San Francisco Chinese American Historic Context Statement (Draft 1)

Prepared for the San Francisco Planning Department

June 2021 | Date of Submittal: June 9, 2021

CERTIFIED LOCAL GOVERNMENT GRANT DISCLAIMERS

The activity that is the subject of this Context statement has been financed in part with federal funds from the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, through the California Office of Historic Preservation. However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior or the California Office of Historic Preservation, nor does the mention of trade names or commercial products constitute endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior or the California Office of Historic Preservation.

For any questions or concerns regarding this draft, or for the purposes of error reporting, please notify the San Francisco Planning Department at:

City and County of San Francisco
Planning Department
49 South Van Ness Avenue, Suite 1400
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 558-6378

San Francisco Chinese American Historic Context Statement
Date of Submittal: January 22, 2021

TABLE OF CONTENTS

San Francisco Housing Element 2022 Update

Section **Page**

A. PREFACE A-1
B. PREPARERS B-1
C. INTRODUCTION C-1
C.1 Methodology C-1
D. HISTORIC CONTEXT D-1
D.1 Early Chinese Migration, Settlement and Community Formation, 1848–1880s D-1
D.2 The Anti-Chinese Movement, 1850s–1880s D-20
D.3 Early San Francisco Chinatown, 1850–1906 ..... D-34
D.4 Chinese Exclusion, 1882–1943 ..... D-55
D.5 Disaster and Rebuilding: Chinatown, 1906–1930s D-72
D.6 New Chinese American Communities: Upward Mobility and Institutionalized Racism, 1945–1965 ..... D-97
D.7 Changing Demographics and Struggles for Civil Rights, 1965–1985 ..... D-119
E. EVALUATION CRITERIA E-1
E.1 Property Types Associated with Prominent Persons in Chinese American History E-5
E.2 Property Types Associated with Settlement and Housing E-7
E.3 Property Types Associated with Business and Commerce E-9
E.4 Property Types Associated with Community Organizations, Social Services, Institutions, Recreation, and Culture E-12
E.5 Property Types Associated with Education E-14
E.6 Property Types Associated with Religion and Spirituality E-16
E.7 Property Types Associated with Agriculture E-18
E.8 Property Types Associated with Industry and Labor E-20
E.9 Property Types Associated with Health and Medicine E-22
E.10 Property Types Associated with the Asian Eclectic Style E-23
F. RECOMMENDATIONS F-1
G. BIBLIOGRAPHY G-1

APPENDIX A: LIST OF KNOWN AND DESIGNATED CHINESE AMERICAN RESOURCES
APPENDIX B: CHINESE AMERICAN BUSINESSES

List of Figures

Page

Figure C-1 San Francisco Chinese American Population Shift C-2

Figure D-1 Map showing Pearl River Delta area of Guangdong Province in China D-2

Figure D-2 Parrott Granite Block at California and Montgomery Street, Before (above) and After (below) the 1906 Earthquake and Fire D-4

Figure D-3 Chinese passengers aboard a steamer, likely headed for Hawaii, c. 1900-15 ..... D-5

Figure D-4 Chinese and white miners at Auburn Ravine, 1852 ..... D-8

Figure D-5 Chinese immigrants stream from the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and Canadian Pacific Steamship Company, c. 1880 ..... D-11

Figure D-6 Early Chinese settlement in San Francisco, c. 1860 ..... D-12

Figure D-7 Washerwoman's Lagoon, c. 1865-67 ..... D-13

Figure D-8 Chinese shrimper, c. 1910s D-14

Figure D-9 Chinese fishermen at Hunter's Point, 1937 ..... D-14

Figure D-10 Health Department burns Chinese shrimping village along shores of India Basin at Hunter's Point, April 20, 1939 ..... D-16

Figure D-11 Close up view of shrimp camps burning by San Francisco Health Department, April 20, 1939 ..... D-16

Figure D-12 Left: China Beach plaque, 2018; Right: Drawing of Chinese shrimp fishermen in San Francisco Bay, 1875 ..... D-17

Figure D-13 Postcard depicting the open-air flower market near Lotta's Fountain at Kearny and Market streets, c. 1890s D-19

Figure D-14 Foreign Miner's License, 1858 ..... D-21

Figure D-15 Anti-Chinese propaganda featuring the Workingmen's Party of California's popular slogan, "The Chinese Must Go," 1878 ..... D-24

Figure D-16 Racist newspaper article praising San Francisco's anti-Chinese Queue Ordinance, 1873 ..... D-26

Figure D-17 Illustration of a Chinese laundry in San Francisco, 1870 ..... D-27

Figure D-18 Joseph, Emily, Mamie, Frank & Mary Tape, c. 1884–85. ..... D-28

Figure D-19 Oriental School at 916 Clay Street (not extant), c. 1906 ..... D-29

Figure D-20 Commodore Stockton Elementary School, c. 1940s D-30

Figure D-21 An 1877 cover of The San Francisco Illustrated Wasp depicting white member of WPC Assaulting a Chinese man D-33

Figure D-22 Left: Dupont Street in Chinatown, Right: near Portsmouth Square and Chinatown, c. 1888 ..... D-35

Figure D-23 Telephone Exchange. The only Chinese telephone exchange (shown at left) in the country was located at 743 Washington Street, built by Pacific Telephone and Telegraph in 1909 to replace a building that had housed

	the exchange since 1896. Its architect was M. Fischer. The building currently houses East West Bank.	D-37
Figure D-24	The Chinese Telephone Exchange building, 2018	D-38
Figure D-25	Lawrence & Houseworth, Photograph, Chinese Market, Sacramento Street, San Francisco, 1866	D-39
Figure D-26	Chinese New Year Parade at Washington and Grant, circa 1880s	D-41
Figure D-27	Chinese Six leadership, 1943	D-43
Figure D-28	Headquarters Chinese Six Companies, n.d.	D-43
Figure D-29	Interior of Kong Chow temple, n.d. (not after 1969)	D-46
Figure D-30	United States Census, Year: 1880; Census Place: San Francisco, San Francisco, California; Roll: 73; Page: 410D; Enumeration District: 032	D-50
Figure D-31	Left: Residents of the Oriental Home for Chinese Women and Girls including Miss Margarita Lake (top row, second from left) and Yuk Ying (top row, far right), c. 1899, Right: The New Julia Morgan-designed Oriental Home for Chinese Women and Girls (Gum Moon), 1912	D-52
Figure D-32	The Barbwire Barricade Quarantining Chinatown, 1900	D-53
Figure D-33	Kong Chow Funerary Building and Cemetery Ruins, Lincoln Park, San Francisco, 2018	D-55
Figure D-34	Poster Celebrating Passage of Chinese Exclusion Act, 1882	D-58
Figure D-35	Chinese Detention Shed at the Pacific Mail Steamship Company Wharf, c. 1903	D-61
Figure D-36	Interrogation at the Angel Island Immigration Station, 1923	D-62
Figure D-37	Testimony of Chiu Chew Lin, Case File of Chiu Chew Lin and Owyong Dung Wah, September 2, 1919	D-65
Figure D-38	Banner for the Bowl of Rice party held in San Francisco, California, 1940	D-68
Figure D-39	Bowl of Rice Party, San Francisco, 1940	D-68
Figure D-40	Chinese American Navy Recruits, October 28, 1942	D-69
Figure D-41	Article showing how to tell a Japanese person from a Chinese person in Life magazine, December 22, 1941	D-71
Figure D-42	Advertisement, Chinese Press, September 10, 1943, p. 8	D-71
Figure D-43	A Chinese man inspects the damage that was done by the 1906 earthquake	D-72
Figure D-44	Chinese men at a post-disaster camp, exact location unknown, c. 1906	D-74
Figure D-45	Lim Lip Hong, fourth from the left, and his son Robert, seated cross-legged in front of him.	D-76
Figure D-46	685 Commercial Street's unusual "clinker brick" style, 2018	D-77
Figure D-47	Chinatown buildings pre-quake had no "Asian" architectural features. The Sing Chong building is shown above right.	D-78
Figure D-48	The Top Two Floors of 745-47 Grant Avenue, 2018. Built in 1920 for the Ying On Merchants and Labor Association.	D-79

Figure D-49 Wenworth Alley, 2018....D-80
Figure D-50 Ross Alley (Left); Jason Court (Right), 2018....D-80
Figure D-51 Double Ten Parade. Drummers carrying flags celebrating the Chinese revolution of 1911, c. 1912....D-81
Figure D-52 Dedication Ceremony of Sun Yat-sen statue, March 28, 1943....D-82
Figure D-53 Monument Dedicated to Chinese who died in the World Wars, 2018....D-82
Figure D-54 Grant Avenue Street Lamps, 1952 (left) and 1938 (right)....D-83
Figure D-55 Chinatown YMCA, 2018....D-85
Figure D-56 Former Chinatown YWCA (now CHSA), 2018....D-86
Figure D-57 Tung Wah Dispensary at Sacramento Street in Chinatown, 1900....D-87
Figure D-58 Left: Maternity Ward at Chinese Hospital, April 20, 1959; Right: Exterior of Chinese Hospital, June 19, 1964....D-88
Figure D-59 Chinese Pavilion and Gardens, Panama-Pacific International Exposition, 1915....D-89
Figure D-60 Postcard Advertising Charlie Low's "Forbidden City, America's Greatest Chinese Night Club" from the Mid 1940s....D-90
Figure D-61 Forbidden City entrance, c. 1950s....D-91
Figure D-62 The Chinese Village at the 1939-1940 Golden Gate International Exposition....D-92
Figure D-63 Chinatown Parade, c. 1930s-40s....D-93
Figure D-64 Rose Lew, Candidate for the First Miss Chinatown, c. 1913-15....D-94
Figure D-65 Chinese women continued to work in the city's garment industry and eventually formed the Chinese Ladies Garment Workers Union Local No. 341. Left: Members of the local in 1938; Right: Chinese garment workers, c. 1930s....D-95
Figure D-66 Residential Security map of San Francisco in 1937. Areas were ranked in regard to desirability with green being the most desirable piece of property followed by blue, yellow, and red which were the least desirable areas....D-96
Figure D-67 Advertisement for homes in the Sunset by Fernando Nelson & Sons referring to the lack of African American and Asian American people as a selling point, 1916....D-101
Figure D-68 Ping Yuen Dedication Ceremony, October 22, 1951....D-104
Figure D-69 Interior Lobby of San Francisco Federal Savings Bank, Chinatown Branch, December 1959....D-105
Figure D-70 Left to Right: Great Star Theater (2018), Grandview Theater (c. 1955), Grandview Theater (2018)....D-107
Figure D-71 Sunstream Homes Sales Brochure, 1950....D-109
Figure D-72 Residence of Sinclair and Mary Louie, 2018....D-110

Figure D-73 Racially restricted all-white "residence parks" like 'Richmond Heights,' Presidio Terrace, West Clay Park, Sea Cliff, and Lincoln Manor kept Chinese Americans and many others out of large areas of the Richmond District for decades....D-111
Figure D-74 1974 Article featuring Golden State Realty and "New Chinatown" D-117
Figure D-75 Left: Quong Sing Laundry, 2018; Right: Quong Sing Laundry, 1913. ....D-118
Figure D-76 Sunset District from Funston Avenue, 2017....D-119
Figure D-77 Wah Mei School Song, 1985....D-124
Figure D-78 A demonstration at Mel's Drive-In, October 26, 1963 ....D-125
Figure D-79 Picket Line during Third World Liberation Front strike at San Francisco State University, 1969....D-127
Figure D-80 Jung Sai Garment Factory Worker Strike in 1974....D-128
Figure D-81 International Hotel Protesters in Front of the Milton Meyer & Company on Pine Street in 1968 ....D-133
Figure D-82 Eviction Night, August 4, 1977 ....D-134
Figure D-83 Wo Hei Yuen Park (Garden of Peace and Joy) at Powell and John streets, near Jackson Street, 2018....D-136
Figure D-84 Swiss American Hotel, 2018....D-139
Figure D-85 Clement Street, In California Living. In 1975 Kingman had chosen this painting, "Clement Street," among others he had completed of San Francisco's unique neighborhoods for the San Francisco Chronicle and Examiner's California Living magazine D-140
Figure D-86 2017 Autumn Moon Festival on Clement Street: Assemblyman Phil Ting and Golden Gate Park Senior Center Dance Group. Also pictured: Miss Asian America, Katie Melanie Lam (right) and Mark Chan, Master of Ceremonies....D-142
Figure D-87 Lion Dancer in front of Self-Help for the Elderly South Sunset Senior Center in the Sunset District....D-143

List of Tables **Page**

Table D-1. Chinese Migration to the United States, 1860–1940 ....D-6

A. PREFACE

The first Asians to come in large numbers to the Western Hemisphere sailed into the port of San Francisco from China, some to stay in the city, others to pursue lives elsewhere in the state and country. Known among the Chinese as "*Dai Fou*," or "Big City," San Francisco "was the economic, cultural, and political center of Chinese America for most of the 19th and 20th centuries."[1]

From their earliest days in San Francisco, Chinese immigrants and their descendants faced a litany of discriminatory laws at local, state, and federal levels that restricted their ability to work and live in the city. Most notably among them was the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), which, for a period of 61 years, prohibited Chinese people (with some exceptions) from entering the country. Such oppressive laws, along with outright violence, shaped Chinese settlement patterns and economic opportunities for much of the 19th and 20th centuries.

San Francisco is considered one of two capitals of Asian America, in large part because of the history of its Chinatown, the first major community of Asians in the United States. Although New York City may have the highest number of Chinese, with more than 590,000 in 2016 (6.9 percent of the population), the proportion of Chinese in San Francisco is the highest of any city in the United States (21.5 percent of the population [nearly 187,000] in 2016). Chinese represented an estimated 1.1 percent of the total United States population that same year.

Despite decades of struggle against systemic racism, the Chinese American community in San Francisco has grown to become one of the city's largest and most influential ethnic groups. In 2019, there were 183,812 Chinese Americans in San Francisco, representing more than 20 percent of the city's population.[2] The Chinese American population in San Francisco continues to be an integral part of the city.

The San Francisco Planning Department (Planning Department), which oversees the city's historic preservation program, initiated the *San Francisco Citywide Chinese American Historic Context Statement* (context statement) in the fall of 2017. The California Office of Historic Preservation funded the context statement with a grant that was financed in part by the National Park Service. Using this context statement as a resource and guide, San Francisco can begin to address the underrepresentation of Chinese American history among the city's designated heritage sites, especially given the significance of Chinese Americans to the overall history and culture of San Francisco, California, and the United States.

---

1 Erika Lee, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance: 1800-1940s," in Franklin Odo, *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (National Park Service: 2019), 101.

2 American Community Survey, 2015-2019 ACS 5-year Data Profile.

The purpose of this context statement is to document the historical, political, and even seismic forces that have shaped the development of the Chinese American community in San Francisco and to aid in the evaluation and preservation of important historic sites associated with that history. Some buildings in San Francisco's Chinatown are more than 100 years old. Many of them, as well as more recent buildings and structures associated with San Francisco's Chinese American history throughout the city, are worthy of preservation. This document provides examples of such buildings and contains an evaluative framework for determining which properties may be eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places (National Register) and California Register of Historical Resources (California Register), which may also apply in evaluating as a local landmark. This context statement is by no means a comprehensive history of Chinese Americans in San Francisco and should be considered a living document. This context statement is organized into the following sections:

- B. Preparers
- C. Introduction
- D. Historic Context
- E. Evaluation Criteria
- F. Recommendations
- G. Bibliography
- Appendices, including Appendix A: List of Known and Designated Chinese American Resources and Appendix B: Chinese American Businesses

B. PREPARERS

A consultant team led by Grant Din prepared the 2018 version of this historic context. The team included:

- Grant Din, lead author and photographer
- Alvin Lin, San Francisco Planning Department intern
- Eric Mar, San Francisco State University, Asian American Studies Department
- William Tran, Chinese Historical Society of America (CHSA)
- Palma You, CHSA

This revised version of the historic context was prepared by ICF. The team included:

- Desiree Aranda, contributing author
- Gretchen Hilyard Boyce, senior technical reviewer
- Eleanor Cox, research support
- Andrea Dumovich, research support
- Jackson Loop, research support

As sponsor of this context statement, the Planning Department oversaw public participation and outreach to relevant parties. Senior Planner Frances McMillen served as the project manager. Historic Preservation Officer Tim Frye and Senior Planner Shelley Caltagirone lent their expertise throughout the life of the project.

More information about the individuals involved in the preparation of this context statement is provided below.

Grant Din is the lead writer and photographer for this context statement, which covers overall Chinese American history in San Francisco, including Chinatown. As community resources director for the Angel Island Immigration Station Foundation, he provided educational presentations about the history of the immigration station to schools, colleges, and community organizations. Grant also volunteers to oversee AIISF's Immigrant Voices website which collects oral histories and personal accounts of Angel Island and other Pacific Coast immigrants. Grant has more than 30 years of experience in the nonprofit sector and has been a member of the staff or board of numerous Bay Area and national Asian American organizations, including Asian Neighborhood Design, where he served as executive director, and Asian and Pacific Islander Americans in Historic Preservation, where he serves as treasurer. He has a B.A. degree in sociology with an emphasis on urban studies from Yale University, an M.A. in public policy analysis from Claremont Graduate University, and a certificate in genealogical research from Boston University.

Alvin Lin was an intern with the Planning Department in 2018. In addition to designing the overall publication, he wrote and conducted research for several sections of this context statement, including the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (CCC), Miss Chinatown USA, and the Chinatown New Year Parade sections. He also researched the early social structure of Chinese San Francisco and edited the section on the Richmond District. Alvin has a B.A. degree in urban studies from the University of California, Berkeley and is bilingual in English and Mandarin Chinese.

Eric Mar is the lead writer and photographer of the section on the Richmond District, which he represented on the San Francisco Board of Education from 2001 to 2009 and the San Francisco Board of Supervisors from 2009 to 2017. He is currently an assistant professor of Asian American Studies at San Francisco State University, returning to where he taught from 1992 to 2008. He was acting dean from 1992 to 1997 at the New College of California School of Law and was an executive board director for the Northern California Coalition for Immigrant Rights. He served on the board of directors for the Chinese Progressive Association and Asian and Pacific Islanders for Community Empowerment. Eric has a B.S. degree from the University of California, Davis, and a J.D. from the New College of California School of Law.

William Tran and *Palma You* of the CHSA wrote the section on the Sunset District. *Stephen B. Haines Jr*. helped identify early Chinese American residents and businesses in the Sunset District. CHSA aims to preserve, interpret, and promote the Chinese American experience. The section on the Sunset District is a continuation of CHSA's exhibit entitled "The Chinese in the Sunset," which has been displayed at the Sunset Recreation Center; the San Francisco Public Library's Main, North Beach, and Ortega branches; and the CHSA. The goal of the exhibit, which opened in December 2017, was to discover and interpret how and why San Francisco's outer Sunset District changed from an all-white neighborhood in the 1940s to one that is heavily populated by Chinese Americans today. It showcased the Chinese American experience in the Sunset District through research, oral histories, and object collections. The exhibit was a team effort that included CHSA staff members Andy Chan, Amy Lam, William Tran, Pam Wong, Palma You, and volunteer researcher Stephen B. Haines Jr.

William Tran graduated from San Francisco State University with a B.A. degree in Asian American studies and the University of San Francisco with an M.A. degree in international and multi-cultural education. He is passionate about creating learning spaces in which individuals are encouraged to use their lived experiences to understand the world around them. It is his hope that critical dialog, supportive relationships, and empathy can develop when individuals can actively participate.

Palma You is a San Francisco native, born and raised in Chinatown and the Richmond District. She graduated with a B.A. degree in liberal arts from San Francisco State University and holds a master's degree in museum studies from John F. Kennedy University. She is also a professional photographer and has worked in several museums, with a focus on fine art, history, and natural history. Before joining CHSA in 2016, she curated and managed a new exhibit on police history,

which culminated in permanent displays inside the San Francisco Police Department's Public Safety Building in Mission Bay in 2015.

Stephen B. Haines Jr., a retired architect, volunteer researcher, and amateur genealogist, uncovered the pioneer residents and businesses described in the Sunset District section and "The Chinese in the Sunset" exhibit. He has B.A. and B.Arch. degrees from Rice University.

Desiree Aranda, a historic preservation specialist with ICF, led the 2020–2021 revisions to this context statement. With a decade of experience in the field of historic preservation, Desiree has authored numerous local landmark and National Register nominations and has contributed to several context statements for the City and County of San Francisco (City). Her work focuses on documentation and public history projects that elevate the stories of diverse and underrepresented communities. She holds a master's degree in planning from the University of Arizona and a B.A. in sociology and women's studies from the University of Georgia. Desiree meets the Secretary of the Interior's professional qualification standards for history.

Gretchen Hilyard Boyce is a senior manager and senior historic preservation specialist with ICF where she supports clients in cultural resources compliance strategy, technical documentation, and analysis in accordance with local, state, and federal regulations. Gretchen's specialty in cultural landscapes demonstrates her unique big-picture perspective on cultural resource management and bridges the divide between traditional built, cultural, and natural resource practices. Gretchen's 15 years of experience in cultural resources compliance for private and agency clients includes: managing large-scale cultural resource documentation projects for multi-disciplinary teams; preparing National/California register evaluations, cultural landscape assessments, and CEQA/NEPA/Section 106 technical documentation; evaluating projects for compliance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards, and project impacts under CEQA/NEPA. Gretchen received a B.A. degree in architectural history from the University of Virginia and an M.S. degree in historic preservation from the University of Pennsylvania. She teaches adult continuing education courses in historic preservation and landscapes and has spoken widely at professional conferences and trainings. She was a co-author of the National Park Service Cultural Landscapes Inventory Professional Procedures Guide (2009). Gretchen exceeds the Secretary of the Interior's professional qualification standards for architectural history and history.

Eleanor Cox, an architectural historian and senior historic preservation specialist with ICF, provided research support. She has more than nine years of professional experience in cultural resources management. She meets the Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualification Standards in the areas of history and architectural history. She holds a M.S. degree in historic preservation from Columbia University in New York and a certificate in cultural landscape preservation and management from University of California, Berkeley Extension. She has technical experience in report production and Section 106 consultation and served as lead

historian or project manager on multiple historic resource surveys that included evaluation and documentation work under Section 106 of the NHPA and CEQA.

Andrea Dumovich was a historic preservation specialist with ICF. She holds a master's degree in heritage conservation from the University of Southern California.

Jackson Loop is a historic preservation specialist with ICF. He has master's degrees in urban planning and heritage conservation from the University of Southern California and is a scholar-in-residence at the Gamble House in Pasadena, California.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The project team would also like to acknowledge the following individuals for the invaluable assistance they lent to this effort:

- Pam Wong, CHSA
- Sue Lee (retired), CHSA
- Judy Yung
- Al Barna and Ann Homan
- Andrea Yee and Victor Lim, descendants of Lim Lip Hong
- Frances Kaplan, California Historical Society
- Jack Sit, Chinese Cemetery Association
- Stephen Leung, Yeong Wo Benevolent Association president
- Cherk Tsang, Kong Chow Benevolent Association secretary
- Woody LaBounty and John Freeman, Western Neighborhoods Project
- Laureen Chew, Daniel Phil Gonzalez, Neil Gotanda, Betty Matsuoka, Richard Wada, and George Woo, former San Francisco State Third World Strike leaders
- Dewey Crumpler, professor at San Francisco Art Institute
- Erika Gee, Roy Chan, Gordon Chin, and Norman Fong, present or retired staff at the Chinatown Community Development Center (CDC)
- Rene Yung, Chinese Whispers
- Arthur Dong, DeepFocus Productions
- Members of the "We Grew Up in Chinatown" Facebook group, including Janice Hom, Mabel Young, Susan Shaver, Carol Leong, Phillip Yeung, Victor Lim, Wyman Tom, Barney Chan, and Eric Trinh Chu
- Edmund S. Wong
- Selia Tan

C. INTRODUCTION

This context statement examines the migration trends, settlement patterns, and experiences of Chinese Americans in San Francisco from the late 1840s, when immigrants from China began arriving to San Francisco in significant numbers, to the mid-1980s, when key advances were made in civil rights.

C.1 METHODOLOGY

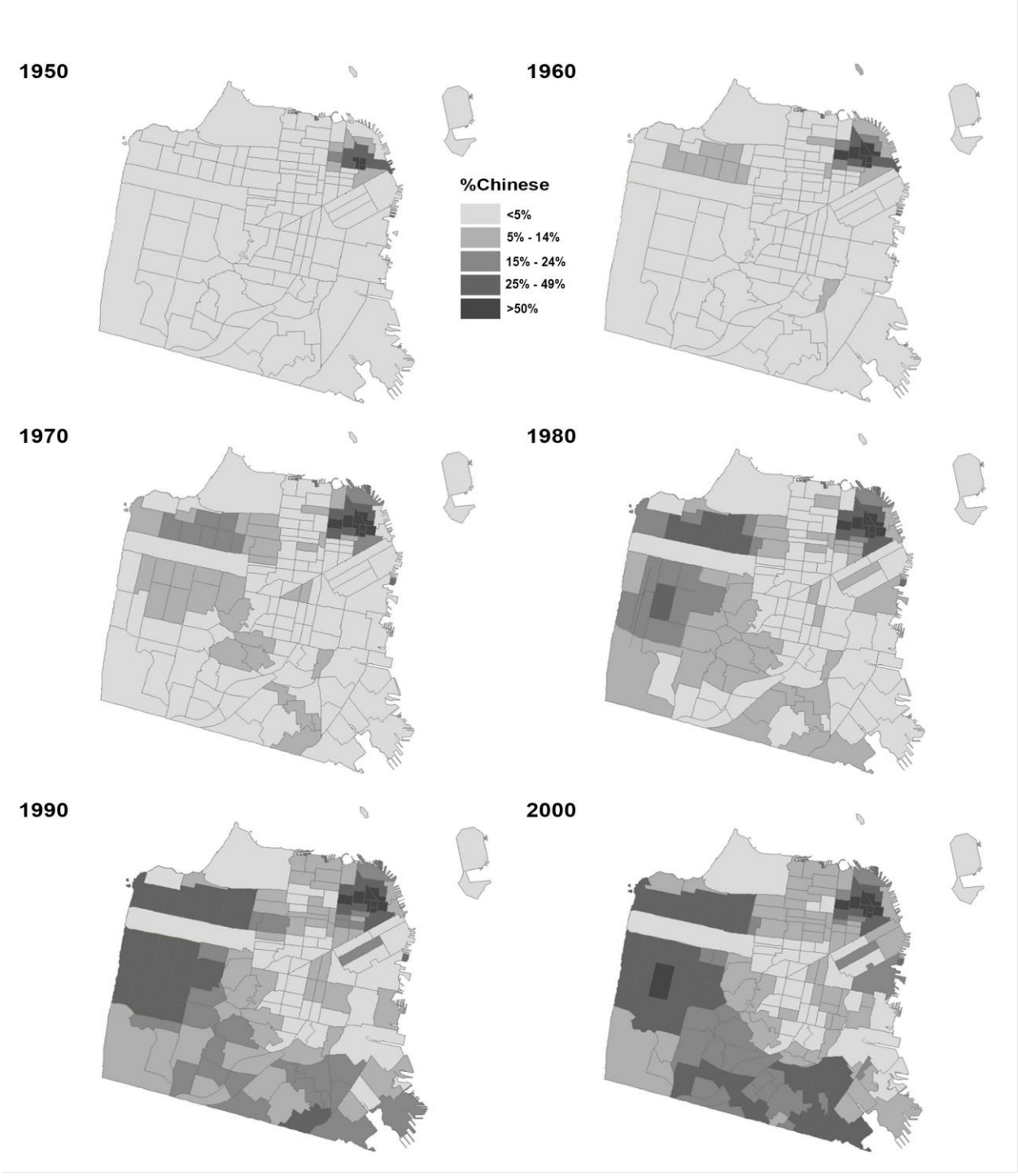
STUDY AREA

The area of study for this context statement is the entire City and County of San Francisco. San Francisco's population is 33.3 percent Asian, and of this total, Chinese represent approximately two-thirds. San Francisco's Chinese population has grown dramatically in many areas of the city since the 1960s and as of 2019, represent over 20 percent of the city's overall population.[3]

The portions of San Francisco containing the largest Asian populations include Chinatown (78 to 89 percent Asian), the Richmond District (Outer Richmond: 44 percent, Inner Richmond: 39 percent Asian), and the Sunset District (Outer Sunset: 59 percent, Parkside: 53 percent, Inner Sunset: 31 percent Asian). Additional areas in the southern part of the city have experienced tremendous growth in their Asian populations. Visitacion Valley is between 30 and 68 percent Asian and in the Ocean View, Merced Heights, and Ingleside neighborhoods, the census tracts show the population is between 40 and 62 percent Asian.

Chinese represent a higher percentage of the Asian population in Chinatown, and a lower percentage in the other neighborhoods mentioned above.

[3] American Community Survey, 2015-2019 ACS 5-year Data Profile.



Source: Paul Ong

FIGURE C-1 SAN FRANCISCO CHINESE AMERICAN POPULATION SHIFT

EXISTING STUDIES AND DESIGNATIONS

This context statement builds upon the work of many scholars and historic preservationists. San Francisco's Chinese history is well documented, although most studies focus on Chinatown; fewer studies illuminate more recent Chinese American history in other parts of the city. An emphasis on telling a fuller American story and increasing diversity and representation among formally designated historic sites has also resulted in the production of context statements at the state and federal level. Below are descriptions of applicable national, statewide, and local studies. Included also is a list of previously designated historic places associated with Chinese American history in San Francisco. Refer to Section G, *Bibliography*, for a complete inventory of sources referenced in this context statement.

NATIONAL STUDY

Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study

In 2017, the National Park Service published its *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* "to help in the identification of buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts associated with AAPI [Asian American Pacific Islander] history, and facilitate their designation as National Historic Landmarks and their listing in the National Register of Historic Places."[4] Franklin Odo edited the peer-reviewed document, which contains contributions from well-respected scholars on different time periods and topics in Asian American and Pacific Islander history. The report also includes a sampling of properties identified as potentially eligible for listing as National Historic Landmarks, including several San Francisco properties associated with Chinese American history:

- San Francisco Chinatown, extant neighborhood
- Chinese Six Companies (Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association [CCBA]), 843 Stockton Street, extant
- Forbidden City Nightclub, Sutter Street Theatre, 369 Sutter Street (formerly known as 363 Sutter Street), extant
- San Francisco Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) (in Chinatown), 855 Sacramento Street, extant
- Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) Chinatown (historic use)/CHSA (present use), 965 Clay Street, extant

[4] Franklin Odo et al., Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 2017), 3.

STATEWIDE STUDIES

Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Sites Survey for California

Published by the California Office of Historic Preservation in 1988, *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Sites Survey for California* was one of the first government-issued reports in California to address the gap in the identification, documentation, designation, and recognition of historic properties associated with communities of color in California. It includes sections on the five minority ethnic groups that had the largest populations in the 50 years after 1848: American Indians, Black Americans, Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, and Mexican Americans. The section on Chinese Americans covers the period of 1850 to 1900. The report includes a list of potential historically significant properties located throughout the state. *Five Views* identifies the following San Francisco properties in its "Historic Sites" section:

- Chinese Telephone Exchange, 743 Washington Street, extant
- Kong Chow Temple Site, 855 Stockton Street, extant
- Parrott Granite Block Site, 500 California Street, not extant

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California, 1850–1970

This statewide National Register Multi-Property Documentation Form, published in 2019 by the California Office of Historic Preservation, aims to help individuals and organizations identify and evaluate properties that may be historically significant in Asian American and Pacific Islander history. The document includes Migration and Community Formation, Community Serving Organizations, and Religion and Spirituality sections for California's largest Asian American and Pacific Islander populations.

LOCAL STUDIES

Most local studies of place-based Chinese American history in San Francisco focus on Chinatown, which has been studied a great deal since the 1960s. Most notable are the two proposals to designate Chinatown as a historic district discussed below.

Chinatown Historic District Landmarks Board Proposal

In 1986, Philip Choy wrote the *Chinatown Historic District Landmarks Board Proposal*, complete with an individual survey of hundreds of buildings. Choy was an architect who dedicated his life to chronicling the history of San Francisco's Chinatown and other Chinatowns throughout the country, particularly their architecture and design. The San Francisco Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board voted to recommend the district for landmark designation in 1985 and 1986, but the proposal met resistance from some in the community who felt that "the preservation of buildings was taking precedent over the preservation of lives in the city, especially in terms of

needed seismic upgrades to buildings."[5] That and the economic impact of a historic district designation dominated the discussion of the issue throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s.[6] The debate over a Chinatown historic district continued into the 1990s, but it never gained enough traction to pass the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, which ultimately approves such designations.[7]

Even Choy expressed ambivalence, according to Bonnie Tsui. "In 1986, a proposal Choy worked on for landmark preservation of Chinatown as a historic district was rejected by the city. 'But I was actually a little bit relieved,' Choy said. 'Many preservationists are of a mind to arrest an historic district in terms of the buildings - they think of it as a museum, therefore you can't change or touch anything. Well, Chinatown is still living. It's still growing, and progressing, and it has a lot of needs. So you can't all of a sudden stop it and make it stand still.' The tension between the city's concept of historical preservation and his own, he said, is 'something I have grappled with for a long time.'"

Chinatown Historic District National Register of Historic Places Nomination

In 1999, a National Register nomination was prepared for a proposed Chinatown historic district in San Francisco. The nomination relied heavily on the work done by Philip Choy for the local Chinatown historic district proposal. Like the locally proposed historic district, the National Register nomination never moved forward.

Other notable local studies on Chinatown or the Chinese in San Francisco include:

- *Chinatown Analysis of Population and Housing,* by the Community Design Center in 1969
- *701 Chinatown Housing and Recreation Study*, by the Planning Department in 1972
- *Land Use Strategy for San Francisco Chinatown*, developed by what was later known as the Chinatown CDC in 1979
- *San Francisco Chinatown Residential Hotels*, by John K.C. Liu, sponsored by the Chinatown Neighborhood Improvement Resource Center (which later became the Chinatown Community Development Center [Chinatown CDC]) in 1980
- Chinatown Public Improvements Plan, by the Planning Department in 1981
- *Alleyway Master Plan,* by Chinatown CDC with San Francisco Public Works in 1998
- *Bayview-Hunters Point Area B Survey,* prepared for the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency in 2010

---

[5] Gensler, Arup, CCDC, Portsmouth Square Existing Conditions Report (San Francisco: San Francisco Planning Department and San Francisco Recreation and Parks Department, December 2014), retrieved December 20, 2020, https://sfplanning.org/sites/default/files/documents/citywide/portsmouth-square/Portsmouth_Square_Final_Report_lores.pdf, 91.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid, 87.

- *1979 Clement Street, Richmond District Photographs from Communities and Locales, San Francisco,* photographs and layout by Malcolm Collier in 2012
- *835–845 Jackson Street, Chinese Hospital Replacement Project Environmental Impact Report,* prepared by the Planning Department in 2012
- *Existing Conditions Report for Portsmouth Square and Vicinity*, released in 2014 by the Planning Department and San Francisco Recreation and Parks Department
- *Ping Yuen Apartments Historic Resource Evaluation,* prepared for Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development in 2015
- *Strategies for a Sustainable Chinatown*, released in 2017 by the Sustainable Chinatown Steering Committee (including the Chinatown CDC, Planning Department, San Francisco Department of the Environment, and Enterprise Community Partners, Inc.)
- *Draft Hilton Hotel Historic Resource Evaluation,* prepared for the Planning Department in 2019

DESIGNATED HISTORIC SITES

Despite the overall significance of Chinese Americans to San Francisco's history and culture, there are very few designated Chinese American historic sites in the city. One property is listed in the National Register for its association with Chinese American history, and three properties are designated at the local level (see list below).

Local landmark designation requires the preparation of historical documentation and a statement of significance. Landmark designation reports offer additional information about San Francisco's Chinese American community and are available from the Planning Department or the San Francisco Public Library.

It is important to note that locally or federally designated properties may contain unacknowledged Chinese historical associations. For instance, several railroad-related properties have been designated as San Francisco landmarks. If those sites were built by Chinese laborers, which is highly likely, that information would most likely be missing from the current text of the designation report. Such designations, however, can be amended to include important Chinese American history.

National Register–listed properties with Chinese associations:

- **Angel Island, U.S. Immigration Station** (Angel Island State Park in Marin County), National Historic Landmark No. 71000164

Locally designated properties with Chinese associations:

- **Clay Street Center** (Chinese YWCA, later CHSA building), 965 Clay Street (Chinatown), San Francisco Landmark No. 122. Although the property was built by and for the Chinese YWCA,

the landmark name does not reflect that; the statement of significance focuses on the architect, Julia Morgan, rather than the significance of the Chinese women the center was intended to serve and played a role in its creation.

- **Donaldina Cameron House**, 920 Sacramento Street (Chinatown), San Francisco Landmark No. 44
- **Oriental Warehouse**, 650 Delancey Street (South Beach), San Francisco Landmark No. 101

ACADEMIC SCHOLARSHIP

As the first large Asian American community in the United States, San Francisco's Chinese population is described in many publications, such as Ronald Takaki's *Strangers from a Different Shore*, Yong Chen's *Chinese San Francisco 1850–1943*, Erika Lee's *The Making of Asian America*, and several works by historians Judy Yung and Him Mark Lai, among many others. Refer to Section G, *Bibliography*, for a complete inventory of sources referenced in this context statement.

NEWSPAPERS AND ARCHIVAL SOURCES

This project also benefited from numerous newspaper archives, research journals, and the scholarship of Chinese Americans in San Francisco, including:

- Western Neighborhoods Project (outsidelands.org)
- Chinese Historical Society of America, exhibits and publications
- California Historical Society, archives
- San Francisco Public Library and Government Information Center
- Bancroft Library
- Library of Congress, historic American newspapers
- National Archives and Records Administration at San Francisco (San Bruno)
- JSTOR, digital journals
- University of California, Riverside, California digital newspaper collection
- ProQuest, historical newspapers (*San Francisco Chronicle*)
- NewsBank, historical and current newspapers
- Interviews conducted by Chinese Historical Society of America, 2017

TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

"Chinese" and "Chinese American" are used somewhat interchangeably to refer to people of Chinese descent in the United States, regardless of citizenship or immigration status.

The terms "Asian," "Asian American," "Asian American Pacific Islander," and "pan-Asian American Pacific Islander" are used to refer to persons of Asian and sometimes Pacific Island descent. These are used instead of "Oriental," "Celestial," or "Mongolion," which were terms commonly used in the 19th and early to mid-20th centuries and are considered derogative. The term, "cooly," is also included in quotes, which references indentured or enslaved Chinese laborers of the 19th century and was a derogative term sometimes used to describe Chinese people within the United States. These terms are used in the context statement only when referencing quoted texts dating from the historic period.

For the most part, this context statement uses the Cantonese romanizations of names of historic individuals. For those living in the current day, the individual's preference will be followed. Place names will use the current Pinyin romanization.

The term LGBTQ+ refers to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (or questioning) individuals and communities. The + refers to other gender identities and sexual orientations not already present in the acronym.

Words in languages other than English are generally italicized, except for proper nouns.

D. HISTORIC CONTEXT

Chinese were present in the Americas as early as 1565, arriving as sailors on Spanish ships that transported goods from the Philippines to New Spain. This "first wave" of Asian migration to the Western Hemisphere lasted from 1565 to 1815 and brought an estimated 40,000 to 100,000 Asians from China, Japan, the Philippines, and South and Southeast Asia to the growing Spanish Empire in the Americas.[8] The first known Chinese to set foot in what is now the San Francisco Bay Area arrived with Spanish colonists during the late 18th century.[9] Others were fishermen who sailed on vessels knows as Chinese "junks" or worked on American ships.[10]

D.1 EARLY CHINESE MIGRATION, SETTLEMENT AND COMMUNITY FORMATION, 1848–1880S

It was not until the Gold Rush of 1848–1852 that Chinese came to the region in significant numbers. Circumstances at home led many men to leave China, while opportunities such as the Gold Rush and recruitment by American railroad and agricultural companies attracted them to the United States, especially California. San Francisco served as the main port of entry for Chinese entering the country in the 1800s.[11]

FACTORS DRIVING CHINESE EMIGRATION

Several factors led an estimated 2.5 million young men to leave China during the second half of the 19th century. British imperialism following China's defeat in the Opium Wars (1839–1842 and 1856–1860) exacerbated poverty and poor living conditions, particularly in the Pearl River Delta in southeast China where most Chinese immigrants originated during this period. Many experienced "increased taxes, loss of land, competition from foreign goods, and unemployment."[12] These factors, combined with overpopulation, natural disasters, interethnic conflict, and civil unrest, led millions of Chinese to pursue new opportunities in emerging Western colonies in Africa, the Americas, Australia, Hawaii, New Zealand, Southeast Asia, and the West Indies.[13]

---

8 Lee, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance: 1800-1940s," 88; Nancy Wey, "Chinese Americans in California," in Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California (Sacramento, CA: California Office of Historic Preservation, California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1988), last modified 2004, retrieved October 27, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views3.htm

9 Lee, 87.

10 Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."

11 Lee, 88.

12 Judy Yung, *Unbound Feet* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 17.

13 Lee, 88; Yung, 17-18.

Source: disasterhistory.org

FIGURE D-1 MAP SHOWING PEARL RIVER DELTA AREA OF GUANGDONG PROVINCE IN CHINA

Although most Chinese men left their home country willingly during this period, some were forced or deceived into indentured servitude in South America and the Caribbean after the African slave trade ended.[14] These indentured servants were often referred to as "coolies" (or "cooly" singular). There is no evidence, however, that early Chinese immigrants to the United States were "coolies." Despite that reality, some Americans alleged that Chinese immigrants in the United States were "coolies" and invoked the term during arguments against Chinese immigration. The term, thus, has racist connotations.[15] Regardless of the circumstances surrounding Chinese migration, by the end of the 19th century, European imperialism had resulted in a global migration of labor that contributed, in part, to the growing Chinese diaspora.[16] This mass migration was fueled mostly by men; few women left China during this period.

Cultural norms relegated many women to the domestic sphere, while men were responsible for earning income outside the home, although rural and working-class women in China regularly worked alongside men. The financial expense and harsh conditions associated with overseas travel further encouraged women to stay behind. Even if women wanted to leave China, Chinese law forbade women from emigrating until 1911, and several laws were enacted in California that aimed to prevent immigration of Chinese, including one that limited the immigration of Chinese

[14] Lee, 88.
[15] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[16] Yung, *Unbound Feet*, 16.

women specifically.[17] Nevertheless, a small number of women made the journey to the United States.

Until 1965, most Chinese immigrants were from the Pearl River Delta area of Guangdong Province, the area near Guangzhou, the city formerly known as Canton.[18] Within the Pearl River area, the largest group came from the Taishan area (Toisan in Cantonese), in the Siyi area (Sze Yup, or Four Counties), with other major groups from the Sanyi (Sam Yup, or Three Counties), Zhongshan, and other locations.

FACTORS DRAWING CHINESE TO THE UNITED STATES

The 1848 discovery of gold in Northern California attracted immigrants from all over the world, including China. Among Chinese people, California became known as *Gam Saan*, or Gold Mountain. Historian Ronald Takaki quotes a young man from Canton (now Guangzhou) who said, "Good many Americans speak of California. Oh! Very rich country! I hear good many Americans and Europeans go there. Oh! They find gold very quickly, so I hear…"[19] San Francisco became the primary port of entry for new arrivals. Between 1850 and 1870, an estimated 8,000 Chinese entered the country through the city each year.[20]

Chinese immigrants often traveled to the United States in groups, consisting of family members or people from the same village. Many borrowed funds from the family to afford the expense.[21] If they could not afford travel expenses on their own or with family assistance, Chinese would obtain a loan from a credit-ticket system, which they had to repay after earning income in the United States; many, however paid back twice the amount they initially borrowed.[22]

The Gold Rush sparked new international commerce with China. Building materials were in short supply and high demand in California as the population grew significantly.[23] Prefabricated stone buildings and wooden houses were imported from China through the port of San Francisco, accompanied by Chinese stonemasons and carpenters who assembled them once they arrived.[24]

John Frost, author of *Pictorial History of California*, wrote in 1851 that prefabricated wooden Chinese houses "were infinitely superior and more substantial than those erected by the Yankees…."[25] French journalist Etienne Derbec wrote that the Chinese houses

---

17 Ibid., 18-19.

18 Philip Choy, et al, "Chinatown Historic District Case Report" (San Francisco: San Francisco Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board, January 1991), 16; Lee, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance," 88.

19 Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), 34.

20 ARG, Historic Resources Group, and Chattel Inc., "Chinese Americans in Los Angeles, 1850-1980" (Los Angeles: City of Los Angeles Department of City Planning, Office of Historic Resources, October 2018), 13.

21 Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."

22 Takaki, 35.

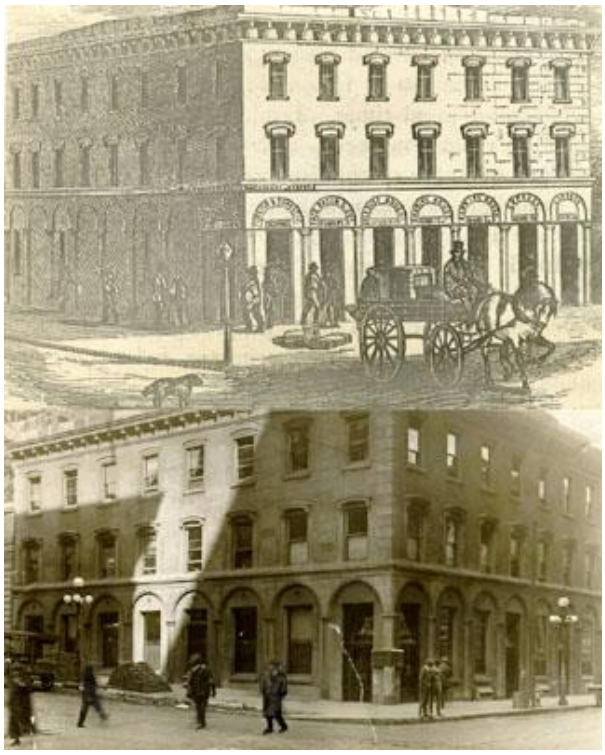
23 Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."

24 Choy, et al, "Chinatown Historic District," 30.

25 Choy, 31.

> …are the prettiest, the best made, and the cheapest; it is possible to have one for fifty or sixty dollars. They are of two types: in the European or Celestial Empire styles, with grayish interior and exterior designs, their roofs almost flat and their windows decorated, with sheets of tortoise-shell taking the place of window panes. San Francisco will one day be a half Chinese city, and it will certainly not lose by it.[26]

As early as 1852, Chinese stonemasons assembled a prefabricated stone building at the northwest corner of Montgomery and California streets. Before completing the building, however, the stonemasons went on strike to demand higher wages. This was earliest recorded strike by Chinese immigrants.[27] Known as the Parrott Granite Block, the building survived the 1906 earthquake and fire. The images here were published in the *Daily Herald* (n.d.) that noted the nearly identical appearance of the building before and after the disaster.



Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-2 PARROTT GRANITE BLOCK AT CALIFORNIA AND MONTGOMERY STREET, BEFORE (ABOVE) AND AFTER (BELOW) THE 1906 EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE

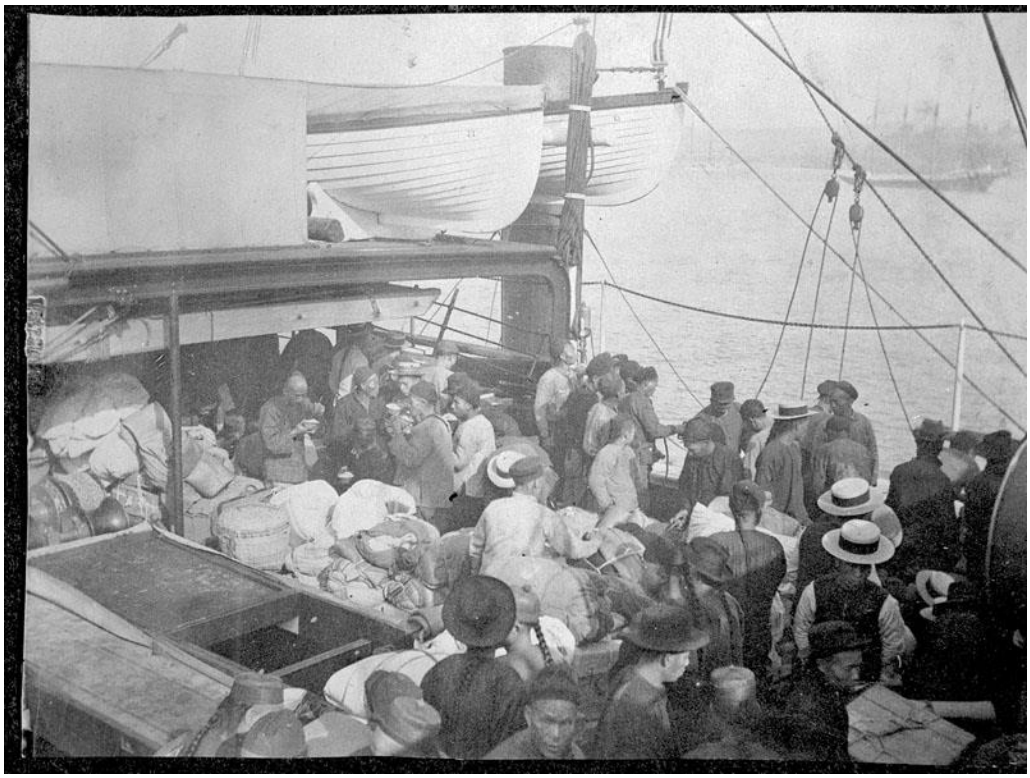
The building was demolished in 1926 and is now the site of the Omni Hotel at 500 California Street. The site is California Historical Landmark No. 89.

[26] Derbec, Etienne, "Letter from San Francisco, December, 1850," quoted by The Foundation for San Francisco's Architectural Heritage Chinatown Supplement, Volume XIV, Number 1, April 1986, 1.

[27] Choy, et al, "Chinatown Historic District," 32.

In addition to building materials, Chinese goods such as furniture, silks, stoneware, and ivory made their way to the United States. Some Chinese merchants opened import-export businesses in San Francisco where they sold these goods.[28] Some of these businesses were established enterprises in China that were looking to expand the reach of their business.

The Chinese population of California increased significantly in the 1860s. American companies recruited Chinese laborers, often paying their way from China, to build the country's first transcontinental railroad (1865–1869) and work in its agricultural industries, including farms and fisheries throughout California. In both cases, tens of thousands of Chinese men were routinely and systematically exploited as inexpensive labor and offered jobs that were deemed dangerous and undesirable by their white counterparts.[29]



Source: Hawaii State Archives via Smithsonian National Museum of American History

FIGURE D-3 CHINESE PASSENGERS ABOARD A STEAMER, LIKELY HEADED FOR HAWAII, C. 1900-15

Although it was rare for women to leave China during the 19th century, some did make it to California. A small number joined their husbands, but most came to earn money as sex workers in the new bachelor society forming in San Francisco. Initially, most sex workers in San Francisco, including Chinese sex workers, were free agents. Some sent back money to their families in China or invested their profits into businesses they opened in San Francisco or China. This first period

[28] Philip P. Choy, *San Francisco Chinatown: A Guide to Its History and Architecture* (San Francisco: City Lights, 2012), 29.
[29] Lee, 90.

of Chinese prostitution that was characterized by free competition lasted only until 1854. It was replaced by an organized sex trade.[30] Organized criminal groups, through force and deception, brought more women from China and into San Francisco where a growing prostitution operation formed in Chinatown. Driven by poverty and the low social status of women in China, some Chinese families sold their daughters into domestic servitude or prostitution. This second period of Chinese prostitution in San Francisco lasted from 1854 to 1925.[31]

Attracted by the Gold Rush in 1848 the Chinese population in California continued to grow through the late 19th century as the railroad and agricultural industries recruited laborers en masse from China.[32] By 1860, Chinese were the largest immigrant group in the state. By 1870, there were 63,000 Chinese in the United States, most of whom (77 percent) lived in California. Chinese lived in every county and developed at least 30 enclaves across the state.[33] Table D-1 shows Chinese migration to the United States from 1860 to 1940.

TABLE D-1. CHINESE MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1860–1940[34]

Year	Total Number of Chinese in U.S.	Total Number of Chinese in California	Total Number of Chinese in San Francisco	Resident Aliens in U.S.	Citizens* in U.S.	Total U.S. Population
1860	34,933	34,933	2,719	34,933	--	31,443,321
1870	63,199	49,277	12,030	55,396	7,803	38,558,371
1880	105,465	75,132	21,213	89,023	16,442	50,155,783
1890	107,488	72,472	25,833	94,987	12,501	62,947,714
1900	89,863	45,753	13,954	80,853	9,010	76,212,168
1910	71,531	36,248	10,582	56,596	14,935	92,228,531
1920	61,639	28,812	7,744	43,107	18,532	106,021,568

[30] Yung, *Unbound Feet,* 24.

[31] Lucie Cheng Hirata, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America," The University of Chicago Press Vol. 5, no. No. 1, Women in Latin America (Autumn 1979): 3-9.

[32] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."

[33] Flora Chou, Deepeaka Dhaliwal, Donna Graves and Page & Turnbull,. *Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California: A National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form* (Sacramento: California Office of Historic Preservation, 2019), 24.

[34] "The Chinese Experience in America," University of Illinois, http://teachingresources.atlas.illinois.edu/chinese_exp/resources/resource_2_9.pdf, retrieved May 9, 2018; "Bulletin 127: Chinese and Japanese in the United States 1910," Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, file:///C:/Users/40475/Downloads/127-chinese-and-japanese-in-the-us.pdf, retrieved October 29, 2020; "Table II. Population of Each State and Territory (By Counties,) in The Aggregate, and as White, Free Colored, Slave, Chinese, and Indian, at all Censuses," https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-05.pdf?, retrieved October 29, 2020; "Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1900, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States," U.S. Census Bureau, September 2002, retrieved October 29, 2020 *https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/working-papers/2002/demo/POP-twps0056.pdf*,; "San Francisco Population Table 2," San Francisco Genealogy, https://www.sfgenealogy.org/sf/history/hgpop.htm, retrieved October 29, 2020.

