "Leases," bk. L, 344; San Joaquin County, "Book I of Miscellaneous," bk. 52, 383, bk. 53, 165, bk. 57, 64, and bk. 58, 370.
19. Information on Chin Lung's farming practices comes from the interviews with Chin Gway, Chin Shou, and John Chin. See note 2 above.
20. Robert A. Nash, "The 'China Gangs' in the Alaska Packers Association Canneries, 1892-1935," in The Life, Influence and the Role of the Chinese in the United States, 1776-1960, (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1976), 266-67.
21. San Joaquin County, "Book A of Deeds," bk. 199, 197, bk. 222, 82.
22. We know for certain that Chin Lung and Sing Kee were the same person because in the books of leases and chattel mortgages found in several county recorder's offices, there are numerous documents indicating that Sing Kee was "also known as Chin Lung."
23. Chinese American Farms, incorporation papers, 1919, California State Archives, Sacramento.
24. L. Eve Armentrout Ma, "The Big Business Ventures of Chinese in North America, 1850-1930," in The Chinese American Experience, ed. Genny Lim (San Francisco: The Chinese Historical Society of America and the Chinese Culture Foundation, 1984), 101-12.

CHOP SUEY: FROM CHINESE FOOD TO CHINESE AMERICAN FOOD

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One of the most popular Chinese dishes in America is chop suey, a delicious dish made of meat, bean sprouts, bamboo shoots, and other vegetables. Its name varies according to the kind of meat used for the dish: beef chop suey, chicken chop suey, pork chop suey, and shrimp chop suey.

What is the origin of chop suey? A very interesting but questionable story claims that in 1896 Li Hung Chang (Li Hongzhang), a special envoy of the Chinese emperor, came to visit the United States after attending the coronation of the Russian Czar Nicholas II and touring Europe. He was accorded a grand reception, honored by sumptuous feasts and banquets. However, because this high-ranking mandarin had never developed an appetite for Western food, he preferred to go to Chinatowns to eat Chinese food. The dish he liked the most was chop suey, which, after being widely reported by American journalists, became the best-known Chinese dish among Americans.

This story first appeared in the famous Chinese scholar Liang Qichao's *Xindalu Youji*, published in 1904, seven years after Li's visit to New York.¹ In his account Liang simply stated that Li Hung Chang went to a Chinatown restaurant to have Chinese food and the Chinese present could not explicitly translate the name of the dish for curious American journalists, so they vaguely labeled it chop suey. Since Liang did not explain the actual

dish, this left room for others to fill in the details from their imagination.

Another account of the origin of chop suey was given in J. S. Tow's *The Real Chinese in America*, published in 1923. Tow said that Li Hung Chang gave the name to chop suey and asserted that the dish was not of Chinese origin.² In the 1930s and 1950s, the story was repeated but more details were added, and chop suey was defined as "a mixture of leftover[s]."³ In the 1960s and 1970s, the story was told in an almost completely different way. According to one article (published in a Canadian Chinese-language newspaper), the mayor of San Francisco called in all the famous Chinese chefs to prepare a banquet to welcome Li Hung Chang. Much to the mayor's disappointment, however, Li was reluctant to taste the dishes. His doctor had advised him not to eat oily food on account of his stomach. A smart old chef immediately returned to the kitchen, put the leftovers together, and presented this special dish to the envoy. Li was pleased because he knew it was a mixture of the best ingredients from all the dishes. Since Li obviously liked it, the mayor was relieved and he asked the old chef for the name of the mysterious dish. "It is chop suey," the old chef replied. Thereafter chop suey was known throughout North America and became a distinguished dish in banquets.⁴

In C. Y. Chu's *Meiguo Huaqiao Gaishi*, published in 1975, Chicago was the place where Li Hung Chang first had chop suey and his hosts were Chinese businessmen. Most interestingly, Chu claimed that he had learned the story from his uncle, who had served chop suey to Li Hung Chang in New York.⁵

While many accounts associate chop suey with Li Hung Chang, others do not. After chop suey was defined as "a mixture of leftovers," another version of the story emerged:

In the 1860s, very late one night, some hungry California miners went looking for food. The only place still open was a tiny Chinese restaurant which had never served Occidentals before. The little Chinese man who doubled as waiter and cook was ready to close up but being unable to communicate with his strange customers and furthermore being much smaller than the large, powerful-looking, hungry miners, he threw together what was left

over and served it. The men loved it and asked what the dish was called.⁶

The Chinese told them that it was "chop suey," meaning a miscellany.

