might take place when the mourner is alone and presumably in secret, or might occur as well in the intervals between prescribed outbursts of wailing. Wailing, then, is crowd-conditioned, whereas crying is not; wailing is found only in the crowd context, but crying may be observed where there is no crowd. It follows that the third element of the original hypothesis must be adjusted to this qualication: crowd behavior is characterized by responses which are culturally specified for this situation though they may also be found elsewhere.

It was stated at the beginning of an earlier paper that all crowd behavior, spontaneous or not, should be the concern of students of collective behavior, for two reasons: the difficulty of catching spontaneous behavior on the wing, as it were, and the difficulty of drawing a hard and fast line between the spontaneous and the culturally specified. Behavior known to be in large part institutionalized was investigated with full realization of its character, in the hope that some clue might be given to the nature of crowd behavior in general.

From the materials examined from Mexico and the Philippines and, more recently, from India, Thailand, Malaya, Vietnam, Annam, Formosa, China, and Korea, we can draw two solid conclusions regarding the behavior of crowds: first, that they react to culturally presented signals in making responses; second, the members react in manners differing according to status and role in the community. An important step will be the testing of these hypothesis against material from situations other than that of mourning. I suspect that the conclusions will need little adjustment to embrace even the seeming pandemonium of a lynching mob.

Persistence and Change In Cantonese-American Gambling

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In his record of travels, Marco Polo briefly observed that gambling was more prevalent in Cathay than in any other part of the world. Accounts of missionaries, foreign governmental officials and other sojourners in China since his day have substantiated its widespread nature. Tiffany's comments following his visit to Canton in 1844 are typical:

> "Gambling, I am sorry to say, occupies much of the time that people devote to amusement; there are hundreds of modes of gambling and sums are staked from a few cash up to large sums of money. The boys learn gambling as soon as they can talk, and pursue it through life."[1]

Prior and more recent accounts are similar. While most[2] lack descriptive detail on the nature of games and the

[1] Osmond Tiffany, Jr., *The Canton Chinese.* (Boston: James Munroe and Co., 1849), p. 195.

[2] A notable exception is the work of Archdeacon John Henry Gray. See, for example, his two-volume edition of *China*, edited by William G. George. (London: Macmillan, 1878). For comparative purposes, the most extensive materials are found in J. D. Vaughan, *The Manners and Customs of the Chinese of the Straits Settlements*, (Singapore: Mission Press, 1879), p. 60 ff.

dynamics of gambling, it is evident that gambling is a culture pattern long integrated into the social activities of the Chinese and that attitudes favorable to gambling are closely interrelated with attitudes toward wealth and its acquisition.

The migrations of South Chinese were accompanied by a diffusion of gambling well beyond Malaysia, which might be argued as falling within the confines of a Chinese area of cultural influence. This concurrence is perceived in most studies of overseas Chinese; whatever their research foci or wherever their locale, at least passing mention is made of gambling. For example, in *Reaction to Conquest* Monica Hunter reports that "Bantu attend and bet on the European horse-races, and three different Chinese run a gambling game, *Fah Fee*, patronized by Bantu."[3] Mourino, discussing the social isolation of the Cantonese in Cuba and noting behavioral differences between them and the native population, observes that "La pasión del juego es, no obstante, el punto de contacto, la afinidad que salva estas diferencias. Por eso a los chinos debemos algunas de las formas de explotación de este vicio que más apasionan al cubano."[4]

More is involved here than the mere spread of a particular game like Fah Fee to South Africa or for that matter its variant, *jue teng*, to the Philippines. Hunter writes, "Often people demurred about telling their dreams, for they determined their bets in Fah Fee by their dreams, and to tell the dreams would kill the luck." Kroeber states the point thusly, "What is of interest in this matter of gambling is that these seem to have been diffusions of attitudes as such... rather than ordinary diffusions of culture content such as specific games or devices."[5] It can be added that in the case of the Cantonese *hua ch'iao*, overseas residents, they appear in some cultural milieux to have been transmittors of a cluster of culture traits and at the same time to have been persistent retainers of the pattern despite its reformulation in the host culture.

Cantonese-American gambling, the concern of this paper, is essentially rooted in native Chinese tradition with respect to a core of specific games, behavior and cultural attitudes. Such diversified activities as the playing of bridge, canasta and poker, or a knowledge of the seasonal movements of horse-racing from one track to another, are at best variations on a theme, accretions to the culture pattern developed in South China. Indeed, the established place of gambling on the American frontier at the time of the advent of the first Chinese migrants and its continued existence in American urban centers despite illegalization, have made favorable media for the survival of Chinese gaming forms as well as the borrowing of Western ones. These factors reinforced the explicit goal of many *hua ch'iao* to accumulate wealth prior to returning to their Kwangtung villages. Today, gambling is widely found in Chinatowns, practiced by all classes, and indulged in by men and women alike. It functions on two direct motivational levels, the winning of money or property and the obtaining of diversion and amusement. These are not mutually exclusive nor do they preclude the possibility of other underlying psychological gratifications—a consideration of which is beyond our present scope of interest.

[3] Monica Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 468.

[4] Ena Mourino Hernandez, *El Juego en Cuba* (Havana: Ucar, Garcia and Co., 1947), p. 17.

[5] Alfred L. Kroeber, *Anthropology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948), p. 553.

General Attitudes

Gambling is an institution in the Cantonese-American community. Few persons abstain from it completely. When social disapproval is voiced, it is focused upon the individual who is too intemperate in his gambling behavior, who fails in honoring his debts, or who doesn't succeed in maintaining a sense of moderation when he is known to have family obligations. Subject to criticism may be the housewife who plays *mah-jong* or some other game to the extent of ignoring her household duties. The frittering away of family funds by some inveterate gambler will be deplored, but not gambling itself.

Professional gamblers, those who operate gambling houses or own shares in a lottery company, occupy no dishonorable status. The same is true of the percentage gambler,* known in Chinatown as the "professional gambler." This holds for both winners and losers. The former, to be sure, are envied for their luck and winnings, but are also admired for their skill and subsequent generosity. The loser will retain respect if he accepts his losses with equanimity and, in general, follows the prescribed gambling etiquette. One is modest, indefinite, but suggestive about winnings. Losses, on the other hand, are discussed more freely. Friends commiserate with the unlucky person and ignore the fact that he may add to the sum in order to dramatize his situation.