Year	Total Number of Chinese in U.S.	Total Number of Chinese in California	Total Number of Chinese in San Francisco	Resident Aliens in U.S.	Citizens* in U.S.	Total U.S. Population
1930	74,954	37,361	16,303	44,086	30,868	123,202,660
1940	77,504	39,556	17,782	37,242	40,262	151,325,798

*Denied the opportunity to become U.S. citizens through naturalization by the Naturalization Act of 1790 (which only allowed "free white persons," Chinese became citizens through birth on U.S. soil or birth to U.S. citizens, no matter where the birth occurred.

CITIZENSHIP STATUS OF CHINESE

When Chinese gold miners and subsequent waves of Chinese immigrants arrived in California during the mid-19th century, they were designated "aliens ineligible for citizenship." Consequently, they could not vote, hold office, own land, or file mining claims.[35] On December 30, 1854, Judge John Satterlee denied a Chinese application for citizenship on the basis that he did not belong to the Caucasian race.[36] Although the Fourteenth Amendment expanded the right of citizenship to African Americans following the Civil War, Chinese were not allowed to naturalize until 1943. Other Asians were unable to do so until 1946 or 1952.

CHINESE SETTLE IN CALIFORNIA

Very few Chinese lived in California prior to the Gold Rush. In 1849, there were 325 Chinese miners in "Gold Country" who journeyed across the ocean in search of Gum Saan, or "Gold Mountain."[37] By 1851, there were approximately 25,000 in the area; most settled near mining camps in Amador, Calaveras, and El Dorado counties.[38]

Intense discrimination against Chinese miners persisted, making their lives difficult and, in some cases, forcing them out of the mining camps altogether. In 1850, California enacted a foreign miners' tax that targeted Mexicans and Chinese. Soon after, growing anti-Chinese sentiment manifested in legislation that limited Chinese migration to California, and several Northern California towns enacted resolutions that forced their Chinese residents to leave.

Violence, too, was a constant threat that affected where Chinese could live. In 1856, white miners near Yreka ambushed the town's Chinese miners, damaging property and causing physical harm.[39] In the winter of 1858–1859, groups of armed white miners chased the Chinese out of the campsites and towns that dotted the Sacramento River.[40]

---

[35] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."

[36] "Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco" December 5, 1854 to June 3, 1855, in California Historical Society Quarterly, Vol. 15, No. 3 (September 1936), 269.

[37] Lee, 88.

[38] ARG, et al, "Chinese Americans in Los Angeles, 1850-1980," 11, 13.

[39] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."

[40] Lee, 94.

Despite this widespread discrimination and violence, thousands of Chinese continued to participate in mining activities or associated industries and settled in California's Gold Country. "By 1855, 20,000 out of the 120,000 miners in California were Chinese."[41] In 1873, as mining activities declined, Chinese miners represented an estimated 60 percent of the remaining 30,000 miners in California.[42] The Chinese who were forced out of mining districts found work in laundries and shops and in the agriculture, railroad, and lumber industries.[43]

Source: The Huntington Library, Art Museum, and Botanical Gardens

FIGURE D-4 CHINESE AND WHITE MINERS AT AUBURN RAVINE, 1852

Beginning in 1865, United States railroad companies recruited tens of thousands of men from China to build the nation's first transcontinental railroad as well as scores of other intrastate and interstate rail lines. The Central Pacific Railroad and Southern Pacific Railroad, in particular, hired a large number of Chinese laborers. In 1867, 90 percent of the railroad workforce was Chinese—or 12,000 of 14,000 workers.[44] Railroad construction work took Chinese laborers all over California and areas outside the state. The railroad was especially significant in the migration of Chinese to Southern California.[45] Chinese worked on lines for the Southern Pacific Railroad, connecting San Francisco to Los Angeles, as well as lines connecting California cities to neighboring states. Upon completion of the railroad, many Chinese returned to California cities and towns in search of new job opportunities. Some of these former railroad workers built levees in the Sacramento River Delta which reclaimed many acres of arable land, and some joined the growing, industrializing agricultural industry in California in the Delta and elsewhere.

41 ARG, et al, "Chinese Americans in Los Angeles, 1850-1980," 13.
42 Ibid.
43 Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
44 Lee, 89.
45 ARG, et al, "Chinese Americans in Los Angeles, 1850-1980," 13.

Taking a cue from the railroad industry, the agricultural industries in the San Joaquin Delta, Sacramento, Napa, and Sonoma also heavily recruited Chinese labor—both locally and abroad.[46] Peasant farmers from the Kwangtung province became particularly useful in draining and later tilling the soil of the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta.[47] This work was tedious and involved wading in marshlands that were infested with malaria-ridden mosquitos. The state senate set up a program to import Chinese laborers specifically for the job; many of the laborers conducted this work as indentured servants. Chinese labor helped transform the region into one of the largest and most profitable agricultural centers in the world.[48]

Chinese labor became critical for producing a number of crops, including wine grapes in Sonoma, mustard seed in San Benito, and beets at the first sugar beet plant in California at Alvarado.[49] They conducted this work alongside white laborers; occasionally, they took positions as domestic servants or cooks. This work, particularly beet farming, was arduous and dangerous. Beet removal required sharp implements and a rapid pace, and many laborers sustained injuries while the beet industry grew in California.

In Napa and Sonoma, Chinese grew and harvested grapes for wine, contributing to what would become a world-renowned industry. Other Chinese agricultural workers played a large part in the distribution and sale of fruits and vegetables, which were transported to towns and cities throughout the state. An additional 2,500 Chinese worked in California's orchards.[50] Chinese were also recruited to work in fish canneries, such as the Occident and Orient Commercial Company cannery in Del Norte County where salmon was canned for preservation and mass distribution.[51]

Some Chinese immigrants managed to obtain their own land or practiced sharecropping, although racist laws typically relegated the farmers to the least profitable land. This limited some Chinese entrepreneurs to developing only small gardens, the produce from which they would truck to urban areas to peddle in city markets.[52] These farmers managed to sell celery, peas, cauliflower, potatoes, and strawberries in San Francisco, along with mustard, which the Chinese immigrants had native knowledge regarding its cultivation. By sharing land with other Chinese farmers, strawberry enterprises became particularly successful in the San Francisco area.[53] Some Chinese as well as European truck farmers cultivated land in the present-day neighborhoods of

[46] Choy, et al, "Chinatown Historic District," 18; Lee, 94; Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[47] Richard Steven Street, *Beasts of the Field: A Narrative History of California Farmworkers* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2004), 238.
[48] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[49] Street, 256, 314.
[50] ARG, et al, "Chinese Americans in Los Angeles, 1850-1980," 14.
[51] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[52] ARG, et al, "Chinese Americans in Los Angeles, 1850-1980," 27.
[53] Street, 247-248.

Bayview and Hunters Point in southeast San Francisco well into the 20th century (discussed further below).[54]

CHINESE SETTLE IN SAN FRANCISCO

When gold was discovered in the Sierra Nevada foothills in 1848, San Francisco was a small settlement, made up mostly of indigenous Ohlones or Costanoans, Californios, Mexicans, European immigrants, and Americans. The area was inhabited by indigenous peoples for thousands of years before the arrival of Europeans—Spanish colonists who began settling in the area in the 1770s. The area became part of Mexico in 1821 following Mexico's independence from Spain and was known as "Yerba Buena" by 1836. By 1847, a predominantly English-speaking maritime community had formed within Yerba Buena, which became part of the United States following its victory in the Mexican-American War of 1848.[55] The former Mexican pueblo of Yerba Buena was renamed San Francisco.

At the center of the growing American town was an area called Portsmouth Square. Located near the port, it was the central public square during the Mexican period and was home to important government buildings. Mexican officials commissioned French surveyor Jean Jacques Vioget to design the town's street grid around the plaza. Portsmouth Square became the site of many important events, including the announcement of the start of the Gold Rush and California's admission into the United States.[56] The square is bounded by Washington Street, Kearny Street, Clay Street and Grant Avenue.

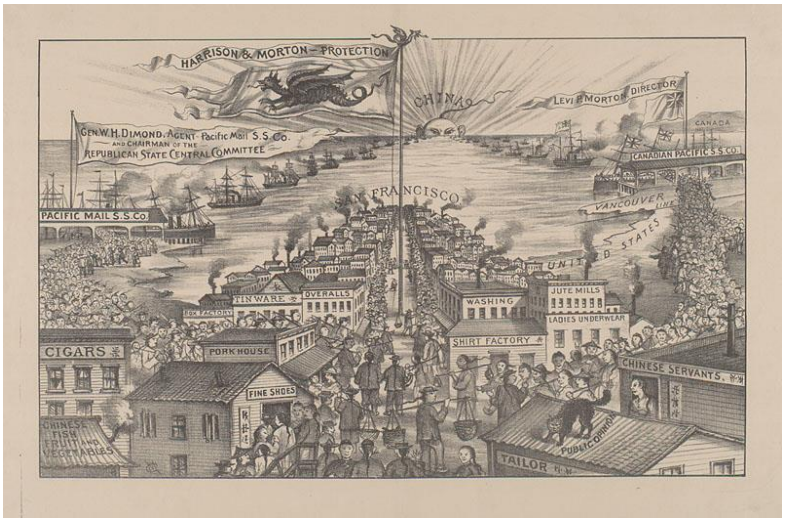
The discovery of gold in 1848 brought tens of thousands of fortune seekers to the area. San Francisco was the nearest port; therefore, it was only a matter of time before the quiet settlement transformed into a city, with new arrivals from all over the world, including China.

---

[54] Kelley and VerPlanck Historical Resource Consulting, Bayview-Hunters Point Area B Survey Town Center Activity Node (San Francisco: San Francisco Redevelopment Agency, 2010), 9.

[55] Carey & Co., Inc., "Historic Resources Evaluation for Glen Park Community Plan" (San Francisco: PBS&J, December 21, 2010), 16.

[56] San Francisco Planning Department, et al, Existing Conditions Report for San Francisco Chinatown Portsmouth Square and Vicinity (San Francisco: San Francisco Planning Department and San Francisco Recreation and Parks Department, December 2014), 15, retrieved December 16, 2020, https://sfplanning.org/sites/default/files/documents/citywide/portsmouth-square/Portsmouth_Square_Final_Report_lores.pdf



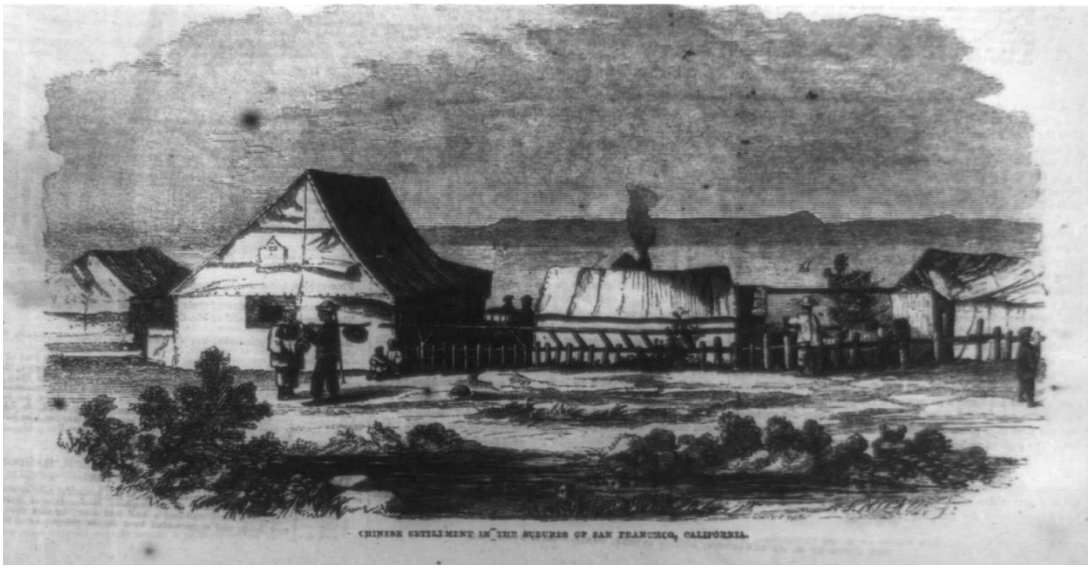
Source: Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
via Smithsonian National Museum of American History

FIGURE D-5 CHINESE IMMIGRANTS STREAM FROM THE PACIFIC MAIL STEAMSHIP COMPANY AND CANADIAN PACIFIC STEAMSHIP COMPANY, C. 1880

San Francisco was known to Chinese as *Dai Fow* (or *Dai Fou* [Big Port or Big City]); most immigrants from China entered the United States through its port.[57] During this period, San Francisco operated as a "deployment center" for Chinese immigrants who were seeking employment in the railroad or agricultural industries, which recruited them from China.[58] Although most pursued economic opportunities in the gold fields, with the railroads, or in agriculture, some stayed in San Francisco. Others lived a migratory lifestyle and returned to San Francisco during winter and other periods of downtime.[59]

Most Chinese in San Francisco settled in the area around Portsmouth Square (extant). As the city grew and expanded west and south, this older section of San Francisco was "abandoned to the Chinese."[60] This area, which would eventually become known as Chinatown, emerged as the center of Chinese life, business, commerce, and culture in San Francisco for more than a century. (The formation of Chinatown is discussed at length in D.3 *Early San Francisco Chinatown, 1850—1906*). Chinese were present in other parts of San Francisco during this period as well. Some lived along the nascent city's bay shores where they established shrimp camps and in the southern part of San Francisco where they worked in gardening and the dairy industry.

[57] Lee, 101.
[58] Choy, et al, "Chinatown Historic District," 18.
[59] Lee, 88.
[60] Choy, et al, "Chinatown Historic District," 21.



Source: "Chinese settlement in the suburbs of San Francisco, California," F. Hickock(?). San Francisco, California, 1856. Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/95509658/.

FIGURE D-6 EARLY CHINESE SETTLEMENT IN SAN FRANCISCO, C. 1860

In 1860, an estimated 2,719 Chinese were living in San Francisco, representing 5 percent of the total population.[61] San Francisco's Chinese population grew throughout the 1860s as mining and railroad construction waned, and many Chinese laborers returned or relocated to the city in search of new employment. By 1870, there were 12,022 Chinese in San Francisco, representing approximately 8 percent of the population.[62]

WASHERWOMAN'S LAGOON AND CHINESE LAUNDERERS

Washerwoman's Lagoon was a natural body of water bounded by Lombard, Filbert, Gough, and Octavia streets in San Francisco. It was historically used by Spanish and native women to wash clothes.[63]

During the Gold Rush, exorbitant prices were charged to do laundry because there were few women, who traditionally carried out domestic work, to do the job. Having no one to do laundry, many of the men who lived in San Francisco during the 19th century shipped their clothes elsewhere to wash them or threw them away prematurely.[64]

Chinese immigrants began laundering clothes in the 1850s, which brought the price of laundering down from $8 to $5 for a dozen shirts. In 1854, the *Alta California* reported that "300 people were

[61] U.S. Census, 1860.
[62] U.S. Census, 1870.
[63] Gary Kamiya, "How an early SF lake went from jewel to cesspool" *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 25, 2016.
[64] Ibid.

doing laundry at the lake, of whom 200 are Chinamen, 50 Mexicans, 15 Hindoos, 15 French, and the remainder Americans and Germans."[65]

By the 1880s, the combination of laundering and runoff from nearby toxic industries made the lagoon a cesspool. Cholera had become a problem in the city and killed Mayor Ephraim Burr's son. Soon after, in 1882, the mayor decided to fill the lagoon.[66]

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-7 WASHERWOMAN'S LAGOON, C. 1865-67

CHINESE SHRIMP CAMPS

Chinese fishermen were present in Northern California long before the city of San Francisco was established. Chinese, along with sailors from Hawai'i and the Philippines, traveled "along the trading routes between Asia, the Pacific Islands, and the Americas during the period of Western imperialism in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries."[67] Some became fishermen or took employment in maritime industries in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Historians have noted the presence of Chinese shrimp camps, or fishing villages, along the shores of San Francisco Bay since the early 1870s, with encampments documented at San Rafael, Point San Bruno, Point San Mateo, Potrero Point and Hunters Point in San Francisco.[68] Historian Nancy Wey writes, "Shrimp fishing was a long-established industry in China. Many immigrant Chinese arrived with knowledge of fishing and preservation techniques necessary to develop a shrimping

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Chou, et al, *Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California: A National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form* (Sacramento: California Office of Historic Preservation, 2019), 11.

[68] Kelley and VerPlanck, 49.

enterprise in California."[69] In bringing their expertise and skill to the San Francisco Bay Area, Chinese immigrants helped launch one of the region's signature and most profitable industries.

Source: Private collector at OpenSFHistory, *foundsf.org/index.php?title=Chinese_ shrimping_village*

FIGURE D-8 CHINESE SHRIMPER, C. 1910S

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-9 CHINESE FISHERMEN AT HUNTER'S POINT, 1937

[69] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."

The vessels used by Chinese fishermen were called "junks." They were typically constructed of redwood and measured between 30 and 50 feet long.[70] Between 1850 and 1910, junks were commonly seen throughout the Bay Area. In 2003, the San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park, in partnership with China Camp State Park, reconstructed a 43-foot shrimp junk, following traditional Chinese boat construction methods. The replica, named *Grace Quan* after the mother of the last known Chinese shrimp fisherman, regularly sails between Hyde Street Pier at the National Historic Park and China Camp State Park.[71]

In San Francisco, most Chinese shrimp camps operated between 1870 and 1939 along the shores of Hunters Point. Five known camps were established there during the late 19th century. Three of those (one Union Chinese Camp as well as two different Fook and Look camps) were most likely located at the intersection of Fairfax Avenue and Bold Street (no longer extant). The fourth was located at the block bounded by Evans Avenue, Ingalls Street, Fairfax Avenue, and the San Francisco Bay.[72]

The camps themselves consisted of simple wood shacks with shingle roofs, some sitting on stilts or wood piers that led to the water.[73] In 1882, one observer, John S. Hittell, offered a glimpse into the inner workings of San Francisco's Chinese fishing camps:

> They are divided into little camps, numbering from 12 to 40 men, each under a manager, who selects the fishing ground, directs the work, and determines how much of each daily catch is to be sent to the city and how much dried (for export). It is impossible to ascertain the average earnings, but they are doubtless small. A funnel-shaped net, 30 feet long, with a mouth 18 feet wide, and meshes not more than half an inch in diameter, is set in water 20 to 25 feet deep when the tide begins to come in, and hoisted before the ebb. The average daily catch in that neighborhood is a ton and a half, for 200 fishermen, employed in 40 boats, with crews of 5 men each. The shrimps, when taken to shore, are boiled in weak brine for half an hour, when they are ready for the table.[74]

---

[70] Brian D. Joyner, "Asian Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Asian Heritage" (Washington D.C.: National Park Service and National Center for Cultural Resources, 2005), 48, retrieved October 23, 2020, http://npshistory.com/publications/asian-reflections.pdf.

[71] Ibid, 49.

[72] Kelley and VerPlanck, 50.

[73] Ibid.

[74] John S. Hittell, *The Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast of North America* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Co., 1882), 366.

Source: Private collector at OpenSFHistory,foundsf. org/index.php?title=Chinese_shrimping_village

FIGURE D-10 HEALTH DEPARTMENT BURNS CHINESE SHRIMPING VILLAGE ALONG SHORES OF INDIA BASIN AT HUNTER'S POINT, APRIL 20, 1939

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-11 CLOSE UP VIEW OF SHRIMP CAMPS BURNING BY SAN FRANCISCO HEALTH DEPARTMENT, APRIL 20, 1939

San Francisco passed several discriminatory laws, targeting these Chinese fishermen, in the early 20th century. A 1910 law prohibited the use of bag nets, the primary fishing tool used by the Chinese fishermen, and subsequently extinguished the industry. In the 1920s, Chinese fishermen redesigned the nets and resurrected the industry for a short period before it ended for good in 1939. That year, the San Francisco Department of Health deemed the camps unsanitary and burned them down.[75]

Another Chinese fishing camp existed along San Francisco's northern shore at China Beach, as it was later named. Sociologist James W. Loewen asserts that Chinese Americans established and occupied a fishing village there when "whites expelled Chinese people from the beach and from the fishing industry in the 1890s."[76] Loewen also notes how the camp was one of the few places that shielded the fishermen from the sea breeze.[77] For years, a wooden sign stood on the beach in commemoration of the Chinese fisherman that used the cove nearly a half century prior. In 1981, San Francisco residents and restaurateurs Henry and Diana Chung donated funds to replace the wooden sign with a granite monument that honors the Chinese fishermen who established the Bay Area's fishing industry (extant).[78] Known as James Phelan State Park since the 1930s, the area was renamed China Beach in 1977 when ownership of the land transferred to the Golden Gate National Recreational Area.

Source: Eric Mar (left) and Harper's Weekly, Mar 20, 1875 (right)

FIGURE D-12 LEFT: CHINA BEACH PLAQUE, 2018; RIGHT: DRAWING OF CHINESE SHRIMP FISHERMEN IN SAN FRANCISCO BAY, 1875

[75] Kelley and VerPlanck, 50.

[76] James W. Loewen, *Lies across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 67.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Before the stone monument was dedicated, a wooden sign stood in its place. In 1981, Henry Chung and Diana Chung donated a sum to fund the stone monument and sent their proposal to the city. In 1982, the couple received a United States Congress declaration the approving the new name of "China Beach" under the statement 1982.6.13H4044. Henry Chung lived on Sea Cliff Avenue, often sauntering on the beach until his death in 2017. (Tingting Wu, "從外交官到世界名廚醴陵人鍾武雄的"跨界人生," 瀟湘晨報, January 7, 2017, http://www.xxcb.cn/event/weekend/2017-01-07/9066015.html)

CHINESE FARMERS IN BAYVIEW HUNTERS POINT

By the late 19th century, farms and greenhouses emerged in the Bayview neighborhood in the southern portion of San Francisco, an area that boasted optimal growing conditions. Most of San Francisco's produce was cultivated there and sold at the San Francisco Produce Market, located northeast of the financial district, and occupying more than two dozen blocks next to the northern waterfront (not extant).[79] Many of the city's early farmers were Chinese. Discriminatory laws, however, prohibited Chinese from owning property so most grew crops in the beds of pickup trucks. Some of these Chinese "truck farmers," as they were called, sold produce along San Bruno Avenue and in the Bayview Tract in the southern portion of San Francisco. Other Chinese farmers grew produce in Black Point, located along San Francisco's northern waterfront.[80]

European immigrants from Italy, Malta, Portugal, and France arrived in increasing numbers in the 1890s, gradually replacing Chinese farmers. These European immigrants were able to purchase land, which gave them an upper hand in the increasingly competitive agricultural industry in the southern portion of San Francisco.[81] An 1889 article published in the *San Francisco Chronicle* explains the changes taking place in Bayview's farming community: "Where once the Chinese were the commonest sight with their vegetable baskets swung on poles, going from house to house, or pushing their carts heading for the market places, now they have been crowded out by the Italians and the Portuguese who have bought larger and larger plots of land."[82]

Although farming and gardening continued in Bayview for many decades, by the turn of the century, most Chinese farmers were replaced by Europeans. No extant greenhouses remain in the Bayview.

CHINESE FLOWER GROWERS

A flower industry in San Francisco emerged in the 1880s after Japanese immigrants brought their agricultural practices to the area. Italians and Chinese formed nurseries soon after. These included compact greenhouses on small plots of land near the cities of San Francisco and Oakland.[83]

The growers sold their flowers at an open-air market at Kearny and Market streets near Lotta's Fountain (fountain extant). This format lasted through the early 20th century until ban of street sales moved the market to an indoor location between Montgomery and Kearny streets in 1909.

---

[79] The produce market was demolished by the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency in the 1960s to create the Golden Gateway Development.

[80] Kelley and VerPlanck, 61.

[81] Ibid., 9.

[82] *San Francisco Chronicle* (November 17, 1889) as quoted in Kelley and VerPlanck, 62.

[83] ARG, "Historic Resource Evaluation for 770 Woolsey Street, San Francisco," March 2019, 36.

The growers serviced approximately 80 flower shops and played a critical role in funeral services after the 1906 earthquake.[84] By the early 20th century, some 250 people were involved in growing flowers, and double that number specialized in retail flower sales.[85] Japanese, Italian, and Chinese sellers began specializing in certain flowers to reduce the competition between them. For example, Chinese growers specialized in asters, sweet peas, and pompoms. Each group formed separate corporations. Japanese growers formed the California Flower Market, Italian growers formed the San Francisco Flower Growers Association, and Chinese growers formed the Peninsula Flower Growers Association.[86] The indoor market was relocated in 1924 to Fifth and Howard streets.[87]

Source: Art and Architecture, artandarchitecture-sf.com

FIGURE D-13 POSTCARD DEPICTING THE OPEN-AIR FLOWER MARKET NEAR LOTTA'S FOUNTAIN AT KEARNY AND MARKET STREETS, C. 1890S

[84] Ibid., 37.

[85] Stacy Farr, "University Mound Nursery/770 Woolsey Street, Landmark Designation Application," (San Francisco: n.p., February 21, 2019), 33, in San Francisco Planning Department's Landmark Designation Case Report, July 17, 2019, Case No. 2019-002774DES.

[86] ARG, "770 Woolsey Street Historic Resource Evaluation," 37.

[87] The 1926 Crocker-Langley San Francisco directory lists at least nine different wholesale florist businesses in the vicinity of 5th and Howard streets. Some buildings are still standing, others have been demolished.

After a dip in demand during World War II, and the loss of Japanese flower growers due to their incarceration, the market for flowers grew again in the postwar era. In 1956, the San Francisco Flower Terminal (later the San Francisco Flower Market) formed in a building at 640 Brannan Street.[88] The three separate groups continued their work there until the 1970s when new imports from South America harmed the California flower trade. While some of these early nurseries relocated or closed by the 1990s, at the time of the writing of this report the San Francisco Flower Market still operates in its original location at 640 Brannan Street where 60 vendors sell their products.[89]

PROFILE OF A CHINESE RANCHER: LIM LIP HONG

One rare example of Chinese thriving outside of Chinatown or the Bayview Hunters Point area in 19th century San Francisco is the ranch of Lim Lip Hong. Lim came to America in 1855 at the age of 12. According to his great-granddaughter, Andrea Yee, he spent some time working on the transcontinental railroad as a recruiter and overseer. He also worked in Virginia City, Nevada until he lost his home when Chinatown burned down in 1876. When he returned to San Francisco, he established a ranch in the Dogpatch area of Potrero Hill, freed a young woman from domestic servitude, and married her. They had seven children. The ranch remained in family hands through the mid-20th century.

- Andrea Yee, email correspondence, May 2, 2018.

D.2 THE ANTI-CHINESE MOVEMENT, 1850S–1880S

Initially, some Americans welcomed the Chinese. The San Francisco-based *Alta California* wrote on May 13, 1851, "scarcely a ship arrives here that does not bring an increase to this worthy integer of our population…the Chinese Boys will yet vote at the same polls, study at the same schools and bow at the same altar as our own countrymen."[90] In his 1852 State of the State address, California Governor John McDougal praised Chinese as "one of the most worthy classes of our newly adopted citizens."[91] Others were not as welcoming. Chinese soon became the target of racialized violence in the gold fields and were driven from countless camp sites, towns, and cities in Northern California. Anti-Chinese agitators, mostly white laborers, enacted local and state laws as early as the 1850s. Large companies that benefited from Chinese labor challenged some of these laws, which only further emboldened the white laborers to accuse Chinese laborers of driving down wages and

[88] The city approved plans in 2019 to demolish the San Francisco Flower Market's original one-story warehouse building and redevelop the site into a multi-story office building. At the time of publication, the San Francisco Flower Market continued to operate at 640 Brannan Street, but it will be relocated to a new mixed-use building at 901 16th Street upon completion of construction.

[89] Ibid., 37; San Francisco Flower Mart, retrieved December 3, 2020, https://www.sanfranciscoflowermart.com/our-history.html.

[90] *Alta California*, May 13, 1851, quoted by Choy, 33.

[91] "State of the State Address" delivered by Governor John McDougal, January 7, 1952, "The Governor's Gallery" webpage (California State Library), retrieved November 30, 2020, https://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s_02-McDougall.html.

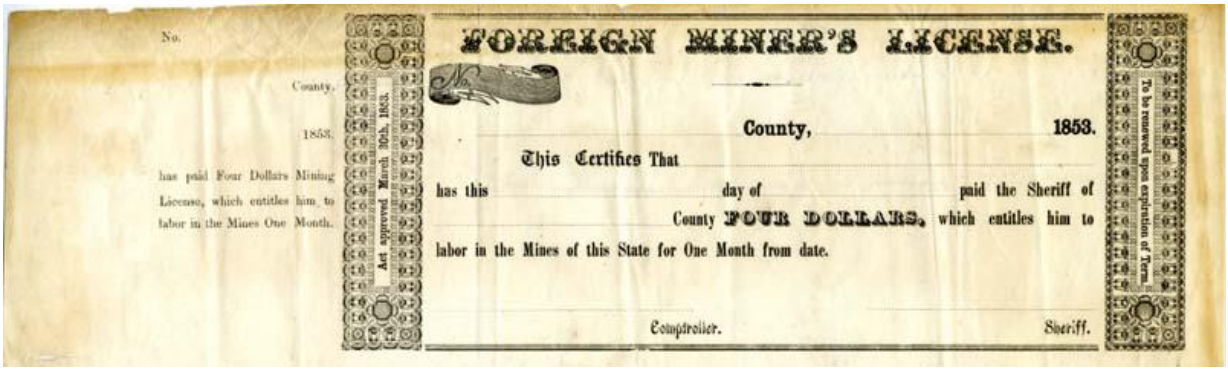
taking jobs from whites.[92] By the 1870s, a powerful anti-Chinese movement gained traction in Sacramento and San Francisco and eventually spread from the West Coast to the nation's capital.

Three decades of virulent anti-Chinese activism culminated in passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 as well as subsequent exclusionary laws, which lasted until well into the 20th century. This section discusses the people and events leading up to the Chinese Exclusion Act. For a discussion about the act itself and the experiences of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans during this era, see D.4 *Chinese Exclusion, 1882–1943*, below.

RACISM AND VIOLENCE IN THE CALIFORNIA GOLD FIELDS

Despite the seemingly hospitable initial welcome by California leaders and newspapers, white American miners quickly developed nativist sentiments against Chinese and other foreign miners. Although California had entered the Union in 1848, white miners felt entitled to all claims of gold. As described by historian Ronald Takaki, "Coming down from the foothills and gathering force as it reached Sacramento emerged a nativist cry, 'California for Americans.' Seeking to drive out the French, Mexican, Hawaiian, Chilean, and especially the Chinese from the gold fields, American white miners demanded that the state eliminate competition from foreign miners."[93]

In 1850, California lawmakers enacted a tax on foreign miners, but it faced significant opposition, especially from European miners, and was repealed the following year. A similar law was passed in 1852; however, that law was primarily against Mexicans and Chinese and, subsequently, had more staying power.[94] By the time the federal Civil Rights Act of 1870 voided the tax as unconstitutional, California had collected $58 million from the Chinese, amassing a whopping 25 to 50 percent of the state's total tax revenue.[95]



Source: San Mateo County Genealogical Blog, smcgs.blogspot.com/.

FIGURE D-14 FOREIGN MINER'S LICENSE, 1858

[92] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[93] Takaki, 81.
[94] Jean Pfaelzer, *Driven Out: The Forgotten War Against Chinese Americans* (New York: Random House, 2007), 31.
[95] Takaki, 82.

These actions targeting Chinese immigrants occurred against the backdrop of a nation on the verge of a civil war over the issue of slavery and engaged in aggressive westward expansion that ended in a violent war with Mexico as well as Indian removal. At the onset of 1848, 150,000 native people and several thousand Mexicans and Californios occupied Northern California.[96] When white Americans arrived at the foothills of the Sierra Nevada later that same year, they encountered thousands of Native Americans who inhabited and held legal claim to the area. Campaigns to remove native people from the valuable gold fields were led by white miners and the state government alike. At first, volunteer militias took matters into their own hands, killing Modoc and Mariposa people to gain access to the land. This led to official government action. California Governor John McDougall spoke of the need to replicate President Andrew Jackson's "Trail of Tears," and in 1853, government militias forced native people off the land, marched them to reservations, and burned their villages.[97]

This violent removal of native people from the gold fields preempted the subsequent removal of Chinese miners. Between 1850 and 1906, white vigilantes expelled Chinese miners from mining sites, camps, towns, and cities an estimated 200 times.[98] The first large roundup of Chinese miners occurred in 1849 at Camp Salvado where, following a heavy rain, Chinese miners discovered rich gold deposits. Upon hearing this, a group of white miners set out to violently assault the Chinese, forcing an estimated 60 of them across the mountain to Tuolumne County where they established China Camp—believed to be the nation's first all-Chinese town. This roundup "ignited the brutal firestorm of purges that burned in the West for fifty years."[99]

A "race war" broke out in Shasta County during the winter of 1858–1859 when 200 armed vigilantes forcibly expelled Chinese from mining camps at Lower Springs. For three years, vigilantes harassed, rounded up, and forced Chinese to leave the area. Local officials attempted to stop the vigilantes but were unsuccessful because they were unable to receive support from the state, which was focused on relocating native people and defending against the resistance.[100] In 1853, there were 3,000 Chinese miners in Shasta County; by 1860, only 160 were left.[101]

Many of the Chinese who were driven out of Gold Country escaped north and west to coastal towns and cities, including San Francisco.[102] In the 1880s, two Northern California municipalities—Eureka and Del Norte County—expelled hundreds of their Chinese residents to San Francisco by boat.[103] In addition to the assaults, raids, roundups, and purges of Chinese in Gold Country, white miners organized meetings and conventions and spread propaganda calling

[96] Pfaelzer, xxix.
[97] Ibid., 16-19.
[98] Ibid., xxvp.
[99] Ibid., 9.
[100] Ibid., 9.
[101] Ibid., 16.
[102] Ibid., 16.
[103] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."

for the expulsion of Chinese from the country.[104] This sentiment only continued to gain momentum over time.

ANTI-CHINESE ACTIVISM IN SAN FRANCISCO

By 1870, nearly a quarter of California's Chinese population lived in San Francisco.[105] Expulsion from the interior of the state, as discussed above, was one reason. Also contributing to the district's growth were new Chinese immigrants as well as former railroad workers and miners in search of new economic opportunities. San Francisco was becoming a regional commercial and manufacturing hub and Chinese workers entered the city's manufacturing industry in large numbers.[106] Others opened their own businesses, including scores of laundries.

A global depression in the 1870s, known as the Panic of 1873, resulted in high unemployment in the United States. The East Coast was hit particularly hard and large numbers of unemployed workers headed west via the transcontinental railroad in search of better opportunities. Pro-business organizations and land speculators in California marketed the state as a land of prosperity. They wanted to "flood the market with laborers" to avoid adhering to the demands of local unions.[107] High unemployment fostered a growing national labor movement among white workers who demanded fair pay, safer working conditions, and an eight-hour workday.

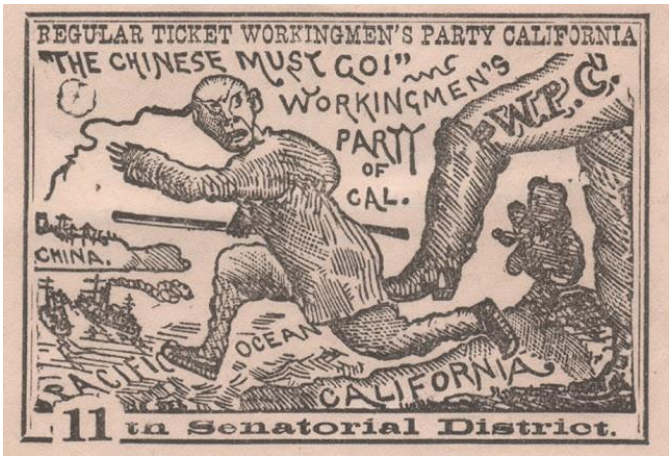
The movement nurtured hostility toward two main groups: capitalists and monopolistic employers, and Chinese workers. Although anti-Chinese racism was nothing new, grassroots groups like "Anti-Coolie Clubs" emerged in San Francisco and throughout California as the growing white labor movement accused Chinese workers of driving down wages and taking jobs from white citizens. In one action, the Anti-Coolie Association of San Francisco petitioned the local board of supervisors to demand "that something be done about the Chinese quarter of the city" as it was "crowded and contaminated with disease."[108] Other organizations, such as the San Francisco chapter of the Knights of St. Crispin, which represented the nation's shoemakers, called for halting further immigration of Chinese labor to California.[109]

It became common "to see crowds of young people, often egged on by their elders, pelting new Chinese immigrants with stones as they made their way with their baggage from the docks to the Chinese quarter."[110] The same racist sentiments held by bullying teenagers motivated angry men to violence. Frank Pixley, former state attorney general and a leader of the Anti-Coolie

[104] Pfaelzer, 11-13.
[105] Charles J. McClain, *In Search of Equality: The Chinese Struggle against Discrimination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 43.
[106] McClain, 43.
[107] Choy, *San Francisco Chinatown*, 35.
[108] McClain, 44.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid., 44.

Association, testified that he "longed to stand on Telegraph Hill and watch Chinese hang from the yardarms of burning immigrant ships entering San Francisco Bay."[111]

In 1877, a loose gathering of individuals calling themselves the "Workingmen's Association" gathered each Sunday in unoccupied open-air sandlots near the future site of San Francisco City Hall. They attracted crowds of up to 2,000 people who came to listen to speeches from labor advocates such as Irishman Denis Kearney.[112] On July 23, 1977 members of San Francisco's Anti-Coolie Club pushed their way into one of these pro-labor rallies and demanded that it denounce the Chinese. When the crowd refused, the infuriated men marched to Chinatown and began to set blocks of buildings on fire. The next day, 6,000 men joined a "merchants militia" to attack the Chinese. A few days later, on the evening of July 25, 1977, the rioters tried to burn the docks of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company (located on Pier 40 at the foot of First Street in South Beach, buildings not extant), which served as the primary carrier of Chinese immigrants to the United States. In anticipation of the violence, concerned San Franciscans organized the "Pick Handle Brigade," comprised of 4,000 people, to fend of the rioters and protect the Pacific Mail Steamship dock.[113] While they protected the dock, the rioters burned down a nearby lumber mill, killed four people, and wounded 14 more.[114] (The Pacific Mail Steamship Company is discussed further in D.4 *Chinese Exclusion, 1882—1943*).



Source: Carl Albert Browne (Illustrator), Regular Ticket Workingmen's Party California, California Historical Society collection.

FIGURE D-15 ANTI-CHINESE PROPAGANDA FEATURING THE WORKINGMEN'S PARTY OF CALIFORNIA'S POPULAR SLOGAN, "THE CHINESE MUST GO," 1878

[111] Aarim-Hariat, *Chinese Immigrants*, quoted by Pfaelzer, 76.

[112] Beth Lew-Williams, *The Chinese Must Go: Violence, Exclusion, and the Making of the Alien in America* (Harvard University Press, 2018), 42.

[113] Pfaelzer, 77.

[114] Chris Carlsson, "The Workingmen's Party and the Denis Kearney Agitation Historical Essay," FoundSF, retrieved November 20, 2020, https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=The_Workingmen%E2%80%99s_Party_%26_The_Denis_Kearney_Agitation.

Denis Kearney launched the Workingmen's Party of California (WPC) later in 1877.[115] His signature line became "The Chinese must go!" Rather than seeing Chinese workers as potential collaborators and inviting them to join the cause, the WPC denounced them as enemies. In San Francisco, "[t]he workingmen's struggle for an eight-hour day, for mechanics' lien laws, against convict labor, and especially against the monopoly of the railroads, degenerated into anti-Chinese hysteria."[116]

SAN FRANCISCO'S ANTI-CHINESE LEGISLATION

As the WPC gained more traction in San Francisco, the anti-Chinese fervor that overtook the city eventually made its way to city hall. Local officials enacted numerous laws that targeted Chinese people. Chinese were prohibited from carrying items on shoulder poles in public, forbidden from sleeping in a room with less than 500 square feet per person, forced to cut their hair (specifically Chinese men who wore traditional queues), and unequally taxed.[117]

CHINESE FILE SUIT OVER QUEUE ORDINANCE

In an early example of civil disobedience, Chinese men refused to pay the fines imposed on them for violating the Cubic Air Ordinance—a law that was clearly discriminatory toward their community—knowing that their decision would land them in jail. San Francisco retaliated by passing the Queue Ordinance, forcing the men to cut their queues, or long ponytails, which was how all Chinese men under the Manchu period of rule wore their hair.[118] One prisoner, Ho Ah Kow, who "refused to pay the fine for violating the Cubic Air Ordinance"[119] and was sentenced to five days in jail, sued for damages after the warden cut off his queue and shaved his head. Ho sued for damages stemming from trespass to his person. A local court ruled in his favor, stating that the Queue Ordinance was unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment because the board of supervisors had imposed a "degrading and cruel punishment upon a class of persons who are… entitled to the equal protection of the Law."[120]

---

[115] While the San Francisco-based WPC was inspired by the Workingmen's Party of the United States formed on the East Coast, they were not affiliated with each other.

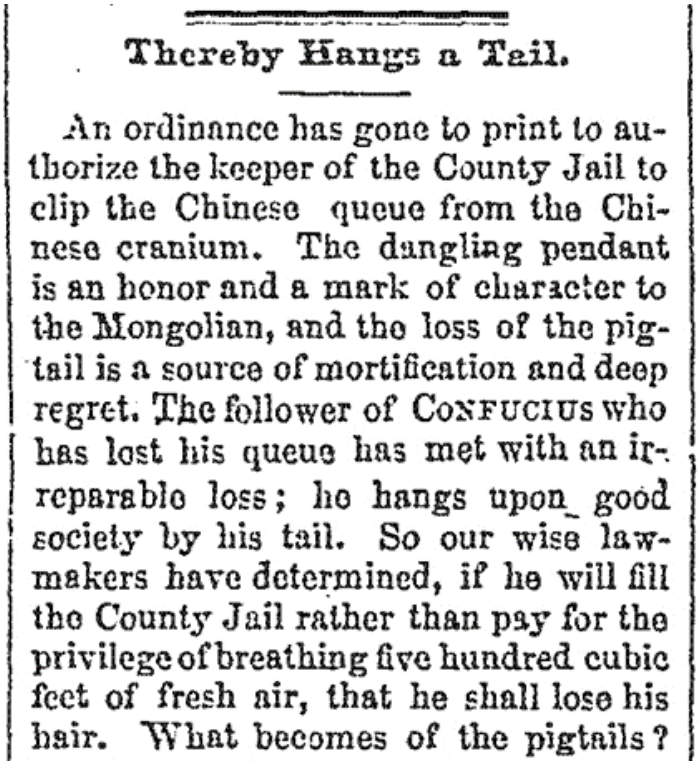
[116] Choy, *San Francisco Chinatown*, 35.

[117] Choy, "Chinatown Historic District," 19.

[118] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."

[119] *Ho Ah Kow v. Nunan*, 12 F. 252 (C.C> Cal 1879), referenced by Pfaelzer, *Driven Out*, 75.

[120] Ibid.



Thereby Hangs a Tail.

An ordinance has gone to print to authorize the keeper of the County Jail to clip the Chinese queue from the Chinese cranium. The dangling pendant is an honor and a mark of character to the Mongolian, and the loss of the pigtail is a source of mortification and deep regret. The follower of CONFUCIUS who has lost his queue has met with an irreparable loss; he hangs upon good society by his tail. So our wise lawmakers have determined, if he will fill the County Jail rather than pay for the privilege of breathing five hundred cubic feet of fresh air, that he shall lose his hair. What becomes of the pigtails?

Source: "Thereby Hangs a Tail," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 28, 1873

FIGURE D-16 RACIST NEWSPAPER ARTICLE PRAISING SAN FRANCISCO'S ANTI-CHINESE QUEUE ORDINANCE, 1873

LAUNDRY LEGISLATION AND THE CASE OF *YICK WO V. HOPKINS*

In 1880, San Francisco passed an ordinance requiring a permit for anyone who wished to operate a laundry inside a wooden building. Given that two-thirds of the city's 320 laundries were owned by Chinese people and 95 percent were in wooden buildings, the law was clearly targeted toward the Chinese.[121] Although most laundry owners who operated out of wood buildings applied for a permit, only one permit was granted to a Chinese laundry owner; virtually all non-Chinese applicants were granted a permit. The majority of the two hundred Chinese applicants were denied. One of them was Lee Yick, who immigrated to California in 1861 and owned the Yick Wo laundry, located along Third Street between Harrison Street and St. Francis Place (not extant).[122] After 22 years of managing the laundry, he continued to operate after the ordinance took effect and was convicted and fined $10 for the violation. After he was imprisoned for refusing to pay

[121] ImmigrationtotheUnitedStates.org, "Chinese Laundries," retrieved December 15, 2020, http://www.immigrationtounitedstates.org/426-chinese-laundries.html#:~:text=In%201880%2C%2095%20percent%20of%20San%20Francisco%E2%80%99s%20320,a%20permit.%20Only%20one%20non-Chinese%20owner%20was%20denied.

[122] The 1880 Langley directory for San Francisco includes a list of Chinese businesses except for laundries, which it stated numbered over 400.

the fine, Lee Yick sued sheriff Peter Hopkins for a writ of *habeas corpus,* an instrument through which a person can report an unlawful detention or imprisonment to a court.[123]

Source: University of Virginia Mark Twain Collection, *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* May 14, 1870

FIGURE D-17 ILLUSTRATION OF A CHINESE LAUNDRY IN SAN FRANCISCO, 1870

The state argued that the ordinance was passed out of concern for safety; laundries required very hot stoves to boil water. But Yick argued his laundry had never failed a fire inspection. The U.S. Supreme Court, in a unanimous opinion written by Justice T. Stanley Matthews, found that administration of the statute was discriminatory and that there was no need to even consider whether the ordinance was lawful. Although Chinese laundry owners were typically not American citizens (because of the 1790 Naturalization Act, they could not be naturalized), the court ruled that they were still entitled to equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment.[124]

Justice Matthews denounced the law as a blatant attempt to exclude Chinese from the laundry trade in San Francisco. The court struck down the law, ordering dismissal of all charges against other laundry owners who had been jailed.[125] The Yick Wo case was the first time the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause was used to strike down a law that was seemingly written to apply to everyone but unequally enforced.[126] The U.S. Supreme Court has cited the case of *Yick Wo v. Hopkins* (118 U.S. 356) more than 150 times. It became a foundational ruling for dozens of other civil rights cases.

---

[123] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California"; *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, 118 U.S. 356 (1886); retrieved December 15, 2020, https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/118/356/

[124] 118 U.S. 356, retrieved May 1, 2018, https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/118/356.

[125] *Yick Wo vs. Hopkins*.

[126] Diana Fan, "Yick Wo: How A Racist Laundry Law In Early San Francisco Helped Civil Rights," Hoodline, August 23, 2015, retrieved May 17, 2018, https://hoodline.com/2015/08/yick-wo-and-the-san-francisco-laundry-litigation-of-the-late- 1800s..

SCHOOL SEGREGATION AND *TAPE V. HURLEY*

While San Francisco had previously operated segregated schools for "Mongolian" children in the 1850s and 1860s, these schools often closed due to anti-Chinese racism and lack of funding. The San Francisco school board between 1871 and 1885 ignored or dismissed petitions from Chinese parents demanding their children be allowed to attend the city's public schools. Although California passed a law in 1880 requiring public education be available to all children in the state, San Francisco's public schools continued to exclude Chinese children. San Francisco's school superintendent, Andrew Jackson Moulder, was a "die-hard racist who had long vowed 'to resist, to defeat, and to prohibit the admission of 'Africans, Chinese, and Diggers [Miwok Indians] into our white schools.'"[127]

In 1884, Joseph (born Jeu Dip in China) and Mary Tape lived just outside of Chinatown with their American-born daughter, Mamie Tape, who attended a private mission school at the time. Seeking the best education for their daughter, the Tapes attempted to enroll Mamie at the Spring Valley Primary School (not extant, although the Sherman Elementary School building was constructed in the same location [1651 Union Street] in 1928 and Spring Valley Elementary School was rebuilt at 1451 Jackson Street after the 1906 earthquake and fire.[129] The school principal, Jennie Hurley, denied Mamie's request for enrollment. Fed up, the Tapes took their child's case to court.[130]

Source: Jack Kim and Loni Ding

FIGURE D-18 JOSEPH, EMILY, MAMIE, FRANK & MARY TAPE, C. 1884–85.

In January 1885, eight-year-old Mamie Tape won her case at trial. In his ruling, Superior Court Judge James Maguire cited the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment as well as

[127] Choy, *San Francisco Chinatown Guide*, 31.

[129] "History of SVSS (Spring Valley Science School), retrieved March 1, 2021, *https://www.sfusd.edu/school/spring-valley-science-elementary-school/about/history*.

[130] Mae Ngai, *The Lucky Ones* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2010), 49.

state law and noted that Chinese residents of California paid school taxes. On March 3, 1885, the California Supreme Court upheld the lower court's ruling in *Tape v. Hurley*. In anticipation of the state Supreme Court decision, the San Francisco school board "rushed through the California legislature an act authorizing separate schools for 'children of Chinese and Mongolian descent.'"[131]

San Francisco established its first permanent segregated public school for Chinese children in 1885. The Chinese Primary School was initially located at the corner of Jackson and Stone streets, near Powell (not extant). The Tapes protested the segregated Chinese Primary School, but they eventually enrolled Mamie and her brother, Frank. Following the 1906 disaster, the Chinese Primary School was renamed the "Oriental School" to include all Asians and opened in a new building at 916 Clay Street (not extant, the site was later redeveloped into Chinatown YWCA).[132]

Source: UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library (left); San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection (right)

FIGURE D-19 ORIENTAL SCHOOL AT 916 CLAY STREET (NOT EXTANT), C. 1906

In 1914, the school was relocated again to a new building on Washington Street between Stockton and Powell streets (950 Clay Street, extant), despite objections from white neighbors.[133] Albert Pissis was the architect. The school's name was changed in 1924 to Commodore Stockton Elementary School in honor of the naval officer who later served as a U.S. senator. The change was made in response to objections from Chinese parents over the use of the derogatory term, "Oriental." Alice Fong Yu, the first Chinese American teacher in the city, taught at the school beginning in 1926. In 1988 the school was renamed Gordon J. Lau Elementary School after the community activist and first elected Chinese American member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. The school remains in operation at 950 Clay Street.[134]

---

131 Ngai, 54.

132 Choy, Chinatown Historic District; Nee and Nee, 61.

133 "$120,800 for Oriental School Appropriated," *San Francisco Call*, Volume 94, Number 165, 8 January 1914; "New Oriental School is Dedicated Today," *San Francisco Call*, Volume 98, Number 96, 20 October 1915; "Citizens Object to School Site," *San Francisco Call*, Volume 112, Number 125, October 3, 1912.

134 Gordon J. Lau Elementary School website, "About Us," retrieved June 21, 2018, http://gjles-sfusd-ca.schoolloop.com/cms/page_view?d=x&piid=&vpid=1320736012618.

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-20 COMMODORE STOCKTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, C. 1940S

While the Tapes did not achieve their desired outcome, the case was still an important victory for civil rights. San Francisco began funding public education for Chinese students and most Chinese American students attended integrated schools by the 1920s. The law allowing for segregated Chinese schools, however, remained in place until 1947.[135]

ANTI-CHINESE LOBBY TAKES OVER SACRAMENTO

The California Legislature passed anti-Chinese laws as early as the 1850s. White miners in California's Gold Country used their voting power to elect legislators who were sympathetic to their grievances and promised to "drive out the coolies" from the mining districts.[136] As early as 1850, the legislature enacted laws and levied a $20 tax on all foreign miners. In 1854, the California Supreme Court ruled that, like Blacks and American Indians, Chinese were prohibited from testifying in court in cases involving a white man.[137] In 1855, California imposed yet another tax that targeted the Chinese—a $50 tax on persons docking in state ports who were ineligible for naturalization.[138] Although not explicitly stated in the law, it was directed against Chinese immigrants.[139] By 1858, California passed a law that outright prohibited any Chinese person from entering the state. Although the law was soon deemed unconstitutional, it foreshadowed what was eventually to come.

[135] Gary Kamiya, "How Chinese Americans won right to attend San Francisco schools," San Francisco Chronicle, April 29, 2017, retrieved May 29, 2018 at https://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/How- Chinese-Americans-won-right-to-attend-SF-11107543.php.

[136] Pfaelzer, 11.

[137] 118 U.S. 356, retrieved May 1, 2018, https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/118/356

[138] Takaki, p. 82

[139] Lee, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance" 94.

California state lawmakers continued to enact anti-Chinese policies in the 1860s and 1870s, including a law forbidding Chinese American children from attending the state's public schools and another that required Chinese fishermen to obtain a special license.[140] In 1862, California passed the Anti-Coolie Act, a measure intended to quell competition from Chinese miners and "protect free white labor" by requiring "Mongolians" over the age of 18 to pay a $2.50 monthly "police tax" (those who already paid a miner's tax or worked in the manufacturing of sugar, rice, coffee, or tea were exempt). [141] These laws were later ruled unconstitutional. In 1870, California enacted a law prohibiting the "importation" of Chinese, Japanese, and "Mongolian" women for the purpose of prostitution, a policy portrayed as altruistic but in practice was used to block untold numbers of Asian women from entering the country.[142]

ANDREA YEE DESCRIBES THE ORDEAL FACING LIM LIP HONG'S CHILDREN AND THEIR DESCENDANTS, WHO WERE LIVING IN THE DOGPATCH NEIGHBORHOOD BELOW POTRERO HILL

Public Schools in Dogpatch one block from my great-grandfather's home since the 1870s did not allow his children, nor his grandchildren, nor his great grandchildren to go to school. My mother (the grandchild) finally had enough of it, and at the age of 24, took her little brother's hand and marched him into public school and demanded that he be registered as a student in 1925! Nevertheless, my great grandparents saw to it that everyone got an education even if the school was miles away. A streetcar ran a block from their ranch, but they would not pick up or drop off Chinese, so horse and cart was the only way.