These stories share two similarities. First, chop suey was defined as a mixture, a miscellany, a hash, as it is today. Second, chop suey was a quick invention by humble Chinese either to serve a powerful mandarin or to handle hungry and impatient white miners. These stories are so fascinating that few people have bothered to check what "chop suey" means in Chinese.

WHAT DOES CHOP SUEY MEAN?

Chop suey is the Cantonese pronunciation of za sui in Putonghua (Mandarin). Literally, chop 雜 means "different," and suey 碎 means "pieces." It is a common phrase in Chinese, simply meaning entrails (viscera) and giblets.⁷ In China, as in many agrarian societies, people do not want to waste any part of butchered livestock, so entrails and giblets are a part of the daily diet. There are scores of Chinese recipes for cooking chop suey, that is, entrails and giblets. However, chow (fried) chop suey and chop suey soup are probably the most common dishes in restaurants throughout China.

In America the name chop suey remains, but the materials are substantially different. Entrails and giblets have been replaced with different kinds of meat, and the meaning of chop suey has been rendered as "to chop finely, i.e., to hash,"⁸ or as "a mixture, a little of this and a little of that."⁹ Furthermore, it has been asserted that chop suey is not of Chinese origin at all but an invention of Chinese Americans.

In actuality, chop suey was from China, and when it first appeared in the United States, it was a real Chinese dish in both name and content. According to a Chinese American writer, Wong Chin Foo, chop suey had been a popular dish in New York's Chinatown for at least eight years before Li Hung Chang's visit to America. In an article published in 1888, Wong wrote: "A staple dish for the Chinese gourmand is Chow Chop Suey, a mixture of chicken's livers and gizzards, fungi, bamboo buds, pig's tripe, and bean sprouts stewed with spices. The

gravy of this is poured into the bowl of rice with some [sauce similar to Worcestershire sauce], making a delicious seasoning to the favorite grain."¹⁰ Louis J. Beck's *Chinatown*, published in 1898, indicates that even in the late 1890s, the real Chinese chop suey (made of entrails and giblets) could be found in New York's Chinatown. Among the many other dishes listed is Chop Suey Kiang, which he describes as "Giblets and Pork Fried."¹¹

These records seem to suggest that when Chinese first opened restaurants in New York, they used the recipe they brought from China, and they cooked chop suey in accordance with traditional Chinese methods.

DID LI HUNG CHANG EAT CHOP SUEY IN AMERICA?

Many Chinese American histories repeat the story that Li Hung Chang ate chop suey in America and the dish became known to the American public as a result.¹² An examination of relevant historical materials suggests that this legend has no basis in fact.

First, Li Hung Chang visited neither San Francisco nor Chicago. During his stay in the United States (from the end of August to early September 1896), he visited New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. He then took a special train sent by the Canadian Pacific from Niagara Falls to Vancouver.¹³ Sailing from Vancouver on September 14, he returned to Tianjin (Tientsin) on October 3, 1896.¹⁴ Accordingly, the stories that Li Hung Chang had chop suey at the San Francisco mayor's banquet or with the Chinese businessmen in Chicago are not based on fact.

Second, there is no documentary evidence to support the story that Li Hung Chang popularized chop suey among Americans. One version of this story is that Li Hung Chang ordered his cooks to prepare American foods in the Chinese manner. "That is, American meats and vegetables, chopped up, and served with appropriate sauces. And he named it chop suey, because it was a combination of mix[ed] foods."¹⁵ Another version of the same story says that

The world-renowned kitchen and chefs of the Waldorf Astoria were ready to serve Li all manner of delicacies, and although he was invited to sumptuous feasts and banquets, he would partake of nothing but the food

prepared by his own cooks. When his inquisitive hosts asked him what he was eating, he replied, "chop suey."¹⁶

According to the *New York Times*, it was actually Li Hung Chang who held a dinner reception in the Waldorf on the evening of August 29, 1896 for U.S. diplomats who had served in China. Li ate his own food with ivory chopsticks, leaving his guests to enjoy themselves. Newspapers the following day reported Li's meals in detail, but mentioned nothing about chop suey:

The meals sent up to the viceroy's apartments are generally enough for two, and are eaten in his private room As a rule the dishes sent up by the Chinese chefs are simple, the staple elements being fish, chicken, potatoes, and a few other vegetables. . . . Part of the meal served last night was beef tongue, with fish and chicken and vegetable and tea, about the making of which the cooks are very particular. . . . I tasted the dishes after the repast. They are suited to a man of the Earl's age, but everything is done to death, although the flavors are taking.¹⁷

If Li had mentioned chop suey, it is doubtful that detail-hunting journalists would have missed the most colorful event of the reception.