There is little reticence about discussing one's gambling activities and equally little hesitation about defining oneself as a professional gambler. One bookie euphemistically said of his occupation, "I work for a betting commissioner." A solicitor of lottery tickets spoke of himself as a "speculator." Such circumlocutions, however, are rare. There is little need to be evasive. Tiffany's century-old observation[6] in Canton, "So universal is the practice that it is looked upon as a mere everyday business..." applies to the Chinatowns of today.

Lotteries

The newly arrived *hua ch'iao* encountering his first opportunity to "buy a chance" to win a turkey at the advent of Thanksgiving or Christmas meets novelty only in the nature of the native American prize. In South China the coming of the New Year meant the sale of chances to guess the weight of a fish or piece of pork and thus possibly to win it. The sale of *chü-yuk piü*, pork tickets, finds accommodation in the American holiday raffle. But the Chinese raffles, or more properly speaking, lotteries, will be seen to be considerably more complex than the process of winning a ham or fish or turkey. The lottery is *the* popular outlet for Chinese gambling. While *fan tan, mah-jong*, dice or card-playing require time, funds, and a social situation, the lottery permits minimal individual participation yet maximum participation of numbers of persons. In some games one stakes as little as five or ten cents, a trifling amount that doesn't alarm the careful housewife or clerk. The accumulation of nickels, dimes, and larger sums provides substantial dividends to the gambling syndicate backing the lottery.

Pak kop piu, the White Pigeon Ticket, has been a Chinatown pastime which seldom has suffered prolonged interference by the police. Based on eighty

* Albert H. Morehead employs this term to connote the gambler "unusually agile at probabilities...and the skillful player of any game in which skill is the dominant factor..." See his article "The Professional Gambler," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 269 (May 1950) pp. 81-92.

[6] Tiffany, op. cit., p. 195.

characters selected from the *Ts'in Tsz Man*, the Thousand Character Classic written by Chou Hsing-ssu in the sixth century A. D., the printed slip is well-known in the community. Non-Chinese taxi-drivers, waitresses, storekeepers and indeed, policemen, play the game along with their Chinese neighbors.

The general operation of the lottery and method of determining winning characters so fully described by Stewart Culin in 1891[7] remains fundamentally unchanged today and requires no elaboration. The player of *pak kop piu* selects any ten of the eighty characters, indicating his choice on the slip provided him, and bets any amount he desires, the least sum being twenty-five cents. If, as a result of the drawing, five of the characters chosen by him appear among the winners, he receives a sum equal to his bet. Should he have six or more winning characters, the odds increase greatly:

six	characters	20 to 1
7	"	200 to 1
8	"	1000 to 1
9	"	2000 to 1
10	"	3000 to 1

These odds, current in recent years in the Middle Atlantic cities and those of the Midwest, concur with but one exception with figures cited by Leong,[8] who wrote about the New York scene. He reports 4000 to 1 as odds prevailing for a ten-character winner. Cheng's data for Philadelphia are at sharp variance. "...if he gets five characters right, he has a double reward; if he gets six, ten times; seven, twenty times; eight, two hundred times; and nine, he hits the jack-pot of two thousand times." Taking note of the differences between his own and Leong's reported odds, Cheng suggests that "there is apparently a different system of counting in New York Chinatown."[9] Culin, whose investigations also were centered in Philadelphia, reports the system of odds similar to the current situation cited by this investigator. There is only one variation: 1500 to 1 odds are paid for a nine-character winner rather than 2000 to 1.[10]

It should be stressed that the drawing, necessarily behind closed doors, is "public" and apparently free of dishonesty. The proceedings are especially subject to the careful scrutiny of the ticket collectors, or runners. These solicitors of bets, who stand to gain financially if their clients should win, serve as watchdogs for the latter. Stories of swindling or jugglery in the determination of winning characters play no significant part in the folklore of Chinatown gambling. The history of bankrupt *pak kop piu* companies attests to this. Syndicates sponsoring the lottery take precautions against "going broke" by setting limits on total winnings for any one drawing. However, the problem for the syndicate is not so much that of preventing winners as to see that they will occur with sufficient frequency so that people will be motivated to play. The probability is slight that any player will draw an even return, let alone select ten winning characters.

During the period of the writer's first field study, a non-Chinese group had begun to support a lottery, *tsz fa*, concentrating upon the non-Chinese of Chinatown and a contiguous "little Italy" as its field of operations. The daily winning characters in the syndicate's

[7]. Stewart Culin, "The Gambling Games of the Chinese in America," *Series in Philology, Literature and Archeology*, Vol. 1, No. 4. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1891, pp. 6-13.

[8] G. Y. Leong, *Chinatown Inside Out* (New York: Barrows Mussey, 1936), p. 204.

[9] David Cheng, *Acculturation of the Chinese in America* (Foochow: Fukien Christian University, 1948), p. 131.

[10] Culin, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

game were determined by the *tsz fa* results in the Chinatown enterprise. The failure of some of this group's runners to pay their winning clients brought about minor altercations; widespread disfavor in the community and subsequent police action closed the game. These events were seen by Chinatown residents as an affirmation of the reliability of Chinese operators of lotteries. Non-Chinese players (and there are many in the locality) claimed a preference for Cantonese management and repeatedly expressed resentment at the attempted inroad by the new group. This intrusion, it was said, was "a racket."

It is interesting to note that the "policy" or "numbers" game so widespread in American cities since the 1930's has not infiltrated Chinatown with any degree of success. To be sure, residents do place an occasional bet on a number series, but the game does not have the same popularity it obtains elsewhere in metropolitan centers. Efforts to incorporate the Chinese communities within the orbit of its operations have been substantial failures. While Cantonese gambling has generally accommodated itself to whatever game forms exist in the cultural milieu in which *hua ch'iao* reside, the rejection of "policy" is a notable exception. At the advent of the numbers game, the communities already had *pak kop piu* and *tsz fa* operating for the several decades of their existence. The drawings were based upon familiar Chinese characters and the danger of chicanery was considered to be negligible. The fact that managing personnel as well as most financial backers of the lotteries were confined to persons known within the community, and part of it, provided some measure of confidence in the game's honesty not matched by the "policy" situation. The element of novelty and the comparative advantage in odds were never sufficiently attractive to permit penetration of the existing gambling pattern, let alone replace or dominate it. The general tendency toward social isolation of the community, reinforced by a generalized distrust of the *lo fan*, foreigner, and by the particular nature of social distance between the Chinese and the Italian-American group primarily fostering "policy," contributed to the innovation's rejection.