- Andrea Yee, email correspondence, May 1, 2018.

The election of 1876 was a critical moment in the history of anti-Chinese legislation in California and along the West Coast (although not as aggressive as California, Washington and Oregon enacted their own anti-Chinese legislation). Candidates for public office in California, including members of the WPC, won elections on racist platforms that railed against the Chinese. By 1878, the WPC secured 11 seats in state senate and 17 in the state assembly. These newly elected officials quickly got to work creating legislation to limit Chinese immigration and make life in America inhospitable for Chinese who were already in the country. One of their first moves was to rewrite the state constitution. In fact, "[w]hen a convention was held to rewrite California's state constitution [in 1879], more than a third of the delegates came from the WPC."[143] The new state constitution, for example, drafted with the WPC's input and enacted in 1879, gave cities and towns "all necessary power…of this State for the removal of Chinese…." This section of the constitution was not removed until November 4, 1952.[144] The new state constitution also included measures that banned municipalities and corporations from hiring Chinese workers, denied

[140] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[141] Ibid.
[142] Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 45.
[143] John Robert Soennichsen, *The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882*, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2011), 53.
[144] Choy, 37.

"aliens" the right to fish, barred "aliens ineligible for citizenship" from obtaining business licenses, and limited land ownership to those of the "white race or of African descent."[145]

Almost immediately, the Chinese consul initiated a series of lawsuits against the new state constitution. Most of the provisions were found to be in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment and were struck down by the courts.[146] It became increasingly apparent to anti-Chinese lawmakers that they would need to bring about changes to federal law in order to end Chinese migration.

EARLY FEDERAL ACTION ANTICIPATING CHINESE EXCLUSION

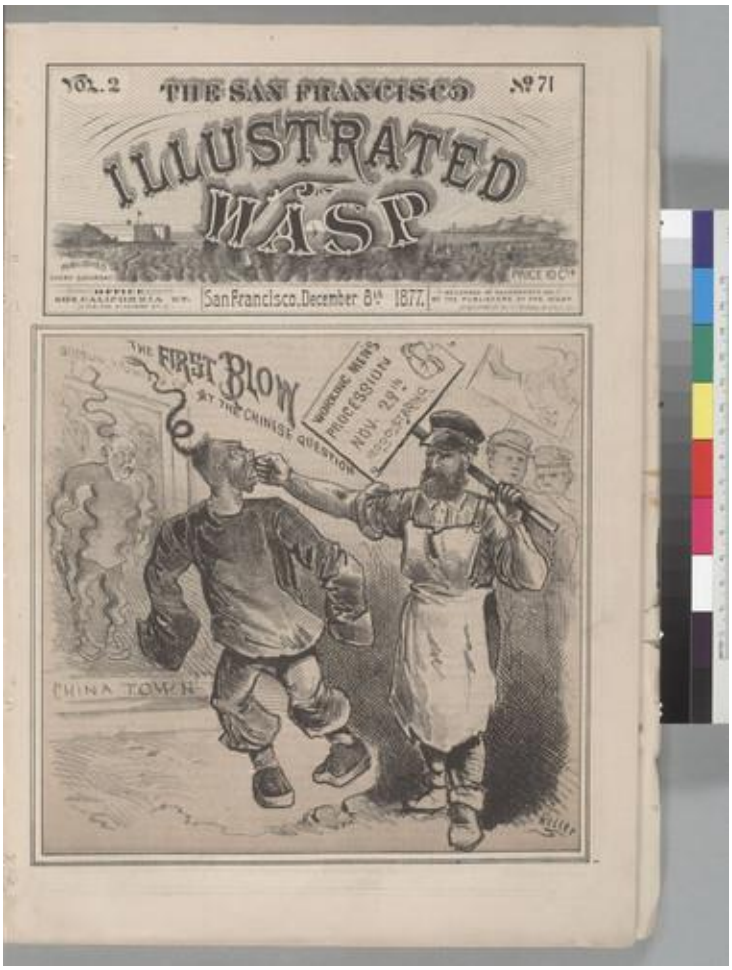
The virulent anti-Chinese movement that spread across California and along the West Coast set the stage for passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. Several federal anti-Chinese laws had passed Congress in the 1860s and 1870s, propelled largely by the white labor movement.[147] Among the first discriminatory federal laws that targeted Chinese people was the "Cooly Traffic Law," enacted by Congress in 1862. Its purpose was to ban the importation of "coolies," or indentured servants or enslaved people, from China. Although, as mentioned previously, there is no evidence that "coolies" had a presence within the United States. The baseless claim was nonetheless used to advocate for a law that made it more difficult for Chinese people to enter the country.[148]

As previously noted, the 1876 elections ushered in politicians who won, in part, because of the "anti-Chinese vote," including some members of the WPC and others whose campaign promises included restricting Chinese migration. Over the ensuing months, Congress "introduced a dozen bills to restrict Chinese migration."[149] Congressmen from California, who were elected with the backing of the WPC, were among the chief proponents of this legislation.

Several federal laws were enacted to curb the immigration of Chinese women to the United States, women who might marry, start families, and cement the growth of a permanent Chinese American population. Chief among these laws was the Page Act of 1875, proposed by California Congressman Horace Page, , which prohibited the immigration of unfree laborers and women who were brought to the U.S. for "immoral" purposes.[150] Enforcement targeted mostly Chinese women.[151] U.S. consuls in China rejected an untold number of applications from Chinese women for visas. If they passed that ordeal, they often faced an expensive *habeas corpus* trial in San Francisco until they could convince hostile immigration officers or judges of their relationships

[145] Lew-Williams, 43; "Alien Land Laws," *Densho Encyclopedia online,* retrieved May 17, 2018, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Alien_land_laws/.
[146] Statutes at Large 57 (1943), 600, quoted by Pfaelzer, 79.
[147] Lew-Williams, 40.
[148] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[149] Lew-Williams, 46.
[150] Soennichsen, 55.
[151] Lee, 89.

with male immigrants. Another law, which barred the wives of Chinese laborers from entering the country, was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1884.[152]



Source: UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library

FIGURE D-21 AN 1877 COVER OF THE SAN FRANCISCO ILLUSTRATED WASP DEPICTING WHITE MEMBER OF WPC ASSAULTING A CHINESE MAN

After the WPC succeeded in getting the Page Act enacted, Denis Kearney traveled across the country, drumming up public support for the expulsion of the Chinese.[153] In 1876, Congress held hearings in San Francisco to examine the issue of Chinese immigration. Out of those hearings came the Fifteen Passenger Bill, which would have limited to the number of Chinese arriving to the United States to 15 passengers per ship. Although the bill passed Congress, President Rutherford B. Hayes vetoed it in 1879 because it would have violated the terms of the Burlingame

[152] "Laws and Policies Affecting Asian-Pacific Americans." Retrieved October 30, 2020 from https://academic.udayton.edu/race/03justice/aspilaws.htm.

[153] Beth Lew-Williams, 42.

Treaty of 1868, which established the diplomatic relationship between the United States and China and facilitated free migration of Chinese to America.[154]

A key element of the WPC's campaign platform had always been to amend the Burlingame Treaty. Although not immediately successful, the WPC did eventually accomplish its goal through the 1880 Angell Treaty, which allowed the U.S. to limit or suspend immigration of Chinese laborers "whenever such immigration affected or threatened to affect the interest of that country." However, migration could not be stopped completely.[155] China agreed to amend the terms of the Burlingame Treaty and maintain the U.S. as an ally during a time when the country was threatened by Russia and Japan. Amendment of the Burlingame Treaty set the stage for eventual passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. This and subsequent exclusionary laws barred Chinese immigration, with few exceptions, to the United States for more than six decades.

D.3 EARLY SAN FRANCISCO CHINATOWN, 1850–1906

By the turn of the century, Chinese represented the largest non-white population in the city, and almost all lived in Chinatown.[156] The neighborhood is the oldest segregated Chinese community in the United States and was the nation's largest for most of the 20th century.

"TOHNG YUN FOW": CITY OF THE CHINESE

As early as 1851, Chinese immigrants began locating their laundries, restaurants, and shops close to Portsmouth Square to cater to miners. The few blocks surrounding the square—which white San Franciscans dubbed "Little Canton"—held 33 retail stores, 15 pharmacies, and five restaurants.[157] Among Chinese immigrants, the square became known as *Fa Yuhn Gok* ("Garden Corner").[158]

Given that San Francisco's Chinese immigrants largely came from the same part of China, and many were related by blood, they formed family and district associations as a method of self-help (discussed further below).[159] In addition to businesses, they opened houses of worship and community-serving institutions in the neighborhood. It was not uncommon for Chinatown's

[154] Ibid., 46.

[155] Soennichsen, 57; Lew-Williams, 47.

[156] Kelley and VerPlanck, 61.

[157] PBS, "Chinatown Resource Guide: The Story of Chinatown," pbs.org, retrieved November 21, 2020, https://www.pbs.org/kqed/chinatown/resourceguide/story.html#:~:text=In%201853%20the%20neighborhood%20was,fresh%20fruits%2C%20vegetables%20and%20flowers.

[158] Author unknown, "Draft Chinatown Historic District, National Register of Historic Place Registration Form" (San Francisco: 1999), available from San Francisco Planning Department, 4.

[159] Stanford M. Lyman, "Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliation in San Francisco's Chinatown, 1850-1910," Pacific Historical Review Vol. 43, No. 4 (n.d.): 477.

immigrants to travel back and forth between San Francisco and China, and some sent their children to China to receive an education.[160]

Sources: UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library (left); California Historical Society (right)

FIGURE D-22 LEFT: DUPONT STREET IN CHINATOWN, RIGHT: NEAR PORTSMOUTH SQUARE AND CHINATOWN, C. 1888

A Chinese enclave emerged in the two blocks bounded by Jackson, Kearny, Sacramento, and Stockton streets. Most Chinese residents lived along Sacramento Street, known within the community as "*Tohng Yun Gaai*" ("street of the people of Tohng"). The area also served as a home base for migrant farmworkers returning to San Francisco during off seasons and holidays.[161] The Chinese population eventually expanded out from Sacramento Street, forming a Chinese quarter. To members of the Chinese community, the enclave was known as "*Tohng Yun Fow*" ("City of the Chinese.")[162] To outsiders, it was called "Little China." Over time, the area became known as "Chinatown."[163]

---

[160] Yong Chen, *Chinese San Francisco 1850 – 1943* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2000), 57.

[161] Choy et al, "Chinatown Historic District," 18.

[162] Ibid., 16.

[163] Reportedly given name "Chinatown" in 1853 by local press (KQED, "Chinatown Resource Guide: The Story of Chinatown," retrieved November 19, 2020, http://www.pbs.org/kqed/chinatown/resourceguide/story.html

Growing anti-Chinese sentiment meant that whites did not want Chinese tenants or neighbors, and increasing anti-Chinese violence meant "[h]undreds and then thousands of Chinese who lived outside San Francisco's 'Chinese quarter' began moving to the neighborhood out of concern for their safety."[164] A lack of housing options, thus, led Chinese immigrants to crowd into small rooms or basements in Chinatown.[165]

While Chinese did live in boarding houses, laundries, or in homes as servants in majority-white neighborhoods, they were few and far between. By 1878, Chinese who were previously able to live in other parts of the city could no longer find housing opportunities outside of established boundaries. Within two decades, Chinatown had become what historian Charlotte Brooks describes as "America's first segregated neighborhood."[166]

PROFILE OF CHINATOWN'S FIRST CHINESE RESIDENT

According to historian, Judy Yung, Maria Seise was the first known person of Chinese descent to settle in what would become San Francisco Chinatown. Seise was a Chinese maid who worked for Charles Van Gillespie, an American merchant, and his wife Sarah. The Gillespies arrived from Hong Kong aboard the *Eagle* in February of 1848 with three Chinese servants, including Seise and two men. Once gold was discovered, the men disappeared into the gold fields, but Seise stayed with the Gillespies for 30 years. They settled at the southeast corner of Dupont Street (later called Grant Avenue) and Washington Street where Sarah established the first Sunday School in San Francisco.

- *Judy Yung, Unbound Feet, 48*

BUSINESS, COMMERCE, AND LABOR

San Francisco's Chinese quarter served as a "deployment center" for Chinese workers—mostly men—who were recruited to provide inexpensive labor for the railroads and work in California's vast agricultural fields. The Chinese Six Companies, later known as the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, discussed below, became a powerful political organization, made up mostly of wealthy merchants in the mid-19th century.[167] Merchants functioned as labor contractors who organized the large numbers of Chinese workers who were seeking employment.

For years, these merchants traveled to the nearest telephone, located on Pine Street, to communicate with their contacts in the railroad industry and agricultural areas.[168] In 1891, Chinatown got its first public telephone station, the Chinese Telephone Exchange (743

[164] Charlotte Brooks, *Alien Neighbors*, Foreign Friends: Asian Americans, Housing, and the Transformation of Urban California (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), Kindle Location 171.
[165] Brooks, *Alien Neighbors*, Kindle Location 205.
[166] Brooks, *Alien Neighbors,* Kindle Location 173.
[167] Bancroft Library, "San Francisco Chinatown," www.lib.berkeley.edu, 2005, retrieved November 22, 2020, https://bancroft.berkeley.edu/collections/chineseinca/sfchinatown.html.
[168] Choy, et al, "Chinatown Historic District," 27.

Washington Street, 1909 structure extant), and a switchboard was added a few years later.[169] A description of this important advancement for 19th-century Chinatown is described in *Five Views: An Ethnic Site Survey of California*:

> In 1894, a small switchboard was set up to serve subscribers to the telephone system. Telephone operators knew each subscriber by name, so telephone numbers were not necessary. They also knew the address and occupations of subscribers so they could distinguish between two subscribers of the same name. In addition, they had to know several Chinese dialects besides English. Although the offices of the exchange were destroyed by the earthquake, they were rebuilt afterward, and remained in operation until 1949.[170]

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-23 TELEPHONE EXCHANGE. THE ONLY CHINESE TELEPHONE EXCHANGE (SHOWN AT LEFT) IN THE COUNTRY WAS LOCATED AT 743 WASHINGTON STREET, BUILT BY PACIFIC TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH IN 1909 TO REPLACE A BUILDING THAT HAD HOUSED THE EXCHANGE SINCE 1896. ITS ARCHITECT WAS M. FISCHER. THE BUILDING CURRENTLY HOUSES EAST WEST BANK.

[169] Philip Choy. *San Francisco Chinatown: A Guide to Its History and Architecture*. San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 2012, 142.

[170] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."

Source: Grant Din

FIGURE D-24 THE CHINESE TELEPHONE EXCHANGE BUILDING, 2018

After saving enough capital, some Chinese entrepreneurs opened laundries, restaurants, lodges, and import-export businesses to serve the neighborhood's growing Chinese population.[171] By the mid-1850s, Chinatown had roughly 85 establishments that included general stores (33), apothecaries (15), restaurants (5), butchers (5), barbers (5), tailors (3), boarding houses (3), wood yards (3), bakers (2), herbalists (5), silversmiths (2), a wood engraver (1), curio carver (1), broker for American merchants (1), and Chinese interpreter (1).[172] The laundry industry that San Francisco's Chinese pioneered was highly visible, with 2,000 laundries in the area in 1870 and 7,500 in 1880.[173] Other merchants sold flowers and agricultural products.[174]

When the import of manufactured goods from the East Coast ceased during the Civil War (1861–1865), Chinatown became a center of light manufacturing. Cigars, clothing, boots, shoes, and slippers, largely made with Chinese labor, were all produced there.[175]

[171] Kelley and VerPlanck, 49; Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[172] Chinn, Thomas W., Him Mark Lai, Philip P. Choy, "A History of The Chinese in California: A Syllabus," San Francisco, Chinese Historical Society of America, 1969, 6.
[173] PBS, "Chinatown Resource Guide: The Story of Chinatown."
[174] Ibid.
[175] Choy et al, "Chinatown Historic District," 21.

Source: Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2002724195/.

FIGURE D-25 LAWRENCE & HOUSEWORTH, PHOTOGRAPH, CHINESE MARKET, SACRAMENTO STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, 1866

Chinese expansion into business was met with a mix of alarm and allure among white San Franciscans. On July 21, 1878, the *San Francisco Chronicle* described Chinese expansion as the "Mongolian octopus fastening its tentacles around the city."[176] *New York Tribune* reporter Henry George declared that "the Chinese are rapidly monopolizing employment in all the lighter branches of industry."[177] Nevertheless, many whites tapped into the Chinese labor force and frequented Chinese-owned businesses.[178] In 1882, Wells Fargo published a 146-page directory of Chinese-owned businesses in San Francisco and cities along the West Coast.[179] A robust tourism industry developed in Chinatown in the late 19th century, which is discussed further in section D.5, *Disaster and Rebuilding: Chinatown, 1906–1930s*.

CHINESE SOCIAL SUPPORT ORGANIZATIONS

A myriad of Chinese associations, societies, and organizations were established in Chinatown during the second half of the 19th century to provide support and protection for Chinese immigrants in a hostile environment. Many formed in direct response to discrimination and racial violence. Some also sought to establish power within the emerging Chinese enclave for fear of being dominated by the elite class. The wealthiest Chinese merchants enjoyed a special status in

[176] Quoted by Choy, *San Francisco Chinatown: A Guide to Its History and Architecture,* 34.
[177] Quoted by Choy, *San Francisco Chinatown: A Guide to Its History and Architecture,* 34-5.
[178] Chen, 61.
[179] Wells Fargo, 1882 directory of Chinese business houses: San Francisco, Sacramento, Stockton, Marysville, Oakland, San Jose, Los Angeles, Portland, Virginia City, Nev., Victoria, B.C. (San Francisco: Wells, Fargo & Company, 1882).

Chinatown, and their ability to speak English allowed them to claim community leadership and gain social acceptance.[180] Organizing into these various group structures was one way of preventing elites from controlling the affairs of this new, emerging Chinese community in San Francisco.

Chinese associations and societies can broadly be organized into three categories: family and benevolent associations, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, and tongs.

FAMILY AND BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATIONS

Family associations, based on kinship and surname, supported extended family members once they left China.[181] Between 1870 and 1890, more than 10 associations were established in San Francisco.[182] Smaller associations would band together, sometimes creating a new association, to gain collective strength and compete with larger regional groups.[183]

Benevolent associations, also called district associations, formed to help Chinese immigrants and their descendants navigate life in the United States.[184] They were modeled after the *huiguan* tradition in China, in which merchants organized themselves by geographic origins or by occupations associated with specific regions. In San Francisco they organized themselves by region or language dialect, which enabled them to serve different immigrant groups. Typically led by the merchant class, benevolent associations exerted considerable power and influence over the Chinese community of San Francisco during much of the 19th and early part of the 20th centuries.[185]

In San Francisco, both family and benevolent associations functioned as social welfare organizations, offering employment opportunities, loans and other banking services, protection for laborers, and legal advice. They opened a Chinese-language school, organized a Chinese census, and facilitated the transfer of remittances back to China.[186] Family associations would sponsor banquets and lion dances for cultural celebrations such as Chinese New Year. They also provided funerary services, coordinated burials in Chinese-only cemetery plots, and returned the remains of deceased members to China, covering associated expenses.[187]

---

[180] Eve Armentrout-Ma, "Urban Chinese at the Sinitic Frontier: Social Organizations in United States' Chinatowns, 1849-1898," Modern Asian Studies Vol. 17, no. No. 1 (1983): 110.

[181] Lyman, 477; Him Mark Lai, "Historical Development of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association/ Huiguan System," in *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* (Chinese Historical Society of America, 1987), 14.

[182] Armentrout-Ma, 119.

[183] Lai, 31.

[184] William Hoy, *The Chinese Six Companies: A Short, General Historical Resumé of Its Origin, Function, and Importance in the Life of the California Chinese* (San Francisco, CA: Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, 1942): 3, 14; Armentrout-Ma, 123.

[185] Lai, 13.

[186] Chang, Iris. The Chinese in America: A Narrative History. United States of America (London: Penguin Books: 2004), 86.

[187] Flora Chou, et al, "Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California," 24.

Source: UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library,

FIGURE D-26 CHINESE NEW YEAR PARADE AT WASHINGTON AND GRANT, CIRCA 1880S

The merchants and scholars who led San Francisco's benevolent associations worked to galvanize support for the Chinese community among the city's dominant Euro-American, English-speaking population.[188] They worked to stop prostitution in Chinatown and advocated against "excessive" Chinese immigration to the United States, which, they argued, intensified anti-Chinese sentiment and increased competition for Chinese American workers.[189]

The first benevolent association established in San Francisco was the Kong Chow Benevolent Association, which opened on 520 Pine Street in 1857. Its original building was demolished in the 1970s and the association relocated in 1978 to 855-867 Stockton Street where it still operates. The Kong Chow Benevolent Association welcomed all Guangdong people, who accounted for most Chinese immigrants to San Francisco. Since Guangdong was a large and diverse area, a second benevolent association, the Canton Company (later Sam Yup) formed in 1850 to represent the interests of other districts. It was located at 825 Dupont Street (not extant) prior to 1906 and reopened at 829-843 Grant Avenue (extant) in 1907.[190] There were at least 10 district or benevolent associations in Chinatown by 1870. In addition to Kong Chow and Sam Yup, other associations with known extant buildings in Chinatown include Yeong Wo (746 Sacramento Street), Sue Hing (123-129 Waverly Place), Ning Yung (41-45 Waverly Place), and Hop Wo (913-917 Stockton).[191] This is not an exhaustive list.

[188] Armentrout-Ma, 115.

[189] Yung, *Unbound Feet*, 20-25.

[190] Sam Yup's Dupont Street location is mentioned in "Chinatown Aids the Red Cross," San Francisco Call, Volume 84, Number 7, 7 June 1898.

[191] Chinatown National Register Nomination.

CHINESE CONSOLIDATED BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION (CHINESE SIX COMPANIES)

By 1882, six of the most important district associations came together to form an umbrella organization called the CCBA, also known as the Chinese Six Companies.[192] The six *huiguans* had worked together informally up to this point to help settle disputes within Chinatown, but passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 led them to formalize a collective body to better represent the community's interests.[193] The CCBA first operated out of 917 Clay Street (not extant) before moving in 1887 to Pioche Mansion at 806 Stockton Street (not extant). After its headquarters were destroyed in the earthquake, it occupied 738 Commercial Street (extant) before relocating to 843 Stockton Street (extant) where it continues to operate at the time this context statement was written.[194]

Among the CCBA's most important roles was that of litigator and defender of civil rights. During the Chinese Exclusion era, the CCBA raised money to help individuals battle deportation. The CCBA fought for the rights of Chinese people during a time of intense discrimination against the Chinese community, often hiring white lawyers to fight anti-Chinese legislation at the local, state, and federal levels.[195]

The CCBA served as the "de facto government in Chinatown."[196] It assisted Chinese with the immigration process, mediated disputes, lent money to those in need, provided night watchmen to deter crime, and discouraged prostitution.[197] The CCBA enforced the collection of debt from Chinese laborers who came to San Francisco through a credit-ticket system, making the migration of many Chinese possible.[198] The organization also formed the Ch'ing School at 829 Stockton Street (now Chinese Central High School, extant) and the Chinese Hospital at 835 Jackson Street (demolished and rebuilt in 2016; discussed further in D.5 *Disaster and Rebuilding: Chinatown, 1906—1930s*).

Internal conflicts did occasionally arise. The CCBA was dominated by wealthy merchants from the Sam Yup region of the Pearl River Delta, which bred dissent among Sze Yup laborers that eventually erupted into violence and a boycott of Sam Yup businesses in the 1890s. To balance power and discourage disputes, the Chinese consular office established a system whereby the CCBA presidency was regularly rotated among each of the *huiguans*.[199]

---

192 Armentrout-Ma, 112.
193 Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America: A History* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015), 77-78.
194 Choy, *San Francisco Chinatown*, 103-104.
195 Hansen and Taylor, 37, 46.
196 Chou, et al, 85.
197 Lai, 27.
198 Ibid., 43.
199 Lai, 23.

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-27 CHINESE SIX LEADERSHIP, 1943

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-28 HEADQUARTERS CHINESE SIX COMPANIES, N.D.

Despite these internal conflicts, Chinatown's immigrant community set aside their differences and worked together through the CCBA to fight their common enemies. Most Chinese in San Francisco followed the orders of the CCBA without question.[200] In 1892, for example, the CCBA instructed Chinese laborers to resist compliance with the Geary Act, which extended the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and required all Chinese residing in the United States to register for a

[200] Lyman, 497.

permit. In compliance with the CCBA's directions, San Francisco's Chinese refused to register for permits, risking deportation in the process.[201]

The original six *huiguans,* and later the CCBA, established chapters in Los Angeles and other major cities throughout the United States. Through united agreements between the *huiguans*, the CCBA gained statewide influence and represented the interest of Chinese Americans throughout the state.[202] The CCBA, like other *huiguan*s, had no legal standing in the eyes of the California government until 1901 when it was incorporated under California law.

Over the years, benevolent associations in California gradually lost their influence. The CCBA's powers were decentralized and new organizations such as the Chinese Chamber of Commerce assumed some responsibilities that the *huiguan* once provided.[203] Many second-generation Chinese Americans no longer held loyalties to district or family associations, nor did they want the CCBA to represent them politically.[204] Instead they looked to the United States' legal system to settle disputes. Few *huiguans* exist today and membership is limited to only those who meet strict criteria.[205]

TONGS

Another type of social support organization that formed in Chinatown during the late 19th century was the *tong* ("meeting hall"). *Tongs* functioned similarly to brotherhoods or fraternal organizations, which required strict loyalty from their members. Like family and benevolent associations, *tongs* helped members find employment, pool resources, and coordinate burials. They also organized activities such as gambling, prostitution, and opium use, which provided sources of income for the *tongs*.[206] Cross membership between *tongs* and benevolent associations was common.[207]

Most of San Francisco's early *tongs* were established by Hongmen refugees who escaped China and were opposed to the country's Manchu rulers (of the Qing Empire). Others were resentful of the orthodoxy of *huiguan* or sought to counter the influence of Chinatown's elites.[208] *Tongs* grew quickly as they admitted people without limits to region.[209] Two of the city's first *tongs* were the Suey Sing Tong and the Kwong Duck Tong. Another important *tong* was the Chee Kung Tong, which supported and housed Chinese revolutionary leader, Sun Yat-sen, at the turn of the

[201] Armentrout-Ma, 125.
[202] Hoy, 113.
[203] Hoy, 31.
[204] Lai, 35.
[205] Ibid., 38.
[206] Flora Chou, et al, 23.
[207] Kevin J. Mullen, Chinatown Squad (Novato, CA: Noir Publications, 2008), 23.
[208] Armentrout-Ma, 118.
[209] Hoy, 8.

century. The Chee Kung Tong still operates out of its original building at 36 Spofford Street (extant; also discussed in D.5 *Disaster and Rebuilding: Chinatown, 1906—1930s*). [210]

Because the municipal police could not be trusted to protect the inhabitants of Chinatown, some Chinese relied on *tongs* to provide protection against threats, internal or external, and many Chinatown business owners hired them to provide security services.[211] Some *tongs* evolved into criminal organizations to deal with such threats. After the Chinese Exclusion Act passed in 1882, for example, *tongs* helped Chinese immigrants sneak into the country. Other *tongs* engaged in activities such as the drug trade, racketeering, and prostitution to generate revenue. Police assigned to Chinatown were easily bribed to overlook illegal activities. [212]

Violence between *tongs* became common. The term "tong wars" was sensationalized in western newspapers like the *Alta California* and whites came to associate *tongs* with criminal activity. Tong violence reinforced the neighborhood's boundaries as outsiders avoided the area. Both the CCBA and the Chinese Consulate (1450 Laguna Street, extant) attempted to bring about peace but were largely unsuccessful and intra-*tong* violence lasted through the 1920s. [213] It was not until the 1960s when *tong*-related violence reemerged in Chinatown.

SPIRITUALITY AND HOUSES OF WORSHIP

Chinese immigrants founded several spiritual institutions in the early years of Chinatown. These included both religious organizations associated with the traditional Chinese faiths of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism as well as Christian missionary institutions. Although the San Francisco earthquake and fire in 1906 destroyed most of the temples and churches associated with these faiths, many rebuilt, with some experiencing growth in the 1970s and 1980s after new spikes in Asian-American immigration.

Under the Song Dynasty in China, leaders began combining Daoist, Confucianist, and Buddhist temples to garner wider political appeal.[214] Thus, temples constructed in California during the 19th century by Chinese immigrants typically had separate chapels or a single chamber dedicated to these three faiths. This is the case for 19th-century temples built in San Francisco's Chinatown. The first was Tien Hou Temple, possibly the oldest Chinese temple in the United States. Tien Hou is the name of a goddess who protects travelers and sailors and very likely played a significant role among immigrant families. Founded by Day Ju in 1853, the temple was built at 125 Waverly

[210] Chinatown National Register Nomination, 8.

[211] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."

[212] Hart H. North, "Chinese Highbinder Societies in California," Historical Society Quarterly Vol. 27, no. No (March 1948): 26.

[213] Gary Kamiya, "When S.F. police broke the law to combat Chinatown's violent gangs," SF Chronicle, 13 Dec 2019, retrieved March 1, 2021, https://www.sfchronicle.com/chronicle_vault/article/When-SF-police-broke-the-law-to-combat-14904377.php.

[214] ARG, et al, "Chinese Americans in Los Angeles," 22.

Place. This temple was destroyed in 1906 and rebuilt in 1911 at the same location, except this time on the top floor of the Sue Hing Benevolent Association building (125 Waverly Place, extant).[215]

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-29 INTERIOR OF KONG CHOW TEMPLE, N.D. (NOT AFTER 1969)

In the 1849, San Francisco's Cantonese community established the Kong Chow Temple. It was dedicated to Guan Di, the Chinese god of war, and played a significant religious and social role among newly arrived immigrants. It was renamed the Kong Chow Clan Association in 1854. The original building was destroyed in 1906 and the replacement building was demolished in the 1970s, despite local resistance. As noted previously, the institution continues to serve the community from the Kong Chow Benevolent Association building at 855 Stockton Street, constructed in 1977 (extant).[216]

Simultaneously, Christian missionaries began proselytizing newly arrived immigrants in San Francisco's Chinatown. They offered English classes and social services through Sunday schools and built lasting churches in the area.

Old St. Mary's Church at 680 California Street (extant, San Francisco Landmark No. 2 and California Registered Historical Landmark No. 310) was the first Catholic church in San Francisco. The building, constructed in 1853, featured a 90-foot clock tower, giving it the nickname "Big Clock." It was destroyed in the 1906 disaster and rebuilt in 1909 in the same location. In 1883, the church built a mission for converting Chinese immigrants at 930 Stockton Street. That building was also destroyed in 1906 and rebuilt in 1909. The mission operated there

[215] Chinatownology, "Tin How Temple," retrieved December 10, 2020, http://www.chinatownology.com/tin_how_temple.html.

[216] Ibid.; Charlotte Ah Tye Chang, "Kong Chow: Family Effort to Save a Temple," *San Francisco Examiner* (February 18, 1969), 28.

until 1998, where it provided educational, recreational, and spiritual facilities to community members for decades.[217] The institution also founded St. Mary's Chinese Language School in 1920. The school initially operated out of 902 Stockton Street (extant, a sign at the building's cornerstone notes the founding date of the school). The school moved temporarily to the annex at Our Lady of Guadalupe Church at 908-910 Broadway (extant) after the Stockton Street location was damaged by the 1989 Loma Prieta Earthquake. St. Mary's Chinese Language School moved again in 2011 to 838 Kearny Street (extant), next door to the new International Hotel (discussed further in section D.7 *Changing Demographics and Struggles for Civil Rights, 1965—1985*).

Other Christian denominations constructed churches throughout the late 19th and early 20th century. These included the Presbyterian Church in Chinatown (925 Stockton Street, 1907, extant), the Chinese United Methodist Church (1009 Stockton, 1910, extant), the First Chinese Baptist Church (15 Waverly Place, 1908, extant), and the Chinese Congregational Church (21 Walter U. Lum Place, 1908, extant).[218] The Presbyterian Church also operated a mission under the leadership of William Speer, who was a missionary to Canton in the 1840s.[219] This is not an exhaustive list.

CHINESE WOMEN IN EARLY CHINATOWN

The Chinese population had one of the largest gender differences of any immigrant group in San Francisco, with only seven Chinese women living in the city in 1850 compared with 4,018 Chinese men. By 1860, San Francisco had 587 Chinese women residents. In 1870, the number of Chinese women in San Francisco increased to 1,410 but still represented just a fraction of the city's early Chinese community.[220] Even with the low population of Chinese women in San Francisco, the number of children increased during this period—from 42 in 1860 (about half born in the United States) to 390 in 1870 (283 born in the United States).[221]

The few Chinese women and girls who did migrate to the United States during this period typically fell into two categories. Some were from the wealthy merchant class who joined their husbands. Others were brought to San Francisco and forced into domestic or, more often, sexual servitude. Many of these women and girls were sold by their families in China because they were struggling with extreme poverty. Some were sold as *mui tsai*—the Chinese term for domestic slave girls—and later forced into prostitution. Most came from Hong Kong and Canton (Guangzhou).[222] A more in-depth discussion of this subject is provided below.

---

[217] Choy, *San Francisco Chinatown*, 97-98; "Draft Chinatown Historic District, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," 10.

[218] These are based on the "Draft Chinatown Historic District, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," page 10, corroborated by Google maps.

[219] Presbyterian Church in Chinatown, "Our Story," retrieved December 13, 2020, https://www.pccsf.org/our-story.

[220] Yung, *Unbound Feet*, 20.

[221] Chen, 56.

[222] Hirata, 6.

FOOT BINDING OF CHINESE WOMEN

The ritual of foot binding, carried over from China, was practiced to a limited extent among the merchant class in San Francisco's Chinatown during this period. Foot binding limited a woman's range of activities, making it easier for the family to supervise her and ensure her fidelity.[223] Many Chinese parents believed foot binding would raise the value of their daughters. Not unlike the enslaved Chinese women who were forced into prostitution, women with bound feet had very little personal freedom, making them reliant on their husbands for survival.[224] Women who had their feet bound not only experienced continuous pain when they were young girls but also a lifetime of physical restriction and dependency on others to conduct activities outside the home due to an inability to walk long distances.

Many Westerners saw foot binding as immoral and used it against the Chinese, deriding the practice as torture. This led to surprise raids on Chinese homes to rescue young girls from their fate.[225] The practice of foot binding ended in San Francisco in 1911 when it was banned by the new Chinese republic.

CHINESE WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE

Some Chinese women in San Francisco worked in Chinese-owned stores, laundries, or restaurants with their husbands.[226] When Chinatown became a center of light manufacturing in the 1860s, few job opportunities were available to Chinese women. Even in 1885, only five Chinese women worked in the numerous factories of Chinatown.[227] Instead, Chinese women did piecework in the home for subcontractors. They sewed, washed, or rolled cigars, though they earned far less than men who were doing the same work. In the early 1880s, Chinese men earned $1 a day as factory workers, while Chinese women earned fifty cents a day sewing. White men, by contrast, earned $2 a day for comparable work.[228] However, most Chinese women in San Francisco during this period worked in Chinatown as prostitutes and without pay.[229]

SEX TRAFFICKING AND PROSTITUTION

Chinese women and girls who were sold into prostitution were typically between the ages of 16 and 25. Once in San Francisco, they were either given to their new owners or auctioned to the highest bidder.[230] Eventually, criminal tongs (described above) took hold of the trade, which was

---

223 R. Brooke Jacobsen, "Changes in the Chinese Family," Pi Gamma Mu, International Honor Society in Social Sciences Vol. 51, no. No. 1 (1976): 27.

224 Jingwoan Chang, "Prostitution and Footbinding: Images of Chinese Womanhood In Late Nineteenth-Century San Francisco," 2001, 19.

225 Ibid.

226 Lee, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance," 90.

227 Yung, *Unbound Feet*, 26.

228 Yung, *Unbound Feet*, 26.

229 Ibid., 26, 29.

230 Ibid., 27.

highly profitable for them.[231] These enslaved Chinese women were subjected to a lifetime of exploitation, with little chance of escape. In the 1870s, as officials began to crack down on the slave trade, Chinese women were smuggled in from other states; some were disguised as boys.[232] Women suffered at the hand of violent customers, and brothel operators sometimes beat them to death.[233] Through the 1870s, Chinese women had the highest non-domestic murder rate of any ethnic group.[234] They were also vulnerable to botched abortions and sexually transmitted diseases.[235] The following is an account from a young Chinese woman in 1892 who was trafficked to San Francisco for the purposes of prostitution:

> I was kidnapped in China and brought over there [eighteen months ago]. The man who kidnapped me sold me for four hundred dollars to a San Francisco slave-dealer; and he sold me here for seventeen hundred dollars. I have been a brothel slave ever since. I saw the money paid down and am telling the truth. I was deceived by the promise I was going to marry a rich and good husband, or I should never have come here.[236]

Many women were rescued or able to escape with the help of Protestant missionary groups (described below). In some cases, male Chinese laborers saved enough money to purchase the freedom of enslaved women they intended to marry. Others ran away with lovers, some committed suicide, and a few went to the police for protection. As more and more women left prostitution and married Chinese male laborers, the number of Chinese families in San Francisco increased.[237] In 1860, between 85 and 97 percent of San Francisco's Chinese female population worked as prostitutes. By 1880, the percentage decreased to an estimated 21 to 50 percent.[238]

---

[231] Ibid., 30.
[232] Hirata, 12.
[233] Ibid., 13.
[234] Randolph Roth, *American Homicide* (London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009): 371.
[235] Albert L. Hurtado, "Sex, Gender, Culture, and a Great Event: The California Gold Rush," *Pacific Historical Review* Vol. 68, No. 1 (1999): 1–19, 18.
[236] Yung, *Unbound Feet*, 27.
[237] Chou, et al, 27.
[238] Ibid., 29.

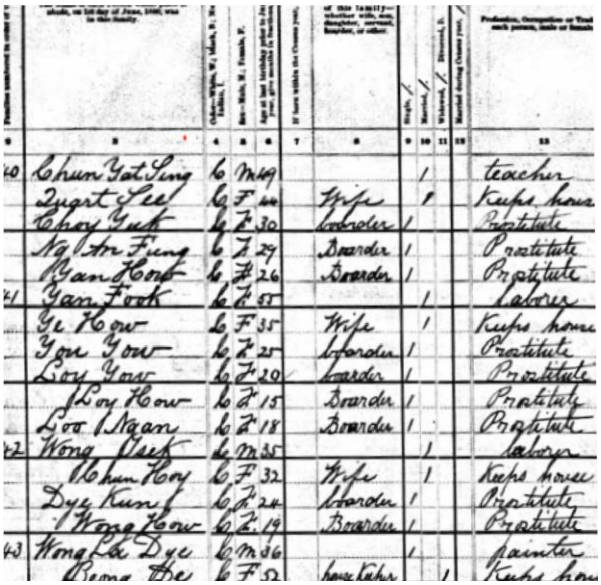


FIGURE D-30 UNITED STATES CENSUS, YEAR: *1880*; CENSUS PLACE: *SAN FRANCISCO, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA*; ROLL: *73*; PAGE: *410D*; ENUMERATION DISTRICT: *032*

PROTESTANT MISSIONARY HOMES FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS

A small number of Protestant missionary groups, led mostly by white women, organized to help enslaved and vulnerable Chinese women and girls escape prostitution. The two primary organizations that did this work were the Oriental Home and School (later, Gum Moon) and Occidental Mission Home for Girls (later, Donaldina Cameron House). A third group, the Ladies Protection and Relief Society, reportedly operated out of a Presbyterian church at Geary and Franklin streets, but little information exists about it.[239]

Despite the benefits these missionaries undoubtedly brought to Chinatown's women and girls, those they "rescued" were pressured to assimilate to the Victorian and Christian beliefs and customs of the Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries. The work of the missionaries also helped to perpetuate the negative stereotypes of the Chinese, thereby adding fuel to anti-Chinese sentiment and legislation.[240] Still, it was largely because of their efforts that prostitution in Chinatown declined by the turn of the century.

[239] Another article from 1878 mentions that they met annually at Calvary Church. There is a Calvary Presbyterian Church standing today at 2515 Fillmore street. The article also says that the society started in 1853 and then someone named Horace Hawes donated a block of land bounded by Van Ness, Post, Geary, and Franklin. Today this plot holds the CPMC Van Ness Campus, a hospital. The original building likely demised during the earthquake and fire of 1906. From: *San Francisco Examiner*, "A Most Useful Institution: Annual Meeting of the Ladies' Protection and Relief Society," September 13, 1878.

[240] Ibid., 36.

ORIENTAL HOME FOR CHINESE WOMEN AND GIRLS (GUM MOON)

The Oriental Home for Chinese Women and Girls was affiliated with the Methodist Episcopal Church. The congregation opened the Chinese Domestic Mission at 916 Washington Street (not extant) in July 1870. Its founder, Reverend Otis Gibson, recruited Methodist women to reach out to Chinese women. In August 1870, the Women's Missionary Society of the Pacific formed "to elevate and save heathen women, especially those on these shores, and to raise funds for this work."[241] The church conducted a survey of women in Chinatown and learned that some would be willing to attempt an escape from prostitution if there was a safe place for them to go. In response, the congregation dedicated the third floor of the new Chinese Domestic Mission building to sheltering vulnerable Chinese women and girls.[242]

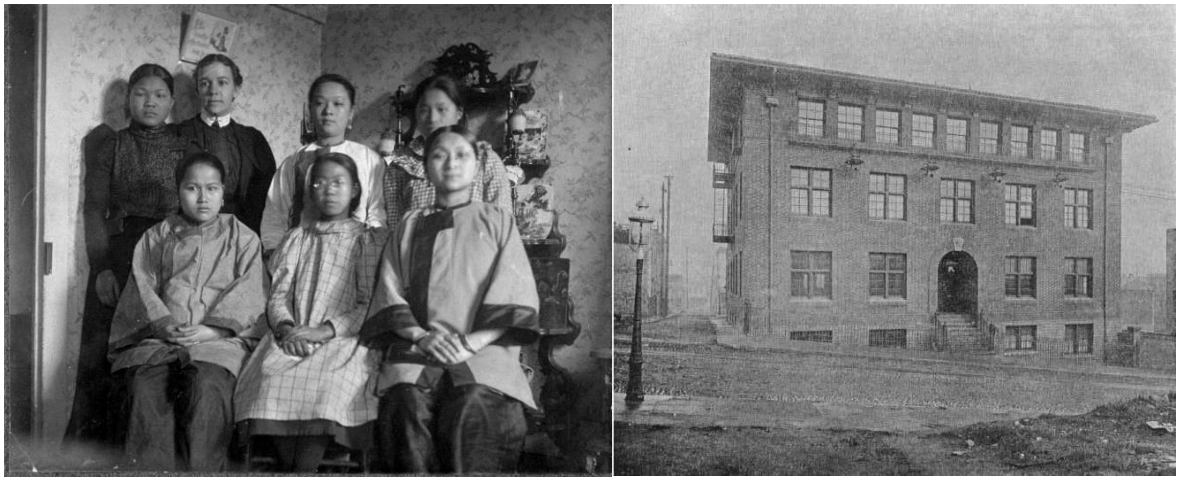
The process of gaining the trust of enslaved women in Chinatown was slow. In its first two years, the Women's Missionary Society of the Pacific helped only three Chinese women escape prostitution. By 1887, almost 200 women and girls had lived at the home. They were taught to read, write, speak English, read Chinese, cook, and sew. The society began more proactive and aggressive measures during rescues in 1885. By 1896, they had extracted 353 women and girls from forced prostitution. The group also met girls as they exited docking ships arriving from China, warning them of what awaited them in Chinatown's brothels and informing them of the Oriental Home for Chinese Women and Girls, a place where they could seek refuge.[243]

When the Methodist Church decided to relocate its Chinatown facility to Jackson Street, the Women's Missionary Society of the Pacific raised funds to purchase its own building. In 1901, the society opened the Oriental Home for Chinese Women and Girls in a six-room house at 912 Washington Street, adjacent to the previous location.[244] Only a few years later, the building burned down in the 1906 disaster and was rebuilt across the street at 940 Washington Street (extant) between 1909 and 1911.[245]

Over time, as prostitution waned in Chinatown, the organization became a residence for low-income Asian women and students as well as orphaned children. In the 1930s, the society was renamed Gum Moon ("golden door" in Cantonese).[246] Today it is known as the Gum Moon Residence and Asian Women's Resource Center and continues to serve the community.

---

[241] Staley, 2.
[242] Ibid., 3.
[243] Ibid., 18.
[244] Ibid., 14.
[245] Ibid., 33.
[246] Ibid., 31.



Source: San Francisco Examiner (left) and California Christian Advocate (right), via Jeffrey L. Staley, "Gum Moon: The First Fifty Years of Methodist Women's Work in San Francisco, 1870-1920," The Argonaut (Journal of the San Francisco Historical Society), 2005.

FIGURE D-31 LEFT: RESIDENTS OF THE ORIENTAL HOME FOR CHINESE WOMEN AND GIRLS INCLUDING MISS MARGARITA LAKE (TOP ROW, SECOND FROM LEFT) AND YUK YING (TOP ROW, FAR RIGHT), C. 1899, RIGHT: THE NEW JULIA MORGAN-DESIGNED ORIENTAL HOME FOR CHINESE WOMEN AND GIRLS (GUM MOON), 1912

OCCIDENTAL MISSION HOME FOR GIRLS (DONALDINA CAMERON HOUSE)

Women who were members of the Presbyterian Church founded the Occidental Mission Home for Girls in 1873 to provide a refuge for Chinese women and girls who were escaping prostitution in Chinatown. Its founders were Mrs. P.D. Browne, Miss Eleanor Olney, Miss Margaret Culbertson, and Mrs. I.C. Conduit. A young New Zealander, Donaldina Cameron, joined the mission in 1895 and soon began organizing nighttime raids on Chinatown brothels, assisted by policemen. Cameron soon became the superintendent; under her leadership, the organization helped 3,000 girls escape brutal indentured servitude and human trafficking.[247]

The mission house was originally located at 8½ Prospect Street but moved to 920 Sacramento Street (extant) in 1881. In 1906, the Sacramento Street building was destroyed but subsequently rebuilt at the same location in 1908 using salvaged bricks from the old building.[248] The home was renamed the Donaldina Cameron House in 1942. The organization still exists and continues to provide a wide range of social services to low-income and immigrant Asian families in San Francisco. The building at 920 Sacramento Street is San Francisco Landmark No. 44.

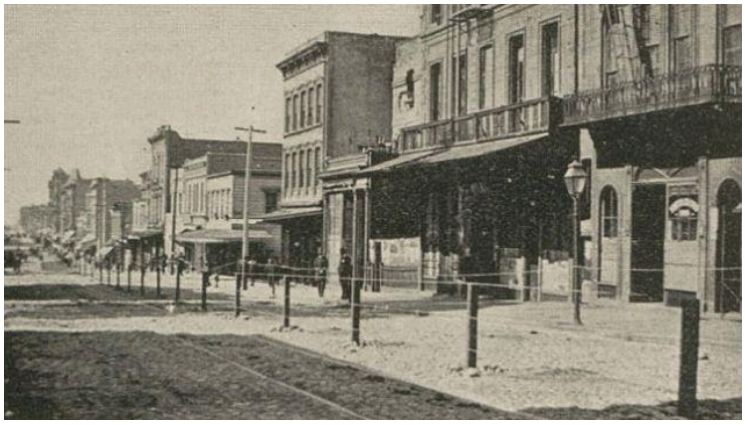
[247] "Cameron House Mission and History," retrieved November 2, 2020, https://cameronhouse.org/about-us/history/.

[248] "Donaldina Cameron House, Landmark Designation Case Report," prepared for San Francisco Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board, March 10, 1971.

QUARANTINE OF CHINATOWN

In 1855, a bubonic plague pandemic broke out in Asia. Ships that regularly traveled between Asia, Honolulu, and San Francisco most likely transported rodents that carried the disease.[249] The first associated death in San Francisco was not documented until February 1900. Wong Chut King became the first victim to purportedly die of the disease in San Francisco's Chinatown, according to local officials; however, evidence to suggest that King contracted the plague is lacking.[250]

Although knowledge of medicine and pathology had advanced, physicians in the United States still maintained anti-Chinese political sentiment when developing their response to the plague.[251] In the decades leading up to the outbreak of the disease at the turn of the century, authorities had designated the disinvested, overcrowded neighborhood of Chinatown as an area of filth. Thus, after some initial denial of the disease's presence, on March 7, 1900, police cordoned off the entire district with rope. Whites could exit, but Chinese residents were prevented from exiting. The city's Chinese population was thus confined to the area bordered by California, Kearny, Broadway, and Stockton streets.[252] In addition to the stigma, the quarantine created real hardships for Chinatown businesses that lost customers, laborers who could not leave the area, and residents who had difficulty accessing food and services outside the neighborhood.[253]



Source: UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library

FIGURE D-32 THE BARBWIRE BARRICADE QUARANTINING CHINATOWN, 1900

[249] Ballard C. Campbell, *Disasters, Accidents and Crises in American History: A Reference Guide to the Nation's Most Catastrophic Events* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2008), 182.

[250] Guenter B. Risse, *Plague, fear, and politics in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 53-55; Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."

[251] Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 4.

[252] Carl Abbott, "The 'Chinese Flu' is Part of a Long History of Racializing Disease," Bloomberg CityLab, March 17, 2020, *https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-03-17/when-racism-and-disease-spread-together*); Wey, "Chinese in California."

[253] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."

To prevent panic about the outbreak citywide, authorities removed the border within two days.[254] This occurrence was not isolated; similar steps were taken by authorities in Honolulu, who burned much of their Chinatown district in the response to the pandemic, rendering 5,000 people homeless.[255]

Doctors in San Francisco confirmed the presence of the plague in California soon after the first case and turned the disease into an assimilationist tool to use against Chinatown.[256] Public health officials began invasively inspecting Chinatown's buildings, relying on classist, racist notions of cleanliness and demonizing Chinese people as harbingers of the disease. Police continued harassing residents of the area and detaining people who looked unhealthy for inspection.[257] In addition, the disease was frequently used as an excuse to expand the ongoing crackdown on Chinese residents' engagement with prostitution and opium dens, despite these industries also attracting white patrons.[258] No cases of bubonic plague were found in Chinatown, and the quarantine of neighborhood, driven more by stereotypes than any real proof of disease among Chinese, cemented the segregation of Chinatown.[259]

CHINESE CEMETERIES

In 1854, the Lone Mountain Cemetery was opened for use by Chinese. Located at California and Geary streets, the cemetery was renamed Laurel Hill in 1867 and eventually closed and relocated to Cypress Lawn Cemetery in San Mateo County. The original 160-acre cemetery is now the home of the University of San Francisco. The Old Chinese Cemetery, circa 1884, was in the area enclosed by Arguello, California, Euclid and Palm/Jordan. A third Chinese Cemetery operated in the Richmond District between 1868 and 1909. Known as the Golden Gate Cemetery, a large percentage of people of color, the poor, and indigent were buried there. By 1887, one third of the nearly 12,000 grave sites in the Golden Gate Cemetery represented deceased Chinese Americans. Many more were likely Japanese Americans, African Americans, and other people of color.

By 1900, most of the existing graveyards in San Francisco were nearly filled up, and rather than dedicate further cemetery land within the city, the Board of Supervisors decided in 1902 under Ordinance Number 8108 to prohibit burials within the city. Cremation and burial of cremation remains, however, were permitted. In 1908, the Board of Supervisors urged organizations to move the graves to Colma. The next year, the Golden Gate Cemetery was given to the Park Commission and the United States government.

---

254 Risse, 219-222.
255 Abbot, "The 'Chinese Flu' is Part of a Long History of Racializing Disease."
256 Risse, 4.
257 Ibid., 230-233.
258 Shah, 91-93.
259 Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."

One of the few remaining structures associated with Chinese cemeteries in San Francisco is the ruin of a funerary building located near Hole 1 of the Lincoln Park Golf Course. The inscription on the large sign reads, "Temporary Resting Place for the Dead of Kong Chow (Pearl River Delta)." The approximate location is on the golf course 600 feet north of 36th Avenue and Clement Street. There were many other Chinese cemetery plots representing the regions of the Pearl River Delta where Chinese immigrants originated, but this is the only extant structure.

Source: Eric Mar

FIGURE D-33 KONG CHOW FUNERARY BUILDING AND CEMETERY RUINS, LINCOLN PARK, SAN FRANCISCO, 2018

D.4 CHINESE EXCLUSION, 1882–1943

The American anti-Chinese movement formed in California's gold fields, expanded in San Francisco, infiltrated state government in Sacramento, and eventually reached the nation's capital. For decades, anti-Chinese groups lobbied the federal government to end Chinese immigration. Congress, for reasons described below, remained heavily divided on the issue for many years. However, in 1882, it passed the first Chinese Exclusion Act, which was renewed in 1892 and 1902 and made permanent in 1904. In 1917, an Asiatic Barred Zone was enacted, extending the Chinese Exclusion Act's restrictions to areas throughout Asia. The exclusion acts remained in place until 1943.

THE "CHINESE QUESTION"

White Americans in the 19th century debated the role and future of Black, Native American, Asian, and Latin American individuals in the United States. Although newspapers and government leaders used terms such as the "Negro Problem" and the "Indian Problem" when referring to Black and Native American individuals, they used the term "Chinese Question" when referring to Chinese people. There was a "question" because white America was divided on its view of Chinese in the United States. Although members of the white working-class labor movement were overwhelmingly in favor of laws that further restricted Chinese immigration,

American capitalists, international traders, and Protestant missionaries saw the benefit of continued Chinese migration to the United States.[260]

American companies seeking to expand into Chinese markets feared financial repercussions from any federal policy restricting Chinese immigration; many businesses benefited greatly from exploiting Chinese labor.[261] Protestant groups also lobbied against Chinese exclusion because missionaries actively recruited Chinese Americans as well as Chinese overseas. Some government leaders worried that "racially discriminatory laws would undo the racial liberalism of Reconstruction, and that honoring U.S. treaty agreements was imperative above all else."[262] As a result, Congress remained heavily divided on a proposal to pass an exclusion bill.