Finally, the story that Li missed Chinese food so much that he went to Chinatowns seeking homemade food is also specious. Li brought three Chinese chefs with him, and his own chefs made Chinese meals for him everyday. His chefs brought tea, rice, and condiments from China, but they drew other materials from their hosts' larders.¹⁸ His own chefs could satisfy his craving for the food of his homeland. Furthermore, the newspaper accounts indicate that Li did not have chop suey in New York's Chinatown either. Li was indeed invited to attend a banquet in Chinatown given by New York's Chinese Merchants' Club on September 1, 1896. But he canceled it from his agenda because one of his fingers was smashed by a carriage door, although he did visit Chinatown that afternoon.¹⁹ When he arrived in Washington, D.C., on September 3, he was welcomed by the Chinese legation with a banquet and Cantonese wine. For

the banquet the Chinese legation mobilized all its cooks, who labored for eight hours. The American journalists commented that it was probably the first satisfactory dinner Li had during his American trip.²⁰

WHY LI HUNG CHANG?

No evidence can be found in available historical records to support the story that Li Hung Chang ate chop suey in the United States. Then why did Americans and Chinese Americans attach his name to the dish? There is good reason to suppose that Chinese Americans intended to exploit Li's reputation in developing their restaurant business.

In his visit to the United States in 1896, Li Hung Chang probably attempted to build a special Sino-American relationship, hoping to obtain American assistance to strengthen his effort to contain the Japanese threat to China. He failed to get any such help from the U.S. government, and his famous diplomatic strategy of "Yi-Yi-Zhi-Yi" ("playing barbarians against barbarians") proved a complete failure at that time, the heyday of imperialism.²¹ Nevertheless, quite ironically, Li's visit to the United States aroused tremendous curiosity among American citizens about Chinese people and culture, eventually causing his name to be associated with the dish chop suey.

As the governor-general of Zhili (Chihli) and the Beiyang Tongshang Dachen (Minister-Superintendent of Trade of Beiyang [Northern China]), Li Hung Chang had been an important figure in handling China's foreign affairs since the 1870s. He had had extensive contacts with American politicians, diplomats, and missionaries. Just a few years before his visit to America, several articles appeared in American magazines introducing this important Chinese policymaker to the American people.²²

Under pressure from those businessmen who were interested in investing in China's railroads and mining and developing the China market, the Cleveland administration arranged sumptuous receptions for Li's visit. When Li's ship sailed into New York harbor on August 28, 1896, the North Atlantic Squadron paid him "naval honors." On August 29 Cleveland came up to New York from Washington, D.C., to hold a presidential reception in ex-Secretary of the Navy William C. Whitney's palatial town house at 57th Street and Fifth Avenue. Secretary of State Rich-

ard Olney took part in most of Li's activities in New York City. There was a grand military parade down Fifth Avenue with Li and Olney riding an open carriage. Li also took a trip up the Hudson River in Cleveland's own boat.²³ The *New York Times* inaccurately described Li as "the virtual ruler of more people than are governed by all the monarchs of the continent of Europe" and as "the greatest man the Chinese race has produced since Confucius."²⁴ It further stated that he was an "absolutely unique figure in the history of the world that has stirred curiosity to its depths." The paper asserted that "no living man, save, possibly the Czar and the Kaiser, could arouse such popular enthusiasm."²⁵

One result of the curiosity about the Chinese produced by Li's visit was that thousands of New Yorkers flocked to Chinatown, which for most of them was probably the only place where they could feast their eyes on "exotic Chinese culture." As a result all the Chinese stores did good business during Li's stay in the city. Even the mayor of New York City, William L. Strong, paid a visit to Chinatown on August 29, 1896, probably for the first time during his term of office. His carriage was surrounded "by hundreds of demonstrative Chinamen of all castes, who were anxious to evince their gratitude for festival privileges. The carriage had to be driven away quickly to escape a kindly mobbing."²⁶