Despite the claim of universal trustworthiness, the honesty of some Chinatown runners cannot be said to be completely beyond reproach. A few have been known to renege on bets, but their acts have terminated their stay in the community. On the other hand, the income of the runner is dependent upon the betting strength of his clientele and that, at least in part, depends upon his reputation. A record of honesty, prompt payment, and minimum friction or misunderstanding literally pays the solicitor dividends. The friend of one runner described an incident in which the latter had been struck by a car just after having completed collection of bets. "As soon as he was hit and lying in the street, he asked me to hold his money and to tell as many customers as possible that all his bets were off since he couldn't place the bets. In this way, there would be no confusion later when the winning number was announced..."

Tsz Fa, Flowery Characters, is a lottery less frequently in play than the White Pigeon. It is a riddle game based on the names of thirty-six ancient personages representing different phases of Chinese life — military, commercial, literary, religious, and so on. Each individual is identified by a symbolic creature — bird, fish, reptile, insect or beast. An enigma is composed, utilizing one of the characters, and made public. The problem for the bettor is to guess

which one of the remaining characters best answers the riddle. The compositions are such that virtually any two characters are readily linked, hence the game becomes one of pure chance. At best, the odds against winning are 35 to 1, but the winner generally receives only 30 to 1, the advantage remaining with the syndicate.

When police surveillance is lax or lenient, the first drawing of *tsz fa* begins early in the afternoon. Thereafter fresh drawings may be held hourly until well into the evening; seven or eight drawings daily, especially on Sundays, have not been uncommon when the game is operating at full force. As soon as the winning character has been announced, the runners, who have been congregating at the gambling center after placing bets for their clients, disperse and head toward those restaurants, shops and other *ch'ut-yap,* "hangouts," from which they operate. En route to winning customers, by voice or by gesture they announce the winning character to interested individuals or groups of men lounging in the streets. By pointing to his cheek, a herald of the game's result informs bystanders that "pock-face" has been drawn. The little finger extended with the other fingers clenched indicates "shrimp." The index finger at the nose means that "thief" was the winner; the sign of the index and third fingers of one hand crossed over the same fingers of the other hand refers to "goldfish." In this manner, the betting community is rapidly informed of the latest results while those responsible for law enforcement presumably remain in ignorance.

The conflict between the gambling pattern of the Cantonese and the legal norms of American municipal governments is no novel aspect of the culture contact situation. On the contrary, its illegal status is an enduring condition of Chinese gambling. The Khan banned it in Marco Polo's time, it was forbidden during the Ch'ing Dynasty, and afterwards, but gambling persisted then as now. The adaptive facility of the Cantonese has generally been as effective here as in other aspects of the host culture. Changes in city administration or transfer of police officials may be accompanied by a period of overtly rigorous law enforcement, but this will be followed by the return to a discreet *modus vivendi* between the police and practitioners of *pak kop piu.*

Not startling but striking are the results of an analysis of the local police precinct "blotter" made in one city. Of the 17,515 arrests of Chinese during the period of January 1933 to July 1949, 17,236 or 98.4 per cent were based on various charges of gambling. Of the several inferences to be drawn from these data, one is relevant here. There is affirmation of Tiffany's observation of a century ago, "So universal is the practice that it is looked upon as a mere every-day business..."

Beliefs and Behavior

The relay of news of lottery results and the delivery of winnings to fortunate gamblers are achieved with an overt lack of ceremony and with no apparent display of emotions by either winner or runner. Nevertheless, despite what seems to be a routine transaction of business, the interaction at this point between player and intermediary has attached to it shared meanings and beliefs about gambling role behavior. Winnings may be counted but more frequently they are pocketed with no attempt to ascertain correctness of the sum — at the time. The experienced player who has placed a bet in a coffee shop, let us say, and has won, does not ask the runner for his due upon the latter's ar-

rival. Initiative is expected to come from the runner. The son of a well-known gambler, commenting on this, said, "You merely sit there patiently and when the runner comes around, he pays you off. You never approach him and say, 'Where's my winnings?' If you do this, you are implying he is not honest and the runner will be deeply insulted. He'll pay you off but will not accept your bet in the future."

To break with a runner during the course of a lucky streak is fraught with danger, the danger that there will be a break in a favorable run of fortune. The gambler will take steps to encourage or maintain a winning streak by giving "lucky money" or *ch'an chi* to those about him and thus propitiate fortune; similarly, he will be apprehensive lest any change occur in a situation favorable to his play. The runner invariably occupies a special position as messenger of Luck itself. His reward may be well beyond the formal fee for his services. Flattery and tactful cajolery may also increase his income, but the judicious runner keeps these in abeyance until after the formal turning over of winnings. In the overt behavior of the pair, feelings of triumph or pleasure will be suppressed and the transfer of funds will generally be accompanied by a studied diffidence and deliberate casualness.

In a situation so delicately balanced by the fulcrum of probability, the relationship between the player and collector is easily disturbed by non-rational forces — impatience over sustained failure, frustration over near wins, and feelings of personal inadequacy to predict lottery results. The runner is as vulnerable as the bettor and his occupational risks are more than occasional arrest by the police. A luckless client may change runners with the hope of effecting a shift in his gaming record. Blaming one's losses on others and labelling them as harbingers of bad luck is the other side of the wagered coin. A runner can lose a customer and if the latter is vocal, gain a hapless reputation assuring loss of income.

Concern about influencing the course of play extends to other gaming situations. Those watching a game of *fan t'an* recognize that it is wiser not to stand behind a player who is losing lest his wrath be incurred. And indeed, if a tactless onlooker persists in remaining near a gambler during the latter's losing streak in *p'ai kau*, he will be blamed as the cause of poor cards or a misplay. Even if the player succeeds in suppressing his anger at the offending observer, the situation becomes tense for the entire group. Most non-players as well as gamblers try to avoid behavior which might be considered to influence an individual's play.