The fact that elites supported Chinese immigration to the U.S. further fueled those calling for Chinese exclusion.[263] These pro-labor, anti-Chinese activists invoked the "heathen coolie" trope to grow support for their cause across the country, arguing that "coolies were the new slaves and monopolists the slaveholders."[264] As the number of anti-Chinese agitators swelled, and their threats of violence and revolt became increasingly intense, the call for Chinese exclusion gained more footing in Congress. The amendment of the Burlingame Treaty (described in D.2 *The Anti-Chinese Movement*, 1850s—1880s) in 1880 made it possible for the United States to restrict immigration from China. With the treaty no longer standing in the way, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 and President Chester A. Arthur signed it into law, ushering in a 61-year period of Chinese exclusion in the United States.

CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT

The Chinese Exclusion Act, first passed in 1882, banned most Chinese from entering the country; it prohibited immigrants "ineligible for citizenship" from immigrating to the United States.[265] Merchants, scholars, educators, travelers, and diplomats, however, were permitted to enter. The law also contained a provision barring any court from allowing Chinese to naturalize as U.S. citizens.[266] For the first time in U.S. history, the federal government imposed "broad restrictions on immigration based on race and class."[267]

Those most affected by the Chinese Exclusion Act were Chinese women and male laborers. Wives of laborers were barred by implication and, eventually, court cases. Although wives of Chinese

[260] Lew-Williams, 2.
[261] Ibid., 20.
[262] Ibid., 6-7.
[263] Ibid., 6-7, 20.
[264] Ibid., 32.
[265] Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[266] In re Ah Yup, 1 F. Cas 223 (C.C.D. Cal 1878), quoted by Leti Volpp, "Divesting Citizenship: On Asian American History and the Loss of Citizenship through Marriage," 27 Immigration and Nationality L Rev.397 (2006), 413; Wey, "Chinese Americans in California."
[267] Lee, 95.

merchants were initially allowed to enter the U.S., they were later barred by the 1924 Immigration Act (described below).

Despite the intent of the law, the Chinese Exclusion Act did not stop Chinese migration to the United States. Up to 90 percent of the Chinese who entered the U.S. during the exclusion era were "paper sons and daughters," or people who claimed to be children of those here legally.[268] In general, paper sons and daughters (described below) made up a large part of the Chinese population in the United States during exclusion.

The Chinese Exclusion Act was renewed in 1892 and 1902. Before the law was set to expire in 1902, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors organized a statewide convention to devise a strategy for its renewal.[269] Approximately 3,000 delegates representing all levels of government, as well as business and civic organizations, attended the convention. It was held on November 21, 1902.[270] It took place at the Metropolitan Temple on 5th Street between Market and Mission streets (not extant). The Chinese Exclusion Act was made permanent in 1904 and remained in place until 1943 when China became an ally of the U.S. during World War II.

[268] Lai, Lim, and Yung, 8.
[269] Choy, *Chinatown Historic District*, 20.
[270] Ibid.

Source: Royal BC Museum via KPBS, kpbs.org/news/2018/may/25/chinese-exclusion-act-special-presentation-america/

FIGURE D-34 POSTER CELEBRATING PASSAGE OF CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT, 1882

OTHER EXCLUSIONARY LAWS

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, state and federal governments passed a barrage of additional laws, thereby further restricting immigration from China and making life more difficult for Asian Americans living in the United States. Some of those laws are listed below.

- In 1888, the Scott Act prohibited the re-entry of Chinese laborers to the United States after they traveled to China on what was intended to be a temporary visit. Many lost property and the businesses they had left back in America.
- In 1905, California added language to existing anti-miscegenation laws that specifically banned marriage between whites and "mongolian[s]."[271]

[271] Cal. Compiled Laws of California Chapter CLXXXVI Section 69 (Cal. Stat. 1905).

- In 1907, President Roosevelt signed an executive order that barred people of Chinese descent from Mexico, Canada, and Hawaii from entering the United States.[272]
- In 1907, the Expatriation Act revoked the U.S. citizenship of any woman who married a non-U.S. citizen. Such women were required to take the citizenship of their foreign husband.[273] Because Chinese and other Asian immigrants were not allowed to naturalize as citizens, the law greatly reduced their opportunities for marriage.[274]
- In California, the 1913 Alien Land Law prohibited "aliens" who were ineligible for citizenship (i.e. Asian immigrants) from owning land or possessing long-term leases. Although the law targeted people of Japanese descent, it also affected Chinese people. The Alien Land Law spread to 15 states.
- In 1917, an Asiatic Barred Zone was enacted, extending the Chinese Exclusion Act's restrictions throughout Asia.
- The 1922 Cable Act restored citizenship to women who married foreign men, except those who married "aliens ineligible for citizenship" (i.e., Asian men). The Cable Act was enacted following ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, which granted some women the right to vote. By excluding those who married Asian men, the law largely served to discriminate against Asian women.
- The Immigration Act of 1924 effectively banned immigration from Asia. It set immigration quotas from the Eastern Hemisphere and authorized funding to deport immigrants; the U.S. Border Patrol came from this act.[275] It also prohibited the immigration of women who were married to Chinese immigrants legally living in the United States, including the wives of merchants, who were previously allowed entry.

CHINESE MIGRATION DURING THE EXCLUSION ERA

During the exclusion era, Chinese immigrants were detained and questioned upon their arrival to the United States to ensure they were permitted to enter. San Francisco remained the primary port of entry for Chinese immigrants during this time. At first, the U.S. Customs Service (Treasury Department) was responsible for enforcing the Chinese Exclusion Act, but the Bureau of Immigration (Department of Commerce and Labor) assumed those responsibilities in 1903.

IMMIGRATION "SHED" AT THE PACIFIC MAIL STEAMSHIP COMPANY

For the first 16 years of exclusion, Chinese immigrants arriving at San Francisco Bay were questioned while still onboard their ships. Most of those ships were owned and operated by the

[272] Lee, 95.
[273] 59th Congress, 2nd session, chapter 2534, enacted March 2, 1907.
[274] Volpp, 439.
[275] Yung, 57.

Pacific Mail Steamship Company, which held a contract with the U.S. government to transport mail across the ocean. Pacific Mail also provided the primary means of transportation for Chinese who were immigrating to San Francisco.

In 1898, Pacific Mail, with the consent of the federal government, moved the "processing" of Chinese arrivals to a shed on its wharf near First and Brannan streets in South Beach. Chinese were detained in a 5,000-square-foot area on the second floor of the company's warehouse/office, which was built over the water on a wooden pier. There, Chinese arrivals were kept for days or weeks and interrogated; a rigorous set of questions would ensure that they met the criteria for entry. Investigators also examined Chinese for contagious diseases. As noted by historian Robert Barde, "[i]ts crowded, wretched conditions were deplored by the public in general and the Chinese in particular."[276] Retired dry goods clerk John Jeong, age 84 when interviewed, said he had to stay in the shed for two weeks in 1900 while his case was being investigated:

> There was a big room there, for everyone to sleep in, and then a big eating hall with long tables. I remember we ate our meals standing up and we weren't allowed to write letters there. Finally they said I and a few others were alright. They put us in a horse carriage and we drove into Chinatown. It was an open carriage with standing room only. Halfway there some white boys came up and started throwing rocks at us. The driver was a white man, too, but he stopped at the carriage and chased them away. I was thirteen at the time.[277]

Chinese community leaders in San Francisco raised concerns and issued formal complaints about the overcrowded and unsafe conditions at Pacific Mail's shed. After investigating the shed in 1902, U.S. Immigration Commissioner General F.P. Sargent noted, "the facilities ... are entirely inadequate.... [The] detention shed should be abolished forthwith. Chinese are human beings and are entitled to humane treatment, and this is something they do not receive under present conditions...."[278] The federal government subsequently constructed a new immigration station on Angel Island, off the coast of San Francisco (discussed below).

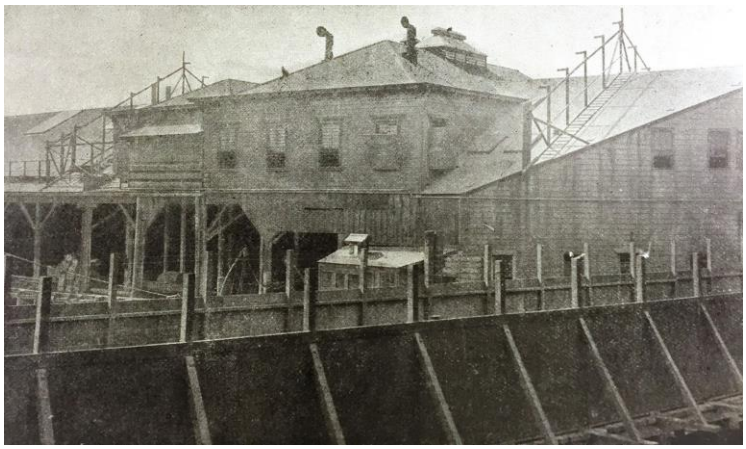
The original Pacific Mail Steamship Company wharf was located at today's Pier 40, which still exists, but the company's buildings and structures do not. The history of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company is commemorated on an interpretive panel belonging to the Brannan Street Wharf Interpretive Wall, which opened in 2013.

---

[276] Robert Barde, "Immigrant Ports of Entry," in Immigrants in American History: Arrival, Adaptation, and Integration, Vol. 2, ed. Elliott Robert Barkan, (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013), 1476.

[277] Nee and Nee, 73.

[278] *Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration*, 1909/1910, p. 132; *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 18, 1902.



Source: California Historical Society collection, published in "A Statement for Non-Exclusion," by Patrick J. Healy and Ng Poon Chew (San Francisco, 1903)

FIGURE D-35 CHINESE DETENTION SHED AT THE PACIFIC MAIL STEAMSHIP COMPANY WHARF, C. 1903

ANGEL ISLAND IMMIGRATION STATION

With the success of the immigration station at Ellis Island on the East Coast, federal officials opened an immigration station on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay in 1910. This was also in response to the overcrowded conditions at Pacific Mail's shed. At the Angel Island Immigration Station (now a National Historic Landmark), immigrants from China, other Asian countries, and other parts of the world were detained and investigated for possible exclusion from 1910 to 1940.[279]

Li Keng Wong, an immigrant from China who came to the San Francisco Bay Area as a young girl and eventually settled in Oakland where she worked as a teacher, described her first impressions of the Angel Island Immigration Station. She arrived alongside her mother and sisters on November 27, 1933:

> The guard opened a locked door. I looked around as we stepped inside. We were in a large, rectangular hall with metal cots lined up inside. The windows and doors were barred by chicken wire. Lights hung down from the high ceiling. Despite the lights, the building was dark, bleak, gray, and depressing. I felt as if I were in a prison. Doors were locked shut with guards standing outside.[280]

The remote location of the immigration station prevented escape by would-be immigrants and thwarted any efforts from the outside to smuggle in answers to difficult questions. In the minds of immigration officials, the island's isolated location could also stem the spread of contagious diseases—a racist stereotype that was widespread in the United States. Some officials on Angel

[279] Lee, 98.

[280] Li Keng Wong, *Good Fortune: My Journey to Gold Mountain* (New York: Scholastic, 2006), 41.

Island called the site the "Guardian of the Western Gate"[281] and described their role was as "keepers of the gate."[282]

Due to exclusion laws, Chinese faced the worst interrogations of all new arrivals. They were questioned for hours at a time. Although people from 80 countries were questioned on the island, those detained the longest were Chinese immigrants, who made up 70 percent of all detainees.[283] The average length of detention was approximately 16 days for Chinese immigrants, by far the longest of any immigrant group; in some cases, detention could last months. The longest documented stay on the island was more than two years.[284]

Source: National Archives and Records Administration

FIGURE D-36 INTERROGATION AT THE ANGEL ISLAND IMMIGRATION STATION, 1923

The Asiatic Barred Zone, enacted in 1917, extended the nation's exclusionary immigration policies to all Asian countries, turning Angel Island into "one of the most important places where Asian immigration and exclusion was made."[285] These and other laws made it exceedingly difficult for Asians to immigrate to the United States. Many were denied entry and forced to return to China. The Angel Island Immigration Station served as the main port of entry for all Asians arriving in the United States until 1940 when it burned down in a fire. Chinese were the largest immigrant group to be processed on the island. Between 1910 and 1940, an estimated 250,000 Chinese immigrants came through the station.[286] Following the 1940 fire, the Immigration

[281] Edward L. Haff, District Director for San Francisco District INS, to Ted Reindollar, May 14, 1936, file 12030/1, RG 85, NAPS, quoted by Valerie Natale in Modern American Poetry: "Angel Island: 'Guardian of the Western Gate,'" retrieved March 26, 2018, http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/poets/a_f/angel/natale.htm.

[282] Erika Lee, *At America's Gates* (Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Press), 2003, 48.

[283] Lee, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance," 98.

[284] Lai, Lim, and Yung, 22.

[285] Lee, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance," 97.

[286] National Park Service, "U.S. Immigration Station, Angel Island," retrieved October 30, 2020,https://www.nps.gov/places/u-s-immigration-station-angel-island.htm.

and Naturalization Service (INS) hurriedly searched for a new location where immigrants could be detained. he agency ultimately settled on the Appraiser's Building at 630 Sansome Street (extant), which was scheduled to be built later that year (discussed in the next section below).

In 1946, ownership of Angel Island transferred from the federal government to the state of California, which created Angel Island State Park in 1963.[287] In the 1970s, Asian American community members organized to save the immigration station from being turned into a campground. The site achieved National Historic Landmark status in 1997and was restored in 2009, including its historic barracks where Chinese detainees carved writings into the wall.[288]

The groundbreaking 1980 book (second edition published in 2014), *Island: Poetry and History of Chinese Immigrants on Angel Island, 1910–1940,* by Him Mark Lai, Genny Lim, and Judy Yung, document and present these literary expressions. The authors also collected oral histories of former Angel Island detainees, most of whom requested anonymity. Even years after the immigration station closed, many immigrants harbored shame and fear related to their time on the island.

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

Construction of the new Appraiser's Building at 630 Sansome Street (extant) was delayed by the war, so INS temporarily used a building at 801 Silver Avenue from 1940 to 1942 (extant)[289] as well as a facility at Sharp Park near Pacifica from 1942 to 1944 (not extant).[290]. The Appraiser's Building, a product of the New Deal's Public Works Administration, was completed in 1944. INS detention operations were subsequently relocated to floors 10 through 16 of the Appraiser's Building.[291]

In 1948, a group of 104 Chinese women detainees—most of whom were "war brides"—went on a hunger strike in protest of harmful United States immigration policies. This occurred after a "war bride" detainee by the name of Leong Bick Ha committed suicide in the detention facility. San Francisco's Chinese American press wrote scathing articles about the incident, and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) threatened action against INS. After "[f]acing a storm of criticism from lawyers, local politicians, and the public, San Francisco's INS district office shuttered the Appraiser's Building detention quarters in 1954, while keeping its offices in the building."[292]

---

[287] Lee and Yung, 101.

[288] Ibid, 101.

[289] *San Francisco Examiner*, "Gave Up Home," May 26, 1948; *Oakland Tribune*, , "Interned Aliens To Be Transferred," October 31, 1940.

[290] Lee and Yung, 301.

[291] *Oakland Tribune*, "Alien Control Under Martial Law Urged," Feb 12, 1942; *Oakland Tribune,* "Interned Nazis Go to Dakota," July 30, 1941; *Oakland Tribune*, "F.B.I. Starts Quiz of Austrian Scientist," Dec 18, 1941; *San Francisco Examiner*, "2 Held Here for Deportation Flee," Feb 13, 1941.

[292] *San Francisco Examiner*, "Gave Up Home," May 26, 1948.

"THE CROOKED PATH"

Immigration from China greatly declined after 1882, other than the limited exceptions provided by the Chinese Exclusion Act (i.e., for merchants, students, educators, diplomats, travelers, their children, and the children of those born in the U.S.). Many enterprising Chinese did, however, find ways to enter the country using "the crooked path" (i.e., eluding exclusionary laws in various ways). Many claimed to be merchants or students when in fact they were laborers. Mr. Chan, a former detainee at Angel Island Immigration Station, explained, "We didn't want to come in illegally, but we were forced to because of the immigration laws. They particularly picked on the Chinese. If we told the truth, it didn't work. So we had to take the crooked path."[293]

When the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906 destroyed city hall and the hall of records, all official documents contained within those buildings, including birth certificates, were obliterated. The City invited residents to have their birth certificates and other official documents re-created. Many Chinese nationals living in San Francisco seized the opportunity and applied for birth certificates, claiming to be U.S.-born citizens who lost their certificates in the fire. Some, explaining their lack of English knowledge, alleged they were born in the United States but went to China at a young age. Many were successful in obtaining "reissued" birth certificates.[294]

During the exclusion era, U.S. citizens of Chinese ancestry were permitted to bring any children they had living in China to the United States. Although some did bring their actual children, others brought the children of relatives or others who paid to send their children to America. The children would pose as the real children of U.S. citizens. These individuals were known as "paper sons" and "paper daughters." When families purchased an identity, they received a "coaching book" or a document containing hundreds of questions and answers that immigration officials might ask them upon their arrival in the U.S. More "sons" than "daughters" were reported because young men had a better chance of securing jobs once in the U.S. and commanded a higher price from families in China.[295]

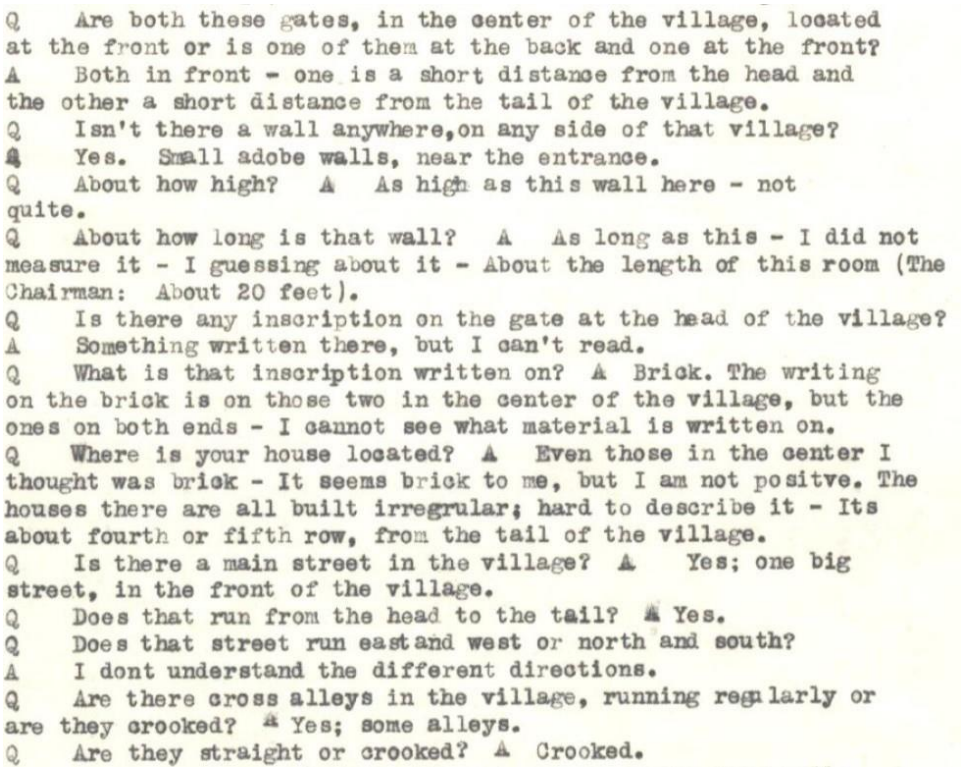
When federal officials learned Chinese were evading immigration law, they developed extensive questions for the "father" and the "son" or "daughter," who were questioned separately to try and catch them in a lie. Often the questions were so obscure that, upon appeal, officials in Washington, D.C., dismissed the cases.

---

[293] Erika Lee and Judy Yung, *Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to America* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2010), 84.

[294] Lee, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance," 98.

[295] Lee and Yung, 84.



Q Are both these gates, in the center of the village, located at the front or is one of them at the back and one at the front?
A Both in front - one is a short distance from the head and the other a short distance from the tail of the village.
Q Isn't there a wall anywhere,on any side of that village?
A Yes. Small adobe walls, near the entrance.
Q About how high? A As high as this wall here - not quite.
Q About how long is that wall? A As long as this - I did not measure it - I guessing about it - About the length of this room (The Chairman: About 20 feet).
Q Is there any inscription on the gate at the head of the village?
A Something written there, but I can't read.
Q What is that inscription written on? A Brick. The writing on the brick is on those two in the center of the village, but the ones on both ends - I cannot see what material is written on.
Q Where is your house located? A Even those in the center I thought was brick - It seems brick to me, but I am not positve. The houses there are all built irregrular; hard to describe it - Its about fourth or fifth row, from the tail of the village.
Q Is there a main street in the village? A Yes; one big street, in the front of the village.
Q Does that run from the head to the tail? A Yes.
Q Does that street run eastand west or north and south?
A I dont understand the different directions.
Q Are there cross alleys in the village, running regularly or are they crooked? A Yes; some alleys.
Q Are they straight or crooked? A Crooked.

Source: National Archives and Records Administration, San Bruno, CA

FIGURE D-37 TESTIMONY OF CHIU CHEW LIN, CASE FILE OF CHIU CHEW LIN AND OWYONG DUNG WAH, SEPTEMBER 2, 1919

Despite the difficult interrogations they endured, "more Chinese immigrants were admitted into the United States during the exclusion period (303,000) than in the period before exclusion (258,000)."[296] Between 1911 and 1931, only 4.41 percent of Chinese immigrants to the U.S. were expelled. Some appealed their cases, but even if they succeeded, the process was typically lengthy and costly.[297] Once the Chinese immigrants who took "the crooked path" made it to the mainland, however, many lived in fear. Few talked about their experiences, and many worried about officials discovering their true immigration status.

LIFE UNDER EXCLUSION

Chinese were subjected to countless acts of violence upon their arrival in the United States. Passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act fostered even more hostility. The year 1885 was particularly violent in San Francisco. During this time, groups of unemployed white men regularly congregated in vacant sand lots near the San Francisco City Hall, then under construction, in search of work. More than 500 of these "sandlotters," as they came to be known, celebrated Easter with an anti-Chinese parade. The event ended with the "sandlotters" beating and injuring at least

[296] Ibid., 76.
[297] Ibid.

18 Chinese people. Later that year, 2,500 white laborers participated in a demonstration involving an effigy of a Chinese man swinging from a scaffold while they demanded that Chinese people be expelled from San Francisco within 60 days.[298]

Historians Him Mark Lai, Genny Lim, and Judy Yung noted the long-lasting "irreparable damage" of Chinese exclusion and incarceration. "Paper sons" and "paper daughters" lived in constant fear of detection by immigration authorities and therefore assumed pseudo-identities. Many Chinese lived in the shadows, avoided political activities, and hid the truth of their immigrant past from their children. "Moreover, the feeling that they were allowed into this country only at the sufferance of the dominant white majority worked to foster alienation and delay their assimilation into the larger society. Most damaging were the psychological wounds inflicted by exclusion upon generations of Chinese Americans – the implication that they were racial inferiors, unwanted immigrants, and unassimilable aliens."[299]

The Chinese Exclusion Act restricted immigration from China, codified a hostile atmosphere against Chinese, and caused a large segment of the Chinese population in the U.S. to live in the shadows. Still, Chinese Americans resisted, fighting for their rights in court, often successfully. The number of women and U.S.-born Chinese Americans also increased significantly during the exclusion era. "By 1930, the percent of women immigrants rose to 30 percent. Between 1900 and 1940, the U.S. born Chinese population quadrupled in size."[300]

CHINESE RESISTANCE TO EXCLUSIONARY LAWS

The Chinese Exclusion Act and responses to it had a profound impact on people of Chinese descent in San Francisco and throughout the country. The Chinese American community resisted the discriminatory laws by issuing formal complaints to the federal government and to Chinese diplomats. [301] Unable to vote because they could not become naturalized citizens, they used lawsuits to fight for the right to remain in the United States. In the decade after Chinese Exclusion Act was passed, Chinese Americans filed more than 7,000 lawsuits, winning most of them.[302] One very important case was that of Wong Kim Ark, a Chinese American born in the United States in 1873 to immigrant parents. Wong was denied re-entry to the United States, even though he was born in San Francisco, because immigration officials argued that his parents entered the country illegally. With the support of Chinatown organizations, Wong took his case to court. It went all the way up to the U.S. Supreme Court, and in 1898, he won his case.[303] The landmark decision in

[298] Ibid., 263-4.

[299] Lai, Lim, and Yung, 32-3.

[300] Lee, 100.

[301] Island of Immortals: Chinese Immigrants and the Angel Island Immigration Station Author(s): H. M. Lai Reviewed work(s): Source: California History, Vol. 57, No. 1, The Chinese in California (Spring, 1978), pp. 88-103 Published by: California Historical Society Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/25157818, p. 89.

[302] Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Witness to Persecution," New York Times, July 29, 2007, retrieved May 9, 2018.

[303] *United States v. Wong Kim Ark*, 169 U.S. 649 (1898)

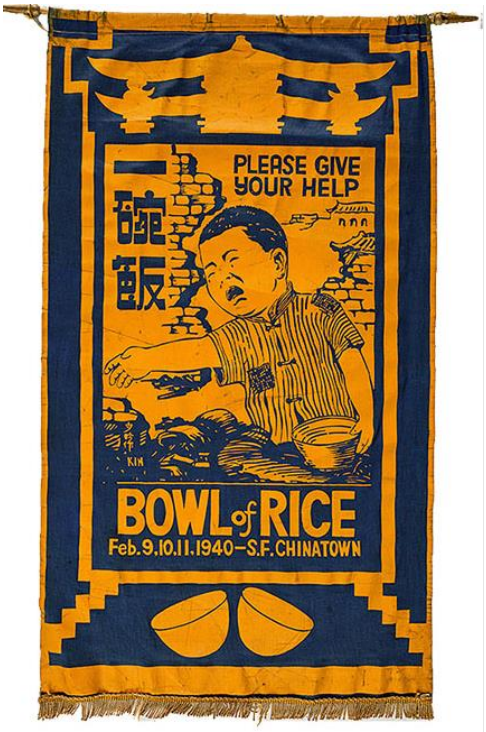
United States v. Wong Kim Ark confirmed that birthright citizenship belonged to those born in the United States, even if an individual's parents were ineligible for citizenship.

SINO-JAPANESE WAR

Between 1937 and 1945, Japan and China were enemies in the highly destructive Second Sino-Japanese War, also known as the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression. The war between the two Asian nations was part of a half-century-long resistance movement against Japanese imperialism. Chinese immigrants were heavily involved in supporting their home country during the war. Community organizations in San Francisco organized the Chinese War Relief Association and raised tens of thousands of dollars to send back to China. Chinese women across the country, in concert with the United Council for Civilian Relief in China, raised large sums through "Bowl of Rice" parties to feed hungry Chinese in need. More than 700 towns, including San Francisco, held "Bowl of Rice" parties.[304] There were two held in San Francisco's Chinatown in 1938 and 1940. These large public events were complete with parades and street festivals and were attended by thousands, including local officials, business leaders, and dignitaries.[305] These events signaled a change in attitude among some whites towards Chinese people in the United States, as most Americans sympathized with China.

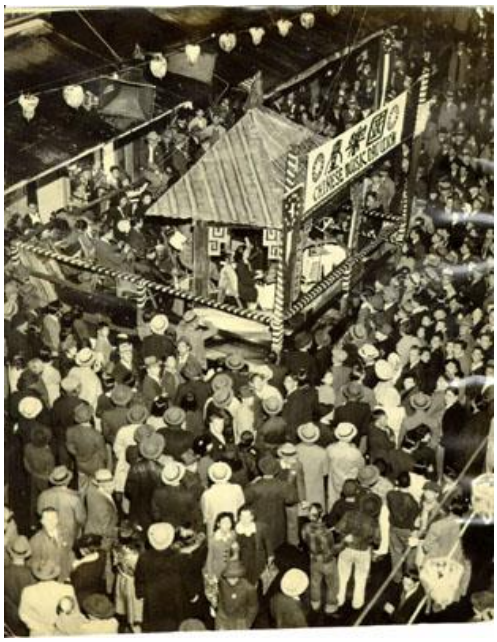
[304] K. Scott Wong, Americans First: Chinese Americans and the Second World War (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 37-39.

[305] Brooks, *Alien Neighbors*, Kindle Locations 1213 and 1312.



Source: National Museum of American History

FIGURE D-38 BANNER FOR THE BOWL OF RICE PARTY HELD IN SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, 1940



Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-39 BOWL OF RICE PARTY, SAN FRANCISCO, 1940

Other Chinese Americans organized to bring attention to the role of the United States in the Sino-Japanese War, as most of Japan's military weapons, supplies, and planes were purchased from American companies. The charismatic Madame Chiang Kai-shek, first lady of the Republic of China, heavily influenced the effort during her eight-month tour of the United States in which she spoke out against Japanese aggression. Following increased Japanese aggression in Asia, the United States and United Kingdom placed an oil embargo on Japan in July of 1941. In retaliation, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. The United States entered World War II on the Allied side shortly after.

CHINESE AMERICANS AND WORLD WAR II

Many Chinese Americans eagerly joined the U.S. Armed Forces during the war, serving in both segregated and non-segregated units. Nearly 20,000 Chinese Americans—nearly 20 percent of the adult Chinese male population of the U.S.—wore U.S. military uniforms during the war. They served in all branches of the military and in all types of units (e.g., combat infantry, engineering, intelligence, transport, medical, fighter and bomber squadrons, and support units). Some served in officer positions, often in majority-white squadrons. Chinese American women joined the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps or the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP).

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-40 CHINESE AMERICAN NAVY RECRUITS, OCTOBER 28, 1942

World War II also created economic opportunities for Chinese Americans at home. When men of all backgrounds joined the armed forces in droves during World War II, jobs that had previously been closed to Chinese people suddenly opened. Chinese Americans also entered the defense workforce in unprecedented numbers, as the San Francisco Bay Area became a focal point of the wartime defense industry, with shipyards operating in San Francisco, Oakland, Richmond,

Vallejo, Sausalito, Alameda, and South San Francisco.[306] The six major shipbuilders actively recruited workers in Chinatown and by 1942, an estimated 1,600 Chinese Americans worked in the defense industry.[307] These jobs often provided housing, giving workers at least a temporary opportunity to live outside of Chinatown. In addition, Chinese Americans who held technical degrees but were stuck in service jobs were finally able to use their education and skills during the war effort. This included Chinese American women, who as previously mentioned, were employed in aeronautics and aircraft instrument manufacturing.

REPEAL OF THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT

China's role as an ally during World War II and high participation of Chinese Americans in the armed forces contributed to changing attitudes towards Chinese Americans in the United States. During this period, anti-Asian sentiments were mostly directed at people of Japanese descent.[308]

On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, marking the beginning of Japanese American incarceration when approximately 110,000 Japanese Americans were forced to live in detention camps throughout the American West.[309] Yet, the Chinese Exclusion Act remained in effect. Japan pointed out the hypocrisy of a nation battling Nazis abroad while it simultaneously discriminated against Chinese people at home. Meanwhile, Chinese Americans continued to lobby against exclusionary laws. Eventually, it was largely international criticism that led to the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act on December 17, 1943.[310] Although, following the dictates of the 1924 Immigration Act, only 105 Chinese immigrants were permitted to enter the United States annually, Chinese people of all backgrounds had the opportunity to become naturalized citizens for the first time in 61 years.

[306] Ibid., 45.

[307] Chinese Press, August 21, 1942, quoted by Wong, 50.

[308] Frail, T.A. "The Injustice of Japanese-American Internment Camps Resonates Strongly to this Day," *Smithsonian Magazine* (2017), retrieved October 22, 2020, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/injustice-japanese-americans-internment-camps-resonates-strongly-180961422/.

[309] Rick Baldoz, "Asian Americans During the Cold War," in Franklin Odo, *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (National Park Service: 2019), 228.

[310] Ibid., 225.

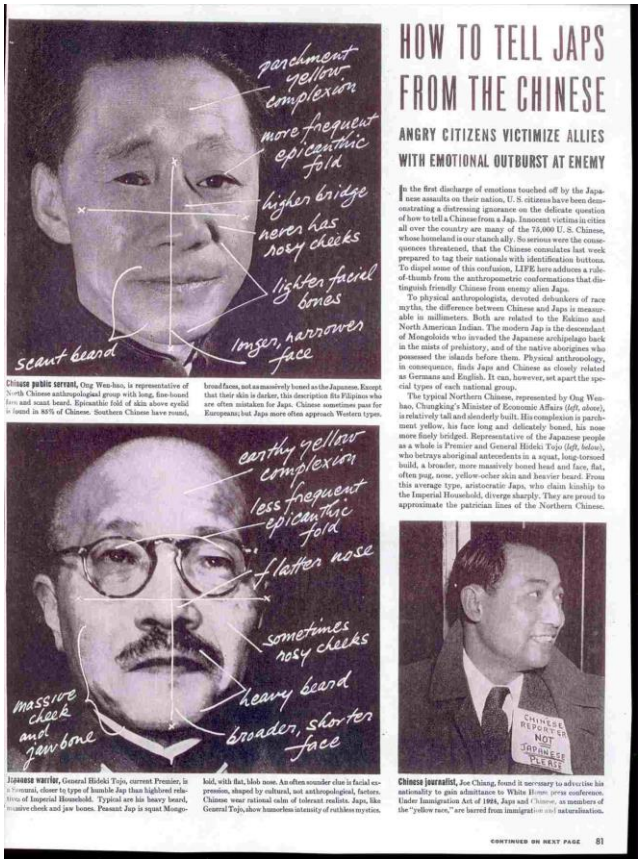


FIGURE D-41 ARTICLE SHOWING HOW TO TELL A JAPANESE PERSON FROM A CHINESE PERSON IN LIFE MAGAZINE, DECEMBER 22, 1941

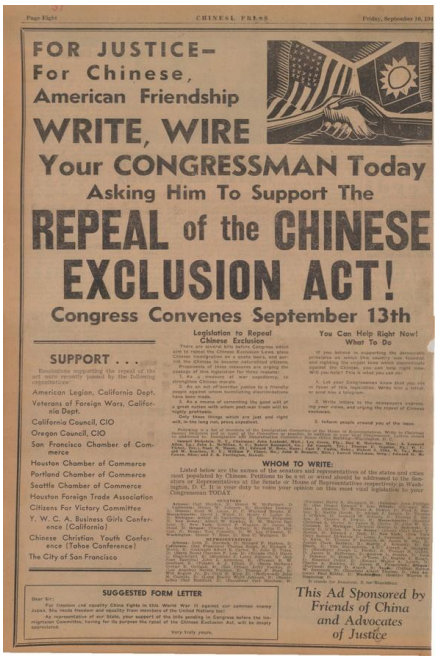


FIGURE D-42 ADVERTISEMENT, CHINESE PRESS, SEPTEMBER 10, 1943, P. 8

D.5 DISASTER AND REBUILDING: CHINATOWN, 1906–1930S

On April 18, 1906, a massive earthquake shook the city of San Francisco, wreaking havoc on its inhabitants and structures. The quake was felt as far north as Oregon, as far east as Nevada, and as far south as Los Angeles. Its epicenter, however, was near San Francisco. The tectonic movements and subsequent damage resulted in fires that devoured much of the city, including Chinatown. The disaster resulted in an estimated 700 deaths, upended local communities, displaced thousands of people, and destroyed countless buildings and structures. It was a watershed moment in the city's history and that of Chinatown.

Despite the challenges of reconstruction, as well as threats from city leaders to relocate Chinatown to Hunters Point, Chinatown successfully rebuilt in its original location. In doing so, the city's Chinese American community took the opportunity to create a new image of itself and establish new visual landmarks, community organizations, cultural and entertainment venues, and a strong tourism economy that laid the foundation for modern Chinatown.

Other themes during this period include local Chinese American involvement in Sun Yat-sen's revolution in China, the Panama Pacific International Exposition, and New Deal programs as well as the continued discrimination in housing and other public services that solidified the segregation of Chinese Americans into Chinatown.

1906 EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE DESTROYS CHINATOWN

Source: Library of Congress, *photograph by A. Genthe, "On the ruins, April, Chinatown, San Francisco, 1906," https://www.loc.gov/item/agc1996001079/PP/*

FIGURE D-43 A CHINESE MAN INSPECTS THE DAMAGE THAT WAS DONE BY THE 1906 EARTHQUAKE

The 1906 earthquake and fires toppled Chinatown, as they did much of the city. The earthquake broke the city's water lines, which prevented fire teams from putting out the flames. Worse yet, the fire chief decided the only way to save the city was to blow up buildings so they would not

burn and spread the fire. Buildings, including some in Chinatown, were dynamited, which only made things worse as flaming debris blew to other areas and started new fires.[311] The *Chinese-Western Daily* quoted a local observer who survived the disaster:

> At 5:15 in the morning of the 26th day of last month an earthquake hit the Gold Mountain…. Then, buildings collapsed, tiles and stones flew wildly in the sky. The saddening sound of cries was heard all over the city…. Soon the fire started…and reached Sacramento and California Streets by eight o'clock in the evening until ten o'clock the next morning when Chinatown was burned into ashes.[312]

The earthquake rendered people homeless citywide.[313] Following the decimation, only about 400 of an estimated 15,000 Chinatown residents remained.[314] Many Chinese fled to the East Bay cities of Oakland and Berkeley where they either permanently resettled or stayed until it was possible to return to San Francisco. Within five days of the earthquake, some were already returning to Chinatown to clean up, although they found that significant looting had occurred. Those who stayed set up tents and lived under very difficult conditions. Many others went to displacement camps across San Francisco. Army officials, deployed to San Francisco to support relief efforts, sent some 400 Chinese to segregated camps farther and farther from Chinatown, finally ending up in a remote, cold, and windy corner of the Presidio near Fort Point on April 27, 1906.[315] Hugh Kwong Liang, 15 years old at the time, recalled this experience, "I turned away from my dear old Chinatown for the last time…city officials directing the refugees approached us and told us to proceed toward the open grounds at the Presidio Army Post."[316] They were later moved to Hunters Point.[317] There was least one temporary Chinese camp in North Beach, and several in the Richmond District.[318]

---

311 Choy, San Francisco Chinatown, 31-32; PBS, "Chinatown Resource Guide: The Story of Chinatown."

312 *The Chinese Western Daily*, April 26, 1906, quoted by Chen, 163.

313 Jessica Gliddon, "Seeking Shelter in Marin: Chinatown Refugees After the 1906 Earthquake," *Marin Magazine* (online), April 19, 2019, available online: https://marinmagazine.com/community/history/refugees-from-the-1906-earthquake-the-chinese-girls-and-women-who-fled-to-marin/

314 National Park Service, "1906 Earthquake: Chinese Displacement," accessed December 14, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/prsf/learn/historyculture/1906-earthquake-chinese-treatment.htm.

315 National Park Service, "1906 Earthquake: Chinese Displacement"; "New Chinatown Near Fort Point: Oriental Quarter Removed from Presidio Golf Links at Request of Property Owners," San Francisco Chronicle, April 28, 1906, from San Francisco Museum website, retrieved December 20, 2020, http://www.sfmuseum.org/chin/4.28.html.

316 Quoted in "1906 Earthquake: Chinese Displacement" in "Presidio of San Francisco," National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/prsf/learn/historyculture/1906-earthquake-chinese-treatment.htm, retrieved August 15, 2018.

317 "Chinese Housed at Presidio, Later They Will Go to Hunter's Point," San Francisco Examiner, April 27, 1906, from the Museum of the City of San Francisco, retrieved December 20, 2020, http://www.sfmuseum.org/chin/4.27.3.html; Gladys Hansen, "Relocation of Chinatown," Museum of the City of San Francisco, http://www.sfmuseum.org/chin/relocate.html; Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to William H. Taft, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, accessed December 20, 2020, https://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Research/Digital-Library/Record?libID=o266682.

318 "Chinese Colony at Foot of Van Ness," San Francisco Chronicle, April 27, 1906.

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-44 CHINESE MEN AT A POST-DISASTER CAMP, EXACT LOCATION UNKNOWN, C. 1906

THREATS TO RELOCATE CHINATOWN

The natural disaster renewed a movement led by anti-Chinese forces to relocate Chinatown to the southernmost part of the city. White business and government leaders had long coveted Chinatown's prime location, and many anti-Chinese activists did not believe Chinese deserved to occupy such a central location.[319] Because the disaster ruined Chinatown and forced most Chinese out of the city, some white San Franciscans, as Jerome A. Hart recalled later, "congratulated themselves that Chinatown was gone."[320] Just a few days after the quake, San Francisco Mayor Eugene E. Schmitz directed the police chief to relocate all Chinese to Hunters Point in the southern portion of the city and formed a Committee on the Location of Chinatown to coordinate implementation. The relocation of Chinatown seemed imminent.[321] Even the *Chinese-Western Daily* wrote pessimistically, "It is predictable that the old Chinatown cannot be restored."[322]

These proposals infuriated local Chinatown residents, businesses, and community leaders. Community leaders who escaped the quake and fire held a special meeting on April 28, 1906 in Oakland Chinatown to discuss the threat that was gaining momentum across the bay. One participant, Lim Tuck Sing, spoke about the need to hire a well-known lawyer, assert their property rights, and rebuild immediately. He argued that San Francisco's Chinese should not

[319] Chen, 165-6.
[320] Chen, 165-6.
[321] Chen, 166.
[322] *The Chinese Western Daily*, April 27, 1906, quoted by Chen, 165-6.

wait for approval from the government to rebuild and that residents and business owners who rented real estate in Chinatown should immediately sign new leases.[323]

The Chinese government intervened to resist the relocation of San Francisco Chinatown.[324] City Archivist Gladys Hansen and former Fire Chief Emmet Condon noted that the arrival of a delegation from the Chinese Legation to the United States "changed the tone and the tenor of the 'relocation of Chinatown' rhetoric."[325] The Qing government sent its diplomats to lead the relief effort and donated funds to support rebuilding. Chinese Minister Liang Cheng arrived in Oakland on May 22, 1906 to oversee construction of cabins for the homeless and made special arrangements for the extremely poor or elderly to return to China.[326] Everyday people in China, too, sent monetary donations ranging from $10 to $3,800. It was said that "Chinese Americans, who had been sending money back to China for years, were being repaid."[327]

Numerous newspapers reported that the city's Relief Committee, which was formed to coordinate public assistance following the earthquake and fire, engaged in serious discriminatory practices. Acts of violence against the Chinese persisted as well. In one incident, a Chinese man who went back to his former residence on Sacramento Street was stoned to death by "Western rascals."[328] Federal officials, and even President Theodore Roosevelt, called for the equitable distribution of relief in San Francisco, regardless of the nationality of the recipients.[329] Local officials and an editorial in the *San Francisco Chronicle* denied accusations of discrimination toward the Chinese.[330]

Fewer than three months after the disaster, local government leaders and the Committee on the Location of Chinatown presented their plans to relocate Chinatown to the mud flats on the southern outskirts of the city. Not surprisingly, they met stiff resistance from Chinese associations and the Chinese Consulate, which stated, "The Empress is not happy about Chinatown being relocated. We intend to rebuild the Chinese Consulate in the heart of Chinatown where it was.'"[331] Chinese community leaders also argued that their taxes contributed greatly to the city's revenues.

---

[323] Journalist Liu Yilin, in an unpublished manuscript translated from Chinese.

[324] Chen, 166.

[325] Gladys Hansen and Emmet Condon, *Denial of Disaster*, (San Francisco: Cameron, 1989), 114.

[326] Chen, 164-5.

[327] Ibid.

[328] Chen, 164.

[329] Telegram from General Funston to Dr. Edward T. Devine of the American Red Cross in San Francisco, April 23, 1906, from the Museum of the City of San Francisco, retrieved December 21, 2020, http://www.sfmuseum.net/photos2/telegram1.gif; "Chinese Consul Praises Roosevelt," *The Evening Mail*, April 24, 1906.

[330] "The Chinese Cared For," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 26, 1906, from the Museum of the City of San Francisco, retrieved December 21, 2020, http://www.sfmuseum.net/conflag/hunterspt.html; Telegram from Major General Greely to the Military Secretary at Fort Mason, April 24, 1906, reprinted online at: http://www.sfmuseum.org/photos2/greely1.gif; Telegram from San Francisco Mayor E.E. Schmitz and others leading San Francisco's post-1906 relief efforts to President Theodore Roosevelt, April 24, 1906, reprinted online at: http://www.sfmuseum.org/conflag/reax.html

[331] Richard Gonzales, "Rebuilding Chinatown After the 1906 Quake," National Public Radio, April 12, 2006 https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5337215.

Eventually, San Francisco leaders relented, and the reconstruction of Chinatown in its original location began about a year after the disaster.[332]

REBUILDING AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE

With financial support from the Chinese government and Chinese donors, as well as Chinese American communities as far away as New York City, San Francisco Chinatown set out to rebuild itself.[333] Chinese associations began reconstructing their buildings in July of 1906, many in their original locations.[334] By the end of 1908, at least 175 buildings were reconstructed in Chinatown.[335] The neighborhood quickly rose from the ruins to reclaim its position as a permanent and highly visible part of the city.

ASIAN ECLECTIC STYLE IN CHINATOWN

Prior to the 1906 earthquake and fire, buildings in Chinatown generally did not display Asian architectural features, nor did most buildings erected in the immediate aftermath. Most were Edwardian in typology and designed in Mission Revival, French Baroque Revival, or Renaissance Revival styles. Others could

PROFILE: SAN FRANCISCO NATIVE AND FAMILY HISTORIAN ANDREA YEE DESCRIBED HER GREAT-GRANDFATHER LIM LIP HONG AND HIS FAMILY'S ROLE IN HELPING CHINATOWN'S RECOVERY

It was actually a fateful meeting that took place at his Dogpatch ranch in Potrero Hill. His eldest son, Lim Tuck Sing, my grandfather, had made trips with his horse and cart to save the Chinese in Chinatown made homeless. Meanwhile, his family arranged to house and feed hundreds at their ranch. The neighboring Tubbs Cordage Manufacturing Company, who were friends, also opened their space. Lim Tuck Sing, hearing that plans were being generated to move Chinatown to Colma or elsewhere outside of the city, declared that they would not leave San Francisco. He gathered his community at the ranch and convinced them that they had the law on their side. Backed and financed by his brother-in-law, Wong Git You, who had become the richest Chinese in California from his gambling business, Lim Tuck Sing organized the Chinese to clear debris and rebuild Chinatown immediately. He negotiated with property owners and the San Francisco political power base, some of them his friends, saving Chinatown's present locale. For this he was recognized and awarded by the Chinese government in 1908.

- *Andrea Yee, email correspondence, May 1, 2018.*

Source: Andrea Yee

FIGURE D-45 LIM LIP HONG, FOURTH FROM THE LEFT, AND HIS SON ROBERT, SEATED CROSS-LEGGED IN FRONT OF HIM

[332] Ibid.

[333] "Chinese Raising Fund: Will Contribute to Relief of All Suffers Alike," The Associated Press, from the Texas Dallas News, April 24, 1906, available online: http://www.sfmuseum.org/conflag/nyaid.html

[334] Liu Yilin, "Event Literature: Memories Sealed for One Century, Remembering the Hero of the 1906 San Francisco Earthquake Lim Tuck Sing," unpublished article, 2018, 5.

[335] San Francisco Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board, Proposal for a Chinatown Historic District (San Francisco: Unpublished, 1986).

not be defined by a particular style. They were typically constructed of brick and measured between two and four stories tall.

In terms of use, Chinatown's new buildings generally housed stores on the ground floor and lodging houses on upper floors. Several boarding houses for women lined Commercial and Wentworth streets. There were also family/benevolent associations, laundries, saloons, a candy factory, and a Chinese broom factory. One building that originally contained a laundry and lodgings at 685 Commercial Street (extant) had the unusual "clinker brick" style, with bricks that jutted out at ninety-degree angles from the rest of the building. Initially, most of these new buildings were owned by non-Chinese individuals or companies, then later sold to Chinese organizations, most likely because of discriminatory laws that prevented Chinese from owning property.

Source: Grant Din

FIGURE D-46 685 COMMERCIAL STREET'S UNUSUAL "CLINKER BRICK" STYLE, 2018

When making their case to rebuild Chinatown in its original location, Chinatown leaders proposed to build an "Oriental City" that would attract tourists and generate revenue for the struggling city.[336] In addition to luring tourists, Chinatown leaders believed a Chinese aesthetic would help cement the neighborhood's Chinese identity and squash any further discussion of relocating it elsewhere. They also saw the destruction and rebuilding of Chinatown as an opportunity to establish a new, more positive image for the neighborhood and Chinese in general.

[336] Look Tin Eli, "Our New Oriental City – Veritable Fairy Palaces Filled with the Choicest Treasures of the Orient," in *San Francisco: The Metropolis of the West*, (San Francisco: Western Press Association, 1910), publication unpaginated.

Source: Daniel K.E. Ching Collection, CHSA-04314a

FIGURE D-47 CHINATOWN BUILDINGS PRE-QUAKE HAD NO "ASIAN" ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES. THE SING CHONG BUILDING IS SHOWN ABOVE RIGHT.

Look Tin Eli, a Chinese American businessman, is credited with "creating the pseudo-Chinese façade that would become Chinatown's distinctive trademark."[337] He commissioned the first building in the new Chinatown to feature "Chinese-looking" architectural elements. The architecture and engineering firm of Ross and Burgren designed the four-story Sing Chong Bazaar (601 Grant Avenue, extant), constructed in 1908 complete with a pagoda and Chinese motifs and colors.[338] The same firm designed the Sing Fat building (555-597 Grant Avenue, extant) across the street from Sing Chong.

More and more buildings in Chinatown began to feature pagodas, but unlike buildings in China, where the pagoda was a functional structure, buildings in Chinatown used pagodas as mere decorative elements. Other decorative elements, such as curved canopies that resembled Chinese rooflines, dragon motifs, and red, green, and gold accents, were used to create Chinese flair.[339] In 1910, Look Tin Eli wrote, "San Francisco enjoys the unique distinction of being the one spot in the Occidental world where the traveler may feast his senses on all the treasures of the Orient…"[340]

To Look Tin Eli's point, San Francisco's Chinatown was the first in the country to display this pseudo-Chinese neighborhood aesthetic, what some call "Orientalist architecture," "Oriental revivalism," or "Chinese adaptive" (referring to the practice of applying Chinese architectural

[337] Yung, Judy, and the Chinese Historical Society of America (CHSA). *Images of America: San Francisco's Chinatown* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2006), 44.
[338] Ibid.
[339] Choy, 113-5.
[340] Look Tin Eli, "Our New Oriental City."

motifs to Western buildings).[341] As noted by museum curator Kerri Culhane, "[t]he Chinese style of the 1920s and 30s descended, ironically, from a picturesque Oriental revivalism promoted by American and European missionary architects in China in the late 19th and early 20th century."[342] Los Angeles' Chinatown underwent a similar rebirth in the 1930s, New York's during the postwar era, and Chicago's in the 1970s.[343]

Among the few built-environment elements in Chinatown to survive the 1906 disaster was Portsmouth Square, although the buildings surrounding it were destroyed. The plaza played an important role during and after the disaster, providing a safe place away from unsound buildings and structures as well as a staging area for U.S. troops that were brought in to help with recovery efforts.[344] In the years following the destructive earthquake and fires, Portsmouth Square became an even more important gathering place within Chinatown.[345] Because of its location and the tiny rooms in which many Chinatown residents lived, Portsmouth Square served as the "living room" for many.[346]

Source: Grant Din

FIGURE D-48 THE TOP TWO FLOORS OF 745-47 GRANT AVENUE, 2018. BUILT IN 1920 FOR THE YING ON MERCHANTS AND LABOR ASSOCIATION.

[341] Chuo Li, Interrogating Ethnic Identity: Space and Community Building in Chicago's Chinatown, Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review Vol. 27, No. 1 (FALL 2015), pp. 55-68 (14 pages), p. 56; Mini Gu, "More than a Look: Poy Gum Lee's Chinese-Style Architecture," Beyond Chinatown, March 2, 2016, http://www.beyondchinatown.com/2016/03/02/more-than-a-look-poy-gum-lees-chinese-style-architecture/.

[342] Gu, "More than a Look: Poy Gum Lee's Chinese-Style Architecture"

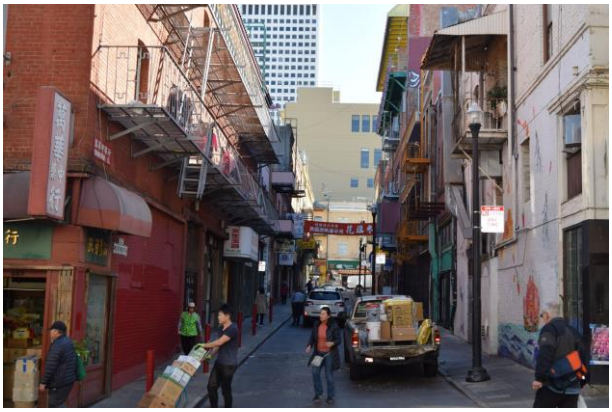
[343] Li, p. 56; ARG, et al, *Chinese Americans in Los Angeles*, 33-35; Gu, "More than a Look: Poy Gum Lee's Chinese-Style Architecture,"

[344] Ibid.

[345] Ibid.

[346] Ibid., 7.

Chinatown reconstructed its dense street plan, replete with 41 alleyways. This network has remained an important piece of the space used by residents but not as frequently by tourists.[347] Neighborhoods in Guangdong Province of China, where most early Chinese originated, were characterized by narrow pedestrian alleys from which most residences and businesses were entered. In San Francisco's Chinatown, simple prefabricated wood-frame dwellings, shipped from Guangdong, were facing the alleyways instead of the main streets, distinguishing these passages from other American alleyways.[348] Several alleys, including Brooklyn Place, Ross Alley, and St. Louis Alley, appear to be in the same location as they were before the earthquake.