Moreover, to many ordinary Americans what was most interesting was the Chinese mandarin's cooks and, in turn, Chinese food. The *New York Times's* report is worth quoting:

Li Hung Chang has transformed the Waldorf into a Chinese inn that might be called "The Sign of the Dragon" The idea of a Chinese inn is carried out even in the kitchen, where the Viceroy's cook and his two assistants have taken up their quarters. For the first time in the history of the Waldorf, Chinese chefs have prepared Chinese dishes in Chinese pots, pans, and skillets. And the dishes they have cooked have created more curiosity and consternation than the presence of the great Viceroy himself.²⁷

THE INVENTION OF CHINESE AMERICAN CHOP SUEY

Shrewd Chinese American restaurant owners did not fail to capitalize on the golden opportunity presented by Li's visit. They borrowed Li's name and advertised chop suey as Li's favorite dish. Although Li Hung Chang never had chop suey in America, his visit to the United States indirectly helped the development of the Chinese American restaurant industry. Available historical materials reveal that in the late 1880s there were "eight thriving Chinese restaurants" in New York's Chinatown.²⁸ About ten years later the number increased to eleven, of which seven ranked as first class, "four others of the second or lower class."²⁹ Only a few years after Li's visit, in 1902 and 1903, Chinese "Chop Suey houses" flourished in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Pittsburgh, and other cities. In New York City alone there were about three to four hundred such "chop suey houses."³⁰ The American curiosity about Chinese food created by Li's visit was perhaps a major contributing factor to this blossoming of Chinese restaurants.

It has been mentioned earlier that when Chinese American restaurants first appeared in the United States, they offered authentic Chinese chop suey, using giblets or entrails as primary ingredients. However, at least in the late 1890s, they also presented another kind of chop suey, using meat as a primary ingredient. This version is similar to the chop suey dishes available in today's Chinatowns. In addition to Chop Suey Kiang (fried giblets and pork), Louis J. Beck's *Chinatown* also listed a dish "Chop Suey," defined as a "a hash of pork, with celery, onions, bean sprouts, etc."³¹ Why did Chinese Americans change the recipe of chop suey but still keep the name? The following story may be helpful in understanding the riddle:

As a friend and guide, I have introduced many to the delights of chop-suey, a standard dish that stands the test of time much as does the roast beef of Old England. It can be eaten once every day, and it is a wonder how the desire for it manifests itself in the man who lives principally on French cookery.

Take a friend to Chinatown for the first time and watch his face when the savory chop-suey arrives. He looks suspiciously at the mixture. He is certain it has rats in it, for the popular superstition that the Chinese

eat rats is in-bred! He remembers his schoolboy history, with the picture of a Chinaman carrying around a cage of rats for sale.

He quickly puts aside the Chop stickes [sic], which are evidently possessed of the devil, and goes at the stuff with a fork. It is a heroic effort, but it is not sustained. The novice gets a mouthful or two, turns pale, all the time declaring that it is "great."

It is a long time before he can be persuaded to go again, but he is sure to surrender eventually to the enchanting decoction, and soon there are times when the knowing [sic] hunger for chop-suey, and for nothing else, draws him to dingy Chinatown, alone and solitary, if he can find no one to accompany him. For a while he half believes there must be "dope" in the stuff. He is now certain there are no rats in it. He is a confirmed chop-suey eater.³²

It is not clear what kind of chop suey the "confirmed chop-suey eater" had tried, but this story vividly shows that although the "enchanting decoction" chop suey tempted some Americans to go to Chinatown restaurants, they demonstrated reluctance when confronted with the actual dish. Real Chinese chop suey probably bothered some Westerners because it contained giblets and tripe. It is plausible to suppose that expressions of distaste from customers might have inspired Chinese cooks to modify the recipe. Once giblets and entrails were replaced by meat more familiar to Westerners, Chinese American chop suey was born.