One doesn't borrow money from a man while he is losing and further, even though he is winning, he ought not to be asked for a gift of "lucky money," even in jest. The very request is regarded as an omen of heavy losses to come. If gratuities from the winner are forthcoming, they will be offered voluntarily and generously at a time the gambler regards as propitious. Just as the winner of a lottery tips the runner and offers *ch'an chi* to others, so the gambler at other games feels constrained to share some of his winnings with those about him. *Ying fan-t'an kan mi*, "The winner at *fan t'an* has followers," especially those who have played and lost. The donor gives to maintain his fortunate state; the losers, by obtaining a token of his winnings, hope to change the trend in their own gambling ventures, and return to the table to recoup their losses. Acts of beneficence do not end in the gaming hall. The victorious

player would do well to offer money to any children he meets on the street. Such gestures of good will enhance his chance for further successes. The sums need not be great; the offering of five-cent pieces serves equally as well as larger amounts.

Borrowing has another restriction among gamblers. One should never rouse a gambler from sleep in order to request a loan and, for that matter, one should refrain from making the request for funds soon after he wakens. It is believed that the man who starts the morning by parting with money will continue to do so throughout the day, that is, the gambling day. There is a general extension of this usage: requests for money are seldom made in the morning in the Cantonese-American community. The business manager of a Chinatown newspaper was approached soon after his arrival at the office by a non-Chinese custodial employee who unwittingly asked for an advance on his wages. The man received a curt refusal and as he departed from the room, was cursed roundly and viciously. The outburst of obscenity ended, the manager explained that he had planned to play *mah-jong* that evening with a group of friends. Now, he complained, he would have to let them know he couldn't come. The stakes were very low so fear of financial loss was not the question. A night of poor luck, however, would be unpleasant and he was certain that this faced him if he were to play. What was done could not be undone.

It is not surprising that unusual events, dreams, hunches and omens will be determinants in betting. Personal "systems" are often based on these and a number of books are available to those seeking success. Many players consult a small pamphlet, *Hsiu Hsiang Po Ku T'an Chin Hua Huei Chü Kei*, to guide them in their playing of *tsz fa*. Containing biographies of the thirty-six persons from which one is selected for the day's drawing, there are also dream and physiological associations as well as other characteristics to furnish cues for selection.

For example, we read of Pan Kuei, who headed the list of candidates in the military examinations. The names of his wife and concubine are provided as well as those of the sons they bore him. The reader is told that Pan Kuei was reincarnated from a field snail (this is his major identifying feature) and is associated with the element of water. Dream topics relating to him include the drama, climbing a tree to pick its blossoms, a son born after the death of the father, and an adopted son. On a drawing of a composite man, which has dispersed on various parts of the body the thirty-six names, Pan Kuei is represented on the right forearm. The gambler who has inadvertently scratched his right arm may very well feel impelled to bet on Pan Kuei. But the section on Pan Kuei also has allusions to the right calf and to "between the knees"; these references should make the exhuberant one feel less certain of success. At any rate, should he lose after having bet on Pan Kuei, he is given material for rationalization. The list of qualities, events and phenomena associated with each *tsz fa* figure is varied and long. Thus, in addition to those mentioned above, Pan Kuei also has linked to him the crab, a Buddhist temple, white peas, fireflies, and so on. It is obvious that the gambler in search of a clue for betting or of an interpretation of some happening has ample sources for making a decision. But it is also clear that the author's prognostications are well-protected by a sliding scale of over-lapping references and connections with dual meanings. The abstru-

seness of the allusions, the ambiguity of Taoist symbolism and recurrent suggestiveness of particular items have sustained circulation of the text over the years. For some, it is for daily consultation; for most, a source for occasional bemused reading. Cantonese gamblers are much too prone to follow their own signs and impulses to be dependent for long upon any guide external to themselves.

Nevertheless, individual interpretations are not without cultural context. The Cantonese saying, *Shau tan tim piu*, "Mark a lottery ticket on your birthday," reflects the auspiciousness with which that day is viewed in Chinese society. While the expectations thus heightened are not matched by a commensurate favorable shift in odds on this occasion, players do have a better chance of winning at the approach of the New Year. *Tsz fa* syndicates, sensitive to the role of folk beliefs in gaming and in the interest of promoting good will, may contrive a simple combination of characters to permit a greater proportion of winners. One Chinese New Year's Day, for example, "nun" was paired with "big house." In this manner, those playing the ready association were more fortunate. A second advantage to the bettor derives from the syndicate's not selecting a term considered to be unpropitious for the time. Acts and instruments of violence, words connoting ill health or misfortune and similar negatively valued symbols are generally avoided during the holiday period. Hence, the absence of phrases such as *dead man, coffin* and *bad woman* reduces the odds in favor of the players. One now defunct syndicate erred by utilizing the traditional word avoidance to its advantage — in this case the terms employed were *devil-fish* and *dead man*.

Culin's observation that "books are not regarded with favor in gambling houses" and that gamblers will avoid reading before they indulge in a gambling session[11] has thus far not been substantiated. As a matter of fact, one moderately successful gambling table operates in the rear of a shop which has an excellent selection of books. At least in the area of horse-racing, the utilization of racing forms and tip-sheets would serve to break down this practice. The antipathy to books presumably is based upon the similarity in pronunciation between the Chinese words for "book" and "to lose." Seventy years ago Culin observed the tendency of some gamblers to refrain from using the sound *shue*. This persists as an avoidance term. The inauspiciousness of *shue* because of homonymic quality is accentuated in that *to-shue* specifically means to lose at gambling, not merely in the more general sense.

The gambler's reliance upon cultural proscription is supported in many instances by religious belief. The expression, *k'au piu*, implying "Beseech (the gods) for (lucky) lottery tickets," is not uncommon. T'u Ti, God of Earth, is sometimes petitioned and the intervention of Buddhist divinities who enable the acquisition of desired wealth is frequently cited. For example, a Cantonese seaman had an unusual streak of good luck while gambling in New York. Later, he related that Kuan Yin had appeared in a dream one night and told him she had been responsible for his good fortune. "Take some of your money and spend it fixing my room up," she told him. He went to the Kuan Yin shrine of his family association, located on the outskirts of Chinatown, and spent four hundred dollars in redecorating the apartment.

[11] Culin, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

Subsequent to this incident and its narration, Kuan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy, paid him a second visit. She told him of her pleasure with his act of gratitude. She then informed him that a certain restaurant was worth owning and mentioned the name of the owner. The seaman "happened to know this man," who wanted to return to China. The sale of the restaurant was consummated and as predicted in the dream, the purchase proved to be most desirable.