Source: Grant Din

FIGURE D-49 WENWORTH ALLEY, 2018

Source: Grant Din

FIGURE D-50 ROSS ALLEY (LEFT); JASON COURT (RIGHT), 2018

[347] Julie Chao, "Chinatown alley's facelift," SF Gate, November 2, 1997, retrieved October 23, 2020, https://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/Chinatown-alleys-face-lift-3092476.php.

[348] Mui Ho, quoted by Chin, 121.

CHINESE REVOLUTION AND SUN YAT-SEN'S TRAVELS TO CHINATOWN

The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) in San Francisco supported Sun Yat-sen's revolution, which, in 1911, brought an end to the 300-year-old Qing (Manchu) dynasty and imperial rule in China. Sun Yat-sen also established an important alliance with the Chee Kung Tong in San Francisco, located at 36 Spofford Street (extant), where he lived for six years and which functioned as a center of revolutionary activity. Sun Yat-sen used the *tong's* paper, *The Chinese Free Press*, to communicate his messages to the masses.[349]

Source: California State Library, Louis J. Stellman, Chinese parade, 1912

FIGURE D-51 DOUBLE TEN PARADE. DRUMMERS CARRYING FLAGS CELEBRATING THE CHINESE REVOLUTION OF 1911, C. 1912

Chinese Americans in San Francisco and across the country helped fund the revolution. Upon the overthrow of the Qing dynasty, Sun Yat-sen became China's first president, and the money for the new republic was printed in San Francisco's Chinatown.[350] Although Sun Yat-sen's presidency did not last long (just six weeks), the Kuomintang political party he established did, and he was also able to abolish the practice of foot binding during his brief tenure as president. Upon the Kuomintang's victory, many Chinese American men cut off their queues, which were required under Manchu rule.

There are two monuments to Sun Yat-sen in San Francisco, including a 1938 sculpture of the revolutionary figure by Beniamino "Benny" Bufano in St. Mary's Square in the Financial District, next to Chinatown. Chinatown leaders commissioned the statue to commemorate the time Sun Yat-sen spent in San Francisco during the revolution. The second memorialization of Sun Yat-sen is a saying engraved at the gate at Grant Avenue and Bush Street that reads, "All under Heaven is for the People."

[349] Chinatown National Register Nomination, 8.
[350] Lyman, 486.

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-52 DEDICATION CEREMONY OF SUN YAT-SEN STATUE, MARCH 28, 1943

Source: Grant Din

FIGURE D-53 MONUMENT DEDICATED TO CHINESE WHO DIED IN THE WORLD WARS, 2018

St. Mary's Square is located on the border of Chinatown, between Grant and Kearny, California and Pine Streets, and is home to a monument dedicated to Chinese who died in the World Wars. Another monument located here is dedicated to Sun Yat-sen. It is accessible from California and Pine Streets and located on top of the St. Mary's Parking Garage.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND SERVICES

Several new community-serving organizations opened in the decade following the 1906 disaster, including the CCC, "Chinese branches" of the national YMCA and YWCA, and a hospital.

CHINESE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The CCC formally incorporated in 1910, but its roots date back approximately 20 years prior when it was formed to mediate rivalries between the Sam Yup and Sze Yup associations in the 1880s.[351] The CCC evolved to promote local business and culture and address housing issues in Chinatown. In 1925, the CCC allied with multiple organizations to fund and install 45 dragon-entwined lamp posts on Grant Avenue between Bush Street and Broadway.[352] The organization operates out of its original location at 728-730 Sacramento Street (extant).

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-54 GRANT AVENUE STREET LAMPS, 1952 (LEFT) AND 1938 (RIGHT)

CHINATOWN YMCA

Although the Chinatown branch of the YMCA in San Francisco officially formed on July 11, 1911, records show that it was active as early as the 1870s. Along with the mission of promoting Christianity, the "Chinese branch" of the YMCA, as it was called in its early years, also provided programming specific to education, language, and health. The YMCA organized summer trips to Marin County and sponsored outside activities, including a Chinese orchestra and sports teams.[353] In 1911, Chinatown's YMCA lacked a central location because its activities were scattered among

[351] H. K. Wong, "San Francisco Chinatown on Parade in Picture and Story" (San Francisco: Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 1961), 13.

[352] Chinese Chamber of Commerce, "San Francisco Chinatown: The Official Chinese Chamber of Commerce Publication" (Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 1965), 56.

[353] Wendy Rouse Jorae, *The Children of Chinatown: Growing Up Chinese American in San Francisco*, 1850-1920 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 34.

numerous churches throughout the community. In 1912, the organization leased a building at 1028 Stockton Street (extant); in 1915, it moved to 830 Stockton Street (extant).[354]

In 1916, the YMCA of San Francisco, under its "Metropolitan Plan," brought the city's five separate associations under one board of leaders.[355] In the following years, the so-called "Chinese branch" added a library and woodworking shop.[356] The Chinatown YMCA also began organizing activities for young residents (e.g., hiking, camping, gymnastics, and track and field meets).[357] It also organized performances and other events to raise funds for programs.[358]

In 1918, the Chinatown YMCA received approval to purchase a lot at 855 Sacramento Street (extant) for $13,000, which it used for several years for open-air meetings and sports activities.[359] Over the next five years, the organization raised money from both Chinese and Euro-American philanthropists, such as Robert Dollar of the Dollar Steamship Company, to construct a building at the site.[360] By 1926, the organization had moved into the new building, which was designed by Bay Area architect Frederick Meyer.[361] That same year, Chinatown YMCA became part of the national YMCA system. Because the YMCA focused on recreational activities, the 855 Sacramento Street building had a gymnasium and Chinatown's only swimming pool. Such recreational activities appealed to new immigrants in the community, while after-school educational programs appealed to young people. Executive Director Kari Lee noted that a lot of programs were created out of necessity. "In the '50s and '60s, our kids couldn't swim at the Central Y. They weren't allowed to. So we provided the opportunity to learn how to swim in our community."[362]

After rolling back some programs during the Great Depression, the Chinatown YMCA recovered and continued to provide services and facilities for the community. Under the leadership of Executive Secretary Henry Shue Tom, the branch expanded its programs throughout the 1940s and 1950s and made its youth programs co-educational.[363] The group also advocated politically, petitioning the government to provide a recreation center at Washington and Masons streets and an x-ray truck to screen the local population for tuberculosis.[364]

From the 1980s onward, the Chinatown YMCA engaged in several multi-million-dollar fundraising campaigns to expand its facilities at 855 Sacramento Street and aid the greater

---

354 Choy, *San Francisco Chinatown: A Guide to Its History and Architecture*, 99 – 101.

355 Ford Lee and Allyson Wong, *The Chinatown Y: Honoring the Legacy, Building for the Future* (San Francisco: Chinatown YMCA, 1972), 20.

356 Ibid., 3.

357 Ibid.

358 Ibid., 7.

359 Ibid., 20.

360 Ibid., 22.

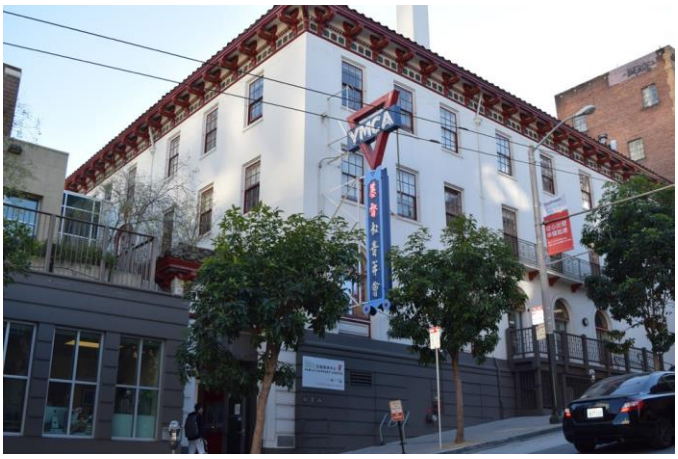
361 Choy, *San Francisco Chinatown: A Guide to Its History and Architecture*, 99 – 101.

362 "Get to Know the Chinatown YMCA," Hoodline, retrieved July 5, 2018,https://hoodline.com/2016/05/get-to-know-the-chinatown-ymca)..

363 Lee and Wong, 34.

364 Ibid., 54.

organization by constructing new buildings throughout San Francisco.[365] The branch remains an important component of the service-oriented institutions in the neighborhood today.



Source: Grant Din

FIGURE D-55 CHINATOWN YMCA, 2018

CHINATOWN YWCA

The national YWCA started a Chinatown branch in 1916 inside a saloon at the intersection of Stockton and Sacramento streets (address unknown). Chinese American women founded and maintained Chinatown's YWCA through fundraising and daily operations.[366] Like the YMCA, the YWCA offered bilingual programs and services to help Chinese immigrants acculturate to American society. The 1916 YWCA branch offered bilingual Chinese and English services that focused on labor, immigration, job training, and health.[367] Recreational and domestic activities included glee club, gymnastics, piano playing, sewing, and cooking. In its early years, the original Chinatown YWCA catered to more than 700 members and worked with more than 15,000 female participants. Because of significant growth in membership, the Chinatown YWCA looked for alternative locations. In October 1929, it received approval to break ground at 965 Clay Street (extant, San Francisco Landmark No. 122).[368]

Julia Morgan, architect of other YWCA buildings throughout California, designed the new Chinatown YWCA, which included separate areas for socializing as well as laundry and kitchen facilities. Morgan designed the gymnasium, classrooms, and courtyard with Chinese American Committee input and included Chinese details such as the courtyard's koi pond and cloud lift,

[365] Ibid., 218.
[366] Jorae, 87.
[367] Ibid., 34.
[368] "Julia Morgan Legacy Project," Chinese Historical Society of America, retrieved October 13, 2020, https://chsa.org/exhibits/online-exhibits/julia-morgan-legacy-project/.

Chinese-style towers, Chinese tile ornamentation, and dragon detail on the floor. This YWCA building was purposefully designed to represent Chinese American culture and identity.[369]

Following damage caused by the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake, the Chinatown YWCA sold the building. In 1996, the non-profit Chinese Historical Society of America (CHSA) acquired ownership of the building at 965 Clay Street and renovated it. CHSA has been open to the public since 2001.[370]

Source: Grant Din

FIGURE D-56 FORMER CHINATOWN YWCA (NOW CHSA), 2018

CHINESE HOSPITAL

Until the early 20th century, San Francisco's Chinese population received medical attention and services at the Tung Wah Dispensary. The dispensary's original location was 828 Sacramento Street (not extant), where it operated since 1899, but it was destroyed in the 1906 disaster. The dispensary was reconstructed at Trenton and Washington streets (40 Trenton Street).[371] The Chinese Six Companies raised the money to support the facility, and Christian missionaries helped staff it.

[369] Ibid.

[370] Ibid.

[371] Risse, Guenter B. "Translating Western Modernity: The First Chinese Hospital in America." Bulletin of the History of Medicine 85, no. 3 (2011): 445. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44452013.

Source: Joan B. Trauner, "The Chinese as Medical Scapegoats in San Francisco, 1870-1905," California History Vol. 57, No. 1, The Chinese in California (Spring, 1978), pp. 70-87 (18 pages) Published by: University of California Press in association with the California Historical Society

FIGURE D-57 TUNG WAH DISPENSARY AT SACRAMENTO STREET IN CHINATOWN, 1900

Chinatown needed its own medical facility because of the sheer distance between the district and San Francisco General Hospital, located along Potrero Avenue at the border of the Mission and Potrero districts to the south and east of Chinatown. Lack of transportation options, anti-Chinese bias and discrimination, and language barriers were other obstacles that prevented Chinese from accessing medical care at mainstream institutions.

Eventually, the community, under the leadership of the Chinese Six Companies, raised enough money to build a modern hospital. Donations came in from local merchants and benevolent societies as well as Chinese American communities throughout the nation. In 1925, the Chinese Hospital opened at 835 Jackson Street (demolished and rebuilt in 2016), complete with 60 beds; the staff included four Chinese physicians and 32 additional doctors. As the only such institution in the country at the time, the Chinese Hospital provided bilingual and culturally competent medical and health services to the neighborhood's population of nearly 15,000, with free services to the poor and elderly who were unable to pay.[372]

[372] City and County of San Francisco Planning Department, "835-845 Jackson Street, Chinese Hospital Replacement Project, Draft Environmental Impact Report," April 16, 2012, IV.C.14.

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-58 LEFT: MATERNITY WARD AT CHINESE HOSPITAL, APRIL 20, 1959; RIGHT: EXTERIOR OF CHINESE HOSPITAL, JUNE 19, 1964

PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION AND CHINATOWN BEAUTIFICATION COMMITTEE

The Panama-Pacific International Exposition took place in San Francisco over the course of nine months beginning in February 1915.[373] The overall goal of the exposition was to display the power and wealth of San Francisco after rebuilding from the 1906 disaster while simultaneously facilitating an exchange of cultural and economic ideas. Organizers in San Francisco used the city's most "exotic" cultures, such as those of the Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican people, to facilitate their message.[374] Representatives from countries around the world also used this as an opportunity to display their own technological progress, wealth, and might.

The government of China sought to display stability and modernization, thereby indicating its importance on the world stage, and making an effort to reduce anti-Asian sentiment in California, which had reached its peak with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. China's pre-fair materials described San Francisco's Chinese residents as an essential part of the city rather than an "otherized" demographic plagued by vice. The exhibit China created displayed "cultural artifacts and items designed to highlight Chinese efforts toward political and economic development and industrial progress."[375] Officials constructed replicas of the Imperial Audience Hall in the Forbidden City and other significant examples of Chinese architecture. The Palace of Education and Social Economy displayed the nation's new Westernized school system as an effort to reduce anti-Asian sentiment in the United States.[376]

[373] Abigail M. Markwyn, *Empress San Francisco: The Pacific Rim, the Great West & California at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 27.
[374] Ibid, 32.
[375] Ibid., 278.
[376] Ibid., 274-278.

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-59 CHINESE PAVILION AND GARDENS, PANAMA-PACIFIC INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION, 1915

Unfortunately, this main display was not open on the first day of the fair. However, an exhibit created by local authorities called "Underground Chinatown" did open. Officials intended the display to be both a warning regarding urban decay and a means for telling success stories about missionary efforts. The racist display blatantly depicted San Francisco's Chinatown as an exotic community plagued by prostitution and drug use. Urged by Chinese diplomats and local Chinese residents, the event's organizers eventually changed the name to "Underground Slumming," but left most of the exhibit's associations with Chinese people intact.[377] Similarly racist displays were created about other people of color living in San Francisco.

Although the City recouped its money and the event accomplished its goal of facilitating greater cultural exchanges between the West Coast and Asia, it did little to change race relations in the United States. However, historians typically argue that the event represented a sea change in California business policy, which began shifting from European markets to Pacific ones. Several architectural relics of the event remain in the city, such as the Palace of Fine Arts.[378]

CHINATOWN TOURISM AND ENTERTAINMENT

During the 1930s, on the heels of the Prohibition era, Chinatown merchants took steps to strengthen the district's tourist economy. One of their main strategies was to develop and promote Chinatown nightlife. Chinese nightclubs catering to a mainstream audience were quite popular for many years. The first known nightclub in Chinatown was Andy Wong's Chinese Penthouse (later the Chinese Sky Room), which opened at the end of 1937 in the Grandview Hotel on Pine and Grant. It was followed by the Club Shanghai, Dragon's Lair, Kubla Khan, Lion's Den, and Charlie Low's Forbidden City nightclub on 363 Sutter Street (extant), a few blocks from Chinatown.

Art historian Anthony W. Lee wrote about "extremely talented" choreographer, dancer, and costume designer at Forbidden City—Jack Mei Ling, a gay man. Lee writes that while San

[377] Ibid., 208-210.
[378] Ibid., 430-434.

Francisco in the 1930s and 1940s already provided an urban scene where some gay men found community, it was not a place where they could easily emerge from the closet. "Public disclosure was even less possible for gay Chinese American men in the notoriously homophobic Chinatown community."[379]

Each had an all-Asian revue, with Asians from other backgrounds using Chinese stage names. Many who had been prevented from entering the entertainment industry had opportunities to perform at these clubs. According to Dong:

> Chinese American nightclubs basically capitalized on their novelty and marketed themselves to white audiences. Owners created show titles like 'Chinatown Follies on Parade,' 'Chinese Scandals,' and 'A Night in Chinatown….' Despite the commercialization of the nightclubs, they provided an opportunity for many Chinese Americans to realize their dreams of performing in an otherwise hostile and unsympathetic environment.[380]

Chinatown nightclubs experienced a slow decline in the 1950s and by 1970 they had all closed. The last one to shut its doors for good was Forbidden City.[381]

Source: DeepFocus Productions Inc. via ABC News

FIGURE D-60 POSTCARD ADVERTISING CHARLIE LOW'S "FORBIDDEN CITY, AMERICA'S GREATEST CHINESE NIGHT CLUB" FROM THE MID 1940S

[379] Anthony W. Lee, "Crooning Kings and Dancing Queens," Reading California: Art, Image, and Identity, edited by Stephanie Barron, Sheri Bernstein, Ilene Susan Fort, Berkeley (University of California Press), 2008, 211.
[380] Arthur Dong, "Chinese American Nightclubs: A Brief History," liner notes for DVD of Forbidden City, USA, 1989.
[381] Ibid.

Source: Jerry J. Hung on Pinterest. Retrieved August 31, 2018.

FIGURE D-61 FORBIDDEN CITY ENTRANCE, C. 1950S

The CCC played an important role in promoting tourism in the district. In collaboration with other groups, the CCC began organizing New Year celebrations and beauty pageants to attract tourists and reaffirm a positive, "nonthreatening" image for Chinatown.[382] Exterior improvements were made to the façades of commercial buildings and neon signs were added. By the mid-1930s, Grant Avenue was considered a "necessary stop on any San Francisco trip."[383] Both Chinese and Japanese Americans owned businesses along Grant Avenue.

The Downtown Association, a white organization that was not affiliated with Chinatown, successfully advocated for the introduction of "Chinese" streetlights along Grant Avenue. However, when the Chinese American Citizens Alliance requested night lighting at the Chinese Playground, its request was rejected by the City. Younger Chinese Americans resisted the influence of this outsider group and wrote in the *Chinese Digest*, "we must make haste to inform our city officials that we do not contemplate having outsiders represent us."[384] The Chinese Playground, opened in 1927, was renamed Willie Woo Woo Wong Playground in 2006.

In 1939 and 1940, San Francisco hosted the 1939 World's Fair, or Golden Gate International Exposition, on Treasure Island. The City formed a Chinatown Beautification Committee in preparation for the activities, which asked Chinatown merchants to make their storefronts look more "Chinese" and dress in Chinese "costumes" during the event.[385] For the exhibition itself, a Chinese group constructed a Chinese village, inspired by Pearl Buck's Pulitzer Prize–winning 1931 book, *The Good Earth*, which was highly popular in the United States at the time. In fact, they named their exhibition, "The Good Earth Settlement."[386]

---

382 Ibid., Kindle Location 2593.
383 Brooks, *Alien Neighbors,* Kindle Location 1134.
384 Ibid., Kindle Location 1138.
385 Ibid., Kindle Location 1160.
386 Ibid., Kindle Location 1163.

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-62 THE CHINESE VILLAGE AT THE 1939-1940 GOLDEN GATE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

CHINATOWN NEW YEAR PARADE

Some have argued that San Francisco's New Year parade began in the 1860s to give railroad workers and miners a sense of community.[387] During the early years of Chinatown development, San Franciscan's Chinese New Year celebrations were generally held in private. Family associations sponsored banquets and lion dances. In 1931, the CCC organized a parade for Chinese New Year to attract visitors to the neighborhood.[388] Lion dances, concerts, and dramas provided a spectacle for many.[389] During the festival, people cleaned their houses, paid their debts, bought new clothing, and displayed their scrolls and heirlooms. The parade included public shows, Chinese operas, mahjong parties, and musicals.[390] The event still occurs annually.

[387] Huping Ling, "A History of Chinese Female Students in the United States, 1880s-1990s," Journal of American Ethnic History, Vol. 16, No. 3 (Spring, 1997), pp. 81-109, 180.

[388] Chiou-ling Yeh, *Making an American Festival: Chinese New Year in San Francisco's Chinatown*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 17.

[389] From 1953 until the 1970s, the parade remained along Grant Avenue until it moved onto wider streets like Kearny Street. Chinese New Year Festival & Parade, "History of the San Francisco Chinese New Year Parade," retrieved July 24, 2018, http://www.chineseparade.com/parade_history.asp.

[390] Yeh, 17.

Source: San Francisco Chronicle

FIGURE D-63 CHINATOWN PARADE, C. 1930S-40S

MISS CHINATOWN USA

The origins of the modern Miss Chinatown USA beauty pageant can be traced to the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition, when, during the Chinatown Carnival, Rose Lew, a young Chinese woman, was crowned Chinatown's queen.[391] In 1927, the Lion Awakening Fair, later known as the Jade Festival, was held to foster political and community empowerment. During the event, a beauty contest was held to raise money for the Chinese Hospital.[392] That same year, another beauty pageant was held to raise funds for St. Mary's Chinese Language School.[393] The early pageants were focused not on the beauty of the contestants but on their ability to sell tickets and raise funds. The women who sold the most tickets were crowned Miss Chinatown USA.[394]

The CCC's Pageant Committee selected the queen, based on beauty, personality, and talent. Participants donned cheongsam or Mandarin gowns for the contest.[395] In addition, participants answered questions in Chinese, performed traditional folk dances, and dazzled audiences with songs and music. The panel chose the girl who "best represents the typical Chinese girl in America."[396] The winner was customarily showered with gifts, such as cash scholarships, airline

[391] Bonnie Tsui, *American Chinatown: A People's History of Five Neighborhoods* (New York: Free Press, 2010), 218.
[392] Chinese Historical Society of America, "Glamour and Grace: The History and Culture of Miss Chinatown USA" (Chinese Historical Society of America Museum, 2007), 7.
[393] Shehong Chen, *Being Chinese, Becoming Chinese American* (University of Illinois Press, 2006), 174.
[394] Huping Ling and Allan W. Austin, *Asian American History and Culture : An Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Armonk, N.Y: Sharpe Reference, 2010), 210.
[395] Tsui, 219; Wong, 79.
[396] Chinese Chamber of Commerce, "San Francisco Chinese New Year Festival, Feb. 4-7, 1960" (Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 1960).

tickets, and trips. Miss Chinatown USA was also an opportunity for young Chinese women to voice their support for social movements. In 1965, Penelope Lynn Wong sang about the Free Speech Movement, and Katheryn Fong spoke about Cold War discrimination toward the Chinese.[397]

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-64 ROSE LEW, CANDIDATE FOR THE FIRST MISS CHINATOWN, C. 1913-15

Miss Chinatown USA symbolized the Chinese American female ideal, created a sense of national and ethnic pride among Chinese Americans, and brought positive publicity to the Chinese community in San Francisco. Writers for the *Chinese World* and *Chinese Pacific Weekly* theorized that using women as a symbol for the Chinese American community created a stereotype through a "feminized Chinese" and a non-threatening image for ethnic Chinatown. The image of an ethnic women also negated the stereotype of the bachelor society of Chinatown, creating a perception of a "safe, heterosexual, family-centered space" to attract tourists into Chinatown.[398]

In 1954, the CCC made the Miss Chinatown USA pageant an official event of the Chinese New Year parade.[399] Four years later, the CCC began inviting young women from around the country to compete, thereby creating the modern Miss Chinatown USA pageant.

[397] Chinese Chamber of Commerce, "San Francisco Chinatown: The Official Chinese Chamber of Commerce Publication" (Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 1965), 19.

[398] Yeh, 47.

[399] Tsui, 219.

CHINATOWN AND NEW DEAL–ERA PROGRAMS

Many Chinese Americans, who for decades were underpaid and locked out of housing, educational, and good employment opportunities, were already living in poverty when the Great Depression washed over the country in the 1930s. Approximately 3,500 Chinese Americans in San Francisco—nearly one third of the city's adult Chinese population—were unemployed in 1931.[400]

Source: Reddit.com (left); –San Francisco State University, Labor Archives and Research (right)

FIGURE D-65 CHINESE WOMEN CONTINUED TO WORK IN THE CITY'S GARMENT INDUSTRY AND EVENTUALLY FORMED THE CHINESE LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION LOCAL NO. 341. LEFT: MEMBERS OF THE LOCAL IN 1938; RIGHT: CHINESE GARMENT WORKERS, C. 1930S

Initially, federal and local relief aid was not distributed to Chinatown. The CCBA, led by elites, did not initially support the idea of Chinatown receiving aid. That changed after 1932 when Chinese Marxists organized mass demonstrations, demanding public assistance for the city's Chinese population. The City began providing aid to Chinatown soon after, including food and shelter (operated in partnership with the CCBA). In the mid-1930s, the State Emergency Relief Administration and other New Deal programs provided unemployment assistance and food, but only to those Chinese who were U.S. citizens. The Works Progress Administration eventually opened an office in Chinatown (exact location unknown), and a small number of college-educated Chinese Americans were employed there, including 12 social workers. Otherwise, the Works Progress Administration jobs held by Chinese Americans were typically unskilled positions.[401]

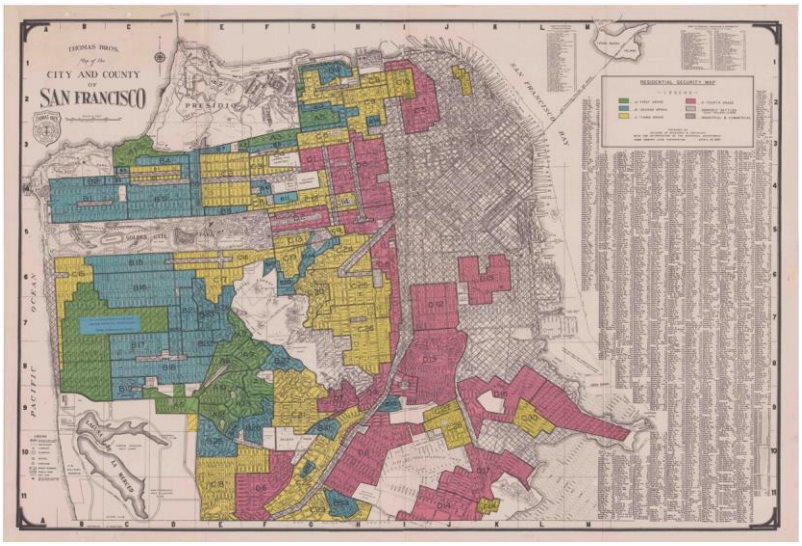
HOUSING DISCRIMINATION CONFINES CHINESE TO CHINATOWN

The Great Depression affected the economy of the United States, and millions of Americans were at risk of losing their homes. In response, the United States government created the Home

[400] Brooks, *Alien Neighbors,* Kindle Location 1109.
[401] Ibid., Kindle Location 1171.

Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) in 1933, with the hope of being able to help the housing market.[402] HOLC refinanced more than a million homes by issuing low-interest, long-term loans to homeowners.

To decide where it would issue loans, and to whom, HOLC divided cities into different sections or grades, based on characteristics such as population, the types of building in the area, location, and terrain.[403] Each grade was color coded on maps. Grade A was shaded green and considered the "best" area; Grade B was shaded blue and considered a "still desirable" area, Grade C was shaded yellow and considered a "definitely declining" area; and Grade D was shaded red and considered a "hazardous" area. Several factors went into determining which grade a neighborhood was given. One big factor was race. Neighborhoods occupied by people of color were usually determined Grade D neighborhoods and considered "high risk" investments for lenders. Such neighborhoods were outlined in red on maps, which is where the term "redlining" comes from.



Source: Thomas Bros., 1937

FIGURE D-66 RESIDENTIAL SECURITY MAP OF SAN FRANCISCO IN 1937. AREAS WERE RANKED IN REGARD TO DESIRABILITY WITH GREEN BEING THE MOST DESIRABLE PIECE OF PROPERTY FOLLOWED BY BLUE, YELLOW, AND RED WHICH WERE THE LEAST DESIRABLE AREAS

[402] Harriss, L. C. (1951). Background of Home Owners' Loan Corporation Legislation. In Harriss, L.C (Eds.), "History and policies of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation" (pp. 7-13). The National Bureau of Economic Research. Retrieved from http://www.nber.org/chapters/c3206.pdf Green, M. (2016). How Government Redlining Maps Encouraged Segregation in California Cities. KQED. Retrieved from https://www.kqed.org/ lowdown/18486/redlining Note to Reviewer: These entries were included in the draft received by ICF. Retrieval dates are unknown .

[403] Nelson, K. R., Winling, L., Marciano, R., Connolly, N., et al. (2018). "Mapping Inequality". American Panorama, ed. Retrieved from https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=12/37.7578/- 122.4364&opacity=0.8&city=san-francisco-ca Note to Reviewer: same comment as above.

As a result of these policies, Asians, Blacks, and other nonwhites were deemed ineligible for the historically low-interest, long-term loans being issued by the federal government. Another consequence of this race-based grading system was that all-white or mostly white neighborhoods—determined Grade A—now had a financial incentive to stay that way. A strong effort developed to keep these neighborhoods segregated because keeping non-whites out of the neighborhood helped to maintain value. Combined with restrictive racial covenants, communities of color across the United States were locked out of home ownership and, if not already, segregated into specific neighborhoods.

The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) replaced the HOLC in 1934. Unlike HOLC, which financed individual homeowners directly, the FHA did not provide direct loans but instead backed the loans of private lenders. This enabled the federal government to reach more people. Unfortunately, the FHA also inherited HOLC's racist grading system and required private lenders backed by the FHA to adhere to it. Private lenders, thus, continued to use redlining maps in lending decisions.[404] Moreover, new FHA-backed tract homes were not permitted to be built inside those areas.

In San Francisco, Chinese Americans were among those who were affected the most. Redlining prevented many from benefitting from the same opportunities offered to their white counterparts. The concentration of the city's Chinese population within Chinatown intensified, with fewer Chinese living in boarding houses and the laundries scattered throughout the city. In 1939, 90 percent of Chinatown's dwelling units were determined to be "substandard," with "almost 80 percent lack[ing] heat" and "most hav[ing] no private bathing or cooking facilities."[405] By 1940, Chinatown was more segregated than ever. Nob Hill, the neighborhood immediately bordering Chinatown, had a Chinese population of only 0.01 percent.[406]

D.6 New Chinese American Communities: Upward Mobility and Institutionalized Racism, 1945–1965

The postwar era represented a new chapter in Chinese American history as the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943 and the War Brides Act of 1945 paved the way for larger numbers of Chinese women to enter the United States. Although the number of Chinese American families and children subsequently increased, population growth was still stymied to some extent by national-origin quotas, which lasted until 1965.

---

[404] Domonoske, C. (2016). "Interactive Redlining Map Zooms in on History of Discrimination". National Public Radio. Retrieved from *https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/10/19/498536077/interactive-redlining-map-zooms-in-on-americas-history-of-discrimination* Note to Reviewer: These entries were included in the draft received by ICF. Retrieval dates are unknown .

[405] Brooks, *Alien Neighbors,* Kindle Location 207.

[406] Ibid., Kindle Location 198.

During this period, Chinese Americans won a major victory through the construction of a public housing development in Chinatown, although public housing and much of the private residential market remained segregated. Some of those barriers, however, began to fall in the 1950s; for the first time in nearly a century, San Francisco's Chinese Americans could secure housing outside of Chinatown. This was especially true as employment opportunities generally improved. Yet, much of the Chinese immigrant population still lived in fear because of the Chinese Confession Program, a product of the Cold War.

POPULATION SHIFTS

The citywide population of Chinese doubled from 120,000 in 1940 to 237,000 in 1950.[407] The postwar era brought about significant population shifts as the number of married couples with children increased. This was due, in part, to the growth of families among first-, second-, and third-generation Chinese Americans already in the United States as well was passage of the 1945 War Brides Act, which enabled thousands of Chinese women to immigrate to the United States.[408] Refugees fleeing China after the 1949 communist revolution added to the number of new Chinese immigrants to the United States. Some came as new brides; many others came to rejoin their husbands after years of separation. Between 1945 and 1950, 5,132 wives, five husbands, and 589 children were admitted to the U.S. or had their status adjusted under the War Brides Act, leading to a profound change in the composition of the Chinese American population. These women played a vital role in the creation of new Chinese American families and the stabilization of families long separated by exclusion policies.[409]

In the San Francisco Bay Area, the birth rate among Chinese Americans increased by 286.5 percent between 1946 and 1947. This trend continued at least until 1950. By the end of that year, the ratio between Chinese men and women in the United States dropped from three to one to two to one. There was a lower median age, a higher rate of married couples, and more women in the workforce than ever before. As Lee aptly describes, "What had been labeled a 'bachelor society' had by 1950 become a growing community of families."[410]

EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION

World War II provided increased opportunities for Chinese in America. The number of Chinese employed in the U.S. increased from 36,992 in 1940 to 48,409 in 1950, and employment in the professional ranks more than tripled for men (from 812 in 1940 to 2,541 in 1950) and almost quadrupled for women (from 221 to 914 during that same period). Adding to that, the G.I. Bill

---

[407] Rev. James Chuck, "Growth of Protestant Congregations from 1950 to Mid-1996 in Five Bay Area Counties," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* (2001), 63.

[408] *Annual Report of Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 1950, cited by Zhao, 78-9.

[409] Ibid.; Wong, 194-5.

[410] Rose Hum Lee, "The Recent Immigrant Chinese Families of the San Francisco-Oakland Area," M*arriage and Family Living* (Feb. 1956), 15-16, quoted in Wong, 196.

provided a means for some Chinese American veterans to pay for a college education. By the mid-20th century, "with more Chinese Americans employed as doctors, lawyers, engineers, and other white-collar professionals, and with substantially more women working in the public sphere, Chinese Americans were poised to enter the American middle class."[411]

Still, many faced difficulties securing employment outside of Chinatowns, and even when they did, some encountered a "bamboo ceiling" that prevented them from advancing. San Francisco resident and career engineer Him Mark Lai recalls the time he started working with the San Francisco Municipal Railway as a junior mechanical engineer:

> In general, the personnel worked rather harmoniously together, [but] there also appeared to be an "old boys" network that tried to exclude "outsiders" from the supervisory positions.[412]

Lai noticed that several Asian Indian and Jewish engineers, who passed civil service examinations and earned promotions, were let go just a day shy of their six-month probationary period, while, at the same time, an Irish worker and member of the "old boys club" was retained despite his poor performance.[413]

In San Francisco, educational institutions were still largely segregated and white controlled during this period. Reverend Norman Fong attended Jean Parker Elementary School in Chinatown "where all the kids were Chinese but the principal and the teachers were all white." He reminisces:

> For me it was a time of racism. I got in trouble in the fifth grade. The teacher was making fun of the Chinese and I said, "Shut up!" to the teacher…She was saying that the Chinese were good cooks and laundry people. Now my dad was a cook, by the way, but I felt there was a little bit of a misunderstanding about why the Chinese ended up in those areas…My mom was head of the PTA, so it was very embarrassing. I felt that racism was a key issue in the 50s and 60s. The Chinese community was not really well respected.[414]

Another San Francisco native, Ford Lee, who grew up in Chinatown in the 1940s, recalls a similar experience of anti-Chinese harassment. Lee describes the first day walking to his new school, Francisco Junior High, in the North Beach neighborhood in 1962. Trouble befell him as he crossed Washington Square and the nearby Salesian Boys School:

---

411 Wong, 198.

412 Elaine Woo, "Him Mark Lai dies at 83; scholar was called dean of Chinese American studies," *Los Angeles Times*, retrieved July 12, 2018, available online: http://www.latimes.com/local/obituaries/la-me-him-mark-lai14-2009jun14-story.html#

413 Him Mark Lai, *Autobiography of a Chinese American Historian* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Chinese Historical Society of America, 2011), 76.

414 Norman Fong, quoted by Edmund S. Wong, *Growing Up in San Francisco's Chinatown: Boomer Memories from Noodle Rolls to Apple Pie* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2018), 25.

> I meet the Salesian boys as I'm walking by and they tied me to a fence and said, "Let's get the Chinaman!" So they water balloon tortured me…can you imagine those water bombs? Wham! Wham! Wham! And I got so angry. That was my first introduction to racism..."[415]

Lee explains how this group of boys was known as the "DACs," for "Damn All Chinamen," and they would spray paint their name around North Beach Playground. Lee's friend, who retaliated against the DACs with a BB gun, ended up in juvenile hall.[416]

HOUSING

A national housing shortage dating to the 1930s only worsened during and following World War II. This was particularly true in the west, which experienced a significant influx of new residents.[417] The 1949 Housing Act made funds available for public housing construction, although most went toward redevelopment efforts, many of which displaced low-income residents and people of color.[418] Still, Chinatown secured a major victory in its Ping Yuen public housing project (discussed below)—a product of years of Chinese American activism. Prior to the construction of Ping Yuen, Chinese Americans were shut out of the city's public housing projects all together. Public housing in San Francisco remained segregated for many years, however, and U.S. citizenship was required of all residents. Given the barriers to U.S. citizenship that existed for Asian Americans, this provision excluded many people of Chinese descent in San Francisco.

Chinese Americans, segregated into San Francisco's Chinatown for nearly a century, sought to escape crowded and generally poor living conditions in the neighborhood. Exclusionary housing practices sanctioned by the federal government, however, kept them out of other parts of the city for decades. As described earlier, Chinese Americans were excluded from HOLC- and FHA-sponsored home loans, and redlining continued well after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled those practices unconstitutional in 1948. Racially restrictive covenants, placed on the deeds of individual properties and housing developments alike, were additional barriers Chinese faced when seeking to rent or purchase a home outside of Chinatown.

---

415 Norman Fong, in E. Wong, *Growing Up in San Francisco's Chinatown,* 28.

416 Email from Norman Fong, June 26, 2018.

417 John Baranski, *Housing the City by the Bay: Tenant Activism, Civil Rights, and Class Politics in San Francisco* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2019), 88.

418 Baranski, 89-90.

Source: San Francisco Chronicle, January 22, 1916, page 9

FIGURE D-67 ADVERTISEMENT FOR HOMES IN THE SUNSET BY FERNANDO NELSON & SONS REFERRING TO THE LACK OF AFRICAN AMERICAN AND ASIAN AMERICAN PEOPLE AS A SELLING POINT, 1916

The tide began to turn at the onset of the Cold War in the 1950s, when international politics influenced attitudes toward the treatment of Chinese Americans and new housing opportunities opened, primarily in unrestricted neighborhoods bordering all-white neighborhoods in the western part of San Francisco. When Chinese Americans could finally leave Chinatown, they did so in droves. Most went to the Richmond District and, to a lesser extent, the Sunset District.

PUBLIC HOUSING VICTORY: PING YUEN

In 1951, the San Francisco Housing Authority (SFHA) constructed a public housing project in Chinatown called Ping Yuen (655, 711, and 895 Pacific Avenue, all extant). It was the first such development in the nation to serve all-Chinese residents. The origins of its development date back several decades; therefore, a brief historical context of the events leading up to 1951 are included below.

A national public housing movement in the United States emerged during the Progressive Era of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, although the federal government did not fund public housing until World War I. The Great Depression of the 1930s and, later, World War II brought about more funding for public housing and workers in the defense industry. The U.S. Housing Act of 1937 created the U.S. Housing Authority and allocated funding for use by local public

housing programs. The following year, California passed the Housing Authorities Law, enabling local municipalities like San Francisco to establish their own housing authorities.[419]

In 1938, the SFHA was formed. The SFHA planned 11 housing developments throughout the city prior to World War II, but only five were completed before the onset of the war.[420] San Francisco experienced dramatic population growth and a severe housing shortage during and after World War II, which revamped discussions about public housing. After the 1949 Housing Act allocated new federal dollars for public housing construction, the SFHA began work on the public housing projects that had been delayed by the war.[421]

Chinatown, which struggled with overcrowding before the war, remained among the most overcrowded neighborhoods in the city but was ignored by the SFHA. Interest in public housing in Chinatown had emerged during the New Deal era of the 1930s, when, for the first time, Chinese Americans saw that government could actually be a source of good.[422] However, young Chinese Americans who were employed under the New Deal became frustrated as federal relief dollars continued to enrich Chinatown slumlords. In 1937, the *Chinese Digest* spotlighted Chinatown's housing problem.[423] It was young Chinese Americans like Emily Lee Fong, Lim P. Lee, Theodore Lee, Chee S. Lowe, and Gilbert Woo who led the movement for public housing in Chinatown.

Chinese American community leaders and organizations such as the Chinese YWCA, CCC, Chinese Six Companies, and Chinese Native Sons voiced public support for public housing in Chinatown. Emily Lee Fong from the YWCA implored the SFHA to "make every effort to remedy the social situation of overcrowded homes in the Chinese section of the city."[424] Chee Lowe, who represented the latter three Chinatown groups mentioned above, echoed Fong's sentiments and formed a Chinese Advisory Committee to advocate for a public housing project in Chinatown and advise the government regarding such a project.[425] All but one member of the SFHA opposed the idea of public housing for Chinatown. That member was Alice Griffith. The public health director and a member of the Sanitary Commission also stood in support of public housing for the struggling community but were in the minority.[426] The SFHA otherwise ignored the pleas of the Chinatown community.

Everything changed in 1939 when Eleanor Roosevelt intervened. After reading a student report entitled "Living Conditions," which highlighted the poor housing conditions in San Francisco's

---

[419] Rebecca Allen, *Historic Resources Evaluation Report for Ping Yuen Apartments*, prepared for San Francisco Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development (San Francisco: ESA, June 2015), 21-22.

[420] Carey & Co. Inc, *Draft Historic Resource Evaluation for Ping Yuen Housing Development*, prepared for the San Francisco Housing Authority (San Francisco: Carey & Co., June 22, 2001), 10.

[421] Baranski, 86.

[422] Brooks, *Alien Neighbors,* Kindle Location 1166.

[423] *Ibid.*, Kindle Location 1179.

[424] Baranski, 424.

[425] Ibid.

[426] Brooks, *Alien Neighbors,* Kindle Location 1195

Chinatown, the first lady condemned the situation in a July 5, 1939, newspaper article. The article garnered significant attention among local officials and white organizations such as the Junior Chamber of Commerce, which created a Chinese affiliate group (the Chinese Jaycees) and published its own report in support of a Chinatown public housing project. Most white appeals for public housing in Chinatown centered on concerns regarding tourism and keeping the Chinese segregated in Chinatown and out of all-white neighborhoods.[427] Embarrassed, the SFHA felt forced to at least study the issue, which it did in 1939. Not surprisingly, the study "found 85 percent of Chinatown's housing to be substandard and overcrowded."[428] Finding land for the construction of new public housing in Chinatown, however, proved difficult. Land was scarce and expensive, and the average price per square foot in Chinatown exceeded designated federal limits. The SFHA then offered to build public housing for Chinese in Hunters Point as a final offer.[429] Chinese community leaders rejected that offer as completely unworkable for Chinese Americans who would lose access to public transportation and employment.

It was at that point that Eleanor Roosevelt intervened once again, calling upon federal officials at the USHA to make an exception and waive the $1.50-per-square-foot limit. Doing so would cost the federal government an additional $150,000. The USHA agreed to oblige the first lady's request under the condition that San Francisco pay $75,000 to make the project pencil out.[430] Other factors, including changing public opinions toward Chinese Americans stemming from the Sino-Japanese War and the popular "Bowl of Rice" parties organized by the United Council for Civilian Relief in China (described earlier), also played a role in growing public support for public housing in Chinatown. White homeowner groups in places like Nob Hill, who feared Chinatown would spill over into their all-white neighborhoods, also supported the idea of building more housing in Chinatown.[431] Therefore, in 1940, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors voted to approve $75,000 for a public housing project in Chinatown. An anti-public housing law passed the state legislature in 1949 that required all new public housing projects to be approved by voters, but because of strong support for the project, the local housing measure sailed through without problems.[432]

Ping Yuen, or "tranquil gardens," was planned for Chinatown to help alleviate the area's overcrowding and poor living conditions. The site purchased for the new housing development was located along Pacific Avenue between Grant Avenue and Stockton Street and "contained some of the most notoriously cramped and unsanitary slums in the city."[433] The inhabitants of the area were moved out to make way for construction. Those affected were given priority when low-rent housing units at Ping Yuen became available.

---

427 Ibid., Kindle Location 1287-1293.
428 Baranski, 43.
429 Brooks, *Alien Neighbors,* Kindle Location 1198.
430 Baranski, 44.
431 Brooks, *Alien Neighbors,* Kindle Location 363.
432 Carey & Co., Inc., 10.
433 Ibid.

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-68 PING YUEN DEDICATION CEREMONY, OCTOBER 22, 1951

In 1951, the first federally funded public housing project for Chinese residents opened in San Francisco's Chinatown. More than 5,000 people attended the dedication ceremony for the Ping Yuen apartments on October 22 of that year. Mayor Elmer Robinson delivered the keynote speech, and the event was attended by national and international journalists. Firecrackers and lion dancers marked the special occasion. Ping Yuen was a high-rise apartment complex, consisting of three buildings constructed between 1951 and 1956 (655, 711, and 895 Pacific Avenue, all extant). Gaining attention as "the tallest public housing west of Chicago," the complex displayed elements of Chinese and Modern residential architecture.[434] High demand for public housing in Chinatown led the SFHA to erect a fourth tower in 1961.[435]

Ping Yuen was significant not only for the housing, health, educational, and social services it provided to Chinatown residents but also because it marked a new era of Chinese American participation and representation in local government.[436] Chinese Americans helped shaped the SFHA and "saw in public housing a way to expand civil, political, and economic rights in the city."[437] In 1950, for example, Chinatown business leader Charles Jung was appointed to the SFHA. Jung was the first Chinese American member of the SFHA and one of the first Chinese Americans ever to serve on a government board or commission in San Francisco.[438] Yet, Ping Yuen (711-799 Pacific Avenue, extant) was also an outcome of the racial segregation and discrimination of the City's larger public housing program. Prior to 1954, the SFHA practiced *de jure* segregation. Consistent with federal guidelines, the SFHA followed a "neighborhood pattern" policy whereby

434 Baranski, 85.

435 Ibid., 97.

436 Ibid.

437 Baranski, 45.

438 Reuel E. Shiller, Draft "Conflict in the 'Tranquil Gardens': *Banks v. Housing Authority* of San Francisco and the Definition of Equality in Multi-Racial California" (San Francisco: University of California, Hastings College of the Law, 2015).

public housing projects were available only to members of the area's predominant racial group. Out of the SFHA's first 11 public housing projects, all but two were reserved for whites, Ping Yuen and Westside Courts, built for African Americans in the Western Addition (but only after heavy lobbying from Black public housing activists). It was not until 1954, when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) won a legal battle against the SFHA in *Banks v. Housing Authority of San Francisco,* that the courts ruled that the SFHA was in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment and forced to stop its discriminatory tenant selection practices.[439]

CHINATOWN: CULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL CENTER

Although scores of Chinese Americans left Chinatown during the 1950s, Chinatown remained the primary cultural and commercial center of the city's Chinese American community until Chinese American businesses established themselves in the western neighborhoods. Chinatown's role as an economic engine for the city and center of commerce and tourism solidified during this period.

In 1957, Jun Ke Choy, also known as J.K. Choy, formed the Chinatown branch of the San Francisco Savings and Loan Association (located at 1044 Grant Avenue in 1958, extant). He later operated a Chinese Community Center, also known as the Chinese Community House, out of the same building. The facility housed a small library, community bulletin board, and a meeting hall, and the personnel stationed there assisted and advised people about available social welfare services."[440] The Chinese Community House was wholly supported by the financial institution.

Source: San Francisco Public Library Historic Photograph Collection

FIGURE D-69 INTERIOR LOBBY OF SAN FRANCISCO FEDERAL SAVINGS BANK, CHINATOWN BRANCH, DECEMBER 1959

[439] Baranski, 96.

[440] Architectural Resources Group, *Draft Hilton Hotel Historic Resource Evaluation*, prepared for the San Francisco Planning Department (March 2019), 18.

The Chinese Community House was a predecessor to the San Francisco Greater Chinatown Community Service Association, which formed in 1963, also by J.K. Choy. The San Francisco Greater Chinatown Community Service Association would later spearhead efforts to establish the Chinese Cultural Center in the Holiday Inn (later the Hilton Hotel, 750 Kearny Street, extant). The Chinese Cultural Foundation of San Francisco formed in 1965, although the center itself, which in opened in a 20,000-square-foot space inside the hotel, was not completed until 1970.[441]

In 1953, Chinatown merchants organized the first neighborhood-wide Chinese New Year celebration, "changing a traditional festival into a tourist attraction, complete with parades, exhibitions, and, later, queen competitions, more familiarly known as "beauty contests."[442] By 1962, to accommodate the large numbers of tourists, which grew with the postwar economic prosperity, a public garage was built under Portsmouth Square. The CHSA formed in 1963 to document the history of Chinese Americans, who, at that time, had been present in San Francisco for more than 100 years.

Among the cultural and entertainment attractions Chinatown offered in the early to mid- 20th century were its many movie houses. Most of these theaters were built in the 1920s as venues for Chinese opera. The Sun Sing movie house at 1019-1029 Grant Avenue (extant) was originally the Mandarin Theatre, an opera venue constructed in 1925. The late international superstar and martial arts actor, Bruce Lee, who was born in San Francisco's Chinese Hospital, performed at the Sun Sing. Former Chinatown resident Judy Lee shares her experience seeing Bruce Lee there in the early 1960s:

> I saw Bruce Lee perform live at the Sun Sing. He did a Kung Fu demonstration as an opening act for Diana Chang Chung Wen, who was a Chinese bombshell in those days…After his martial arts act, Bruce danced the cha-cha with Diana up on the stage. Afterwards he stood around in the lobby. Even then he had a presence.[443]

The Great Star Theater at 636 Jackson Street (extant) was also originally built in 1925 to present Chinese opera (its first name was the Great China Theater). It began showing Chinese language films in 1940. Other theaters began showing Chinese films in the 1950s and 1960s, including the World Theater at 644 Broadway (not extant), the Bella Union at 825 Kearny Street (extant), and The Palace (later Pagoda) at 1741 Powell Street (not extant).

[441] For a detailed history of the Chinese Cultural Center, see *Hilton Hotel Historic Resource Evaluation*.
[442] Architectural Resources Group, *Hilton Hotel*, 18.
[443] Judy Wing Lee, quoted by Edmund Wong, 52.

Source: Grant Din (left and right), Orlando/Getty Images (center)

FIGURE D-70 LEFT TO RIGHT: GREAT STAR THEATER (2018), GRANDVIEW THEATER (C. 1955), GRANDVIEW THEATER (2018)

Chinatown's theaters showed both foreign and domestic films, many in Cantonese or Mandarin. Oscar-nominated filmmaker Arthur Dong, who grew up in Chinatown, offers a window into Chinatown's cinematic culture in the 1950s and 1960s:

> San Francisco Chinatown was once a movie lover's paradise. During the 1950s and 1960s, *my* Chinatown had five movie houses, clustered within a compact, six-block radius, each showing double bills of Cantonese imports from Hong Kong. Today, the effects of cultural shifts and technological developments have brought to pass only phantom traces of that era. The Sun Sing Theatre on Grant Avenue that originally started in 1925 as the Mandarin Theatre for live Cantonese opera performances, was converted into a swap meet, but now it's just boarded-up. The former Grandview Theatre on Jackson Street, a block from the Chinese Hospital where I was born, sells Buddhist supplies. The Bella Union on Kearney, which often showed Mandarin language films from Shaw Brothers Studios, is long gone, as is the World Theatre on Broadway. The sole surviving theater is The Great Star on Jackson, but that too is normally closed except for special events.[444]

THE EMBARCADERO FREEWAY BRINGS NEW BUSINESS TO CHINATOWN

The Embarcadero Freeway, opened in early 1959, created a fast and convenient route to Chinatown from Interstate 80. The freeway extended from a Bay Bridge exit south of Market Street, along the waterfront, to exits at Broadway and Washington Streets.

The Embarcadero Freeway was part of an original plan which would have extended ten major highways throughout the city, from the Bay Bridge to Golden Gate Bridge, and across the middle of the city. As people became aware of the visual and environmental impact of these new

[444] Dong, Arthur. *Hollywood Chinese: The Chinese in American Films*, Santa Monica: Angel City Press, 2019, 11.

freeways, neighborhood organizers launched a "freeway revolt" in 1959 that resulted in the cancellation of seven of the ten planned freeways. The revolt also stopped the Embarcadero Freeway from continuing past Broadway in Chinatown.[445]

While the freeway boosted Chinatown business, the double-decker structure created a massive wall on the waterfront and blocked views of the bay and Ferry Building to the dismay of many San Franciscans. With opposition from Chinatown and other leaders from the north side of the city, including North Beach and Fisherman's Wharf, a measure to tear down the freeway lost at the polls in 1987.[446] The freeway eventually did come down following severe damage caused by the 1989 Loma Prieta Earthquake.

RACIAL SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION IN THE PRIVATE HOUSING MARKET

Prior to World War II, non-whites lived alongside whites in many parts of San Francisco—except for people of Chinese descent. Fervent anti-Chinese racism contributed to Chinese being the "worst housed" of any racial or ethnic group in the city and resulted in Chinatown becoming "the first segregated neighborhood in America."[447] The federal housing programs of the 1930s enforced these existing patterns of residential segregation and led to the formation of new segregated neighborhoods in San Francisco and throughout the San Francisco Bay Area.

When the FHA came into existence in 1934, Chinese Americans and other non-whites were excluded from FHA-backed mortgages and housing developments. They were even "redlined" out of private (non-FHA-backed) mortgages because most financial institutions had adopted the exclusionary race-based criteria of the FHA. In addition, restrictive racial covenants enacted by individual property owners and developers alike became "common and accepted practice nationwide" by the 1940s.[448] Most of the large tract developments cropping up around the San Francisco Bay Area, for example, were sold only to whites.