Chinese cooking had been known, admired, and patronized by many white customers from the very beginning of Chinese immigration to the United States.³³ In the 1880s in New York City alone, "At least five hundred Americans take their meals regularly in Chinese restaurants in orthodox Chinese fashion, with chopsticks. . . . Many of these Americans have acquired Chinese gastronomic tastes, and order dishes like Chinese."³⁴ Nevertheless, it was Li Hung Chang's visit to this country that supplied an unprecedented opportunity for the expansion of the Chinese restaurant business.

Chinese Americans not only invented Chinese American chop suey dishes but also concocted the legend of Li Hung Chang chop suey to help publicize their invention. Chinese Americans

borrowed commercial techniques of American businessmen and exploited Li's reputation to develop their own business.³⁵ Considering that these Chinese still wore queues and followed old Chinese customs and traditions even in America, their practice of attaching such a VIP's name to a common dish suggests creative imagination. They probably discovered that Americans had a tendency to follow fads and wasted no time in making use of the American curiosity about Chinese food that Li Hung Chang's visit stimulated. They were obviously very successful in spreading the legend of Li Hung Chang chop suey, for even the famous scholar Liang Qichao believed it and repeated it to the Chinese people in China.³⁶ They were also apparently so successful in adapting chop suey to American taste that a Chinese anecdote tells of American GIs during World War II searching around Chongqing, the wartime capital of China, for "real San Francisco Chop Suey."³⁷ After World War II in Shanghai, the biggest city in China and the city where many American businessmen and GIs stayed until the late 1940s, a neon sign in a main street proclaimed: GENUINE AMERICAN CHOP SUEY SERVED HERE.³⁸

Finally, there is a special irony to the use Chinese Americans made of Li Hung Chang's name to develop the restaurant business. As an important government official involved in Sino-American diplomacy since the 1870s, Li Hung Chang had done little, if anything, to protect the interest of Chinese Americans. In fact, as a diplomat of a weak country, he often made concessions to the U.S. government at the expense of the Chinese in the United States, though he vocally protested American mistreatment of Chinese Americans.³⁹ When asked by American journalists, "the viceroy gives as one of his reasons for not returning to China by way of San Francisco that he is ashamed to meet his countrymen who have heretofore petitioned him to protect them in their treaty rights and whom he has failed to protect."⁴⁰ If Li had known that his name would help develop the Chinese American restaurant business for decades to come, his guilt feelings might have been slightly relieved.

NOTES

1. Liang Qichao, Xindalu Youji (Diary of traveling in the new world) (Japan: Xinminchongbao, 1904; reprint, Changsha: Hunan Renmin Chubanshe, 1981), 52. Hereafter cited as Diary of Traveling.
2. J. S. Tow, The Real Chinese in America (New York: The Academy Press, 1923), 91.
3. See, for example, Leong For Yun, Chinatown Inside Out (New York: Barrows Mussry, 1936), 242-45; Louis H. Chu, "The Chinese Restaurants in New York City" (master's thesis, New York University, 1939), 1-2; Carl Glick, Shake Hands With The Dragon (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941), 163.
4. Li Donghai (David Lee), Jianada Huaqiaoshi (A history of the Chinese in Canada) (Vancouver: Tianada Ziyou Chubanshe, 1967), 270-71. Li Donghai questions the accuracy of the story, but he does not provide documents to refute the legend. This story is also collected in Thomas W. Chinn et al., A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1969), 62. Chinn's book is a very informative and serious work, though it contains the widely circulated alleged story.
5. C. Y. Chu, Meiguo Huaqiao Gaishi (History of the Chinese people in America) (New York: China Times, 1975), 53-54.
6. Calvin Lee, Chinatown, U.S.A. (New York: Doubleday, 1965), 71. Also see Glick, Shake Hands, 163-64; Betty Lee Sung, Mountain of Gold (New York: McMillan, 1969), 202.
7. Xiandai Hanyu Cidian (A dictionary of modern Chinese) (Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1984), 1436; Ciyuan (Word origins), rev. ed. (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1981), 3314.
8. Lee, Chinatown, U.S.A., 71.
9. Chu, Chinese Restaurants, 2.
10. Wong Chin Foo, "The Chinese in New York," Cosmopolitan 5 (March-October, 1888): 297-311.
11. Louis J. Beck, New York's Chinatown: An Historical Presentation of its People and Places (New York: Bohemia Publishing Co., 1898), 50.
12. From the 1960s until very recently, the story of Li Hung Chang chop suey was collected in many works on Chinese Americans published in the United States, China, and Taiwan. See for example, Sung, Mountain of Gold, 202; Liu Pei Chi, Meiguo Huaqiaoshi (A history of the Chinese in the United States of America) (Taiwan: Liming Wenhua Shiye Gufen Youxian Gongsi, 1976), 142-43, 312; Wang Mingxia, et al., Lumei Huaren Beihuanqu (The bitterness and joy of the Chinese in the United States) (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 1981), 104-105; Huaqiao Cangsanglu (A sketch of the overseas Chinese) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1984), 17; Zhu Xinliu,