The foregoing tale is not an isolated one. Culin tells of a winner at *pak kop piu* who built a shrine in Philadelphia and "hoped by its erection to propitiate the god to whom he attributed his good fortune."[12] The presence of shrines honoring Kuan Kung in the headquarters of both major tongs of the Atlantic Seaboard states, organizations whose active interest in gambling is well-known, is further suggestive of the influence of the supernatural in the obtaining of wealth.[13]

Two forms of gambling behavior were not traceable by the writer. The first is suggested by the saying, *Pai sz shi k'au piu*, "Find a (lucky) lottery slip by paying obeisance to a corpse." Apparently the practice was to be found in Kwangtung Province's rural areas. Gray reports rhabdomancy, divination by rods or wands, practiced presumably in the Kwangtung region. He writes, "This mode, however, is, if I mistake not, confined in a great measure to gamblers, who before leaving their homes to pursue their vicious courses are anxious to know what road will bring them luck."[14] The more usual form of divination utilizing bamboo slips is still to be found as a technique for decision-making.

[12] Culin, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
[13] See, for example, photographs in *Life*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (January 8, 1951), p. 72.
[14] Gray, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 26.

Discussion thus far has been confined primarily to the individual gambler. In essaying a description of group situations, distinction must be drawn between gambling wherein the dominant motive is that of economic gain and those games where an avowedly recreational purpose is as strong, if not more so, than the winning of money. *Fan t'an* or poker would be examples of the first, while *mah-jong* exemplifies the second, more social occasion.

Games held in a gambling house where stakes may be more than nominal and where participants are at best nodding acquaintances, have an impersonal and formal atmosphere. The proceedings seem to be marked by a general suppression of excitement on the part of the players. Any joviality anteceding the game tends to subside once the action has begun. Facial expressiveness diminishes during actual play and conversation subsides. The "good gambler" is taciturn and perfunctory in his moves, alert though seemingly diffident in his responses to the action in front of him. The stereotype of "poker-faced gambler" in American culture also obtains in the demeanor of the professional Cantonese gambler. Those who illy conceal their emotions, who react with pleasure or annoyance, are not regarded with high esteem. Intensity in play prevails throughout the game, relaxation coming only with the serving of refreshments or, in lesser measure, during the infrequent conversational asides that intersperse the action. Concentration upon the game, whether skill or chance is involved, is the norm.

A different social atmosphere emerges when a group gathers in someone's home for an evening of cards or *mah jong*. Although there will be a financial stake, the purpose of the group is diversion and relaxation. The game is for "fun" and

mah-jong can provide these ends. The long duration of time required to play a set and the slow, involved moves which are typical of the game are not conducive to the more intense and rapid play of the gambling houses. The emotional reserve manifested in the wholly acquisitive game seems to break down with the clatter of tiles being shuffled, the triumphant calls of *p'ung*, and the excited words of remonstration or disappointment. As the game develops, players shout or swear, joke and banter, or strike the table with open hand. The noisy air of conviviality that so often prevails is in dramatic contrast to the relative silence of other forms of play. Here is no inhibitory behavior, no set of cultural imperatives requiring concentration on the game to the exclusion of other satisfactions. Teasing is permissible and bantering another for a misplay is not frowned upon nor taken amiss by the target of the chaffing. Good humor and personal interaction predominate.

Gambling and Drinking

When skill and astuteness are demanded, as in gambling for stakes significant to the players, there is no place for any but the most moderate intake of alcohol. While a number of professional gamblers are given to heavy drinking, it seldom occurs at the gaming table. Liquor is available in most gambling houses but during games its use is confined to the neophyte or consistent loser. Emotional gratifications derived from gambling appear to preclude the need for alcohol; the game has its own ingredients for intoxication.

On the other hand, at wedding banquets and other celebrations permitting general relaxation and freer behavior, gambling tends to facilitate drinking. That is to say, a number of traditional games are employed to enliven the affair by encouraging drinking. Of these, *ch'ai mui* is the most popular, the liveliest, and undoubtedly the noisiest. The stake here is not monetary, but personal. The game is a test of *tsau leung*, capacity for liquor, and the ultimate forfeit is loss of face.

Ch'ai mui, guessing fingers, is very much like the Italian fist game of morra.[15] Played off and on throughout a festive meal, it usually begins after the initial serving of liquor and is most active during a change of courses. The game is played by a twosome, and when several bouts are in progress at the same time, the banquet hall is filled with clamor and laughter. (It is no wonder that Hongkong Ordinance No. 2 of 1872 provided that "Every Person shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding Ten Dollars who shall utter Shouts or Cries or make other Noises while playing the Game known as Chai Mui, between the Hours of 11 P.M. and 6 A.M....") As the dinner moves toward conclusion, the game increases momentum with players moving from one table to another, challenging and drinking. The process of elimination continues, leaving only the hardy and the judicious.

In *ch'ai mui*, each of the contestants extends from one to five fingers, or a clenched fist to signify zero. As the players simultaneously thrust out their hands while facing one another, each shouts what he guesses will be the total of the outspread fingers. The

[15] Introduction of *ch'ai mui* to Japan came during the first half of the seventeenth century A.D. Known as *honken* or *saiken*, the mode of play and setting for the game are similar to those described here. The author is indebted to Dr. Harumi Befu for making available materials on this aspect of the game's diffusion. See Kinjoo Tomonaga's article on "Ken" in Japanese Society of Ethnology (ed.), *Nihon Shakai Minzoku Jiten* (Social and Ethnographic Dictionary of Japan). Tokyo: Seibundo Shinkoosha, 1952, Vol. 1, p. 343.

loud shouting is considered to be a valuable distracting device enabling one to outsmart his opponent. By varying the number of fingers and by noting any perceptible pattern in the play of the other contestant, an acute observer and careful manipulator can move from guesswork to a more considered anticipation of his adversary. Should both players call the same number, a draw results. Invariably, more than one thrust of the hands will be required to determine the outcome of a game, and three out of five games settles a match. The *loser* is obliged to swallow a drink of liquor or wine.*

In the Italian game, the numbers are called out by the players; in *ch'ai mui*, phrases are used signifying each of the numerals. The lists of phrases vary regionally in China, with each region having several versions. A T'oi Shan series goes thusly:

One *yat pen*
the first rank (a high official)

Two *leung sueng ho*
two good friends

Three *sam kat tai*
three lucky brothers

Four *sz kwai fat ts'oi*
four prosperous seasons

Five *ng fui shau*
Five Chief Spirits

Six *luk luk shun*
six things come my way

Seven *ts'at ts'at hau*
seven skills

Eight *pat sin*
Eight Immortals

Nine *kau lin wan*
nine connecting links (all good fortune joined)

Ten *ts'uen ka fuk*
everyone happy

There is an appropriate phrase used when a player extends a closed fist and expects his opponent to do the same. The T'oi Shan versions are several and in one, *ng fui shau* may be omitted completely in those social circles where *ng* is regarded as an indecorous sound. The player, in this case, will remain silent if he wishes to predict a count of five fingers.