By the time World War II ended in 1945, San Francisco's neighborhoods were highly segregated. Home loans made available to returning veterans through the G.I. Bill were administered by banks and lenders that engaged in redlining practices. Even those Chinese American veterans who were able to secure financing through the G.I. Bill ran into difficulties when trying to find homeowners who were willing to sell to Chinese. Meanwhile, thousands of Chinese American veterans were bringing their fiancées and wives from China to San Francisco. Exclusion from the housing market was a slap in the face to the many Chinese Americans who patriotically served during World War II. As one example, Ford Lee describes the difficulty he and his wife had in finding a home to purchase in the mid-1950s:

---

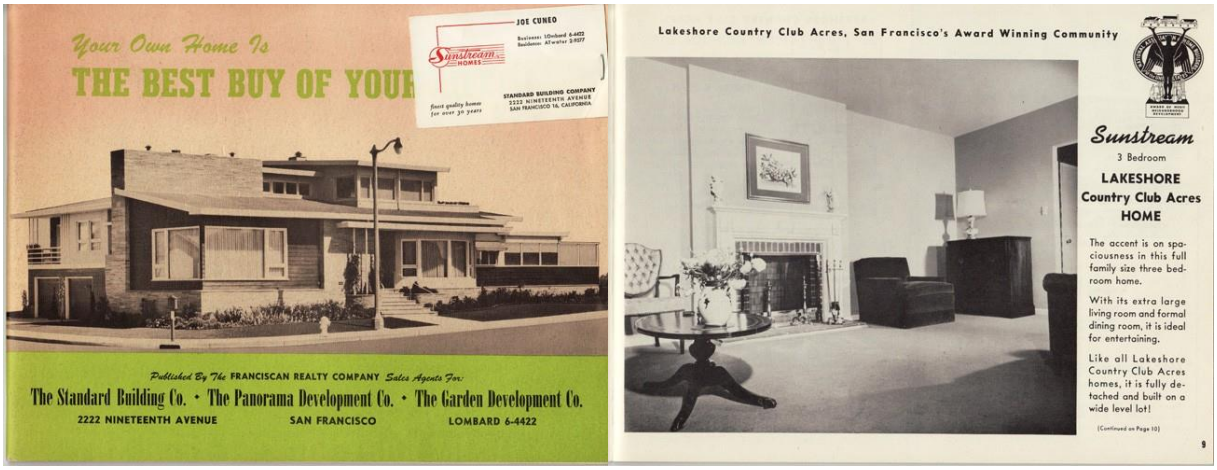
445 "A-file" for Lawrence Lowe, multiple dates. National Archives and Records Administration, San Bruno, CA.

446 "Alien file" for Lawrence Choy Lowe, unnumbered pages, documents dated September 24, 1956 and May 24, 1960, and March 30, 1964, Amy Chen collection, Ethnic Studies Library, University of California at Berkeley.

447 Brooks, *Alien Neighbors,* Kindle Location 165.

448 Ibid., Kindle Location 2022.

When we first got married, 1954, we used to be interested in houses to buy and we would go out to the new construction places, the Sunstream homes [located on the outskirts of the Sunset District] and out at the beach, and we'd walk in the front door and the salesman would walk out the back door. We visited maybe six or seven different housing developments, and the only housing development that welcomed Chinese was the Eichler builders in San Mateo."[449]



Source: Western Neighborhoods Project

FIGURE D-71 SUNSTREAM HOMES SALES BROCHURE, 1950

May and Sinclair Louie, who became prosperous from selling art and gifts in the several stores they owned in Chinatown, such as China Bazaar at 667 Grant Avenue (extant), tried to buy a home in the exclusive Sea Cliff neighborhood but were repeatedly turned away. "No one wanted to sell to us because we were Chinese," May said. When a house came on the market through a probate sale, they won using a blind bid. The property manager had no choice but to sell to them, but the Louies faced neighbors who tried to drive them out of the neighborhood. The neighbors even filed a suit, falsely claiming the Louie's violated zoning regulations when they took steps to build an addition. Losing the suit, the neighbors offered Sinclair and May Louie $40,000 to move out. The Louies refused and remained in the same home, located at 15 25th Avenue, for more than 40 years.[450]

[449] Ford Lee, April 13, 2013.

[450] Chinese for Affirmative Action unknown 2007 publication, 8 <www.caasf.org/wp-content/uploads/sinclair-and-may-louie.pdf>. NTR: This entry was in the draft received by ICF so retrieval date is unknown.

Source: Grant Din

FIGURE D-72 RESIDENCE OF SINCLAIR AND MARY LOUIE, 2018

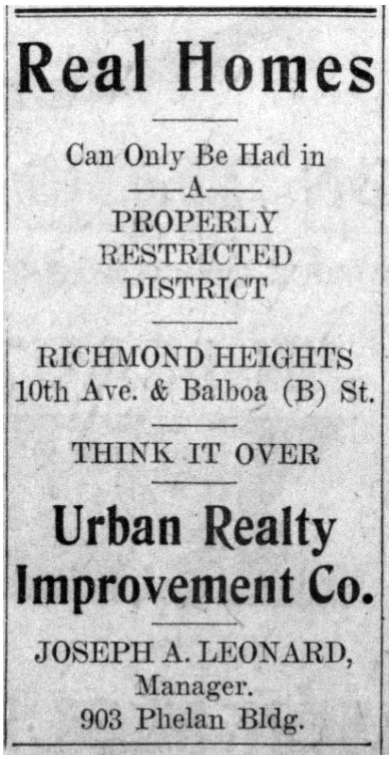
As cities expanded into suburbs and the Chinese population grew significantly in the late 1940s and 1950s, Chinese Americans continued to seek housing outside of Chinatown, despite the many barriers they faced.

RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS

Restrictive covenants are clauses written in deeds to properties. Owners of the properties must follow the covenants. Initially, the clauses were related to a property's appearance or maintenance–for example, requiring certain color palettes or maintaining a setback or side yard. Beginning in the 1910s, some restrictive covenants excluded non-whites from purchasing or occupying a property. In San Francisco, one of the earliest known uses of racially restrictive covenants was in the Ingleside Terraces residential park in the western part of the city.[451] Racially restrictive covenants became more prevalent during the 1930s and 1940s as the FHA required their use in any tract development financed with an FHA-backed loan. Whenever racially restrictive covenants were challenged in court, San Francisco's courts overwhelmingly upheld them.[452]

[451] Rothstein, Richard, The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America, First edition (New York; London: Liveright Publishing Corporation, a division of W. W. Norton & Company, 2017), 78; Tim Kelley, *Leonard House Landmark Designation Case Report*, prepared for San Francisco Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board (September 1999), retrieved October 20, 2020, https://sfplanninggis.org/docs/landmarks_and_districts/LM213.pdf

[452] Brooks, *Alien Neighbors,* Kindle Location 2290.



Source: San Francisco Chronicle, May 6, 1911. P. 12

FIGURE D-73 RACIALLY RESTRICTED ALL-WHITE "RESIDENCE PARKS" LIKE 'RICHMOND HEIGHTS,' PRESIDIO TERRACE, WEST CLAY PARK, SEA CLIFF, AND LINCOLN MANOR KEPT CHINESE AMERICANS AND MANY OTHERS OUT OF LARGE AREAS OF THE RICHMOND DISTRICT FOR DECADES

Racial covenants came into widespread use in the Nob Hill neighborhood, which borders Chinatown. When Mabel Tseng bought a house with a restrictive covenant at 1150 Clay Street (extant) in Nob Hill, white residents in the area sued her. A local court sided with the white neighbors and, in May 1945, ordered Tseng's eviction. This pro-segregationist victory inspired even more white homeowners in Nob Hill to adopt racially restrictive covenants.[453]

Similar incidents occurred in other San Francisco neighborhoods. In one case, in 1946, a group of neighbors in Portola Heights threatened to sue two Chinese American and Filipino families that were attempting to move into the area. The interracial civil rights organization Council for Civic Unity publicly shamed those who were threatening the lawsuit, causing them to eventually drop the charges. Still, victories like that were rare.[454]

In 1948, the Supreme Court, after appeals to seven lower courts, ruled in the landmark *Shelley v. Kraemer* case that restrictive covenants were unconstitutional. It was the work of the NAACP, ACLU, and other progressive civil rights groups that made this milestone possible. Still, the ruling outlawed only racially restrictive covenants—not housing discrimination altogether.

[453] Ibid., Kindle Locations 1300, 1992, 2027.
[454] Ibid., Kindle Location 2294-2302.

People of color continued to experience discrimination in housing well after 1948, although it did subside in some places. As Charlotte Brooks notes, "in less than three years, thousands of Chinese Americans moved out of Chinatown."[455]

CHANGING ATTITUDES DURING THE COLD WAR

In the years before World War II and the mass migration of African Americans to San Francisco, Chinese Americans, and later Japanese Americans, were the main group targeted by restrictive covenants and housing discrimination in San Francisco. Things began to change in the 1950s as the Cold War between the United States and communist forces in the Soviet Union and China intensified. Communist China increasingly used anti-Chinese activity in the United States as propaganda against its foreign adversary. Charlotte Brooks notes:

> As the Cold War deepened, a growing number of white Californians saw Asian American housing integration as a necessary price to pay for victory in the struggle. And as thousands of Asian Americans began moving into neighborhoods where blacks could not follow, the racial geography of urban and suburban California in the late 1950s became the most obvious barometer of the state's racial transformation."[456]

The first white neighborhoods in San Francisco to integrate tended to be those that bordered racially unrestricted areas. Asian Americans typically moved in first, followed by African Americans. During this time, Blacks faced more discrimination than Asians in the housing market—a change from only a few decades earlier. In the 1950s, the NAACP successfully lobbied the FHA to eliminate its policy of racial restrictions for properties it underwrote.[457]

Together, Chinese American support for China's war victims during the Sino-Japanese conflict, participation in World War II on the front lines and in civilian services (along with volunteerism, fundraising, and bond drives), and the concept that integrating Chinese Americans was a patriotic act changed the prevailing perception regarding the "unassimilable" Chinese and led to wider acceptance by the dominant society. By mid-decade, housing discrimination was on the decline, although it was not completely eradicated.

Ed Tang shares an example of how lingering anti-Chinese sentiment created an uncomfortable living space for his parents, even after they were able to purchase a home in a white neighborhood:

> Story goes that my father bought this house [in the early 1950s] and my mother was afraid to move in because my neighbors didn't want Chinese neighbors… the neighbors were afraid that once you let one Chinese in, they were going to take over the neighborhood. So my father rented this house out for a year and after a year, he was determined—that is my house and I want to move in.[458]

---

[455] Ibid., Kindle Location 2401.
[456] Brooks, *Alien Neighbors,* Kindle Location 119.
[457] Ibid., Kindle Location 2382.
[458] Ed Tang, personal communication, July 21, 2017.

At mid-century, as the Chinese population grew, new employment opportunities slowly opened, and barriers to integration began to ease. Chinese left Chinatown and moved into other San Francisco neighborhoods. This was particularly true of upwardly mobile U.S.-born Chinese Americans. Many moved in droves to the Richmond and Sunset districts, described in more detail below. Other areas that experienced tremendous growth in later years, and should be studied further, include Visitacion Valley, Ocean View, Merced Heights, and Ingleside. As a result of this exodus from Chinatown, the district was heavily made up of immigrants and lower-income Chinese during the 1960s.

Despite the legal victories of the 1940s and the cultural shifts of the 1950s, residential segregation persisted until the mid-1960s, when additional barriers began to fall, aided a great deal by the Rumford Fair Housing Act of 1963, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Federal Fair Housing Act of 1968.

THE CHINESE CONFESSION PROGRAM, 1956–1965

Although the Chinese Exclusion Acts were no longer in effect and some barriers began to fall, many Chinese in the United States continued to live in fear, especially immigrants and those without U.S. citizenship. Communist-led political movements took place around the globe in the years after World War II. In 1949, communists won control of China over the U.S.-backed Kuomintang. The U.S. entered a Cold War with China and the USSR, among other nations, as the U.S. sought to control the spread of communism to other countries, including many in Asia and the Pacific.[459]

Fearing Chinese leftists in the United States, the federal government launched the Chinese Confession Program, which claimed to offer undocumented Chinese immigrants a path to permanent residency if they registered with the U.S. federal government. In reality, the program was a strategy to "root out potential pro-communist sympathizers who might then be deported."[460] The Chinese Confession Program was enacted at a time when McCarthyism ran rampant, and the House Un-American Activities Commission (HUAC) investigated anyone it suspected had ties with China. Through the program, INS and FBI officials interviewed participants to gather intelligence and test people's loyalties.[461] Searches by the INS and FBI generated an atmosphere of fear and suspicion within Chinese American communities.[462]**[**

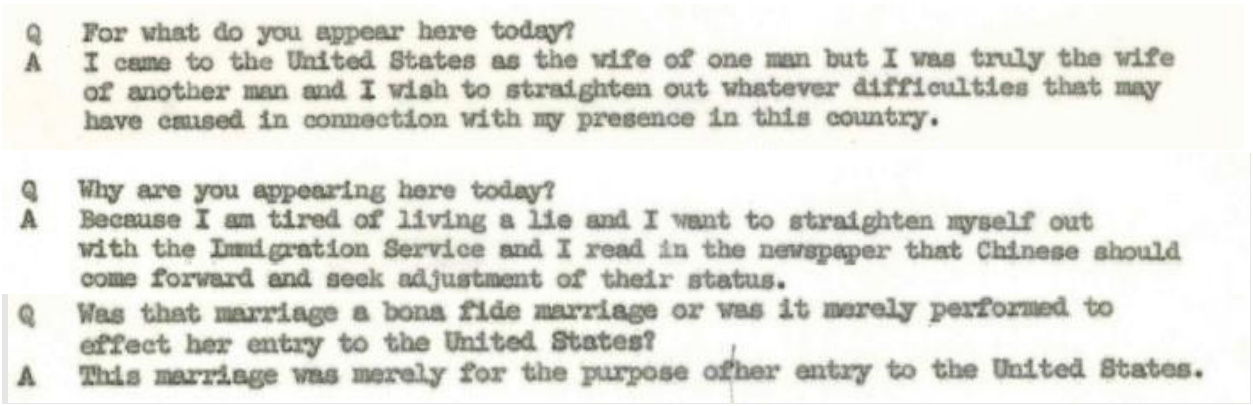
The program sowed distrust and fear in Chinatown as well as divisions within San Francisco's Chinese community.[463] Lai, Lim, and Yung assert that,

[459] Baldoz, 226.
[460] Baldoz, 227.
[461] Takaki, 416.
[462] New York Historical Society, *Chinese American Exclusion/Inclusion*
[463] Takaki, 416.

> The program wreaked havoc in the Chinese community, as those who confessed were asked to provide the names and addresses of their real and fictitious families as well as those of other illegal immigrants. The government also attempted to force confessions and deport those known to be "pro-Communists" by conducting immigration raids in Chinatown and subpoenaing family and district association records. In the end, only 11,336 people confessed to being paper sons or paper daughters, but the illegal status of an additional 19,124 people was exposed in the process.[464]

Divisions and anxieties were visible during the 1953 New Year parade in Chinatown as organizers articulated anti-communist pledges during announcements and events.[465] Before 1979, the Nationalist Chinese flag was displayed during the New Year parade. However, the Nationalist flag disappeared as the United States established diplomatic relations with the communist People's Republic of China, signifying a change in the political expression of the Chinese community, although the people were divided by the decision. Sometimes spectators would bring their own flag to the parade to express their allegiances.

The excerpts below are from the 1957 testimonies of a wife and husband who participated in the Chinese Confession Program. Mr. K (full name not used to protect their identities) had been unable to bring his wife to this country from China because of the Chinese Exclusion Acts. After World War II, Mr. K asked a friend with U.S. citizenship to "marry" his wife in China so that he could finally bring her to the U.S. The friend obliged, even though he was already married (the friend had brought his own wife to the U.S. using his brother's papers). Newly "married," the friend and Mrs. K divorced shortly after her arrival in America in 1949. A few years later, Mr. and Mrs. K participated in the confession program to clear their names and stop living lies," they said.[466] Below is an excerpt from Mrs. K's testimony:



Q For what do you appear here today?
A I came to the United States as the wife of one man but I was truly the wife of another man and I wish to straighten out whatever difficulties that may have caused in connection with my presence in this country.

Q Why are you appearing here today?
A Because I am tired of living a lie and I want to straighten myself out with the Immigration Service and I read in the newspaper that Chinese should come forward and seek adjustment of their status.
Q Was that marriage a bona fide marriage or was it merely performed to effect her entry to the United States?
A This marriage was merely for the purpose of her entry to the United States.

[464] Lai, Lim, and Yung, 33.

[465] Marc Howard Ross, ed., *Culture and Belonging in Divided Societies: Contestation and Symbolic Landscapes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 243.

[466] Alien Case File for Anonymous, unnumbered pages (materials from 1912 to 1957), from the National Archives and Records Administration, San Bruno, CA.

Immigration officials targeted those they suspected of harboring Communist sympathies. Franklin Woo, then a member of the Min Ching (also known as Mun Ching), an organization that supported the People's Republic of China, spoke about his experience during this period:

> We knew the FBI was keeping a close eye on us, and we even suspected there was an informer among us. I guess that's one thing all of us feel bad about now, that we had to be suspicious of each other. Say, if a Min Ching member is discovered to have false papers, his whole family will be affected because probably they didn't have the proper papers either. So they'll go from you, to the uncle who brought you in, his wife, and it goes on and on.[467]

In another example, Lawrence Lowe, who operated the World Theater on Broadway in Chinatown, was brought before HUAC on June 13, 1956. He was questioned by Richard Arens, HUAC director, as to whether he had shown films from China.[468] Not long after his interrogation, the INS pursued Lowe regarding potential election fraud, based on confessions from his "paper" relatives and informants within the Chinese community. Documents in Mr. Lowe's file indicate that he and his attorney had to address numerous inquiries for many years, until Mr. Lowe died in a car accident in 1962.[469]

NEW CHINESE AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOODS IN SAN FRANCISCO: EXPANSION OUT OF CHINATOWN

Many individuals left Chinatown to find more space elsewhere as barriers to residential integration fell and San Francisco's Chinese community—after a century of confinement in Chinatown—grew because of domestic births and new immigrants. By mid-century, some newly arrived immigrant families skipped Chinatown altogether and headed directly to the suburbs and San Francisco's western neighborhoods.

INNER RICHMOND: THE "NEW CHINATOWN"

Prior to World War II, the Richmond District was "completely off limits to Chinese Americans,"[470] although African Americans and Japanese Americans did have some success at integrating in this neighborhood at the western edge of the city.[471] After World War II, as the racial hierarchies of the city began to change and the white neighborhoods that were previously closed off to Chinese began to open, middle-class Chinese Americans gradually settled in Inner Richmond.

The Richmond District, with its large number of single-family homes as well as apartments and flats, was a convenient destination for Chinatown families that desired more space to grow,

---

[467] Nee and Nee, 216.

[468] "A-file" for Lawrence Lowe, multiple dates. National Archives and Records Administration, San Bruno, CA.

[469] "Alien file" for Lawrence Choy Lowe, unnumbered pages, documents dated September 24, 1956 and May 24, 1960, and March 30, 1964, Amy Chen collection, Ethnic Studies Library, University of California at Berkeley.

[470] Charlotte Brooks, *Between Mao and McCarthy: Chinese American Politics in the Cold War Years* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 229.

[471] Ibid.

reasonably priced homes, and middle-class lifestyles. It appealed particularly to extended families that wanted to settle in proximity to one another or even under one roof.[472]

Accessible public transportation was the lifeline that connected the rapidly increasing number of working families that were leaving Chinatown for the Richmond District. The area near Clement Street and Sixth Avenue was ground zero for the budding Chinese American enclave. From 1942 to 1982, this intersection was the western terminus of the 55 Sacramento buses that ran along Sacramento Street from the Ferry Building, through Chinatown, to Inner Richmond.[473] Other east–west bus lines that connected the Richmond District to Chinatown included 1 California, 2 Clement, 38 Geary, and, later, 31 Balboa and 5 Fulton. This public transportation connection was a major factor in the emergence of Clement Street as the "New Chinatown" and played a critical role in the Chinese American community's ability to maintain family ties, access to ethnic foods and other products, and social institutions.[474]

In 1964, local activist Ben Hom opened a Chinese American realty company, Golden State Realty, at 207 Clement Street and, by 1975, began placing advertisements in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and other publications. He later opened a bank on Clement Street and worked with others to form the New Chinatown Improvement Association. Known for his savvy multi-ethnic, multi-cultural marketing and promotion of the "New Chinatown," Hom eventually went on to serve on 20 city commissions and task forces. Hom also played a big role in popularizing the term, "New Chinatown," although longtime Chinese American residents claim the nickname emerged from the residents themselves.[475]

---

[472] Brian J Godfrey, "New Urban Ethnic Landscapes," in *Contemporary Ethnic Geographies in America*, ed. Ines M. Miyares and Christopher A. Airriess (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 341.

[473] Lauterborn, Peter, Civic Edge Consulting. (2018, July 3). Personal Interview.

[474] Ibid.

[475] Timothy Fong, *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press (1994), 29, 31.

New Chinatown

Clement street, between Fourth and Fifth avenues.

Changes on Clement

By Keith Power

Purposefully they call it the New Chinatown, but what these thrifty and industrious settlers have built is a substantial Chinese community radiating from Clement street in the Richmond District.

They would no more want to re-create the dingy, crowded conditions of the old ghetto than return to the queue and bound feet of their ancestors.

They live, instead, in the big, tidy homes built shoulder to shoulder along the avenues half a century or so ago to accomodate an older flight from the central city.

The newcomers, many foreign-born and with only a rudimentary command of English, move unobtrusively among their mainly Caucasian neighbors.

Their most visible presence — that which leads to talk of the New Chinatown — is the oriental facade in the style of Grant avenue being erected on Clement street, already abundant with exotic merchandise and services.

Real estate brokers in the Richmond reported Chinese buyers account for fully 70 per cent of the residential sales and up to 90 per cent of property transactions on Clement. They are the brokers' dream clients.

"They are the personification of the Protestant ethic," according to Richard Klein, a knowledgable San Franciscan who grew up in the Rich-

Back Page Col. 1

NEW CHINATOWN

From Page 1

mond and operates a real estate office at 613 Clement.

"The Chinese are hard-working," he said. "They have frugal habits. They save their money and they are anxious to acquire the security of property ownership."

Margaret Lee, the manager of Golden State Realty at 207 Clement street, said that for the last six years she has worked exclusively with a clientele of Chinese buyers and Caucasian sellers.

"I sell four or five homes a month," she said. "The sellers are usually old and retired and don't need a big house any more. The families are from Chinatown.

"They come here from the mainland or Hong Kong and the whole family lives in a single room and pays $75 rent and shares a public kitchen and bathroom. With both mother and father working, in five or six years they have $10,000."

Last summer, Mrs. Lee sold a home on 18th avenue to Ricky Tam, a smiling, polite young immigrant whose English is fluent, and his wife, Kimberley. Typically for a Chinese buyer transaction, Tam made a big down payment — in this case nearly half the price.

Tam immigrated to San Francisco in 1966 with his mother. They lived in a Chinatown apartment with his maternal grandfather and an aunt while Tam mastered the ways of his new country.

He graduated from Merritt Junior College in Oakland, worked for a year as a handyman at $3.50 an hour on Treasure Island and finally got a job as an electronics technician with Teledyne in Palo Alto.

At the age of 22 Tam and a cousin bought a two-flat apartment in the Richmond with the help of loans from relatives. Last summer, Tam and his pregnant wife moved into their handsome, new home on 18th avenue.

MARGARET LEE
Real estate agent

"We are comfortable here," said Tam. "Our neighbors are nice and a friend from work is moving close by. There is room to move around in."

Mr. and Mrs. Tam and Tam's aunt were joined as residents in the house on December 16 by a seven-pound baby girl, Bonnie ("We wanted to call her Katryna, but my mother-in-law couldn't pronounce it)."

The exact numbers involved in the Chinese influx into the Richmond and, increasingly, the Sunset District are difficult to determine.

One Chinese resident established there since the 1950s estimated there are about eight Chinese families in an average block of 40 homes in the Richmond.

A study of city records shows that Chinese own a third of the properties on Clement street from its beginning at Arguello boulevard, across Park Presidio to the foggy residential reaches at 30th avenue.

A survey of storefronts recently turned up 19 Chinese restaurants, eight Chinese markets and nine Chinese shops.

The most impressive of the establishments, though, is the United Federal Savings building, a Chinese financial institution located at Sixth avenue and Clement for only seven months.

Ben L. Hom, the impeccably dressed president, said the firm has a large and chiefly Chinese patronage with "substantial" savings accounts.

The mercantile development on Clement is in response to the one hardship suffered by the early Chinese settlers: they were deprived of the Chinatown shops crowded with traditional herbs, plump capons, water chestnuts, bamboo shoots and rare sauces imported from the orient.

"Now they can get what they want in New Chinatown," said Frank Woo, one of the enterprising new merchants on Clement street. "My prices are cheaper and they don't have to fight to find parking or make a half-hour bus ride."

Woo's is a representative business history. He came to San Francisco from Hong Kong in 1963 and, after working briefly in a restaurant and a corner store, joined the Wo Kee Company, importers and exporters.

He rose in the company to sales manager. But he was unhappy living in a Chinatown apartment. He and his working wife, Joan, have five children.

"They were normal active kids," recalled Woo with a grin. "So we got lots of complaints from the neighbors."

He moved to the Richmond and a year ago opened his own importing firm, the Kenson Trading Company, at 434 Clement. It is a replica of those fragrant, jammed emporiums around Grant avenue and Washington street.

Business is great, Woo said one recent day. He was standing in front of a sidewalk display of exotic vegetables and a store window advertising a sale of wicker goods. He exuded boosterism.

"I always tell my friends to come and join us in the New Chinatown," he said.

When George Chan opened Chan's Restaurant under a canary yellow sign five years ago, his was the third Chinese food establishment on Clement. Now there are three across the street on his block alone.

But the competition doesn't concern Chan, a gentle-humored man. His customers, he noted, are roughly divided between Oriental and others who are remarkably Chinatown-wise, asking for the bargain Wochoy menu in Chinese characters.

Richard Fong operates the Bank Market, a Western-style food store at 609 Clement. He took over the business four years ago and still commutes to work from Chinatown.

Will he move to the new community? "Maybe, some day . . ."

Ricky Tam held his daughter in his 18th avenue home

JOAN AND FRANK WOO
New merchants on Clement

Source: San Francisco Chronicle, December 13, 1974

FIGURE D-74 1974 ARTICLE FEATURING GOLDEN STATE REALTY AND "NEW CHINATOWN"

Other early notable Chinese American residents of the Richmond District included feminist poet and professor, Merle Woo, and queer artist/activist, Leonore Chinn. In the mid-1950s, Albert and Bernice Jeung established a home in the district. Their son, Russell Jeung, later became an Asian American Studies professor at San Francisco State University.

CHINESE-OWNED BUSINESSES ALONG CLEMENT STREET

Parallel to the growth of the Chinese American population in the Richmond District was a rise in the number of Chinese-owned stores and restaurants in the neighborhood's main business district along Clement Street. One of the earliest Chinese-owned businesses in the Richmond District was Quong Sing Laundry, established in 1897 at 463-465 7th Avenue (extant and still in operation when this context statement was published).[476] A half century later, in 1948, Jung's Chinese Food (5344 Geary Boulevard, extant) was established as the earliest known Chinese business in the area. Chung's Chinese Kitchen opened at 343 Clement Street (extant) in 1950. Other Chinese Americans found employment in non-Chinese-owned businesses along Clement Street. George Soo Hoo worked for numerous restaurants along the commercial corridor before he assumed management of Richmond Mexico City Restaurant in 1944, which he ran until 1980. Soo Hoo's six children, including his second daughter, Irene Soo Hoo Wong, all worked in the

[476] Thank you to Western Neighborhoods Project leader, John Freeman, for scouring phone directories to identify early businesses in the Richmond District and finding the Quong Sing Laundry and other early businesses.

restaurant, which was located around the corner from their home at 10th Avenue and Clement Street.

Source: Eric Mar (left), DPW Horace Chaffee via Western Neighborhoods Project (right)

FIGURE D-75 LEFT: QUONG SING LAUNDRY, 2018; RIGHT: QUONG SING LAUNDRY, 1913.

CHINESE AMERICAN SPIRITUALITY IN THE RICHMOND DISTRICT

Before World War II, Chinese congregations were strictly confined to the physical boundaries of Chinatown. In the late 1940s, some churches moved to the outer edges of Chinatown, toward North Beach and Van Ness Avenue. According to Reverend James Chuck, who chronicled the history of Chinese churches in the San Francisco Bay Area, the first Chinese church located outside of Chinatown was the Seventh Day Adventist Church, established in 1948 at 7777 Geary Boulevard (extant) in the outer Richmond District.

As the exodus from Chinatown continued in the 1950s, Chinatown-based churches began to open branches in the Richmond District. The first was the Chinese Grace Baptist Church, founded in 1955 by Reverend Kei Tin Wong, and located at 900 Balboa Street (extant). By the 1960s, there were up to seven churches in the neighborhood that catered to Chinese worshipers.

Churches like these in the Richmond District were the institutions where Chinese American students could learn or develop their Chinese language skills.[477] The Full Life Christian Center, formerly the Assemblies of God Chinese Christian Center, began in 1964 as a storefront on 630 Kearny Street, but as the church congregation grew and its members moved beyond Chinatown's boundaries, the congregation relocated to North Beach, occupying a former fish market at 2350 Taylor Street. In 1982, the congregation moved to a building at 3535 Balboa Street (extant) in the Richmond District, an area where many of its members had moved.

[477] Him Mark Lai, *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions* (Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, 2004), 285-87.

SUNSET DISTRICT

In 1949, roughly 15 Chinese people lived or worked in the Sunset District, another neighborhood in the western part of the city south of Golden Gate Park.[478] Like the Richmond District (north of the park), the Sunset District had bigger houses with yards, easy access to downtown and Chinatown, and affordability. Like their counterparts who moved to the Richmond District, Chinese American "pioneers" who moved to the Sunset District required determination, resourcefulness, and courage to overcome the formidable barriers to Asian American homeownership. Chinese Americans increased their portion of the population in most Sunset District census tracts from less than 5 percent in 1950 to 15 to 24 percent in 1980. The Chinese American presence in the Sunset District is discussed more in the next section.

Source: Palma You © Chinese Historical Society of America

FIGURE D-76 SUNSET DISTRICT FROM FUNSTON AVENUE, 2017

D.7 CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS AND STRUGGLES FOR CIVIL RIGHTS, 1965–1985

Two major themes dominate this period: (1) population growth and the demographic changes stemming from passage of the 1965 Immigration Act and (2) changes brought on by the civil rights movement. Inspired by Black Power, pan-Asian American Pacific Islander youth launched their own civil rights movement. Student groups on San Francisco campuses and community-based organizations in Chinatown fought for the rights of Chinese Americans and other Asian populations. Although Chinatown remained the point of first residence for many of new Chinese immigrants after 1965, the civil rights movement resulted in a reduction in overt discrimination in housing, which enabled Chinese communities to grow and flourish in other parts of San Francisco, such the Richmond and Sunset districts as well as the southern part of the city, including the OMI and Visitacion Valley areas. Community activism also led to the preservation of affordable housing in Chinatown.

[478] Lum, Jimmy (1949). San Francisco Chinese Directory. Ming Sing Printing Company. Retrieved from https://archive.org/details/sanfranciscochin1949sanf

IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1965

In 1965, Congress passed the Hart-Celler Immigration Act, which eliminated the existing national quota system that drastically limited Asian immigration and favored Northern European immigration. This landmark law ushered in a new wave of migration of ethnic Chinese from China as well as individuals from Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesian, and the Philippines.[479] The 1965 law maintained per-country limits but created preference visa categories that focused on both the skills of immigrants and familial relationships with U.S. citizens or residents. Chinese families that had established citizenship or permanent residence could now send for family members, a practice that had been prevalent in the U.S. among other immigrants for many years. Others—mainly Chinese immigrants who had entered the country with a student visa—were able to find employment and subsequently acquire Labor Department certification under the preference category for skilled workers. Once a U.S. resident, they could bring other family members to the U.S.

In 1960, the Chinese population of the United States was 237,000. By 1980, that figure had jumped to 812,000—more than triple the size of the population 20 years earlier. A total of 419,373 Chinese immigrated to the United States between 1965 and 1984—a span of roughly two decades. That figure is almost equivalent to the 426,000 who entered the country between 1849 and 1930—a span of nearly a century. The composition of the Chinese community inside the United States also changed. Before 1965, most Chinese in the U.S. (61 percent) were American born. By 1980, most were foreign born (63 percent). Most new immigrants (60 percent) settled in either California or New York.[480]

In San Francisco, the Chinese population grew more diverse in terms of place of origin, language, age, and gender. The number of women, families, and the elderly increased. China was more represented regionally as well. Immigrants from all parts of the country emigrated, as opposed to nearly all immigration originating from the Pearl River Delta, as was the trend during previous generations. Mandarin and Taiwanese also became more prevalent as immigration from throughout China and Taiwan increased. Cantonese and Toisanese were no longer the only Chinese languages spoken in San Francisco, even if Cantonese remained the dominant language. In 1986, almost 70 percent of Chinese households in the San Francisco area spoke Cantonese, whereas 19 percent spoke Mandarin.[481]

---

[479] ARG, et al, *Chinese Americans in Los Angeles*, 4.

[480] Takaki, 421.

[481] "Chinese communities shifting to Mandarin," *China Daily*, December 29, 2003, retrieved July 10, 2018 from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/en/doc/2003-12/29/content_294186.htm). A 2002 survey for KTSF, whose programming is in Asian languages, showed the divide narrowing to 53 percent Cantonese and 47 percent Mandarin. This is Bay Area-wide; the South Bay Chinese population is more Mandarin-speaking than in San Francisco.

The Asian American population of San Francisco in general has also grown more diverse since 1965, a time when it was predominantly Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino. Not only did Chinese from areas beyond Guangdong Province come to the city, but increasing numbers of Koreans, South Asians, Southeast Asians, including many refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and the Pacific Islands, added to the diversity.[482] These communities are beyond the scope of this study but important to note.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE ASIAN AMERICAN MOVEMENT

The Asian American Movement of the late 1960s and 1970s emerged out of the civil rights era and opposition to military intervention in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. The fight for equality, led by African Americans, resulted in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibited discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex and/or national origin. For the first time ever, Chinese Americans and other groups of disenfranchised people in the United States had legal protections when it came to voting (including language access for non-English speakers) and accessing public facilities, businesses, federal financial assistance, and employment.[483] Likewise, Congress passed the Fair Housing Act in 1968, which prohibited discrimination in the rental or sale of housing based on race, color, religion, or national origin.[484] This was the first time the law prohibited housing discrimination and, as discussed further below, presented more opportunities for Chinese Americans to live outside the confines of Chinatown. in addition, laws banning interracial marriages were overturned.[485]

Young Asian Americans, inspired by the movement for Black Power, declared "Yellow Power" and "Yellow is Beautiful." They believed that the various Asian immigrant groups had common interests and experiences in America that transcended cultural differences and historical animosities from centuries of war and conflict in Asia. This was a radical departure from the views of the immigrant generations that identified more closely with "over there." It was a declaration that, for Asian Americans, our identities and futures held much in common with other Asians in the United States.

---

[482] Census Bureau estimates for 2016 show that out of San Francisco's population of 870,887, Asians comprised 274,340, or 33.9% (when including those who are part Asian or Pacific Islander, that figure grows to 38.5%). Out of all the Asian Pacific Islander sub-groups, Chinese were the largest at 186,873, or 21.5% of the city's population. Filipinos were 4.1%, Asian Indians 2.7%, Vietnamese 1.8%, Japanese 1.2%, Koreans 1.2%, Other Asians 2.0%, and Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander 0.2%.

[483] J. Hersch and B.J. Shinall, "Fifty Years Later: The Legacy of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 2015, 34(2), 424-456, retrieved from https://law.vanderbilt.edu/phd/faculty/jonihersch/2015_Hersch_and_Shinall_Legacy_of_Civil_Rights_Act_Journal_of_Policy_Analysis_and_Management.pdf

[484] H. M. Schill and S. Friedman, "The Fair Housing Amendments Act is 1988: The first Decade," in *Cityscape: A journal of Policy Development and Research*, 1999, 4(3), 57-78. Retrieved from https://www.huduser.gov/portal/Periodicals/CITYSCPE/VOL4NUM3/schill.pdf

[485] Tell Me More, National Public Radio, "What Do Asian-Americans Owe the Civil Rights Movement?" August 23, 2013.

The burgeoning Asian American student movement found a target in the Vietnam War. Asian Americans were outraged at the government's willingness to dehumanize and reduce Vietnamese people to mere body counts on the evening news.[486] The peace movement itself was also accused of racism, which overly focused on the loss of white life in the war. The Asian American movement sought to focus on the loss of life in the Third World and its diaspora in the U.S.[487]

Chinese American and other Asian students were active members of the Third World Liberation Front at San Francisco State College (now University, 1600 Holloway Avenue, extant), whose Third World Strike in 1968 resulted in the nation's first ethnic studies program. Numerous community-based and cultural organizations also formed in Chinatown during this period to serve and advocate for the Chinese community. This included the CHSA and the Chinatown Resource Center (later, the Chinatown CDC), among many others. Pan-Asian American/Pacific Islander organizations like Kearny Street Workshop and the Asian Law Caucus also established sites in San Francisco Chinatown/Manilatown during this critical and productive period.

EDUCATION

Numerous legal battles during the civil rights movement affected Chinese Americans in San Francisco. The San Francisco Unified School District, which, since its beginnings, was racially segregated, finally began to desegregate its schools in the 1970s. Citing the need for culturally specific education, some Chinese American parents actually advocated *against* integration—a big change from previous legal battles such as *Tape v. Hurley* (1885) almost a century earlier. In *Guey Heung Lee v. Johnson*, Chinese American parents expressed concerns that their children would not have access to Chinese culture or language education if San Francisco's public schools were to be desegregated.[488] In 1971, the court denied the parents' requests, and schools in San Francisco became integrated.[489] Similar concerns surfaced in the 1974 *Lau v. Nichols* case.[490] The San Francisco Unified School District was instructing roughly 1,800 Chinese American students in English, even though the students were not fluent or even proficient in the language. The court found that practice in violation of the Civil Rights Act because the lack of English language assistance created barriers to obtaining a quality education.[491] *Lau v. Nichols* was an instrumental case because it required school districts that receive federal funding to offer multi-lingual instruction, ensuring

[486] Helen Zia, *Asian American Dreams: The Emergence of a People* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000), 47.

[487] Nina Wallace, "In the Belly of the Monster: Asian American Opposition to the Vietnam War," *Densho Blog*, November 15, 2017, available online: https://densho.org/asian-american-opposition-vietnam-war/

[488] Der, C. (2008). "A Chinese American Seat at the Table: Examining Race in the San Francisco Unified School District". *University of San Francisco Law Review*, 42, 1077-114.

[489] *Guey Heung Lee v. Johnson*, 404 U.S. 1215 (1971).

[490] *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).

[491] Sugarman, D. S.,& Widess, G.E. (1974). Equal Protection for Non-English-Speaking School Children: Lau v. Nicols. *California Law Review*, 62(1), 157- 182.

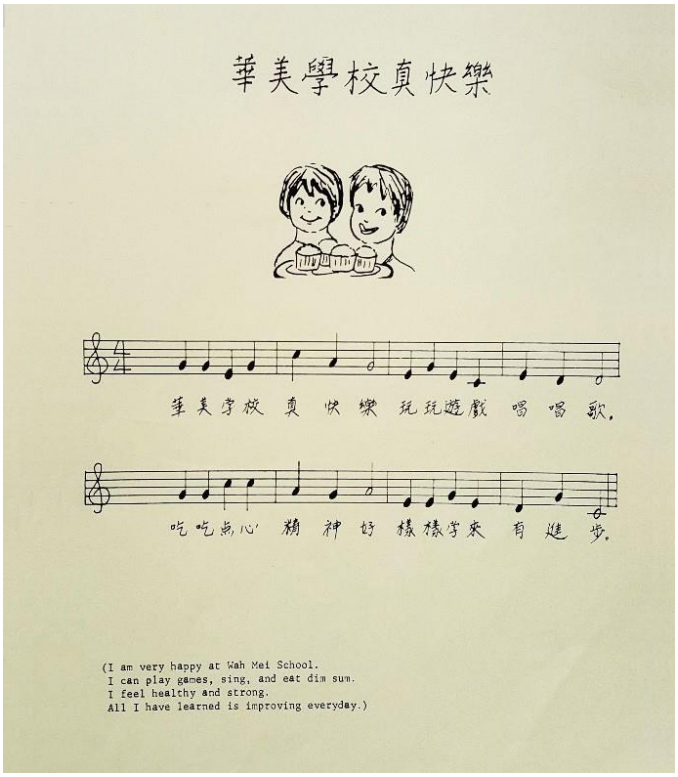
that students who are learning the English language will be engaged in their education.[492] Despite the legal requirement for public schools to offer instructional assistance to those who are learning the English language, some Chinese Americans desired a better cultural and language education for their children. Noticing a lack of a high-quality bilingual education in the public school system, community leaders decided to fill the void.

Wah Mei Pre-School (1400 Judah Street, extant), the first Chinese American bi-cultural, bilingual program in San Francisco, was established in 1974 to accommodate the growing Cantonese population in the Sunset District. Lillian Sing, one of the founders of Wah Mei, was concerned that Chinese students who attended public schools would not maintain their Chinese cultural identity and language because "at that time there was no bilingual education in the public schools."[493] Wah Mei continues to be a resource for students who wish to learn Cantonese and Mandarin as well as English. While Mandarin is the official language in China and the language is taught at Wah Mei, the school emphasizes the importance of teaching Cantonese in the Bay Area.[494]

[492] Brentin Mock, "How U.S. Schools are Failing Immigrant Children," CITYLAB, 2015. Retrieved from https://www.citylab.com/equity/2015/07/how-us-schools-are-failing-immigrant-children/397427/

[493] Lillian Sing, personal communication, July 25, 2017.

[494] Ben Wong, personal communication, June 29, 2017. In response to growing demand, other Sunset organizations in 2017 where students are able to learn either Mandarin or Cantonese include Mei Jia Chinese Learning Center (Mandarin) at Vincente and 42nd Avenue, Asian Arts School (Mandarin) at 2101 Taraval Street, Cornerstone Academy (Cantonese and Mandarin) at 1925 Lawton Avenue, St. Ignatius College Preparatory (Mandarin) at 2001 37th Avenue, and Alice Fong Yu Alternative School (Cantonese and Mandarin) at 1541 12th Avenue.



Source: Linda Quan

FIGURE D-77 WAH MEI SCHOOL SONG, 1985

THE AD HOC COMMITTEE TO END DISCRIMINATION

During the civil rights era, Chinese and other Asian Americans joined African Americans and younger white students in challenging racial barriers, eventually helping to break them down through a range of non-violent peaceful protests and campaigns.

Richard Wada, the son of a Japanese American community leader, Yori Wada, who moved into the Inner Richmond in the early 1950s, remembers being a teen in 1963 picketing the Mel's Drive-In on Geary Boulevard and Beaumont Street with his father to challenge racist hiring practices.[495] Other young Asian American leaders were also becoming active. The emerging San Francisco Bay Area civil rights movement joined other anti-discrimination protests to challenge employment and housing discrimination in the Richmond District head on.

Beginning in 1963, students from San Francisco State College and the University of California, Berkeley organized by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the campus Du Bois Club, NAACP, and other San Francisco civil rights organizations, began staging demonstrations at Mel's Drive-In (3355 Geary Boulevard, extant), which became notorious for racial discrimination practices in hiring. They protested the fact that African Americans could eat at Mel's but not work there. Calling themselves the "Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination," the students first

[495] Richard Wada (2018, July 2). Personal Interview.

picketed, then sat in at Mel's Drive-In on Geary Boulevard, in the Richmond District. They also targeted businesses that were known to discriminate in Oakland, Berkeley, and the city of Richmond.

Source: UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library, San Francisco News-Call Bulletin newspaper photograph archive

FIGURE D-78 A DEMONSTRATION AT MEL'S DRIVE-IN, OCTOBER 26, 1963

Picket lines began to appear at Mel's Drive-In (Geary location) in October. By the first weekend of November, the protest had evolved into the first mass sit-in of the San Francisco Bay Area civil rights movement. Author Jo Freeman notes that the demonstrators occupied all the seats in the restaurant, then refused to order anything. This led to the arrest of more than 100 people for "trespassing and disturbing the peace."[496] Next, the young activists targeted Mel's co-owner, Harold Dobbs, a San Francisco supervisor and Republican candidate for mayor. The protest was effective; the restaurant soon began hiring Black workers for all positions and made a point to quickly hire a few African Americans for "front-of-the-house" roles. The action at Mel's on Geary has since been recognized as a key site of civil rights protest in San Francisco during this era.

By the spring of 1964, the movement had grown dramatically. Following the protests at Mel's were mass sit-ins and picket lines at the Sheraton Palace Hotel (2 New Montgomery Street, extant) and Van Ness Avenue's Auto Row as well as "shop-ins" at Lucky supermarkets, all of which took place during April 1964. The Auto Row action on April 11 was one of the largest civil rights demonstrations San Francisco had ever seen; 200 people were arrested. The activists also organized actions against discriminatory housing practices at San Francisco rental housing agencies.

[496] Freeman, Jo. At Berkeley in the Sixties the - Education of an Activist, 1961-1965. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.

During this intense period, more than 500 individuals were arrested in San Francisco—mostly San Francisco State College and the University of California, Berkeley students or graduates. The Ad Hoc Coalition to End Discrimination and the actions they organized were part of a growing national movement that challenged racism and discrimination in employment, housing, education, and other areas. During this short period in the United States, almost 1,000 civil rights demonstrations occurred in at least 115 cities. More than 20,000 people were arrested and at least 10 people were killed.[497]

STUDENT ORGANIZING AT SAN FRANCISCO STATE

The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s had a profound impact on Asian Americans, especially its youth.[498] In 1967, at San Francisco State College, middle-class Chinese students who were mainly interested in community service formed an organization known as "Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action."[499] Campus conflicts began intensifying the following year. During sit-ins inspired by the civil rights movement, students advocated for better care and education for "Third World" students, a term used commonly in the 1960s and 1970s to refer to people who traced their roots to the developing world. The Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action students began collaborating with the Black Students Union and organizing for Chinese Americans, both on campus and in Chinatown, with a particularly hard push against the established Chinese upper classes represented by the Chinese Six Companies.[500] Another student group, the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA), formed at San Francisco State College several months after graduate students Yuji Ichioka and Emma Gee founded AAPA at UC Berkeley. Ichioka and Gee are credited with coining the term "Asian American" as an alternative to the word "Oriental," which was seen to represent the European colonialist view of Asia.[501] Three Japanese American women, including Penny Nakatsu, founded AAPA's San Francisco State College chapter[502]

[497] Freeman, Jo. "From Freedom Now! to Free Speech: How the 1963-64 Bay Area Civil Rights Demonstrations Paved the Way to Campus Protest." JoFreeman.com. Retrieved September 06, 2018. https://www.jofreeman.com/sixtiesprotest/baycivil.htm.

[498] Helen Zia, *Asian American Dreams: The Emergence of a People* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000), 47.

[499] Karen Umemoto (1989) "On Strike!" San Francisco State College Strike, 1968–69: The Role of Asian American Students, *Amerasia Journal*, 15:1, 3-41, DOI: 10.17953/amer.15.1.7213030j5644rx25, p. 31.

[500] Ibid., 25, 33.

[501] Zia, 47-8.

[502] Ibid., 36.

Source: Asian American Political Alliance Newspaper, 1969

FIGURE D-79 PICKET LINE DURING THIRD WORLD LIBERATION FRONT STRIKE AT SAN FRANCISCO STATE UNIVERSITY, 1969

In 1968, Chicano, Native American, African American, and Asian American students banded together to form the "Third World Liberation Front" and called for a strike to demand ethnic studies that taught their history in America.[503] The strike began November 6, 1968, and lasted five months, during which time more than 700 students were arrested. University of California, Berkeley students, including members of the Berkeley chapter of the Asian American Political Alliance (also founded in 1968), called a strike on January 22 of the following year. Both strikes ended in March 1969 when they were effectively suppressed by Governor Ronald Reagan.[504] Still, the strike helped create the first ethnic studies program in the nation, The School (later College) of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State College. The University of California, Berkeley also created an ethnic studies department, which included Asian American Studies.

[503] Ibid., 25.

[504] "Pickets Quit at UC Gate," *Daily Independent Journal*, March 15, 1969.

Source: San Francisco State University, Union WAGE Collection, Labor Archives and Research Center

FIGURE D-80 JUNG SAI GARMENT FACTORY WORKER STRIKE IN 1974

WAH CHING YOUTH ACTIVISTS IN CHINATOWN

In the late 1960s, as unemployment was on the rise in San Francisco, upwards of 10,000 new Chinese immigrants poured into the already-dense and underhoused Chinatown. Immigrant youth found few employment opportunities, and the jobs that did exist for them, like those in the food industry, paid very little, sometimes as little as $1 per hour. As for their parents, "most mothers bent over sewing machines in the 150 piecework shops scattered through the back streets. Many worked seven days a week. Some earned as little as 50 cents an hour."[505] Because most immigrant youth could not speak English, they avoided the city's schools where instruction was given in English only. Tensions between American-born Chinese and immigrant Chinese also contributed to a hostile environment at school and elsewhere. Lacking other options, some young Chinese immigrant men turned to criminal activities to make a living. An informal organization by the name of Wah Ching formed out of groups of these young unemployed men in Chinatown. One former member, Lak Man Tam (also known as Tom Tom), recalled, "We called a meeting in '68 at the Chinese American Citizens Alliance (1044 Stockton Street, extant) and we said, 'we want fair money, like everybody else.'"[506] In attendance were representatives of the Chinese Six Companies, Judge Harry Low, and members of the Human Rights Commission. As noted in a 1973 article published in *The Pantagraph*, "The Wah Ching asked their elders to establish a free school that would train them to repair cars, operate business machines and work in sheet metal, electronics and plumbing – and give them high school diplomas." Accompanying their requests was a petition containing 82 signatures. A second meeting drew a crowd of 300.

Although the Chinese Six Companies initially offered to dedicate funding to the Wah Ching's cause, the organization did not follow through on its promise, and ultimately no action was taken regarding the young men's requests. Local tongs began recruiting youth more heavily, and by

[505] "Young Chinese in San Francisco in gang wars," *The Pantagraph*, April 22, 1973.
[506] Ibid.

the 1970s, the Wah Ching evolved into an organized crime operation. They regularly warred with other Asian-American gangs, such as the Jackson Street Boys.[507] The Golden Dragon Massacre of 1977, in which five people were killed in gang-war crossfire inside the Golden Dragon Restaurant (822 Washington Street), made the organization permanently infamous.

CHANGING POWER DYNAMICS IN CHINATOWN

Beginning in the 1960s, younger generations of Chinese began to rebel against the Chinatown establishment. They took issue with the CCBA and others for promoting tourism while neglecting social reforms that would benefit the community. In particular, these young activists called for expanded health care, social service, and mental health programs. They also wanted community leaders to do something about increasing gang violence in the neighborhood.[508]

The "exoticization" that saved the neighborhood in the past became fuel for protest. In black-and-white photos of a 1968 Chinatown demonstration, young activists rejected the old guard with signs that lampooned a dated way of thinking: "Keep Grant Ave. Narrow, Dirty, and Quaint for Tourists!" "Looking for an Exotic Place to Live? Come Join Our Community *Rats *Overcrowding *Poverty *Roaches." Another read, "Preserve Chinatown's Uniqueness – Highest TB Rates, No Unions, the Most Suicides, Lowest Wages!"[509]

The Chinese Six Companies desperately tried to hold on to power in a rapidly changing community. According to activist Gordon Chin, they were "not afraid to red-bait leftist organizations." Foo Hum, a Chinese Six Companies leader in 1968, said, "there are very few problems in Chinatown, if any," although he added, "There is [one] problem in the community, a few Caucasian beatnik educators took a few native-born Orientals and inspired them with Mao Tse Tung Red Books…."[510] The youthful protestors denounced those sentiments and focused on their efforts on bringing about real change in the community. Over the next decade, a plethora of new social service agencies and community-based organizations emerged to address many of the issues they raised.[511]

NEW CHINESE AMERICAN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Numerous Chinese-based community organizations formed in the 1960s and 1970s. Some formed to address specific needs of a growing and struggling immigrant community in Chinatown, as discussed above. Many were inspired by the civil rights and anti-Vietnam war movements and worked alongside African American, Latino, and Native Americans to bring about social change. Nationally, organizations such as the Asian American Political Alliance focused on uniting

[507] Ibid.
[508] Chin, 38.
[509] Tsui, 16-17.
[510] Chin, 39.
[511] Ibid., 38.

different Asian American communities with respect to equal rights and addressing poverty and the lack of political empowerment. Asian American women formed Asian Women United and the Organization of Asian Women to address sexism and racism in Asian American and mainstream communities.

Among the many social service agencies that emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s to address pressing needs in San Francisco were Chinese for Affirmative Action, Chinese Newcomers Service Center, Self Help for the Elderly, On Lok, Kai Ming Head Start, Wu Yee Children's Services, and ASIAN, Inc. Additional organizations are highlighted below.

The Chinese Historical Society of America formed in 1963. It is the oldest and largest archive dedicated to the Chinese American experience in the United States. Founded by Thomas Chinn, C.H. Kwock, Chingwah Lee, H.K. Wong, and Thomas Wu, the organization hosts a museum and archive. In 2001 the society moved into the former Chinatown YWCA building at 965 Clay Street.[512]

The San Francisco Greater Chinatown Community Service Association Organization also formed in 1963. Choy and Joe Yuey created the organization "to keep pace with the times by providing the maximum amount of social and other community services to help the underprivileged in communities throughout the country."[513] The group attracted activists connected with churches, community groups, and businesses. The organization was a predecessor to the Chinese Culture Foundation founded in 1965.