- Meiguo Huabu (Chinatowns in the United States) (New York: Chinese-American Research Institute, 1985), 34-35.
13. New York Times, September 7, 1896.
 14. William J. Hail, "Li Hung Chang," in Eminent Chinese of the Ching Period (1644-1912), ed. Arthur W. Hummel (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), vol. 1, 464-71.
 15. Glick, Shake Hands, 164.
 16. Sung, Mountain of Gold, 202.
 17. New York Times, August 30, 1896.
 18. Ibid. Cf. William Francis Mannix, ed., Memoirs of Li Hung Chang (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1913), 83-84.
 19. New York Times, September 2, 1896.
 20. Ibid., September 4, 1896.
 21. For a detailed analysis of Li Hung Chang's dealings with Americans, see Michael Hunt, The Making of A Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 115-42. There is an excellent analysis of Li's "Yi-Yi-Zhi-Yi" diplomacy in Hu Shen's Chong Yapianzhanshen dao Wusiyundong (From the Opium War to the May Fourth movement) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1981), 61-67.
 22. See, for example, John Russell Young, "Li Hung Chang," Review of Reviews 10 (July-December, 1894): 386-95 (with portrait); J. W. Foster, "Li Hung Chang," The Century 30 (August 1896): 560-71; G. T. Ferris, "Li Hung Chang," Cosmopolitan 17 (October 1894): 643-56.
 23. New York Times, August 29, 30, September 1, 2, 1896.
 24. Ibid., August 29, 1896.
 25. Ibid., August 30, 1896.
 26. Ibid.
 27. Ibid.
 28. Wong, "Chinese in New York," 304.
 29. Beck, Chinatown, 49.
 30. Liang, Diary of Traveling, 52.
 31. Beck, Chinatown, 50.
 32. Lucien Adkins, "Suspicion Changed to Confidence," in New York's Chinatown, Louisa Beck (New York: Bohemia Publishing Co., 1898), 294-97.
 33. For details see Limin Chu, The Images of China and the Chinese in the Overland Monthly, 1868-1875, 1883-1935 (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1974), 74-75; Robert F. G. Spier, "Food Habits of Nineteenth-century California Chinese," California Historical Society Quarterly 37 (March, 1958): 79-83, 129-35; Tricia Knoll, Becoming Americans (Portland, Oreg.: Coast to Coast Books, 1982), 19-20; and Thomas W. Chinn et al., Chinese in California, 61-62.
 34. Wong, "Chinese in New York," 305.
 35. Few works on the history of Chinese American economic development have been produced, probably due to the scarcity of historical materials. For further discussion on how Chinese American businessmen adapted to American conditions, see Ivan H. Light, Ethnic Enterprise in America: Business and Welfare Among Chinese, Japanese and Blacks (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972).
 36. Liang Qichao took a diary and recorded whatever he heard and saw during his tour in North America. When he tried to edit and publish his diary, his friend Xu Qing advised him not to, since he only superficially understood these big countries. Liang reluctantly published this small volume, but he did not claim all the accounts in it were authoritative. See Liang's preface to Diary of Traveling, 1.
 37. Cf. Chen Benchang (Ben John Chen), Meiguo Huaqiao Canguan Gongye (The Chinese restaurant business in America) (Taiwan: Yiyu Qiye Youxian Gongsi, 1971), 32.
 38. Grace Zia Chu, The Pleasure of Chinese Cooking (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962), 52.
 39. See Shih-shan Henry Tsai, China and Overseas Chinese in the United States, 1868-1911 (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1983), 53, 143-44; and Michael H. Hunt, The Making of a Special Relationship, 120-21, 124-25.
 40. New York Times, September 3, 1896. For details about the Chinese petition, see Tsai, China and Overseas Chinese, 31.