Fingers are cast, players lose and drink, and as dining and drinking progress and as levity and raucous demand for more intake mount, players shift from a set of three out of five to two out of three; then, as *ch'ai mui* proves to be too slow a procedure for drinking, more direct measures are sought.

There are a number of drinking contests involving literary skill, such as the Flower Game, the Famous Brigands game based upon the centuries-old novel *Shui Hu Chuan*, and one played using characters from the *San Kuo Chih Yen I*, the romance of the Three Kingdoms. Intimate knowledge of the tales is required, either derived from oral tradition or by reading. As a result, considerably fewer persons can effectively participate. Most Chinese-Americans of the second and third generations are excluded; even graduates of the Chinese language schools, having a reading acquaintance with the adventures of the *Shui Hu*, are seldom able to enter the bouts with any degree of success. Only the most precocious student, whose interest perhaps is reinforced by living in a household where traditional Chinese

* The implications of this and other aspects of drinking can be found in the writer's "Alcoholism in the Cantonese of New York City: An Anthropological Study," in Oskar Diethelm (ed.) *Etiology of Chronic Alcoholism* (Springfield: C. C. Thomas, 1955), pp. 179-27.

scholasticism prevails, could be expected to respond with the spontaneity and extensive literary familiarity the games demand. It is a fact of the acculturation situation that the unscrupulous acts of Ts'ao Ts'ao or the wily strategems of Chu-ko Liang take their place along with the feats of Robin Hood, King Arthur and Davey Crockett—fused into the vague memories of childhood culture heroes. Ability to play cleverly becomes confirmatory of one's special status as a scholarly person and obtains prestige and admiration from non-players. The latter know the games, enjoy watching them, but confine themselves to a spectator's role and to the playing of the more popular *ch'ai mui.* It is safely predictable that the literary games will disappear from *hua ch'iao* communities long before lotteries like *pak-kop piu.* The latter, indeed, have spread beyond the confines of the Chinese subculture; the existence of the former becomes one gauge for measuring cultural persistence.

Motives and the Function of Gambling

A singleness of purpose, the acquisition of wealth, was characteristic of most South Chinese residents in the New World. But this met with interference, resulting in a compression of *hua ch'iao* activities along narrow social and economic lines.[16] It is in the context of a minority group enclave wherein the attaining of desired economic goals had been hampered or deflected and wherein social life has been circumscribed by isolation from the broader community, that gambling assumes particular emphasis. Limited success in making money can be achieved by hard labor and long work hours—or the goal may be hastened by good fortune in gambling.

Chinese attitudes toward the attainment of wealth enhances compulsions to gamble. This purely economic motive is of sufficient force to make one thing certain: the Chinese plays to win and "for keeps." Any diversion derived from gambling appears to be secondary. A wager is always suggested even though the stakes may be trivial. No point is seen in merely playing for "fun." Victory demands tangible rewards and these are primary to any abstract satisfactions obtained from playing the game.

We cannot accept Professor Hsu's assertion that speculation plays no role in Chinese gambling and, by inference, in the economic field.[17] Chinese may never have "gambled on the outcome of such events as the ancient dragonboat race in south China, nor in modern times . . . on their favorites in athletic events,"[17a] but they most certainly have bet on the outcome of the civil service examinations during the Ch'ing period. "Gambling on sports . . . strikes the Chinese as highly immoral," says Hsu. In the acculturative situation, at any rate, Chinese gamble on sports of all kinds. That they have moral qualms about doing so is doubtful. We hazard the opinion that betting in a football pool is substantially not different from playing *pak kop piu.* Even if lotteries were introduced to treaty port areas by the West, as he claims, the disposition to wager a bet and thus, to risk losing one's stake, is a cultural attitude prevalent in China long before the advent of the Manila Lottery to Macau.

The stress on economic gain does not gainsay the non-monetary factors which are also present in gambling. *Mah-jong,*

[16] *Cf.* Milton L. Barnett, "Kinship as a Factor Affecting Cantonese Economic Adaptation in the United States," *Human Organization,* 19 (Spring, 1960), pp. 40-46.

[17] Francis L. K. Hsu, *Americans and Chinese.* (London: Cresset Press, 1955), pp. 307-9.

[17a] *Ibid.,* p. 308.

for example, obviously strengthens family solidarity. It has the social value of keeping family members together; the game is a vehicle for group enjoyment and satisfies the American-born youth as well as those coming from China. With the exception of the theater or social contacts through dining or visiting friends, gambling provides a major institutionalized form of entertainment. The laundryman or domestic worker spending a week-end in Chinatown is offered the promise of pursuit of suddenly acquired wealth and the quest in itself means escape from the boredom and strain of a full work-week. "Trabajo y juego son los dos polos entre los cuales oscila un pendula la puntual actividad del *chinito* lavandero, o el paisano vendedor de frutas, viveres o verduras," writes Mourino[18] and his comment is as apt for the mainland as it is for Cuba. A drastic change from monotony, the skirmishes with chance in the company of kinsmen and friends intent upon the same quest are functional in satisfying needs for fellowship generated by the isolation of the week. Indeed, gambling offers this social contact all the more to those who are relatively cut off from the Chinese community and who, friendless or without close kinsmen, find some solace and pleasure by being in the company of fellow countrymen. The street tout calls *P'ai kau lo seng* to those walking down a Chinatown street. "*P'ai kau* upstairs" means a chance to win money. It is an invitation for temporary social shelter—contact with one's fellows at least so long as one's money holds out.