The Asian Law Caucus, founded in 1972, was the first legal aid and civil rights organization to serve low-income Asian Pacific American communities. First established in Oakland, it represented cases regarding civil rights, workers' rights, housing rights, and sex discrimination throughout the Bay Area. In 1975, the organization opened an outreach office in San Francisco's Chinatown (124 Waverly Place, extant) where it offered community education services, law student–led clinical programs, and courses for the community on immigration law. The organization moved its offices multiple times. Locations include 468 Bush Street (extant), 720 Market Street (extant), 939 Market Street (not extant), and 55 Columbus Avenue (extant), where it has operated since 2009.[514]

Kearny Street Workshop, founded in 1972, is the oldest Asian Pacific American multi-disciplinary arts organization in the country. Founded in the International Hotel on Kearny Street (868 Kearny, original building demolished in 1978), the arts collective initially focused on Chinese arts and activism but soon became multi-ethnic and offered classes to hundreds in photography,

[512] Chinese Historical Society of America, "About CHSA," https://chsa.org/about_chsa/.

[513] H. Mark Lai, *Chinese American Transnational Politics* (Champaign: University of Illinois, 2010), 34-35.

[514] Asian Law Caucus, "Forty Year Retrospective, 1972—2012," retrieved October 23, 2020, https://www.advancingjustice-alc.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/ALC-40th-Retrospective.pdf.

silkscreen printing, and other media. The group became a central figure in the anti-eviction movement after they were evicted from the hotel in 1977.[515]

The Chinatown Resource Center (later, the Chinatown CDC) formed in 1977 from five grassroots organizations (these organizations, as well as the topic of community planning, are discussed in further detail below). The organization focused on affordable housing, tenants' rights, and open space, transportation, and planning issues. It was renamed the Chinatown "Community Development Center" in 1998 and continues advocating for built-environment and planning-related issues, including a master plan for Chinatown's alleyways, which has led to their revitalization. The Chinatown CDC has operated out of multiple locations. Its original office was located on the fourth floor of 615 Grant Avenue (extant).

The Gay Asian Pacific Alliance was organized in 1988.[516] Its mission is to be a voice for the LGBTQ+ Asian American Pacific Islander communities in the San Francisco Bay Area and beyond. Community members coalesced around social, cultural, and political issues affecting gay and bisexual Asian American Pacific Islanders. Historian Amy Sueyoshi described the role of Asian American Pacific Islander activism in the LGBTQ+ community throughout the 20th century. Writing about the late 20th century but appropriate to Asian American Pacific Islander experiences throughout the years, Sueyoshi described several activists who felt the Asian American political community was homophobic and the broader LGBTQ+ community was racist or exclusively white: "[Asian American Pacific Islanders] too would not have felt at liberty to be out in a society that already villainized and marginalized them for their race."[517]

AFFORDABLE HOUSING AND COMMUNITY PLANNING

When new Chinese immigrants arrived in San Francisco in the mid-1960s, many found an impoverished Chinatown. In 1960, the average income of a Chinese man in the San Francisco Bay Area was 68 percent of the average earnings of a white man. The average income for Chinese women was significantly lower (36 percent). Disparities existed in the employment rate as well. Men in San Francisco's Chinatown experienced an unemployment rate of 12.8 percent, nearly double the city's overall unemployment rate of 6.7 percent. With a population density of 885 persons per residential acre, Chinatown was dramatically more crowded than the rest of the city, whose population density was 82 persons per residential acre. Furthermore, more than half of the

[515] Harry Johanesen, "Hongisto prepares to clear hotel," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 29, 1977; Raul Ramirez, "Chinatown hotel tenants get new eviction today," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 22, 1976; Kearney Street Workshop, "Our Story," www.kearnystreet.org

[516] While slightly outside of the study period, the Gay Asian Pacific Alliance is included here given its historic significance as the first LGBTQ organization established by the Asian American Pacific Islander American community and the fact that it represents a key moment in the historic continuum of experiences and activism around sexual identity in AAPI communities.

[517] Amy Suyeyoshi, "Breathing Fire: Remembering Asian Pacific American Activism in Queer History" in Megan E. Springate, editor. *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, National Park Foundation and National Park Service, 2016.

housing units in the district were considered old, deteriorated, and substandard, and Chinatown's rates of suicide and tuberculosis were extremely high.[518]

Chinese Americans saw what public housing projects like Ping Yuen could do for the community, and they also learned what was possible through community organizing. It was during this period that Chinese Americans joined other Asians, Pacific Islanders, African Americans, and others to advocate for the preservation of affordable housing in Chinatown and beyond, particularly as redevelopment efforts and real estate speculation began to encroach into working class communities of color. Key milestones during this period included the battle to save the International Hotel, the movement to preserve more single-room-occupancy (SRO) hotels, and the formation of several community-based organizations to preserve and build affordable housing, improve the neighborhood, and create new open spaces in a park-deprived Chinatown.

BATTLE OVER THE INTERNATIONAL HOTEL

Located at the eastern edge of Chinatown and the ever-shrinking Manilatown—the largest urban Filipino neighborhood in the country with as many as 30,000 residents—the International Hotel at 848 Kearny Street housed 182 tenants in low-cost rooms.[519] Its tenants were 52 percent Filipino, 20 percent Chinese, and 28 percent other ethnicities. Most of the Filipino residents were elderly men, many of whom had resided there since the 1920s and 1930s when the hotel catered to seasonal workers.

Redevelopment during the 1960s and 1970s resulted in efforts to demolish the hotel as well as buildings in the surrounding area, which were also home to many low-income Filipinos and Filipino-owned businesses. The International Hotel's location at the edge of the Financial District put it in a precarious position as the district expanded northward along Montgomery and Kearny streets and the hotel's corporate owners sought to replace it with a more profitable use. The nearly 10-year battle to save the International Hotel became a symbol of the fight for affordable housing in San Francisco and an early example of pan-Asian American Pacific Islander organizing.

[518] Takaki, 424-5.
[519] Chin, 55.

Source: San Francisco Chronicle

FIGURE D-81 INTERNATIONAL HOTEL PROTESTERS IN FRONT OF THE MILTON MEYER & COMPANY ON PINE STREET IN 1968

Hotel owner Milton Meyer & Company posted eviction notices in October 1968, ordering tenants to vacate by January 1969. In response, residents and supporters mobilized community-support organizations and negotiated a three-year lease, even philanthropic support for repairs. Organizations like Kearny Street Workshop (a pan-Asian American Pacific Islander arts collective), Jackson Street Gallery, and Everybody's Bookstore rented space in the hotel's basement to help boost income.

In 1972, Milton Meyer & Company sold the building to the Four Seas Corporation, based in Thailand, which had plans to demolish the building and construct a new high rise in its place. Four Seas served new eviction notices to the residents of the International Hotel in 1974. A renewed effort began to save the building and the low-cost housing units it provided to elderly Filipino and Chinese residents. Despite Four Seas obtaining demolition permits, residents and supporters staved off eviction for several more years. Mayor George Moscone proposed a buy-back plan, which would use federal funds to purchase the building under eminent domain, a plan that was hotly debated among residents. The San Francisco Superior Court rejected the plan in May 1977.

On the night of the scheduled eviction, August 3, 1977, an estimated 3,000 people formed a non-violent human barricade to protect the hotel's tenants. Beginning that evening and continuing until the next morning, Sheriff Richard Hongisto and other members of his department moved to evict the remaining tenants. The police department brought its mounted officers, and the fire department brought in a ladder truck to ferry police officers and the sheriff's deputies onto the roof. Estella Habal, a Filipina community leader, recalls that the crowd sang, "We shall not, we shall not be moved. We shall not, we shall not be moved, just like a tree standing by the water. We shall not be moved." Habal notes that "it gave us strength and courage, actually because it's a united singing. The sheriff is pulling people away, and part of the drama that non-violent

resisters create is to show that unity."[520] Despite supporters' efforts, the 55 residents who remained were forcibly removed.

The hotel was demolished by the end of 1978, displacing a total of 197 elderly residents, mostly Filipino and Chinese, with no plan to re-house them. Many left the city altogether. The entire block was demolished, adding to the loss of low-cost housing in the area as well as Filipino-owned businesses.

Source: Nancy Wong, Wikimedia Commons

FIGURE D-82 EVICTION NIGHT, AUGUST 4, 1977

Key individuals and groups involved in the effort to save the hotel from the wrecking ball included Al Robles, Emil deGuzman (chairperson of the International Hotel Tenant Association), What Tampao, and Felix Ayson. San Francisco's future mayor and first of Asian American descent, Ed Lee, volunteered on the case with Asian Legal Caucus. Even Jim Jones, the leader of the controversial People's Temple, reportedly recruited 2,000 of his followers to participate in the 1977 non-violent human chain.

Following the devastating loss, community activists shifted their focus to ensuring that affordable housing be part of whatever new construction was built on the site. The Chinatown Resource Center (later, the Chinatown CDC), established only four months prior to the 1977 eviction, completed its Chinatown Block Study, which initially proposed preserving the hotel, then, later, offered a new construction plan for the entire block that would benefit the local working class Asian Pacific Islander community. In October 1979, Mayor Diane Feinstein appointed an International Hotel Citizens Advisory Committee to develop a new plan for the site and the International Hotel block. When Four Seas brought forth development plans calling for office uses, housing, and retail, with no affordable housing, the plans were rejected by the International

[520] Chin, 59.

Hotel Citizens Advisory Committee. For years, the committee battled the corporate owner, who refused to cooperate; the site sat vacant until the early 2000s.

The Archdiocese of San Francisco purchased the site from Four Seas in 1994, with plans to build new affordable housing and replace St. Mary's School, which had been damaged during the Loma Prieta earthquake of 1989. The archdiocese selected Chinatown CDC as the developer for its project, which was awarded $8.3 million from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Construction of the International Hotel Manilatown Center was completed on August 26, 2005. It consists of a 12-story building with 104 senior housing units and two large community spaces, including the Manilatown Heritage Foundation's museum. Twenty-eight years after eviction, the new International Hotel finally opened. This was followed by a new St. Mary's International Academy, which was built next door and opened in 2011, and a new City College of San Francisco campus on the same block, completed in 2012. All resulted from a great deal of community support.

COMMUNITY PLANNING IN CHINATOWN

The plight of the International Hotel and the Financial District's inexorable creep northward sparked a grassroots movement to preserve and increase Chinatown's stock of affordable housing and exert more control over land use decisions that affected the neighborhood. Numerous groups emerged to address community needs, ranging from open space to affordable housing.

Two efforts were launched in the late 1960s and 1970s to preserve and create more open space in Chinatown, a neighborhood with very little of it. In 1968, when developers proposed building a nine-story parking garage on the site of one of the neighborhood's only playgrounds, community members intervened to stop it. The park, located on Sacramento Street, between Stockton Street and Grant Avenue, was eventually renamed after a Chinese American, Willie "Woo Woo" Wong, in 2006 (extant).[521] Wong grew up across the street and was a local basketball legend within Asian American leagues and at the University of San Francisco. In 1974, the Committee for Better Parks and Recreation in Chinatown began advocating for a new park. More than 20 years later, a one-third acre park, Wo Hei Yuen Park (also known as Garden of Peace and Joy), debuted at the former Cathay Mortuary site at Powell and John streets (near Jackson street, extant). The park included a recreation center, providing both young people and adults with many activities. Committee co-chair Terry Ow-Wing recalls, "We had to stick to our ability to say yes when everyone else was saying no, or maybe. The secret is not to give up because your idea doesn't seem feasible to other people." Center director Jennifer Tom added that the park and center offered opportunities for children to develop motor skills, which is significant "because they [children in Chinatown] have no backyards."[522]

[521] Chin, 44.

[522] "Wo Hei Yuen Park," website of the San Francisco Parks Alliance, retrieved July 5, 2018 (https://www.sfparksalliance.org/our-parks/parks/woh-hei-yuen-park).

Source: Grant Din

FIGURE D-83 WO HEI YUEN PARK (GARDEN OF PEACE AND JOY) AT POWELL AND JOHN STREETS, NEAR JACKSON STREET, 2018

As mentioned above, in 1977, five groups merged to form the Chinatown Resource Center (later, the Chinatown CDC), an organization that "advocated for affordable housing, tenant rights, open space, transportation and revitalization issues."[523] The groups were the Ping Yuen Residents Improvement Association, founded in 1968 to advocate for tenants' rights; the Committee for Better Parks and Recreation in Chinatown, founded in 1968 to advocate for parks and open space in the district; the Chinatown Coalition for Better Housing, founded in 1972 to advocate for affordable housing; the Chinatown Transportation Research and Improvement Project (Chinatown TRIP), founded in 1976 to advocate for the neighborhood's transportation needs, and Chinatown Coalition for Neighborhood Facilities, which advocated for funding for a neighborhood facility in Chinatown..

Asian Neighborhood Design, founded by University of California, Berkeley architecture students to provide affordable design services for the community was also established in the 1970s to address community needs.[524]

From the late 1970s to mid-1980s, several land use plans were created for Chinatown. In 1979, the Chinatown Resource Center and its affordable housing subsidiary, Chinatown Community Housing Corporation, collaborated on a Land Use Strategy for San Francisco Chinatown, which outlined an approach to preserving the community's housing stock, prioritizing retail and services for residents and community, and preserving structures with architectural, historical, and/or environmental merit, among other goals.[525] In 1998, the two groups merged to form the Chinatown CDC.[526]

---

[523] Chinatown Community Development Center, "Our History," retrieved January 11, 2020, https://www.chinatowncdc.org/about-us/our-history

[524] Architecture and Community Planning, "About Us," retrieved January 11, 2020, http://www.andnet.org/

[525] Chin, 144.

[526] Chinatown Community Development Center, "Our History."

In 1985, the CCBA released a proposal for a Chinatown historic district along Grant Avenue, allowing for up to 1.3 million square feet of new commercial space and 2,600 housing units. Later that year, Chinatown CDC, Asian Neighborhood Design, and the CCC released yet another plan, the Chinatown Community Plan, which included strict conditions for demolition of housing, including a 1:1 replacement requirement. It also sought to establish a Chinatown historic district, including most of the Chinatown core, among other things.

In 1986, the Planning Department completed its multi-year Chinatown Planning and Rezoning Study, which called for reducing Chinatown height limits and building densities, preserving existing housing, creating incentives for new housing development, encouraging growth within new retail districts, and establishing a Chinatown historic district. The ideas included in the plan were clearly affected by the various community plans developed by Chinatown non-profit groups, which supported the City's plan. Gordon Chin noted, "The vision was a Chinatown that continued to play three roles – as a residential village, as the capital of the Bay Area Chinese American community, and as an important San Francisco tourist attraction." Years later, many aspects of the plan have been implemented, including housing policies that have resulted in the preservation of thousands of affordable housing units.

RESIDENTIAL HOTELS

Although tiny, SRO units in residential hotels have long been the most affordable housing in San Francisco. Built immediately after the 1906 earthquake and fire, most of these residential hotels were constructed in the Tenderloin and Chinatown. They typically measure about 8 by 10 feet and have shared kitchens and bathrooms. Chinatown alone had more than 100 SROs.[527] Following the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act, a "continued flow of elderly people to Chinatown's residential hotels" kept SROs full.[528] SROs were the only supply of inexpensive housing for many in Chinatown and the Tenderloin. Although affordable, they were, at times, severely overcrowded. Benjamin Tong recalls life in an SRO:

> I myself hailed from a family of six who originally lived at the southern end of Waverly Place, next to the Chinatown YMCA, the First Chinese Baptist Church, and the Chinese Playground, down the hill from Cameron House…This structure was made up of cramped, claustrophobic units bursting with more tenant bodies than could be reasonably accommodated. It was therefore the case that a few of the larger families had their kids "take turns" sleeping: Alternate beds consisted of stairs in the building and park benches in the local parks. Each floor featured two toilets and one shower stall in the halls. Kids and adults lined up to shower at different hours, towels and bars of soap in hand. A quarter (25 cents) provided three minutes of hot water.[529]

---

[527] Katherine Kam, New American Media, *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 29, 2015, retrieved July 11, 2018, https://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/Families-live-jammed-into-Chinatown-rooms-with-6663902. php#photo-9029118.

[528] John Liu, *San Francisco Chinatown Residential Hotels*, 1980, 5.

[529] Grant Din, Correspondence from Dr. Benjamin Tong, March 10, 2018.

In the 1980s, San Francisco groups, including the Tenderloin Organization North of Market Planning Coalition, Chinatown Coalition for Better Housing, Chinatown CDC, Tenderloin Housing Clinic, Asian Neighborhood Design, San Francisco Neighborhood Legal Assistance Foundation, and the Asian Law Caucus, were instrumental in preserving residential hotels to ensure affordable housing in the city. Reality House West, led by Leroy Looper and Kathy Looper, developed the first successful SRO rehabilitation project in the western United States, the Cadillac Hotel (380 Eddy Street, extant), which is in the Tenderloin district of San Francisco.

With so much of Chinatown housing composed of SRO units, the successful Reality House West became a model for Chinatown. In 1981, Chinatown CDC acquired the Clayton Hotel (657 Clay Street, extant) on the edge of Chinatown and renovated its 82 rooms. Former Chinatown CDC executive director Gordon Chin, writes, "the acquisition of the Clayton in 1981 was significant in preserving an SRO and in protecting Chinatown from Financial District expansion. At the time, Chinatown zoning did not provide policy or zoning protections from such encroachment fears."[530]After a two-year campaign, San Francisco passed the Residential Hotel Demolition and Conversion Ordinance in 1980, which banned the demolition or conversion of residential hotels. It was followed by additional legislation to preserve SRO housing.

San Francisco non-profit developers continued to acquire SRO buildings, renovate them, add additional kitchens and community spaces, renovate the units, and improve electrical and other services. Chinatown CDC also renovated 65 units at the Swiss American Hotel (543 Broadway, extant), which it had acquired in 1984. After initially encountering resistance, Chinatown CDC and Asian Neighborhood Design won a design and rehabilitation award from the Department of Housing and Urban Development for renovation and preservation of the Swiss American Hotel.

[530] Chin, 115.

Source: Grant Din

FIGURE D-84 SWISS AMERICAN HOTEL, 2018

ASIAN AMERICAN CULTURAL AND COMMERCIAL IDENTITY IN THE WESTERN NEIGHBORHOODS

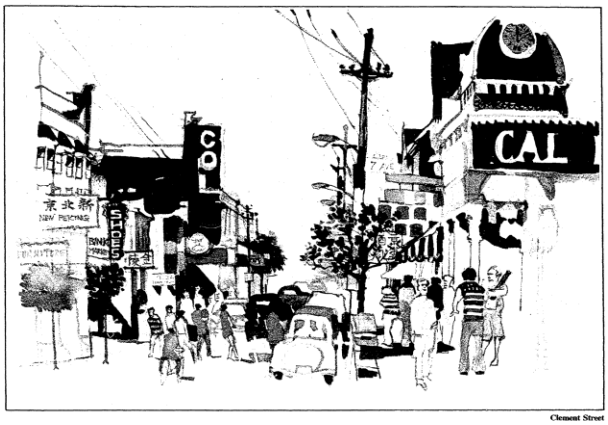
As the barriers that prevented Chinese from moving outside Chinatown for nearly a century began to fall in the 1960s, large numbers of middle-class and upwardly mobile Chinese Americans left Chinatown for areas like the Richmond and Sunset districts. (For a detailed discussion of barriers to housing before 1965, see previous section.) Although restrictive racial covenants were deemed unconstitutional in the 1948 *Shelley v. Kraemer* decision, housing discrimination based on race and other factors was not declared unlawful until the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fair Housing Act of 1968. As Chinese and other Asian Americans moved into San Francisco's western neighborhoods, they created new centers of culture, commerce, and community.

THE RICHMOND DISTRICT

Over time, as developed urban areas shift demographically and the concentration of ethnic groups increases in particular areas, the commercial and institutional composition of existing neighborhoods shifts to serve the expanding population group.[531] This occurred in the Richmond

[531] Donna Graves and Page & Turnbull, "Historic Context Statement: Japantown" (San Francisco, CA: Donna Graves, "Historic Context Statement: Japantown" (San Francisco, CA: City & County of San Francisco Planning Department, 2009), 8.

District, which saw a rapid influx of Chinese and other Asian Americans into the neighborhood after the 1965 Immigration Act. By the 1980s, the Richmond District was known as the "New Chinatown."[532]



Source: Dong Kingman. Watercolor. 1975

FIGURE D-85 CLEMENT STREET, IN CALIFORNIA LIVING. IN 1975 KINGMAN HAD CHOSEN THIS PAINTING, "CLEMENT STREET," AMONG OTHERS HE HAD COMPLETED OF SAN FRANCISCO'S UNIQUE NEIGHBORHOODS FOR THE *SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE AND EXAMINER'S CALIFORNIA LIVING* MAGAZINE

In addition to a variety of Chinese and Southeast Asian markets and restaurants, Chinese American residents in the Richmond District owned banks and travel agencies. Niche businesses along the Clement and Geary corridors emerged, highlighting the pan-Asian American Pacific Islander diversity and transnational nature of the neighborhood. Chinese American churches and temples creatively and resourcefully reused older buildings and converted them into culturally appropriate spaces for their congregations. For example, the Chinese Grace Baptist Church at 900 Balboa Street (extant) is housed in an old 1911 structure, built originally by developer Joseph Leonard as a single-family residence.

University of California, Berkeley professor Michel Laguerre emphasizes the global nature of the Richmond District. The Chinese American population exists not only as a domestic enclave in the city and the United States but also as a part of a broader transnational network, connecting the city to China, Hong Kong, and other parts of the world. He points to the influx of Hong Kong and overseas capital into the Richmond District through banks, realtors, and development companies.

The Richmond District is considered a birthplace of "Asian American" culture. Over the years the district has expanded beyond its dominant Chinese American identity to incorporate longtime Japanese Americans and newer populations of Vietnamese, Burmese, Thai, and other immigrant and refugee groups. During the 1970s and 1980s, various pan-Asian American Pacific

[532] Michael S. Laguerre, "The Globalization of a Panethnopolis: Richmond District as the New Chinatown in San Francisco," *GeoJournal* 64, no. 1 (2005).

Islander art, community, and political organizations established there. Some of these included the Asian American Theater Company (403 Arguello Boulevard, extant; moved in 1996 to Japanese Cultural and Community Center of Northern California at 1840 Sutter Street, extant), Richmond Area Multi-Services (3626 Balboa Street), and the Community Youth Center (319 6th Avenue, extant). The neighborhood inspired filmmaker Wayne Wang to depict "Asian American" life by filming portions of his first two films, *Chan is Missing* and *Dim Sum,* in the Richmond District and using real residents as actors.

The Richmond District also became the site of intense cultural and political clashes as distinctive ethnic changes emerged. One example involves the growing voting power of Chinese immigrants in the 1980s. With the rise of Chinese and bilingual signage along Clement Street, the business district faced a backlash that pit "English-only" advocates and politicians against emerging Chinese businesses and the growing immigrant electorate, which began to engage more in city politics through bilingual ballots and voting materials.[533]

THE SUNSET DISTRICT

The Sunset District is often called the "third Chinatown," after Chinatown and the Richmond District. Chinese American families began moving to the area, and many established businesses there beginning in the late 1960s; this increased during the 1970s.[534] Timothy Yip, a longtime resident of the Sunset District, recalls the increase in the Chinese population, saying, "I think it was between '67 to '70, if I had to pick out a time frame. There was a very slow matriculation. Very, very slow. I didn't see it boom out until...beyond '70, then I saw more [Chinese people in the Sunset]."[535]

As Chinese Americans ventured into the Sunset District from Chinatown, so did traditional Chinese values. Timothy Yip explains how the Chinese value of being close to family encouraged his to buy 10 houses in the Sunset District, saying, "That was the only way to survive. Because we were close by and we helped everyone out. I think that it was part of a cultural thing. It is easier together than separately. Even though we had separate houses, we were within a stone's throw away from everyone."[536] Similarly, Gladys Chaw recalls how the family-oriented character of the Sunset District attracted her family to the neighborhood and, conversely, how Chinese families helped create family centeredness, saying, "Every neighborhood in SF has its own character. The Sunset is family oriented; I hope this continues. What also drives the value of

[533] Daniel Martinez HoSang, *Racial Propositions: Ballot Initiatives and the Making of Postwar California* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2010), 135-138.

[534] R. L. Polk & Co. (1982). *1982 San Francisco (San Francisco, CA) Directory*. R.L. Polk & Co. Publishers, Dallas, TX, retrieved from https://archive.org/details/sanfranciscosanf1982rlpo.

[535] Timothy Yip, personal communication, July 10, 2017.

[536] Timothy Yip, personal communication, July 10, 2017.

family is the Chinese and other cultures who value family unity." She goes on to say that "There were not a lot of houses to purchase in Chinatown."[537]

Chinese culture in the Sunset District was initially confined to the intimacy of Chinese households; however, as the population grew, so did a more public display of Chinese culture. Carmen Chu, a former member of the board of supervisors for the Sunset District (District 4), shared her thoughts about Chinese culture being visible beyond the household:

> If you go into many of our playgrounds and parks, you'll see early in the morning groups of people who are practicing Tai Chi or doing other dance exercises, fan dances they're practicing. So it's really wonderful to see, it's not just the food, it's not just the families that are here, but also people utilizing their playgrounds and parks and doing things like Tai Chi, dance exercise and continuing the healthy life style and social practice.[538]

Eventually, the Sunset Recreation Center (2201 Lawton Street, extant) began to offer Tai Chi, Chinese folk dances, and Qi Gong classes at little or no cost.[539] Other establishments that promote Chinese culture were established in the Sunset District, including the U.S. Wing Chun Kung Fu Academy (martial arts) at 1267 20th Avenue (extant), Tien Tao Temple (religion) at 2548 24th Avenue (extant), Lin Wei Asian Art School (art) at 2101 Taraval Street (extant), Red Panda Acrobats (dance) at 1583 27th Avenue (extant), and Hong Kun Chinese Herb (medicine) at 2558 Noriega Street (extant). Chinese culture can also be seen through festivals such as the Sunset Autumn Moon Celebration and lion dancing on special occasions.

Source: Patrick McKinnie, Richmond ReView, October 1, 2017

FIGURE D-86 2017 AUTUMN MOON FESTIVAL ON CLEMENT STREET: ASSEMBLYMAN PHIL TING AND GOLDEN GATE PARK SENIOR CENTER DANCE GROUP. ALSO PICTURED: MISS ASIAN AMERICA, KATIE MELANIE LAM (RIGHT) AND MARK CHAN, MASTER OF CEREMONIES

[537] Gladys Chaw, personal communication, August 16, 2017.
[538] Carmen Chu, personal communication, August 17, 2017.
[539] San Francisco Recreation and Park, "Summer 2018," City and County of San Francisco, 2018, http://sfrecpark.org/wp-content/uploads/SFRPD_summer2018_WITH-HYPERLINKS_ReducedFileSize.pdf.

Source: Anni Chung

FIGURE D-87 LION DANCER IN FRONT OF SELF-HELP FOR THE ELDERLY SOUTH SUNSET SENIOR CENTER IN THE SUNSET DISTRICT

Perhaps the most visible display of Chinese culture in the Sunset District is embodied by the abundance of Chinese businesses along Irving, Lawton, Noriega, Taraval, and Vicente streets. Initially, Chinese American families that had moved to the Sunset District still made trips to Chinatown to shop. Timothy Yip recalls how Chinatown played an important role for his family when they first moved out into the Sunset District in 1967:

> When we first got out there in '67, there was only one Chinese restaurant, the Chinese Kitchen, that delivered from Chinatown out here [to the Sunset District]. We would call and it would take two and a half hours… It took us a long, long time for us to see anything [Chinese establishments in the Sunset] 'cause we still had to head back to Chinatown for everything.[540]

Likewise, Lauren Hall-Lew remembers the weekly trips that her grandmother took to Chinatown to shop:

> My grandma went to Chinatown every week to shop. I know my grandma wouldn't have gone to Chinatown if she didn't need to because she would complain about it. This was in the '80s.[541]

As Chinese establishments became more abundant in the Sunset District, Chinese Americans gained easier access to familiar resources and necessities. Steve and Jeanie Low, who have lived in the Sunset since 1977, recalls when Chinese establishments became prominent on Irving Street:

> I started to see a lot of Chinese vendors by the early nineties on Irving...Gradually there were more Chinese vendors where I can get Chinese vegetables and fruits in my neighborhood.[542]

[540] Timothy Yip, personal communication, July 10, 2017.
[541] Lauren Hall Lew, personal communication, July 27, 2017.
[542] Steve & Jeanie Low, personal communication, June 29, 2017.

Chinatown no longer represented the epicenter of the Chinese American community in San Francisco. Peggy Chang shares how her relationship with Chinatown evolved:

> I think that we go there [to Chinatown] less and less because the parking and everything is not convenient… When I go to Chinatown, it is probably to take friends sightseeing. It's not really for daily necessities."[543]

In a series of oral history interviews, the easier parking and abundance of options were frequently cited as reasons many Chinese Americans in San Francisco chose the Sunset District over Chinatown for shopping and eating.[544] By 2018, there were roughly 2,500 Chinese businesses in the Sunset District, including restaurants, grocery/produce stores, learning centers, day-care centers, real estate offices, and many other services.[545]

[543] Peggy Chang, personal communication, July 10, 2017.

[544] Eugenie Chan, personal communication, July 19, 2017.

[545] DataSF. (2018). *Map of Registered Business Locations- San Francisco*. DataSF.org. Retrieved from https://data.sfgov.org/Economy-and-Community/Map-of-Registered-Business-Locations/ednt-jx6u.

E. EVALUATION CRITERIA

This section is adapted from *Chinese Americans in Los Angeles, 1950–1980*, a SurveyLA context statement.

OVERVIEW

This section assists with the identification and evaluation of properties that may be significant for their association with Chinese American history in San Francisco under one of the seven historic sub-themes (i.e., chapters) of this context statement:

- Early Chinese Migration, Settlement and Community Formation, 1848—1880s
- The Anti-Chinese Movement, 1850s—1880s
- Early San Francisco Chinatown, 1850—1906
- Chinese Exclusion, 1882—1943
- Disaster and Rebuilding: Chinatown, 1906—1930s
- New Chinese American Communities: Upward Mobility and Institutionalized Racism, 1945—1965
- Changing Demographics and Struggles for Civil Rights, 1965—1985

Common property types associated with Chinese American history in San Francisco are identified and discussed below. These property types appear across the different periods and historical sub-themes listed above.

Each property type includes a summary statement of significance and registration requirements. For a property to be found eligible for association with Chinese American history in San Francisco, it would need to fall under one of the identified property types, meet the significance and registration requirements outlined for that type, and retain sufficient integrity to convey its significance.

The evaluation criteria focus on eligibility for listing in the California Register. They may also apply to the National Register, as the two programs use the same criteria.

Properties may be eligible under one or more of the National Register/California Register criteria:

- A/1: Properties that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history
- B/2: Properties that are associated with the lives of persons significant in the past

- C/3: Properties that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; represent the work of a master; possess high artistic values; or represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction
- D/4: Properties that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history

CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS

Certain kinds of properties are not usually considered for listing in the National Register or the California Register: religious properties, moved properties, birthplaces and graves, cemeteries, reconstructed properties, commemorative properties, and properties achieving significance within the past fifty years. These properties can be eligible for listing, however, if they meet special requirements, called "criteria considerations," in addition to meeting the regular requirements.[546]

Criteria Consideration A: Religious Properties

A religious property is eligible if it derives its primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance.

Criteria Consideration B: Moved Properties

A property removed from its original or historically significant location can be eligible if it is significant primarily for architectural value or is the surviving property most importantly associated with a historic person or event.

Criteria Consideration C: Birthplaces or Graves

A birthplace or grave of a historical figure is eligible if the person is of outstanding importance and no other appropriate site or building exists directly associated with their productive life.

Criteria Consideration D: Cemeteries

A cemetery is eligible if it derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, age, distinctive design features, or association with historic events.

Criteria Consideration E: Reconstructed Properties

A reconstructed property is eligible when it is accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan and when no other building or structure with the same associations has survived. All three requirements must be met.

[546] For more information, see National Park Service Bulletin No. 15B, "How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation," available online: *https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB-15_web508.pdf*

Criteria Consideration F: Commemorative Properties

A property primarily commemorative in intent can be eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance.

Criteria Consideration G: Properties that Have Achieved Significance within the Past 50 Years

A property achieving significance within the past 50 years is eligible if it is of exceptional importance. Fifty years is a general estimate of the time needed to develop historical perspective and evaluate significance. This consideration guards against the listing of properties of passing contemporary interest. Exceptional importance sufficient to satisfy Criteria Consideration G is a measure of the property's importance within the appropriate historic context at the local, state, or national level of significance. Those properties not of exceptional importance may become eligible when more time has passed.

INTEGRITY

Properties eligible for the National Register/California Register must also have integrity (i.e., the ability to convey their significance). Integrity is based on significance (i.e., why, where, and when a property is important). The evaluation of integrity is sometimes a subjective judgment. It must always be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance. Only after significance is fully established can integrity be evaluated. Ultimately, the question of integrity is answered by whether the property retains the identity for which it is significant.

Within the concept of integrity, the National Register and California Register criteria recognizes seven aspects or qualities that, in various combinations, define integrity:

- **Location** is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.
- **Design** is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.
- **Setting** is the physical environment of a historic property.
- **Materials** are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.
- **Workmanship** is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.
- **Feeling** is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.
- **Association** is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

To retain historic integrity, a property will always possess several, and usually most, of the aspects. Each type of property depends on certain aspects of integrity more than others to express its historic significance. Determining which aspects are most important to a particular property requires an understanding of the property's significance and its essential physical features. A property important for association with an event, historical pattern, or person(s) ideally might retain some features of all seven aspects of integrity, but will not in all cases. Integrity of design and workmanship, for example, might not be as important to the significance and would not be relevant if the property were a site. A basic integrity test for a property associated with an important event or person is whether a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists at the time of nomination.

All properties change over time. It is not necessary for a property to retain all of its historic physical features or characteristics. The property must retain the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic identity. The essential physical features are those features that define both why a property is significant (i.e., applicable criteria and areas of significance) and when it was significant (i.e., periods of significance).

If a number of related proximate resources of relatively equal importance exist or a property is on a large parcel with a variety of resources and most of the resources retain integrity, the group of resources should be evaluated as a historic district. For a district to retain integrity as a whole, the majority of the components that make up the district's historic character must possess integrity, even if they are individually undistinguished. Contributors to a district may have a greater degree of acceptable alterations than properties that would be individually eligible. Properties with reversible alterations to the exterior, such as enclosed porches or replacement windows, should not automatically be excluded from consideration.

The architectural and physical attributes of some properties associated with Chinese Americans in San Francisco may be modest. Some may have been altered, thereby compromising integrity of design, materials, and/or workmanship. The setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses), and original uses may have changed. However, properties may still be eligible under Criteria A/1 or B/2 on the strength of their association with historic events or people. Retention of location, feeling, association, and sometimes setting may be more important than design, workmanship, and materials.

Properties associated with Chinese Americans in San Francisco that are eligible under Criterion C/3 must retain those physical features that characterize the type, period, style, or method of construction that the property represents. Location and setting are important for those properties whose design is a reflection of their immediate environment.

In general, property types associated with Chinese Americans in San Francisco that meet the registration requirements for significance and integrity can be considered rare; in some cases, there may be only one or a few extant eligible resources. The development of registration

requirements for property types was based on knowledge and comparative analysis of physical characteristics and/or historical associations. The integrity requirements and considerations take into account the rarity of the resources, knowledge of their relative integrity, and significance evaluations, based primarily on eligibility under Criteria A/1 and B/2, as most properties associated with San Francisco's Chinese American community will relate to important events or people.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Below are 10 general property types under which a property may be identified for association with Chinese American history in San Francisco. These property types are based on National Register and California Register criteria and definitions. Specific examples are taken from the sub-themes discussed in this context statement.

To be eligible, a property must date from within the period of significance identified for an associated context, retain most of the character-defining features from their period of significance, and retain sufficient integrity to convey their significance. Properties must represent an important association with the Chinese American community in San Francisco.

Properties may also be eligible in the category of Ethnic Heritage: Asian (Chinese) when being listed on the National Register.

E.1 PROPERTY TYPES ASSOCIATED WITH PROMINENT PERSONS IN CHINESE AMERICAN HISTORY

Properties associated with prominent persons in Chinese American history in San Francisco are common to all context sub-themes. They include all types and categories of properties and cover the full period of significance for each related context. Resources can be found citywide, with some concentrations in the geographic areas of settlement and migration, as discussed in the context narratives. Architectural type, style, and detail vary widely and are generally based on the date of construction.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Properties associated with prominent Chinese Americans in San Francisco may be eligible for listing in the National Register/California Register under Criterion B/2 at the local, state, or national level. A property must be directly associated with the productive life of a significant Chinese American or associated with San Francisco residents of other cultures and ethnicities who have been instrumental in furthering opportunities for Chinese Americans. Individuals may be important in a wide range of areas of significance, including, and not limited to, Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Agriculture, Commerce, Community Planning and Development, Communications, Entertainment/Recreation, Exploration/Settlement, Industry, Art, Performing

Arts, Health/Medicine, Politics/Government, Military, Religion, and Social History. Individuals may include important civic leaders and activists, business owners, educators, doctors, actors, writers, politicians, farmers, athletes, artists, and others who made significant contributions to the Chinese American community in San Francisco. Residential properties and professional offices may be associated with persons significant in civil rights and issues related to deed restrictions and segregation. Although the associated historic context narratives identify some persons who were significant in Chinese American history and whose associated properties may be evaluated under this property type, more may be identified with additional research. One example is the Chee Kung Tong building at 36 Spofford Street where Sun Yat-sen lived for six years and which functioned as a center of revolutionary activity. Sun Yat-sen used the *tong's* paper, *The Chinese Free Press*, to communicate to the masses.

Eligibility Standards

- Direct association with the productive life of a significant Chinese American can be established or association with persons of other cultures and ethnicities that have been instrumental in furthering opportunities for Chinese Americans.
- Individual must be proven to have made an important contribution to one or more areas of significance as it relates to Chinese American history.
- Individual must have lived in or used the property during the period in which he or she achieved significance.
- Contributions of individuals must be compared to those of others who were active, successful, prosperous, or influential in the same field/area/industry.
- Each property associated with a significant individual should be compared with other properties associated with that individual to identify those resources that are good representatives of the person's historic contributions.
- Properties associated with the lives of living persons may be eligible if the active life of a person in his or her field of endeavor is over AND sufficient time has elapsed to assess both the larger field and his or her contributions to that field from a historic perspective.
- Although the architectural and physical attributes of some properties associated with important Chinese American persons in San Francisco may be modest, and some may have been altered since the person's association with the property, properties may still be eligible under Criterion B/2 on the strength of their association with historic persons.

Integrity Considerations

When evaluating integrity, retention of location, feeling, association, and sometimes setting may be more important than design, workmanship, and materials.

E.2 PROPERTY TYPES ASSOCIATED WITH SETTLEMENT AND HOUSING

Properties associated with Chinese American housing and settlement in San Francisco are common to several of the context themes and periods of significance identified in this document. They encompass all types of residential properties and can be found citywide but are generally concentrated in the geographic areas of settlement and migration discussed in the context narratives, including Chinatown and the Sunset and Richmond neighborhoods. Architectural type, style, and detail vary widely and are generally based on the date of construction.

Associated properties may include fishing camp villages, ranches, tenements or residential hotels, women's and children's homes, public housing, other types of multi-family residences, and single-family homes. Although they cover the full period of significance for each related context, most residential properties in Chinatown date from after 1906 because earlier buildings were destroyed during the earthquake and fire, although some residential properties were rebuilt at the same location. Properties representing housing for those displaced by the 1906 disaster are rare but would fall under this category. Some, but not all, residential properties were purpose built. Residential hotels, for example, were initially constructed to serve temporary populations but later became long-term housing. Associated residential properties in the Richmond or Sunset districts are more likely to be single-family homes or small apartment buildings, compared with the denser residential housing types in Chinatown.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Individual residences and residential historic districts associated with Chinese Americans in San Francisco may be eligible for the National Register/California Register at the local, state, or national level of significance under Criterion A/1, Criterion B/2, and Criterion C/3. Areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Exploration/Settlement, and Social History. Other areas of significance may be identified.

Significant individual residences can include properties associated with important persons, women's shelters, and orphanages and encompass key events or legal cases related to housing discrimination or integration. Examples of properties that may be eligible under this criterion are the Donaldina Cameron House at 920 Sacramento Street (San Francisco Landmark No. 44) and Gum Moon at 940 Washington Street, both missionary homes for women and girls. The Ping Yuen public housing development (655, 711, and 895 Pacific Avenue, all extant) is significant as the first all-Chinese public housing project in the nation and for its association with Chinese community development during the turn of the 21st century. Residential hotels like the Clayton Hotel (657 Clay Street, extant) may be significant for a key role in the SRO movement of the 1980s. Group housing facilities such as those discussed above may be significant in the area of Community Organizations/Social Services/Institutions.

Residential historic districts provide evidence of settlement, migration, and segregation patterns. A primary example is Chinatown—a Chinese enclave since the mid-1800s and San Francisco's first segregated neighborhood. In other cases, residential historic districts may evidence increased ability for homeownership. Further research would be needed to determine whether additional residential historic districts are present in the Richmond or Sunset districts.

Individual residential properties may be significant under Criterion B/2 due to their associations with important persons who played a key role in housing-related causes such as movements for public, affordable, or fair housing. Key individuals involved in establishing women's homes or children's orphanages may also fall under this category.

Some residential buildings or districts may also be significant under Criterion C/3 as excellent examples of their respective styles or as the work of a master architect. In the area of art, they may contain excellent examples of public art features designed by master artists or possess high artistic value.

Eligibility Standards

- Must have a significant association with the settlement and/or migration of Chinese Americans over time.
- May relate to housing discrimination, deed restrictions, and segregation, such as legal challenges or social organizing that led to a demonstrated impact on local policies, legislation, or popular opinion.
- May be associated with local, state, or national housing movements, such as movements for improved housing conditions, public housing, affordable housing, neighborhood integration, and or urban renewal.
- May be associated with an important person or, in the case of a historic district, may be associated with numerous historic persons who lived in the neighborhood.

Integrity Considerations

When evaluating integrity, location, feeling, and association are most important. Design and setting may also be important if eligible under Criterion C/3. Workmanship and materials may be present but are not necessary to convey significance in most cases.

Eligibility Standards for Residential Historic Districts

- Collection of residential buildings associated with important historical events and patterns in Chinese American history; residential historic districts provide evidence of settlement, migration, and segregation patterns
- May include large multi-family residential properties such as a large public housing development(s)

Integrity Considerations for Historic Districts

When evaluating integrity, the aspects of location, design, setting, feeling and association are most important. Design may also be important if eligible under Criterion C/3. Workmanship and materials may be present but are not necessary to convey significance in most cases.

E.3 PROPERTY TYPES ASSOCIATED WITH BUSINESS AND COMMERCE

Properties associated with Chinese American business and commerce in San Francisco are common to all context themes and periods of significance identified in this document. They encompass all types of commercial buildings and can be found citywide but are generally concentrated in the geographic areas of settlement and migration, as discussed in the context narratives, including Chinatown and the Richmond and Sunset neighborhoods. Architectural type, style, and detail vary widely and are generally based on the date of construction.

Commercial properties associated with Chinese Americans in San Francisco house a variety of businesses and vary widely. Although they cover the full period of significance for each related context, most commercial properties in Chinatown date from after 1906 because earlier buildings were destroyed during the earthquake and fire, although some businesses were rebuilt at the same location. Some, but not all, commercial properties were purpose built. Those in the Richmond or Sunset districts typically were not purpose built for Chinese American business.

Businesses associated with Chinese Americans in San Francisco include retail stores, neighborhood theaters, restaurants/bars/nightclubs, markets, laundries, florists, bakeries, and other businesses that served basic neighborhood needs as well as professional offices/services and lodging. The property types include buildings that housed organizations associated with commerce and business development, such as chambers of commerce, banks, and employment agencies. Commercial retail buildings associated with herbal medicine are discussed below under Property Types Associated with Health and Medicine.

A significant concentration of commercial buildings associated with Chinese American businesses in a defined geographic area may constitute a historic district. Examples of commercial districts within the period of significance for this context statement include Grant and Stockton streets in Chinatown, Clement Street in the Richmond, and Irving Street in the Sunset.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Commercial properties and commercial historic districts associated with Chinese American businesses in San Francisco may be eligible for listing in the National Register/California Register under Criterion A/1, Criterion B/2, and or Criterion C/3 at the local, state, or national level. Resources may be significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Commerce, Community

Planning and Development, and Social History for their association with significant Chinese American businesses of various types. Other areas of significance may also be identified.

Significant businesses and business organizations evidence patterns of settlement, migration, and changing demographics and played an important role in the commercial growth and development of San Francisco's Chinese American population. The importance may relate to the particular goods and services provided or the role played in local, regional, or even national commerce. Because Chinese Americans were segregated into Chinatown and sometimes excluded as customers and employees at white-owned businesses, they formed their own businesses to provide services and employment opportunities to members of their communities. Some businesses also served as cultural hubs and popular places to meet and socialize. The customer base for a business may have included all Asian American communities and, in some cases, reached beyond these communities to serve other populations. Resources may be the founding location or the long-term location of a business. Early businesses may have relocated over time to new locations.

Districts evidence the direct influence of Chinese American business and civic leaders in the planning, development, and operation of key commercial centers associated with the Chinese American community. They served as the hub of day-to-day commercial and social activities for Chinese Americans but were sometimes also intentionally designed to evoke a sense of the exotic and attract a tourist base that would contribute to the local economy. Chinatown is the primary example. Clement Street in the Richmond District is a more recent example that is associated with a broader Asian American community and is not associated as strongly with tourism.

Under Criterion A/1, properties may be eligible if they are associated with important Chinese businesses or historical trends. The Chinese Telephone Exchange building at 743 Washington Street, the first public telephone station in San Francisco, is one example of a property that may qualify under this criterion, as it is associated with Chinese labor in the railroad and agricultural industries and transformed the way laborers and members of these industries communicated. Other examples include the Chinese Chamber of Commerce at 728-730 Sacramento Street and the Chinatown Branch of the San Francisco Savings and Loan Association, which doubled as the Chinese Community House, at 1044 Grant Avenue.

Hotels, motels, and boarding houses may be significant under Criterion A/1 for their association with tourism as well as in the area of Industry for their association with Chinese American labor history. Movie theaters and nightclubs may also be significant in the area of Entertainment/Recreation. Examples include the Sun Sing movie house (previously the Mandarin Theatre [an opera house]) at 1019-1029 Grant Avenue, the Great Star Theater at 636 Jackson Street, and Forbidden City nightclub at 363 Sutter Street.

Under Criterion B/2, a resource may be significant for its association with a Chinese American who made important individual contributions to commercial development in San Francisco, such

as important business leaders or merchants. Many individuals who established these businesses emerged as community leaders. The China Bazaar building at 667 Grant Avenue is one example, given its association with Sinclair and May Louie, prominent Chinatown business owners, founders of the Autumn Moon Festival street fair in Chinatown, and co-founders of Chinatown Merchants Association. Properties associated with Ben Hom, community and business leader in the Richmond District, may also be eligible under Criterion B/2. Hom founded the Golden State Realty (207 Clement Street), a Clement Street bank, co-founded the New Chinatown Improvement Association, and helped promote the Richmond District as the "New Chinatown."

Some commercial buildings may be significant under Criterion C/3 as excellent examples of their respective styles, including the Asian Eclectic style, particularly in Chinatown. Examples include the Sing Chong Bazaar (601 Grant Avenue) and the Sing Fat building (555-597 Grant Avenue). Commercial districts may also be significant in the area of Architecture under Criterion C/3 as a distinctive and cohesive collection of Asian Eclectic buildings and in the area of Art for public art features, either designed by artists of merit or possessing high artistic value. Chinatown, especially Grant Avenue and Stockton Street, is the primary example. The lamp posts along Grant Avenue, installed in the 1930s to increase Chinatown tourism, and Chinatown's prevalent neon signage are other features that relate to both commercial history and the Asian Eclectic style.

Eligibility Standards

- Strongly associated with the commercial and professional development of the Chinese American community.
- Associated with a business that made important contributions to commercial growth and development in San Francisco and specifically to the Chinese American community.
- Founding or long-term location of a business is significant to the Chinese American community.
- Associated with promotion of tourism, especially in Chinatown.
- Associated with a business/corporation that has gained regional or national importance.
- Represents a fully expressed and intact commercial building that exemplifies the Asian Eclectic style.

Integrity Considerations

When evaluating integrity, location, feeling, and association are most important. Design and setting may also be important if eligible under Criterion C/3. Workmanship and materials may be present but are not necessary to convey significance in most cases.

Eligibility Standards for Commercial Historic Districts

- Influenced by significant business/civic leaders in the Chinese American community.

- Conveys a strong sense of overall historic environment from the period of significance.
- Represents an intact grouping of commercial buildings that, as a whole, exemplify the Asian Eclectic style.
- Has a strong cultural association to the community in which it is located.
- May be important for its association with historic persons who operated businesses or provided services or for the cumulative importance of those individuals to the Chinese American community.

Integrity Considerations for Historic District

When evaluating integrity, location, feeling, and association are most important. Design and setting may also be important if eligible under Criterion C/3. Workmanship and materials may be present but are not necessary to convey significance in most cases.

E.4 PROPERTY TYPES ASSOCIATED WITH COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS, SOCIAL SERVICES, INSTITUTIONS, RECREATION, AND CULTURE

Property types associated with community organizations, social services, institutions, recreation, and culture are common to all contexts and make up one of the largest groups of historic resources identified within this context statement.

Associated buildings may be purpose built or may use existing buildings constructed for other purposes. Size, massing, form, and architectural style vary over time. These buildings may serve multiple functions. They include social and community facilities, such as social halls and the meeting places of benevolent/family associations, tongs, youth organizations, women's clubs and organizations, children's homes/orphanages, and other community groups. They also include recreational and cultural facilities, such as indoor recreation centers, music facilities, theaters, auditoriums, museums, indoor sports facilities, newspapers/press, arts and cultural organizations, community centers, and senior citizens centers. Associated buildings also include some government agencies and institutions, such as courthouses, city hall, consulate offices, immigration offices, and detention centers.

Other property types associated with this theme include public art objects, such as murals, and cultural landscapes, such as parks, playgrounds, or alleyways.

Known property types are located citywide, within areas of settlement associated with each historic context. The older organizations, such as Chinese benevolent associations, tongs, and women's missionary homes, are exclusively located in Chinatown.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Properties associated with community organizations, social services, and institutions associated with Chinese Americans in San Francisco may be eligible for listing in the National Register/California Register under Criterion A/1 at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Social History, Politics/Government, and Community Planning and Development. These organizations served as social and cultural hubs in the communities in which they were located and played a critical role in the lives of Chinese Americans of all ages. For example, many provided a range of services to new immigrants who were settling in San Francisco and assisted with housing, employment, language, and educational needs. Others were concerned with safety and freedom—especially for the many Chinese women and girls who were forced into prostitution. Some provided activities and services that promoted Chinese cultural traditions and practices as well as health, social service, and community development programs. Others represented Chinese American community mobilization and participation.

The CCBA headquarters at 843 Stockton Street would be eligible under this Criterion, as would the Chinatown YMCA (855 Stockton), Chinatown YWCA (935 Clay Street), and Chinese American Citizens Alliance at 1044 Stockton Street. Additional properties supported political activism, equality, and civil rights. Associated properties are often institutional buildings and generally located in older parts of the city (e.g., Chinatown, the waterfront, the Financial District, Civic Center). Examples of this property type include Chinese Consulate at 1450 Laguna Street and the Appraiser's Building at 630 Sansome Street (which assumed responsibility for processing and detaining Chinese immigrants after Angel Island Immigration Station closed in 1940).

Many individuals associated with Chinese American community organizations, social services, institutions, recreation, and culture may have made significant individual contributions to their respective fields; associated resources may be eligible under Criterion B/2. One example might be a property associated with J.K. Choy, founder and co-founder of several Chinatown community organizations. He helped to establish the Chinese Community House, the San Francisco Greater Chinatown Community Service Association, and the Chinese Cultural Center. This context statement did not dedicate significant resources identifying individuals, but there are likely many important individuals associated with the various community organizations mentioned within.

Some properties may also be eligible under Criterion C/3 as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic style or other architectural styles from their period of construction, or for their association with a master architect or artist. The Chinatown YWCA building, for example, is important for its community associations as well as its architectural significance as the work of master architect, Julia Morgan.

Eligibility Standards

- Represents an important association with Chinese American community development in San Francisco.
- May represent issues related to civil rights.
- May represent a significant event or movement associated with education or the social history of San Francisco.
- May be important for association with numerous historic persons or the cumulative importance of those individuals to the Chinese American community.
- May be the work of a master Chinese American artist or architect.

Integrity Considerations

When evaluating integrity, location, feeling, and association are most important. Design and setting may also be important if eligible under Criterion C/3. Workmanship and materials may be present but are not necessary to convey significance in most cases.

Eligibility Standards for Community/Social/Cultural Historic Districts

- Collection of buildings and/or outdoor spaces associated with Chinese American community development, civil rights, social history, social movement, and/or the cumulative importance of numerous important individuals in the Chinese American community.

Integrity Considerations for Historic Districts

When evaluating integrity, location, feeling, and association are most important. Design and setting may also be important if eligible under Criterion C/3. Workmanship and materials may be present but are not necessary to convey significance in most cases.

E.5 PROPERTY TYPES ASSOCIATED WITH EDUCATION

Properties associated with Chinese American education in San Francisco are common to all contexts and periods of significance identified in this document. They encompass a variety of building typologies, typically institutional or residential, and can be found citywide but are generally concentrated in the geographic areas of settlement and migration as discussed in the context narratives. Architectural type, style, and detail vary and are generally based on the date of construction.

Properties associated with education may include colleges/universities, public high schools and grammar schools, boarding schools, language schools, and libraries. Parochial schools are included in the Religion and Spirituality property type. Schools may include stand-alone buildings or campuses of multiple buildings comprising historic districts. Size, massing, form, and architectural style of education-related resources vary over time.

Some, such as the Chinese Primary School (historic name), were purpose-built, while most earlier schools utilized existing buildings. Public high schools related to this property type are less common.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Educational resources associated with Chinese Americans in San Francisco may be eligible for listing in the National Register/California Register under Criterion A/1 at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance may vary over time and include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Education, and Social History.