Sam Gee goes to Chinatown nearly every Sunday, if not for the week-end. He automatically lays down bets on *pak kop piu* and if operating, on *tze fa*. A trifling bet on the lotteries is routine. Of greater interest to him is *fan t'an*, poker, or whichever other game of active participation appeals to him. He may budget his weekly earnings, setting aside a specific sum for gambling, and be prepared to quit should his winnings reach a figure predetermined by him, perhaps fifty or one hundred dollars. Such an orderly approach will be an individual interpretation of the proverb, "If you must play, set three things first: the rules of the game, the stakes, and the quitting time." On the other hand, confident that he will be able to maintain a winning streak or desperate to recoup unexpected losses, he may deny the maxim and offer as ante his share-holdings or other property. If the latter situation should prevail, few will attempt to interfere with this jeopardizing of life earnings. The ways of the gambling house preclude this.

Whether cautious and disciplined or rash and injudicious, the Cantonese gambler thinks in terms of being lucky or unlucky. "Gambling in its essense," says Fenichel, "is a provocation of fate..." The inveterate gambler is not content merely to plod along with a long range hope of saving for an ultimate return to a Kwangtung village. He actively moves forward to tangle with chance and the consequences are oracular with respect to broader goals. That one accepts their portents, even those of loss and failure, is seen in the host of unattached, old men who live ignominiously, drowned by their yen for gambling.

Unlike drinking in the *hua ch'iao* community, gambling is the culturally sanctioned outlet for emotional release. Aggression can be played to the limit; ruthlessness along with skill and chance will pay dividends. Intense excitement can be experienced with minimal risk by playing low stakes. The amount of money risked is a secondary factor com-

[18] Mourino, *op. cit.*, p. 15

pared to emotional involvement in playing. Individuals, becoming enmeshed in the tactics and tensions of coming play, can lose a sense of proportion and disrupt the normal routines of their lives. One leaves the game jubilant and wealthier, or with money and passion spent.

Gambling provides a medium whereby mobility is possible, upward at the expense of one's companions and countrymen, downward at the cost of one's investment in long periods of drudgery. Sinse the greater part of gambling in the overseas Cantonese communities involves Chinese games and Chinese participants, victors acquire winnings by draining them largely from others within that community. For those concerned with the psychodynamics of gambling, we may hypothesize that the inability to play a freer role in the broader economy has been compensated by an inverted aggression through gambling.

The organized apparatus of professional gamblers and their protectors causes some Cantonese to view gambling as a dissipating influence on wage-earners and for that matter, the Chinatown population in general. However, they take note of the social factors involved and differentiate between those whose gambling is subordinate and non-disruptive to their economic livelihood and those who make a living from it. Professional gamblers are regarded as unstable forces in the community, integrally linked with corruption and "gangterism." Ties between gambling houses, tongs and certain "civic" organizations are cited as evidence of the unscrupulousness of the latter. This criticism is directed toward *organized* gambling and its sometime political sponsors. The attitude toward gambling itself, however, is by no means puritanical; an evening of *mah-jong* or poker—with moderate stakes—is still considered an acceptable mode of social entertainment.

Some qualification regarding the respectability of professional gambling can also be found among well established, prosperous businessmen whose enterprises extend beyond the boundaries of the community's economy and whose life orientation does not include a permanent return to China. Judgments of disapproval are voiced against younger persons; second-generation youths engaged in gambling on a more-or-less professional basis are treated with frank condemnation. Such behavior is seen as shiftlessness and irresponsibility, a demonstration of lack of personal worth. The marriage of a man in his late twenties had been delayed by the girl's family for several years until he demonstrated to their satisfaction that he would be a worthy son-in-law. In his youth he had worked for a gambler and moreover, his father was well-known as a professional card player. The burden of proof rested on the shoulders of the suitor. He chose a vocation not of his liking but demanding of prestige in the eyes of the Chinatown community.

Even some of the men who support the financial operations of a gambling syndicate maintain this attitude. The vicissitudes of a gambler's life are familiar to them. Perturbation is felt and often strenuous objection is levelled against those within the orbit of effective criticism who seemingly are unwilling to accept "good jobs" for themselves, who will not take advantage of American schooling to reap economic gain and who seem to prefer the lethargy of a gambler's life.

On the other hand, the Cantonese businessman sees his enterprise as a gamble. The quest for money and the chance that it will succeed underlies

the establishment of partnerships, syndicates and commercial companies. One is constantly searching for areas of investment that may bring unexpected rewards. If the return should exceed expectations, it will be attributed to a combination of good luck and astuteness. Modesty forbids mention of the latter factor, but its recognition is seen in the air of self-satisfaction manifested by some members of this group. On the other hand, few would deny Luck's having bestowed favor upon them and stress this in accounting for business achievement. Values in this group that knows economic success and orients itself toward permanent residence, at least for their children, stress frugality rather than lavish consumption (except in celebration of life crises), reliability and regularity in habits, competency in calling and perspicacity in business affairs. Prestige is based upon stability. Their own young, therefore, should fit into this scheme rather than one of questionable outcome. Attitudes towards gambling here are ambivalent, reflecting the functional relationship between gambling and business. The conservatism of the saying, *Pat to shi ying ts'in*, "Not to gamble is to win money," is countered by the knowledge that inherent in business *is* the factor of chance and that risking a small sum may result in large rewards. There are numerous cases where gambling *per se* was an important avenue for rapid rise in economic status, where capital necessary to initiate a business venture was won. In fact, it is precisely this speculative spirit among some Cantonese that accounts for their economic success.

Some Tentative Questions for the Study of Sino-Filipino Gambling

Investigation of the nature of Chinese gambling in the Philippines and its impact on the varied culture contact situations provides a useful research focus for students of culture change. Ethnographic data on indigenous gambling forms are not plentiful; on the other hand, there appears to have been uneven receptivity to gambling of Chinese or non-Chinese origin.[19] Analysis of which groups resisted gambling, made adaptations or readily accepted it should give insight into the cultural integration of the several tribes involved as well as understanding of the nature of their historical contacts with the Chinese.

Which games were integrated, which were reinterpreted and in what manner? *Jue teng*, for example, appears to be a form of *tsz fa* stripped of Chinese characters and reduced to a simple lottery of numbers. (To be sure, instead of thirty-six choices, there may be thirty-seven or thirty-eight, depending upon local operators; again, the number of betting combinations is greater.) This shift in content is not unlike that of *pak kop piu* to *keno* in the American West, but the questions raised extend beyond form alone. Was the substitution of numbers for Chinese characters necessary for local acceptance? If this were so, how shall we explain the unmodified use of *pak kop piu* among the Ibaloi and Kankana'i in the Mountain Province? Returning to *jue teng*, many Tagalog players look to dreams and other unique psychological events for clues in betting. Is this a trait borrowed from the Chinese gambling pattern? Garvan[20] writes of divination through dreams among the Manóbo; the dream portending future events is also found in the northern islands. When we know more of gambling, if at all, among the Ma-

[19] See, for example, R. F. Barton, *The Kalingas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1949, pp. 124-25.

[20] James M. Garvan, "The Manóbos of Mindanáo," *Mem. Nat. Acad. of Sci.*, XXIII, No. 1 (Washington, 1931), p. 216.

nóbo or whether a Kalinga's dreams influence his playing *biling*, the last question may be more readily answered. Indeed, it may be asked whether the interpretation of dreams and other symbols is a universal part of the apparatus of gamblers. (We raise the question, but prefer a cultural explanation.)

An entirely different question, perplexing at least to the writer, stems from the widespread popularity of *djak en poy*, known to children and adults in the Luzon lowlands and highlands as well as islands to the south. This is surely the Japanese game of *janken* in which the players begin by shaking their fists three times, saying "Shi, shi, shi," and terminating with "Jankenpoi!" An attending rhyme has been completely altered, now taking the form of nonsense syllables. But this game of scissors, stone and paper is as well known to the Chinese. It is as popular among them as a drinking game as it is in Japan. We surely should have expected the diffusion to stem from the mainland along with the flow of other culture traits from China. We venture to suggest that this anomalistic borrowing may have more than passing folkloristic interest.

In the United States, Mexico or Cuba, the majority of *hua ch'iao* are from one province, Kwangtung. The presence in the Philippines of Chinese ethnolinguistic groups like the Fukienese, Cantonese and, to a lesser degree, Hakka, permits differential analysis along other lines. Have their modes of cultural adaptation been the same or have they taken different paths? Relationships between the subcultures have yet to be analyzed in any one overseas situation. The study of Cantonese-Hakka relationships, for example, should be of particular interest. Our American data show considerable strain and hostility existed between the two groups. Have the Hakka, few as they are in the Philippines, accommodated themselves to Cantonese gambling forms as they have to language? Fukienese apparently have not done so to any significant extent. And what of Cantonese borrowing of game variations traditional to the Hakka? Here, as in virtually all overseas Chinese communities, the Hakka are in the minority. Comparison of relationships in such cases with those of the Hakka in Hawaii, where their numbers are considerably greater, should shed light on this neglected area of Chinese studies. Father Jacques Amyot's excellent study of the *hua ch'iao* in Manila offers an opportune point of departure for this.[21]

Differences in the nature of the cultural milieux in which overseas Chinese find themselves account for somewhat different patterns of adaptation to the new environments as well as for those culture elements which have persisted, been lost, or given new emphasis. For example, it was earlier stated that no American data were obtained relevant to the Cantonese saying, "Find a lottery slip by paying obeisance to a corpse." References to the use of necromancy among Cantonese gamblers in the Philippines have been readily secured. The work of Weightman[22] requires further extension to permit the comparative analysis of host-culture institutions and receptivity to Chinese culture traits.

Finally, the study of Chinese gambling in the Philippines sheds light on a much broader question, that of the relationship between risk-taking, capital formation and utilization, and economic

[21] Jacques Amyot, "The Chinese Community of Manila: A Study of Adaptation of Chinese Familism to the Philippine Environment," Research Series No. 2, Philippine Studies Program, University of Chicago, 1960.

[22] George Weightman, "Comparison of the American Chinese with Other Overseas Chinese Communities," *Phil. Social. Rev.*, Vol. III, No. 3 (July 1955) pp. 32-40.

development. While we have focused here upon gambling in its narrowest sense, it is the diffused attitude toward wealth and its attainment—in the case of the Philippines, carried here but not fully borrowed—that is of paramount interest. Investigation of *hua ch-iao* gambling inevitably leads to consideration of the role of the Chinese in the economy of the nation. The study of gambling may fall within the narrow purview of folklore, but a projection of its findings are relevant to contemporary economic anthropology.

The Case for Unorganized Social Research

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One of the most interesting developments in recent years in the field of social science is the increasing popularity of organized social research. By this is meant research which is undertaken either by individual social scientists or by teams at the request and with the support of an organization established for the purpose of undertaking or supporting such research.

The Columbia Survey[1] undertaken by Paul Lazarsfeld shows the wide variety of academic institutions granting doctoral degrees that have proliferated out of this enthusiasm in the United States. Many of these institutions are fairly autonomous units within the college or university to which they are attached. The majority are "special purpose" units, which confine their attention to specific topics such as delinquency, mass communication, or community development. Others do not restrict themselves to any one topic. In all of them the picture that emerges is one of tremendous activity. In the United States, support of such activity through Federal funds more than doubled between 1953 and 1958 going from twenty to forty-eight million dollars.[2] The situation in other countries, although less spectacular parallels the trend in the United States. Empirical social research, says Lazarsfeld, is "one of the outstanding features of the twentieth century."[3]

The opportunities for social science research in any one country are obvious. There are many imponderables in the situation, however, which need pointing out, even as we happily start to stake out our claims to the rich lode of government funds, foreign aid, foundation monies, and other largesse which make the disinterested researcher so scarce a commodity. One of the purposes of this brief paper is to make a plea to the social scientist to preserve and cultivate his capacity for candid, critical, appraisal of self, and of the forces that direct his biases. Such an act often spells the difference between work which is suspect, and useful science. This is to raise the issue once more as to the amount

[1] Paul Lazarsfeld, "Observations of Empirical Social Research in the United States, "Information, (Dec., 1961) International Social Science Council, with the aid of UNESCO, pp. 3-46.

[2] International Survey of Programmes of Social Development, N. Y.: United Nations, 1959, p. 128.

[3] Lazarsfeld, op. cit.