The Chinese Primary School (later known as the Oriental School, Commodore Stockton Elementary School, and Gordon J. Lau Elementary School) was the first public school for Chinese American children, formed following a key legal case won by a Chinese American in San Francisco. Prior to that case, Chinese children were not allowed in San Francisco's public schools. Occupying several different locations in Chinatown, the school was segregated for decades. Its current location, 950 Clay Street, was purpose-built for the school in 1914. As the only extant location for the Chinese school, the property would be eligible under this criterion.

Language schools are significant for the role they played in supporting and promoting Chinese American cultural traditions and practices. The CCBA established the Ta Ch'ing Shu-yuan (now Chinese High School) at 829 Stockton Street. Wah Mei Pre-School at 1400 Judah Street was the first Chinese American bi-cultural, bilingual program in San Francisco, established in 1974 to accommodate the growing Cantonese population in the Sunset District.

For some Chinese immigrants of the 19th century, properties associated with education may have also played a role in providing assistance or temporary housing in addition to educational instruction. Gum Moon (940 Washington Street), for example, operated as a boarding house and school for young Chinese women and children of both sexes for a period of time.

College/university facilities are significant for their strong association with the Asian American Movement and the development of the nation's first Asian Studies academic programs. College and university-related resources date from the late 1960s and early 1970s and may also be associated with the civil right movement. The most prominent is the College of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University. It houses the first ethnic studies program in the nation, which included Asian American studies.

Under Criterion B/2, a resource may be significant for its association with an individual. Some individuals associated with education may have emerged as community leaders or may have broken a key barrier in the field of education. One example might include a property associated with San Francisco's first Chinese American teacher, Alice Fong Yu.

Some educational resources may be significant under Criterion C/3 as excellent examples of architectural styles of the period of construction. Both purpose-built schools in Chinatown—

Chinese High School and the Commodore Stockton Elementary/Gordon J. Lau Elementary—could potentially qualify under this criterion. The first is an expression of the Asian Eclectic style and the second is the work of master architect, Albert Pissis. Historic districts, such as San Francisco State University, may also be significant under Criterion A/1 or C/3.

Eligibility Standards

- May be significant for its role in educational advancement of Chinese Americans.
- May reflect the changing demographics of a San Francisco neighborhood.
- May represent a significant event or movement in the social history of San Francisco, such as legal decisions involving racial segregation or integration.
- May be important for its association with numerous historic persons for the cumulative importance of those individuals to the community.
- May be representative of the Asian Eclectic style or other architectural styles of the period.

Integrity Considerations

- When evaluating integrity, location, feeling, and association are most important. Design and setting may also be important if eligible under Criterion C/3. Workmanship and materials may be present but are not necessary to convey significance in most cases.

Eligibility Standards for Education Historic Districts

- Collection of buildings and/or outdoor spaces associated with educational advancements of Chinese Americans, significant social movement, or important court cases related to segregation or integration.

Integrity Considerations for Historic Districts

When evaluating integrity, location, feeling, and association are most important. Design and setting may also be important if eligible under Criterion C/3. Workmanship and materials may be present but are not necessary to convey significance in most cases.

E.6 PROPERTY TYPES ASSOCIATED WITH RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY

Property types associated with religion and spirituality are common to all contexts and located citywide. The oldest Chinese American religious buildings in San Francisco are located in Chinatown; others cropped up later in the western part of the city. This property type includes individual buildings as well as religious campuses with multiple buildings that, in addition to churches and temples, may provide living quarters, schoolrooms, and venues for community activities and sports. Campuses may be evaluated as historic districts. Property types also comprise cemeteries, crematoriums, mortuaries, and other funerary buildings.

Specific property types include churches that served a variety of Christian congregations (Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, and Catholic, among others). Some church buildings were purpose built by or for the Chinese community, while others may have been constructed by and for other congregations and subsequently used as churches for Chinese American congregations. Some church properties were founded by non-Chinese as part of local Christian missions, particularly in the prewar period. It was common for congregations to move locations over time, first renting and then purchasing or constructing new buildings. In addition, some religious campuses expanded over time, with newer, larger buildings replacing the earlier ones. Churches may have undergone some degree of alteration over time. Christian churches were generally designed in architectural styles from their period of construction. Size, massing, and form vary over time.

Property types include purpose-built temples. Although many second- and third-generation Chinese Americans practiced Christianity, local benevolent associations also served religious or spiritual functions for those who continued traditional practices of Taoism, Buddhism, or Confucianism.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Religious properties associated with Chinese Americans in San Francisco may be eligible for listing in the National Register/California Register under Criterion A/1 at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Religion, Community Planning and Development, and Social History.

Religious buildings and institutions provided spiritual support for Chinese Americans and served as social and cultural hubs in the community in which they were located. Many offered new immigrants basic social services as well as housing, language classes, and employment counseling. Some also featured recreational facilities and meeting rooms for clubs and other organizations; some sponsored activities such as dances and school programs for local children. They also represented springboards for community leadership, business networks, and civil rights activism.

Extant examples of associated properties in San Francisco include the Tin How Temple inside the Kong Chow Benevolent Association building at 125 Waverly Place and Old St. Mary's Church (660 California Street, San Francisco Landmark 2 and California Registered Historical Landmark No. 310) are two examples of properties that would qualify under this criterion. Another is the Seventh Day Adventist Church, established in 1948 at 7777 Geary Street and was the first Chinese church located in the Richmond District. Its construction reflected the changing demographics of the neighborhood and a movement of Chinese Americans outside of Chinatown. The ruins of the Kong Chow Funerary Building and Cemetery in Lincoln Park is an example of a structure that is likely eligible.

Many individuals associated with religion and spirituality emerged as community leaders. Under Criterion B/2, a resource may be significant for its association with an individual who contributed to the spiritual life of the community, mentored youth, or had some similar role.

Some religious buildings may also be significant under Criterion C/3 as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic style or the architectural styles of their period of construction.

Eligibility Standards

- May reflect the settlement patterns of early Chinese immigrants and or the development of a Chinese American community.
- May represent a significant event or movement in the social history of San Francisco.
- May reflect the changing demographics of a San Francisco neighborhood.
- May be important for its association with historic persons or the cumulative importance of those individuals to the community.
- May be an example of a significant architectural style.

Integrity Considerations

When evaluating integrity, location, feeling, and association are most important. Design and setting may also be important if eligible under Criterion C/3. Workmanship and materials may be present but are not necessary to convey significance in most cases.

E.7 PROPERTY TYPES ASSOCIATED WITH AGRICULTURE

Property types associated with agriculture include vernacular agricultural landscapes such as greenhouses, farms, ranches, flower/produce markets, and shrimp or fishing camps. Associated buildings may include indoor flower markets, farmhouses, and ranch houses. Properties associated with agriculture may also be associated with Chinese Americans who made important individual contributions to the field under Criterion B/2. There are few known remaining resources in San Francisco related to Chinese Americans and agriculture.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Agricultural properties associated with Chinese Americans in San Francisco may be eligible for listing in the National Register/California Register under Criterion A/1 at the local, state, or national level of significance. Resources may be significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Agriculture, and Social History.

Truck farming was an important part of agricultural production in San Francisco, particularly for local markets. It provided a livelihood for thousands of small farmers in rural parts of the city, including Chinese Americans. Their contributions, when viewed in the aggregate, were critical to the local economy. Furthermore, some truck farms represent a notable movement within early

20th century residential development, providing self-sufficient acreage in a systematic way for newcomers who wanted a rural lifestyle. There are no known intact Chinese farmhouses in San Francisco; these and/or their remnants would represent truck farming in the city, which was once a critical component of the city's agricultural economy. Farmhouses are most intimately associated with the farmers themselves and some may reflect the agricultural traditions of Chinese Americans. The San Francisco Flower Market at 640 Brannan Street is associated with Chinese flower growers, among flower growers of other ethnicities.

Vernacular agricultural landscapes such as greenhouses, farms, or outdoor shrimp and fishing camps, may be significant remnants of a once expansive agricultural landscape within the city. They represent truck farming, flower farming, ranching, or fishing for the local market, all of which were once critical components of the agricultural economy of San Francisco. Of all potentially eligible property types, the vernacular agricultural landscape has the strongest historical associations through the retention of several related features. This more complete and expansive property type allows for the fullest understanding of historical agricultural practice and conveys a more all-encompassing sense of place. Shrimp camps were located along the coast including areas near Hunter's Point and China Beach.

Eligibility Standards: Vernacular Agricultural Landscape

- Agricultural property was owned and/or operated by a Chinese American farmer/rancher.
- Property is in an undeveloped area with agricultural features that may include a farmhouse, farmland/fields, agricultural outbuildings, and related features.
- May have played a significant role in agricultural development for local and/or regional/national markets.
- Relationships between buildings/structures and landscape features should be apparent.

Integrity Considerations

When evaluating integrity, location, setting, materials, and feeling are most important. Association and workmanship may be present but are not necessary to convey significance in most cases.

Eligibility Standards: Farmhouse/Ranch House

- Associated with a significant Chinese American farmer/rancher.
- Constructed as a farmhouse/ranch house.
- Often designed in prevalent architectural styles of the period.
- May convey historic use through an associated historic vernacular landscape.

Integrity Considerations

When evaluating integrity, location, feeling, and association are most important. Design and setting may also be important if eligible under Criterion C/3. Workmanship and materials may be present but are not necessary to convey significance in most cases.

E.8 PROPERTY TYPES ASSOCIATED WITH INDUSTRY AND LABOR

Property types associated with industry are common to all contexts and located citywide, although the largest concentration is in Chinatown. Others may be located along the waterfront, in the Financial District, South of Market (SoMa), or Hunter's Point—the areas where industry in San Francisco was generally located. Industrial properties related to Chinese Americans in San Francisco may include those related to the railroad, canning, manufacturing, the garment business, hospitality, or lodging. Others may be identified.

Additional property types associated with Chinese American industries may include the small commercial hotels and boarding houses that provided temporary housing for workers, mainly men; most such properties were in Chinatown.

Sites that served as a port of entry for Chinese immigrant laborers brought to the United States by large employers are also associated with Industry and Labor. Lastly, properties related to labor organizing and Chinese American unions may be eligible under this criterion.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Industrial properties associated with Chinese Americans in San Francisco may be eligible for listing in the National Register/California Register under Criterion A/1 at the local, state, or national level of significance. Resources may be significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Industry, and Social History.

Various industries, including the railroad, canning, manufacturing, the garment business, hospitality, and lodging, played a role in the migration and settlement of Chinese Americans in San Francisco. In the mid-19th century, Chinatown became a center of production for light manufacturing, especially cigars, clothing, boots, shoes, and slippers. Chinese provided the primary source of labor for these industries. Industrial properties may represent the history of Chinese labor, including issues related to workplace discrimination or labor rights. They may also represent industries pioneered or improved upon by Chinese Americans in San Francisco.

The best-known example of a port of entry for Chinese immigrant laborers is the former site of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company (located on Pier 40 at the foot of First Street in South Beach, buildings not extant), which transported tens of thousands of Chinese men to San Francisco where they took employment in a variety of industries.

Eligibility Standards

Industrial Buildings

- A key manufacturing or processing location for a significant Chinese American–owned company whose branding and/or products had a significant impact on San Francisco industrial history and/or the economic prosperity of Chinese Americans in San Francisco.
    - May have included retail sales of products.
    - May have included one or more related utilitarian buildings.
    - May possess branding or company logos/signs on the building exterior.
    - May retain distinctive equipment or building elements that reflect a particular kind of manufacturing process, which may help in evaluating significance and contribute to the integrity (association) of the property.
    - Often designed in the prevalent architectural styles of the period.
- Industry may have been a large employer of Chinese Americans, although company may not have been Asian American owned.

Hotel/Boarding Houses

- An example of a hotel/boarding house that provided housing for Chinese American workers during the period of significance for the associated context.
- Often designed in the prevalent architectural styles of the period.

Integrity Considerations

When evaluating integrity, location, feeling, and association are most important. Design and setting may also be important if eligible under Criterion C/3. Workmanship and materials may be present but are not necessary to convey significance in most cases.

Eligibility Standards for Industrial or Labor-related Historic Districts

- Collection of buildings and/or outdoor spaces representing industries that employed a large number of Chinese Americans, and which reflect the migration and settlement of Chinese Americans in San Francisco and/or the community's contributions to certain industries
- The collection may include properties related to the immigration of Chinese labor.
- The collection may include residential properties that housed Chinese labor.

Integrity Considerations for Historic Districts

When evaluating integrity, location, feeling, and association are most important. Design and setting may also be important if eligible under Criterion C/3. Workmanship and materials may be present but are not necessary to convey significance in most cases.

E.9 PROPERTY TYPES ASSOCIATED WITH HEALTH AND MEDICINE

Properties associated with health and medicine include primarily institutional and commercial buildings such as hospitals, homes for the aged, medical offices, medical clinics, pharmacies, apothecaries, tea shops, and herbal medicine stores. Associated properties cover the full period of significance for each related context.

The two most important properties associated are no longer extant. That includes the Chinese Hospital (835 Jackson Street demolished and rebuilt in 2016) and the Tung Wah Dispensary (both locations demolished). Associated property types may also include medical offices and clinics operated by noted Chinese American doctors and practitioners or that served Chinese American clientele. Apothecaries, tea shops, and herbal medicine stores also apply (they may also be associated with Chinese American Business and Commerce).

Herbal medicine was both familiar and very likely the only medical treatment available to early immigrants because Chinese were typically denied access to public medical facilities. Herbal medicine was also a rare example of a profession that allowed Chinese immigrants to make a long-term living using an ethnic skill. Because legislation prevented Chinese herbal doctors from becoming licensed physicians, leaving them vulnerable to lawsuits and arrests, Chinese herbal doctors often promoted their businesses as merchants who sold herbs. Although there are no known extant examples of this property type additional research may reveal long-standing health/medicine-related businesses as well as single-family residences or other facilities associated with Chinese healers or midwives who provided health care for Chinese in the late 19th and early 20th century. Associated property types may also be related to anti-Chinese activities or policies related to public health, such as the quarantine of Chinatown at the turn of the 20th century.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Health and medicine-related resources associated with Chinese Americans in San Francisco may be eligible for listing in the National Register/California Register under Criterion A/1 at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Health/Medicine, and Social History. Identified resources played a significant role in supporting the health and welfare of Chinese Americans against a backdrop of racial discrimination in medical care. They also reflect the struggle for recognition and legalization of traditional Chinese medical practices.

Individuals associated with health and medicine may have made significant individual contributions to the field and been significant under Criterion B/2. Some resources may also be significant under Criterion C/3 as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic style.

Eligibility Standards

- Represents an important association with health and medicine in the Chinese American community in San Francisco.
- Represents an important association with the history and practice of Chinese medical traditions, such Chinese herbal medicine and acupuncture.
- May be associated with anti-Chinese racism and discrimination manifested through public health policy or actions.
- May be an example of the Asian Eclectic style or another significant architectural style.

Integrity Considerations

When evaluating integrity, location, design, feeling, and association are most important. Setting, workmanship and materials may be present but are not necessary to convey significance in most cases.

E.10 PROPERTY TYPES ASSOCIATED WITH THE ASIAN ECLECTIC STYLE

The term Asian Eclectic style was coined by SurveyLA to convey a fusion of Asian architectural styles and ornamentation, frequently assembled in fantastical combinations to appear exotic. For purposes of the National Register, the style is classified as Other: Asian Eclectic and Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Period Revival: Eclectic Period Revival. Properties associated with the Asian Eclectic style may include residential, institutional, industrial, and commercial buildings as well as historic districts. Most properties that exhibit this style are concentrated in Chinatown, with some individual examples in other neighborhoods including the Richmond and Sunset districts.

The Asian Eclectic style features both pagoda-influenced forms and simplified modern forms with oriental detailing that includes wide, overhanging, upturned eaves; decorative applied ornamentation with oriental and geometric motifs; and brightly colored clay tile roofs. The distinctive, sweeping upturned eaves and steep roofs of early buildings gave way to decorative upturned beams and eaves that supported flat roofs, creating more linear and boxy forms.

As described in the sections above, the Asian Eclectic style could be applied to many property types, including buildings used for residential, commercial, educational, community service, religious, industrial, or other purposes.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Properties associated with the Asian Eclectic style may be eligible for listing in the National Register/California Register under Criterion C/3 at the local, state, or national level. Associated

resources are significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian and Architecture. Individual properties and districts reflect the distinctive qualities of the Asian Eclectic style. Other associated properties include those designed by Chinese American architects or influenced by Chinese Americans, including civic and business leaders.

San Francisco was one of the first cities in the United States to display buildings of the Asian Eclectic style. Look Tin Eli, a Chinese American businessman, is credited with envisioning Chinatown's signature look. He commissioned the four-story Sing Chong Bazaar building at 601 Grant Avenue that displays a pagoda tower and Chinese motifs and colors. The style became important to Chinatown's tourism industry, and more and more buildings were designed in the style. Other elements in the built environment that are associated with the Asian Eclectic style include the Dragon Gate (Bush and Grant Avenue), Grant Avenue lamp posts, and commercial signage in Chinatown.

In addition to the individual examples that exist in Chinatown, the neighborhood is a collection of examples of the Asian Eclectic style; it very likely qualifies for listing as a historic district under this theme.

Eligibility Standards for Individual Buildings

- Must be an intact and fully expressed example of the Asian Eclectic style and must retain most of the character-defining features, which may include:
    - Sweeping roofs with flared gables or upturned rafter tails
    - Carved brackets and rafter tails
    - Flat roofs with a decorative post-and-beam support system
    - Ornamented roof ridges
    - Brightly colored roof tiles
    - Elaborate surrounds on entryways and windows
    - Decoratively distributed mullions on windows
    - Recessed entryways
    - Geometrical patterns on window grilles
    - For mixed uses, second-floor balconies
    - For retail, neon signage in fonts evoking calligraphy
    - May be painted red and gold
    - Ornament may include dragon or lion statuary

- May be influenced by significant business/civic leaders in the Asian American community.
- May be designed by Chinese or Chinese American architect.

Eligibility Standards for Asian Eclectic Style Historic Districts

- Collection of buildings and/or outdoor spaces representing the stylistic characteristics outlined above

Integrity Considerations for Historic Districts

Should retain integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. When evaluating integrity, location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association are most important. Setting may be present but is not necessary to convey significance in most cases. However, setting is more important for historic districts.

F. RECOMMENDATIONS

Chinese American communities in San Francisco have persevered for over 170 years. Their stories are of survival and rebirth as generations of immigrants continue to arrive from China. Despite a plethora of local, state, and federal laws that restricted Chinese people's ability to migrate to this country, become naturalized citizens, and live where they pleased, Chinese Americans thrived despite all odds. In 2020, Chinese represented San Francisco's largest ethnic group, totaling 21 percent of the city's population.[547] This document is intended as a first step to preserve the properties, stories, and living cultural heritage associated with the people, events, and organizations that define this important part of San Francisco history.

The following recommendations are intended to inform decision makers and the community at large about potential strategies for protecting and interpreting San Francisco's Chinese American heritage. The recommendations listed below were included in the 2018 version of this context statement, written by Grant Din, et al. They have been reorganized to reflect suggestions related to historic evaluation, designation and preservation of historic properties, conservation of intangible cultural heritage, and public education and interpretation.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

No single context statement can address all important topics of study for an entire ethnic group, and this study is no different. Below are recommendations for further study to better support future historic evaluation and survey efforts. This is not an exhaustive list.

- Follow up on the 1986 efforts of Philip Choy and others to identify historic buildings in Chinatown, it is important to document them and see what has changed in the 30-plus years since the study
- Study the relationship between San Francisco and Sun Yat-sen—the "father of modern China"—are there other buildings like Chee Kung Tong that are associated with the leader and have worldwide historic importance?
- Conduct further exploration of elements of intangible Chinese American culture such as festivals, celebrations, and artistic expressions
- Study Chinese American artists and public art
- Study Chinese American architects and buildings designed by Chinese Americans
- Study the emerging areas of the Chinese American population, including Visitacion Valley, Ocean View, Merced Heights, and Ingleside

[547] *https://worldpopulationreview.com/us-cities/san-francisco-ca-population*

HISTORIC DESIGNATION

It is essential to preserve and protect the places that reflect the legacy of Chinese Americans in San Francisco, which includes buildings and sites that are more than 110 years old, many of which have national and even international importance.

Properties and historic districts may be listed in national, state, or local registries. These include the National Register, the California Register, and the local landmarks program. Each program offers different benefits and should be considered and discussed with the key stakeholders involved in the designation effort.

Recommendations

- City officials, whether the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, Historic Preservation Commission, or Planning Department, should work with Chinese American community organizations to designate or list sites and properties important to Chinese American history in San Francisco.
- For a list of properties potentially eligible for historic designation, see Appendix A: List of Known and Designated Chinese American Resources
- Other properties not mentioned in this context statement may be identified through additional documentation, research, and community engagement.

CULTURAL DISTRICT PROGRAM

In addition to cultural resources that are part of the built environment, elements of Chinese American living culture—manifested in traditions, customs, and cultural practices—are important elements of history and worth sustaining and safeguarding. Businesses, non-profit organizations, cultural events and festivals, artists, and educators are often involved in cultural reproduction. One innovative City program that recognizes this and aims to support cultural preservation is San Francisco's Cultural District Program. A second is the Legacy Business Registry and Historic Preservation Fund (described below).

The purpose of the Cultural District Program is to acknowledge and preserve neighborhoods with a unique cultural heritage. A Cultural District is defined as:

> A geographic area or location … that embodies a unique cultural heritage because it contains a concentration of cultural and historic assets and culturally significant enterprise, arts, services, or businesses, and because a significant portion of its residents or people who spend time in the area or location are members of a specific cultural or ethnic group that has been historically discriminated against, displaced, and oppressed.

Designation as a Cultural District initiates a community-led planning process, resulting in preparation of a Cultural, History, Housing, and Economic Sustainability Strategy Report, which

may include topics as diverse as economic development, preservation and enhancement of historic and cultural uses and buildings, or planned physical improvements. To date, the following Cultural Districts have been designated: African American Arts and Culture District in Bayview-Hunters Point, American Indian Cultural District in the Mission, Calle 24 (24th Street) Latino Cultural District, Compton's Transgender Cultural District in the Tenderloin, Filipino Cultural Heritage District in the SoMa neighborhood, Japantown, and the Leather and LGBTQ Cultural District.

Recommendations

- Chinatown clearly meets the requirements for the Cultural District Program, is a strong candidate, and could benefit from participation.
- Given the community-led nature of these efforts, significant community support and involvement would be necessary to move an application for designation forward.

LEGACY BUSINESS REGISTRY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION FUND

San Francisco's Legacy Business Registry and Historic Preservation Fund recognizes longstanding community-serving businesses, which are valuable cultural assets to the city. The program provides promotional assistance to designated "Legacy Businesses" and, in some cases, grant funding to encourage their continued viability and success. The City also offers annual grants to eligible property owners who extend 10-year leases to Legacy Business tenants. This is part of a strategy to prevent the displacement of the city's small businesses in an expensive real estate market.

To qualify for as a Legacy Business, a business or non-profit organization must meet each of the following criteria:

(1) The business has operated in San Francisco for 30 or more years, with no break in San Francisco operations exceeding two years;[548]

(2) The business has contributed to the neighborhood's history and/or the identity of a particular neighborhood or community; and

(3) The business is committed to maintaining the physical features or traditions that define the business, including craft, culinary, or art forms.[549]

[548] The business may have operated in more than one location. If the business has operated in San Francisco for more than 20 years but less than 30 years it may still satisfy this subsection (b)(1) if the Small Business Commission finds that the business has significantly contributed to the history or identity of a particular neighborhood or community and, if not included in the Registry, the business would face a significant risk of displacement

[549] *https://sfosb.org/legacy-Business*

As of the writing of this document, designated Legacy Businesses that are either Chinese owned or involved with promoting Chinese culture include the CHSA, House of Nanking, HWA Ran Kwan, LiPo Cocktail Lounge, Mon Sing Noodle Co, Sam Wo, Wok Shop, and Wah Mei School.[550]

Recommendations

- Many of San Francisco's Chinese American businesses and non-profit organizations meet the eligibility requirements for the Legacy Business Registry and Historic Preservation Fund and could benefit from participation. For a list of possible additions to the program, see Appendix B: Chinese American Businesses.
- It is crucial that bilingual efforts be made to ensure that Chinese-owned businesses are aware of the Legacy Business Registry and Historic Preservation Fund.
- Outreach to Chinese businesses located outside traditional Chinese American neighborhoods is also important. An example of such a business is Wo Chong Company, a tofu and soy products manufacturer founded in 1935 in a Chinatown basement, now located in a 48,000-square-foot facility in the SoMa neighborhood.
- In addition, non-profit organizations that organize cultural festivals and events should be considered for Legacy Business status.

EDUCATION AND INTERPRETATION

Education and interpretation programs and strategies are critical to preserving Chinese American heritage in San Francisco. There is no single entity that carries out this function, although there are key organizations, such as the CHSA, that work to preserve Chinese American history. The following recommendations may be applicable to government agencies or community-based organizations. They include ideas for new programs that may not yet exist and relate primarily to education, interpretation, and storytelling:

- Support youth education programs, public art, and public history initiatives that teach and interpret Chinese American history and heritage sites.
    - The CHSA's "Chinese in the Richmond" and "Chinese in the Sunset" are two examples; similar projects could be explored for other neighborhoods .
    - Involve students in action-based projects (e.g., projects offered by San Francisco State University's Asian American Studies Department, the University of San Francisco, City College of San Francisco, Washington High School, and Presidio and Roosevelt Middle schools).
    - Connect with neighborhood historical groups such as the Western Neighborhoods Project in the Richmond District, which is working with the CHSA and the Asian

[550] For a complete and updated list, see: *https://sfosb.org/legacy-business/registry*

American Studies Department at San Francisco State University to research the history of Chinese Americans in the area. Similar efforts can be made in Chinatown, the Sunset District, and other neighborhoods.

- Create interpretive signage for important sites where the historic building or resource is no longer standing or present, such as the former site of Lee Yick's Laundry (349 Third Street).
- Host forums or other events to seek stories, oral histories, artifacts, photos, videos, and ideas for future research on Chinese Americans in San Francisco, particularly in areas outside of Chinatown where less information exists.

G. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbott, Carl. "The 'Chinese Flu' is Part of a Long History of Racializing Disease." Bloomberg CityLab, March 17, 2020. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-03-17/when-racism-and-disease-spread-together.

"Alien Land Laws," Densho Encyclopedia online, *https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Alien_land_laws/.*

Allen, Rebecca. *Historic Resources Evaluation Report for Ping Yuen Apartments*. Prepared for San Francisco Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development. San Francisco: ESA, June 2015.

Armentrout-Ma, Eve. "Urban Chinese at the Sinitic Frontier: Social Organizations in United States' Chinatowns, 1849-1898." Modern Asian Studies Vol. 17, No. 1 (1983): 107–35.

Architectural Resources Group. *Draft Hilton Hotel Historic Resource Evaluation*. Prepared for the San Francisco Planning Department, March 2019.

ARG. "Historic Resource Evaluation for 770 Woolsey Street, San Francisco." March 2019.

ARG, Historic Resources Group, and Chattel Inc. Chinese Americans in Los Angeles, 1850-1980. Los Angeles: City of Los Angeles Department of City Planning, Office of Historic Resources, October 2018.

Asian Law Caucus. "Forty Year Retrospective, 1972—2012." https://www.advancingjustice-alc.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/ALC-40th-Retrospective.pdf

Bancroft Library. University of California, Berkeley. Chinese in California. http://www.oac.cdlib.org/view?docId=kt5p3019m2&doc.view=items&style=oac4&item.position=81.

"San Francisco Chinatown." *https://bancroft.berkeley.edu/collections/chineseinca/sfchinatown.html.*

Baranski, John. *Housing the City by the Bay: Tenant Activism, Civil Rights, and Class Politics in San Francisco*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2019.

Barde, Robert. "Immigrant Ports of Entry," in Immigrants in American History: Arrival, Adaptation, and Integration, Vol. 2, ed. Elliott Robert Barkan. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2013.

Brooks, Charlotte. Alien Neighbors, Foreign Friends: Asian Americans, Housing, and the Transformation of Urban California. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 2013.

Between Mao and McCarthy: Chinese American Politics in the Cold War Years. Chicago. London: University of Chicago Press, 2015.

Brown, Mary. Sunset District Residential Builders, 1925-1950 Historic Context Statement, San Francisco City and County Planning Department, 2013.Cal. Compiled Laws of California Chapter CLXXXVI Section 69 (Cal. Stat. 1905).

"Cameron House Mission and History." https://cameronhouse.org/about-us/history/.

Campbell, Ballard C. Disasters, Accidents and Crises in American History: A Reference Guide to the Nation's Most Catastrophic Events. New York: Infobase Publishing, 2008.

Carey & Co. Inc. *Draft Historic Resource Evaluation for Ping Yuen Housing Development*. Prepared for the San Francisco Housing Authority. San Francisco: Carey & Co., June 22, 2001.

Carey & Co., Inc. "Historic Resources Evaluation for Glen Park Community Plan." San Francisco: PBS&J.

Carlsson, Chris. "The Workingmen's Party and the Denis Kearney Agitation Historical Essay." FoundSF. https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=The_Workingmen%E2%80%99s_Party_%26_The_Denis_Kearney_Agitation.

Chan, Eugenie. Personal communication, July 19, 2017.

Chan, Roy. Personal communication, February 13, 2018.

Chang, Peggy. Personal communication, July 10, 2017.

Chaw, Gladys. Personal communication, July 10, 2017.

Chan, Sucheng. *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1991.

Chang, Charlotte Ah Tye. "Kong Chow: Family Effort to Save a Temple," *San Francisco Examiner,* February 18, 1969.

Chang, Jingwoan. "Prostitution and Footbinding: Images of Chinese Womanhood In Late Nineteenth-Century San Francisco," 2001.

Chen, Shehong. Being Chinese, Becoming Chinese American. University of Illinois Press, 2006.

Chen, Yong. Chinese San Francisco 1850-1943: A Trans-Pacific Community. Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 2000.

Chin, Gordon. Personal communication, April 26, 2018.

"China Beach." National Park Service. Retrieved September 6, 2018.

"Chinatown Aids the Red Cross." San Francisco Call. Volume 84, Number 7, June 7, 1898.

Chinatownology. "Tin How Temple." http://www.chinatownology.com/tin_how_temple.html.

Chinese Chamber of Commerce. "San Francisco Chinatown: The Official Chinese Chamber of Commerce Publication." Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 1965.

"San Francisco Chinese New Year Festival, Feb. 4-7, 1960." Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 1960.

Chinese Historical Society of America. "Glamour and Grace: The History and Culture of Miss Chinatown USA." Chinese Historical Society of America Museum, 2007.

Chinese New Year Festival & Parade. "History of the San Francisco Chinese New Year Parade." Retrieved July 24, 2018. http://www.chineseparade.com/parade_history.asp.

Chinn, Maxine, "We Who Are Without a Country!" California Chinese Press, May 9, 1941. Chinn, Thomas. A Historian's Reflections on Chinese-American Life in San Francisco, 1919-1991, an oral history conducted in 1990 and 1991 by Ruth Teiser, Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library. Berkeley, University of California, 1991.

"Chinese Raising Fund: Will Contribute to Relief of All Suffers Alike." The Associated Press, from the Texas Dallas News, April 24, 1906. http://www.sfmuseum.org/conflag/nyaid.html

Chinn, Thomas W., Him Mark Lai, Philip P. Choy. A History of The Chinese in California. A Syllabus. San Francisco, CA: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1969.

Chou, Flora, Deepeaka Dhaliwal, Donna Graves, and Page & Turnbull. Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California: A National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form. Sacramento: California Office of Historic Preservation, 2019.

Choy, Philip P. The Architecture of San Francisco Chinatown. San Francisco, Chinese Historical Society of America, 2008.

San Francisco Chinatown: A Guide to Its History and Architecture. San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 2012.

Chu, Carmen. Personal communication, July 27, 2017.

Chu, Eric Trinh. Email correspondence. May 12, 2018.

Chuck, Rev. James. "Growth of Protestant Congregations from 1950 to Mid-1996 in Five Bay Area Counties." In Chinese America: History and Perspectives, Vol. 15. San Francisco, CA: Chinese Historical Society of America, 2001.

Choy, Philip. Chinatown Historic District Case Report. San Francisco: San Francisco Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board, January 1991.

City and County of San Francisco Planning Department. "835-845 Jackson Street, Chinese Hospital Replacement Project, Draft Environmental Impact Report." April 16, 2012, IV.C.14.

DataSF, Map of Registered Business Locations - San Francisco. DataSF.org, 2018.

DeLeon, Richard Edward. Left Coast City: Progressive Politics in San Francisco, 1975-1991. Studies in Government and Public Policy. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1992.

Der, Cynthia, "A Chinese American Seat at the Table: Examining Race in the San Francisco Unified School District," University of San Francisco Law Review, 42, 1077-1114.

Din, Grant. An Analysis of Asian/Pacific American Registration and Voting Patterns in San Francisco. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Claremont Graduate University, 1985.

"Donaldina Cameron House, Landmark Designation Case Report." Prepared for San Francisco Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board, March 10, 1971.

Dong, Arthur. Emails and unpublished writing, July 10, 2018.

Dong, Arthur. Forbidden City, U.S.A. (film), 1989, DeepFocus Productions.

Forbidden City, U.S.A.: Chinese Nightclubs, 1936-1970. Los Angeles, DeepFocus Productions, 2015.

Dong, Arthur. Hollywood Chinese: The Chinese in American Feature Films. Santa Monica: Angel City Press, 2019.

Dong, Arthur. Sewing Woman (film), 1982, DeepFocus Productions.

"Draft Chinatown Historic District, National Register of Historic Place Registration Form." San Francisco: 1999. Available from San Francisco Planning Department.

Fan, Diana. "Yick Wo: How A Racist Laundry Law In Early San Francisco Helped Civil Rights." Hoodline, August 23, 2015. https://hoodline.com/2015/08/yick-wo-and-the-san-francisco-laundry-litigation-of-the-late- 1800s.

Farr, Stacy. "University Mound Nursery/770 Woolsey Street, Landmark Designation Application." San Francisco: February 21, 2019 in San Francisco Planning Department's Landmark Designation Case Report, July 17, 2019, Case No. 2019-002774DES.

Fong, Joe. "Globalized/Localized Asian American Banks in the Twenty-First Century." Amerasia Journal 36, No. 3 (2010).

Fong, Timothy P. The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994.

The Foundation for San Francisco Architectural Heritage, Chinatown Supplement, Volume XIV, Number 1, April 1986.

Freeman, Jo. At Berkeley in the Sixties: The Education of an Activist, 1961-1965. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.

"From Freedom Now! To Free Speech: How the 1963-64 Bay Area Civil Rights Demonstrations Paved the Way to Campus Protest." JoFreeman.com.

Gensler, Arup and CCDC. Portsmouth Square Existing Conditions Report. San Francisco: San Francisco Planning Department and San Francisco Recreation and Parks Department, December 2014. retrieved December 20, 2020. https://sfplanning.org/sites/default/files/documents/citywide/portsmouth-square/Portsmouth_Square_Final_Report_lores.pdf.

Gliddon, Jessica. "Seeking Shelter in Marin: Chinatown Refugees After the 1906 Earthquake." *Marin Magazine* (online), April 19, 2019. https://marinmagazine.com/community/history/refugees-from-the-1906-earthquake-the-chinese-girls-and-women-who-fled-to-marin/

Godfrey, Brian J. "New Urban Ethnic Landscapes." In Contemporary Ethnic Geographies in America, edited by Ines M. Miyares and Christopher A. Airriess. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.

Gold, Martin. *Forbidden Citizens: Chinese Exclusion and the U.S. Congress: A Legislative History*. Alexandria, VA: The Capitol.Net, 2012.

Gonzales, Richard. "Rebuilding Chinatown After the 1906 Quake." National Public Radio, April 12, 2006. https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5337215.Gordon J. Lau Elementary School website. "About Us." http://gjles-sfusd-ca.schoolloop.com/cms/page_view?d=x&piid=&vpid=1320736012618.

Graves, Donna, and Page & Turnbull. "Historic Context Statement: Japantown." San Francisco, CA, City & County of San Francisco Planning Department, 2009.

Gu, Mini. "More than a Look: Poy Gum Lee's Chinese-Style Architecture." Beyond Chinatown, March 2, 2016. http://www.beyondchinatown.com/2016/03/02/more-than-a-look-poy-gum-lees-chinese-style-architecture/.

Guey Heung Lee v. Johnson, 404 U.S. 1215 (1971).

Hall-Lew, Lauren. "Chinese Social Practice and San Franciscan authenticity," 2014.

Hansen, Gladys. "Relocation of Chinatown." Museum of the City of San Francisco. http://www.sfmuseum.org/chin/relocate.html.

Hansen, Gladys, and Emmet Condon, Denial of Disaster, San Francisco, CA: Cameron, 1989.

Hansen, Lawrence Douglas Taylor. "The Chinese Six Companies of San Francisco and the Smuggling of Chinese Immigrants across the U.S.-Mexico Border, 1882-1930." Of the Southwest Vol. 48, No. 1 (Spring 2006): 37–61.

Hirata, Lucie Cheng. "Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America." Women in Latin America Vol. 5, No. 1, (Autumn 1979): 3–29. "History of SVSS." Spring Valley Science School. https://www.sfusd.edu/school/spring-valley-science-elementary-school/about/history.

Holder, Charles Frederick. "The Chinaman in American Politics." The North American Review

Vol. 166, No. 495 (February 1898): 226–33.

Ho, Jennifer, "Cultural Heritage Language in Third Generation Chinese- Americans." Explorations: The UC Davis Undergraduate Research Journal, (14), 1-18, 2011.

HoSang, Daniel Martinez. Racial Propositions: Ballot Initiatives and the Making of Postwar California. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2010.

Hong, Allen. "Remembrance and Resurrection: The Opening of San Francisco's New International Hotel," Hardboiled, The Asian American Newsmagazine, October 2005, 4.

Hoy, William. The Chinese Six Companies: A Short, General Historical Resumé of Its Origin, Function, and Importance in the Life of the California Chinese. San Francisco, CA: Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, 1942.

ImmigrationtotheUnitedStates.org. "Chinese Laundries." http://www.immigrationtounitedstates.org/426-chinese-laundries.html#:~:text=In%201880%2C%2095%20percent%20of%20San%20Francisco%E2%80%99s%20320,a%20permit.%20Only%20one%20non-Chinese%20owner%20was%20denied.

Ling, Huping. "A History of Chinese Female Students in the United States, 1880s-1990s."

Journal of American Ethnic History Vol. 16, No. 3 (Spring 1997): 81–109.

Ling, Huping, and Allan W. Austin. Asian American History and Culture: An Encyclopedia. Vol.1. 2 vols. Armonk, N.Y: Sharpe Reference, 2010.

Hurtado, Albert L. "Sex, Gender, Culture, and a Great Event: The California Gold Rush." Pacific

Historical Review Vol. 68, No. 1 (1999): 1–19.Joyner, Brian D. "Asian Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Asian Heritage." Washington D.C.: National Park Service and National Center for Cultural Resources, 2005. http://npshistory.com/publications/asian-reflections.pdf.

Hittell, John S. *The Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast of North America*. San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Co., 1882.

"Julia Morgan Legacy Project." Chinese Historical Society of America. https://chsa.org/exhibits/online-exhibits/julia-morgan-legacy-project/.

Kamiya, Gary. "How Chinese Americans won right to attend San Francisco schools." San Francisco Chronicle. https://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/How- Chinese-Americans-won-right-to-attend-SF-11107543.php.

Kamiya, Gary. "When S.F. police broke the law to combat Chinatown's violent gangs." SF Chronicle, Dec 13, 2019. ://www.sfchronicle.com/chronicle_vault/article/When-SF-police-broke-the-law-to-combat-14904377.php.

Kammer, J. "The Hart-Celler Immigration Act of 1965 Political Figures and historic circumstances produced dramatic, unintended consequences." Center for Immigration Studies, 2015.

Kelley, Tim. *Leonard House Landmark Designation Case Report*. Prepared for San Francisco Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board, September 1999. https://sfplanninggis.org/docs/landmarks_and_districts/LM213.pdf

Kelley and VerPlanck Historical Resource Consulting. Bayview-Hunters Point Area B Survey Town Center Activity Node. San Francisco: San Francisco Redevelopment Agency, 2010.

Kelley, Tim, and Gerald Takano. "Japantown Historic Context Statement." San Francisco, CA: Japantown Task Force, October 2003.Keng Wong, Li. *Good Fortune: My Journey to Gold Mountain*. New York, Scholastic, 2006.

Kingman, Dong. "A Brush with San Francisco." California Living, October 12, 1975.

KQED. "Chinatown Resource Guide: The Story of Chinatown." http://www.pbs.org/kqed/chinatown/resourceguide/story.html

Laguerre, Michael S. "The Globalization of a Panethnopolis: Richmond District as the New Chinatown in San Francisco." GeoJournal 64, No. 1 (2005).

Lai, Him Mark. Autobiography of a Chinese American Historian. Los Angeles, UCLA Asian American Studies Center and Chinese Historical Society of America, 2011.

Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions. Critical Perspectives on Asian Pacific Americans Series. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2004.

"Historical Development of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association/ Huiguan System." In Chinese America: History and Perspectives, 13–50. Chinese Historical Society of America, 1987.

Lai, Him Mark "Island of Immortals: Chinese Immigrants and the Angel Island Immigration Station." *California History*, Vol. 57, No. 1, The Chinese in California (Spring, 1978), pp. 88-103. California Historical Society. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25157818.

Lai, Him Mark, Genny Lim, and Judy Yung. Island: Poetry and History of Chinese Immigrants on Angel Island 1910-1940, Second Edition. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2014.

Lai, Him Mark, and Russell Jeung. Guilds, Unions, and Garment Factories: Notes on Chinese in the Apparel Industry, Chinese America: History & Perspectives, San Francisco, Chinese Historical Society of America, 2008.

Lau v. Nichols, 414 U.S. 563 (1974).

Lauterborn, Peter. Personal interview, July 3, 2018. Lee, Edna, interview with Palma Jean You, 2016.

"Laws and Policies Affecting Asian-Pacific Americans." https://academic.udayton.edu/race/03justice/aspilaws.htm.

Lee, Anthony W. "Crooning Kings and Dancing Queens" in *Reading California: Art, Image, and Identity*, edited by Stephanie Barron, Sheri Bernstein and Ilene Susan Fort. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

Lee, Erika. "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance: 1800-1940s," in Franklin Odo, *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*. National Park Service: 2019.

Lee, Erika. The Making of Asian America. New York, Simon and Schuster, 2015.

Lee, Erika, and Judy Yung. Angel Island: Immigrant Gateway to America. New York, Oxford University Press, 2010.

Lee, Ford and Allyson Wong. *The Chinatown Y: Honoring the Legacy, Building for the Future*. San Francisco: Chinatown YMCA, 1972.

Lee, Yanbin. "華人登陸北美塑像紀念碑" 設計出台." People's Daily Overseas Edition. April 9, 2010.

Lew, Lauren Hall. Personal communication, July 27, 2017.

Lew-Williams, Beth. *The Chinese Must Go: Violence, Exclusion, and the Making of the Alien in America*. Harvard University Press, 2018.

Li, Chuo. Interrogating Ethnic Identity: Space and Community Building in Chicago's Chinatown. *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* Vol. 27, No. 1 (FALL 2015), pp. 55-68 (14 pages).

Lim, Shirley Jennifer. A Feeling of Belonging: Asian American Women's Public Culture, 1930-1960. American History and Culture. New York: New York University Press, 2006.Limerick, Patricia Nelson. "Witness to Persecution." *New York Times*, July 29, 2007.

Liu Yilin, "Event Literature: Memories Sealed for One Century, Remembering the Hero of the 1906 San Francisco Earthquake Lim Tuck Sing," unpublished article, 2018.

Loewen, James W. Lies across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong. 1. Touchstone ed. A Touchstone Book. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000.

Look Tin Eli, "Our New Oriental City – Veritable Fairy Palaces Filled with the Choicest Treasures of the Orient," San Francisco, the Metropolis of the West. San Francisco, CA: Western Press Association, 1910.

Liu, Bonnie. American Chinatown: A People's History of Five Neighborhoods. New York, NY: Free Press, 2009.

Liu, Karen. Personal communication, July 5, 2017.

Low, Steve and Jeanie. Personal communication, June 29, 2017.

Lum, Jimmy. San Francisco Chinese Directory. San Francisco, Ming Sing Printing Company, 1949.

Lyman, Stanford M. "Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliation in San Francisco's Chinatown, 1850-1910." Pacific Historical Review Vol. 43, No. 4 (1974): 473–99.

Markwyn, Abigail M. *Empress San Francisco: The Pacific Rim, the Great West & California at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014.

Matas, G. (2011). Chinese American Experience and "The Melting Pot." Zb. rad. filoz. fak. Splitu, 5 (2012): 291-311.

McClain, Charles J. In Search of Equality: The Chinese Struggle against Discrimination in Nineteenth-Century America. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996.

Mock, Brentin. "How U.S. Schools are Failing Immigrant Children." CITYLAB, 2015. Mullen, Kevin J. Chinatown Squad. Novato, CA: Noir Publications, 2008.

National Park Service. "1906 Earthquake: Chinese Displacement." https://www.nps.gov/prsf/learn/historyculture/1906-earthquake-chinese-treatment.htm.

National Park Service. "U.S. Immigration Station, Angel Island." https://www.nps.gov/places/u-s-immigration-station-angel-island.htm.

Nee, Victor and Brett deBary Nee. Longtime Californ': A Documentary Study of an American Chinatown. New York, Pantheon, 1972.

New York Historical Society. Chinese American Exclusion/Inclusion. New York, the New-York Historical Society, 2014.

Ngai, Mae. The Lucky Ones. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2010.

North, Hart H. "Chinese Highbinder Societies in California." Historical Society Quarterly Vol. 27. March, 1948.

Odo, Franklin, et al. Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study. Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 2017.

Pew Social and Demographic Trends. The Rise of Asian Americans. Washington, DC, Pew Research Center, 2012.

Pfaelzer, Jean. Driven Out: The Forgotten War Against Chinese Americans. New York, NY: Random House, 2007.

"Pickets Quit at UC Gate." *Daily Independent Journal*, March 15, 1969.

Polk, R.L. & Co. San Francisco City Directory. Dates from 1945 to 1982. R.L. Polk & Co. Publishers, Dallas, TX, 1945 to 1982.

Presbyterian Church in Chinatown. "Our Story." https://www.pccsf.org/our-story.

Proctor, William A. "Location Regulation and Removal of Cemeteries in the City and County of San Francisco." San Francisco: Department of City Planning, 1950.

Qin, Yucheng. "A Century-Old 'Puzzle': The Six Companies' Role in Chinese Labor Importation in the Nineteenth Century." Journal of American-East Asian Relations Vol. 12, No. 3/4 (2003): 225–54.

Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration. 1909/1910.

Risse, Guenter B. *Plague, Fear, and Politics in San Francisco's Chinatown.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012.

Risse, Guenter B. "Translating Western Modernity: The First Chinese Hospital in America." Bulletin of the History of Medicine Vol. 85, No. 3 (2011): 413-447.

Ross, Marc Howard, ed. Culture and Belonging in Divided Societies: Contestation and Symbolic Landscapes. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

Roth, Randolph. American Homicide. London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009.

Rothstein, Richard. The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America. First edition. New York; London: Liveright Publishing Corporation, a division of W. W. Norton & Company, 2017.

Rouse Jorae, Wendy. *The Children of Chinatown: Growing Up Chinese American in San Francisco*, 1850-1920. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

San Francisco Flower Mart. https://www.sanfranciscoflowermart.com/our-history.html.

San Francisco Heritage. "Sustaining San Francisco's Living History Executive Summary," September 2014.

San Francisco Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board, *Proposal for a Chinatown Historic District*. San Francisco, Unpublished, 1986.San Francisco Museum website. http://www.sfmuseum.org/chin/4.28.html.

San Francisco Planning Department, et al. Existing Conditions Report for San Francisco Chinatown Portsmouth Square and Vicinity. San Francisco: San Francisco Planning Department and San Francisco Recreation and Parks Department. https://sfplanning.org/sites/default/files/documents/citywide/portsmouth-square/Portsmouth_Square_Final_Report_lores.pdf

San Francisco Recreation and Park, "Summer 2018." City and County of San Francisco, San Francisco, 2018.

Scranton, Philip, ed. Beauty and Business: Commerce, Gender, and Culture in Modern America. Hagley Perspectives on Business and Culture. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Sing, Lillian. Personal communication, July 25, 2017.

Shah, Nayan. *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Shiller, Reuel E. Draft "Conflict in the 'Tranquil Gardens': *Banks v. Housing Authority* of San Francisco and the Definition of Equality in Multi-Racial California." San Francisco: University of California, Hastings College of the Law, 2015.

Sing Tao USA, The Unshakable – Rebirth of S.F. Chinatown in 1906.

Soennichsen, John Robert. *The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2011.

Staley, Jeffrey L. "Gum Moon: The First Fifty Years of Methodist Women's Work in San Francisco, 1870-1920." *The Argonaut* (Journal of the San Francisco Historical Society), 2005.

"State of the State Address" delivered by Governor John McDougal, January 7, 1952. The Governor's Gallery. California State Library. https://governors.library.ca.gov/addresses/s_02-McDougall.html.

Statistical Atlas (2015) for population data by neighborhoods, statisticalatlas.com

Sugarman, D. S.,& Widess, G.E. (1974). "Equal Protection for Non-English-Speaking School Children: Lau v. Nichols." California Law Review, 62(1), 157-182.

Suyeyoshi, Amy. "Breathing Fire: Remembering Asian Pacific American Activism in Queer History" in Megan E. Springate, editor. *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*. National Park Foundation and National Park Service, 2016.

Takaki, Ron. Strangers from a Different Shore. New York, Penguin Books, 1989.

Tan, Selia. Walking conversation through Chinatown, April 10, 2018, email correspondence April-May 2018.

Tang, Ed. Personal communication, July 21, 2017.

Tang, Katy. Personal communication, undated.

Tong, Benjamin. Personal communication, March 10, 2018.

Tsui, Bonnie. American Chinatown: A People's History of Five Neighborhoods. New York, NY: Free Press, 2009.

Umemoto, Karen. "On Strike!" San Francisco State College Strike, 1968–69: The Role of Asian American Students. *Amerasia Journal*, 15:1, 3-41, 1989. DOI: 10.17953/amer.15.1.7213030j5644rx25

U.S. Census, 1860 and 1870.

United States Census. American Community Survey. 2015-2019 ACS 5-year Data Profile.

United States v. Wong Kim Ark, 169 U.S. 649 (1898).

VerPlanck, Christopher. "Social and Architectural History of the Richmond District." San Francisco Apartment Magazine, December 2000.

Volpp, Leti, "Divesting Citizenship: On Asian American History and the Loss of Citizenship through Marriage," 27. Immigration and Nationality L Rev.397 (2006), 413.

Wada, Richard. Personal Interview, July 2, 2018.

Wah Mei, "About Us." Wah Mei School, 2017.

Wang, Wayne. Chan Is Missing, 2006 (1982 film), Wayne Wang Productions, KOCH Lorber Films.

"We Grew Up in Chinatown" Facebook group, Emails and posts, throughout 2018.

Wey, Nancy. "Chinese Americans in California," in Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California. Sacramento, CA: California Office of Historic Preservation, California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1988. https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views3.htm.

Williams, Ashley M. "Constructing and Reconstructing Chinese American Bilingual Identity," in Cohen, J., McAlister, T. K., Rolstad, K., & MacSwan, J. Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism, ed., 2349-2356. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 2005.

Wong, Edmund S. Growing Up in San Francisco's Chinatown: Boomer Memories from Noodle Rolls to Apple Pie. Charleston, SC: History Press, 2018.

Wong, H. K. "San Francisco Chinatown on Parade in Picture and Story." Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 1961.

Wong, K. Scott. Americans First: Chinese Americans and the Second World War. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Wong, Pam (Lee). Personal communication 12 July 2017.

Wong, Pandora. Personal communication, July 12 and 18, 2017.

Wu, Tingting. "從外交官到世界名廚醴陵人鍾武雄的 "跨界人生." 瀟湘晨報. January 7, 2017. http://www.xxcb.cn/event/weekend/2017-01-07/9066015.html.

Yee, Andrea. Email correspondence, March - July, 2018.

Yee, Andrea, Roy Chan, Sue Lee, and Victor Lim. In-person conversation, June 6, 2018.

Yeh, Chiou-ling. Making an American Festival: Chinese New Year in San Francisco's Chinatown. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

Yick Wo v. Hopkins, 118 U.S. 356 (1886). https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/118/356/.

118 U.S. 356. https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/118/356.

Yip, Timothy. Personal communication, July 10, 2017.

Yung, Judy. Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1995.

Yung, Judy, and the Chinese Historical Society of America. Images of America: San Francisco's Chinatown. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2006.

Zhao, Xiaojian. Remaking Chinese America: Immigration, Family, and Community 1940-1965. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002.

Zia, Helen. Asian American Dreams. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000.

APPENDIX A: LIST OF KNOWN AND DESIGNATED CHINESE AMERICAN RESOURCES

This document includes designated and known historic resources identified as part of development of this historic context statement; it is not all inclusive. The following list may be expanded over time to include resources identified through additional research and public input as well as resources dating from beyond the period of significance.

Known resources may be eligible for designation under local, state, and/or federal programs. However, inclusion in this list as a resource does not ensure eligibility. Properties must be fully evaluated under relevant criteria to determine if they meet significance and integrity thresholds.

PROPERTY TYPES ASSOCIATED WITH PROMINENT CHINESE AMERICAN COMMUNITY MEMBERS OR EVENTS

Property Name	Address	Theme	Strength Established (Significance)	SF Planning Dept. Historic Resource Status
Tin How Temple	125 Waverly Place	1	Y	A
Donaldina Cameron House	920 Sacramento Street	1	Y	A
Chee Kong Tong	36 Spofford Alley	1	Y	A
Old St. Mary's Cathedral	660 California Street	1	Y	A
Chinese Episcopal Methodist Church	1009 Stockton	1	Y	A
Quong Sing Laundry	463 7th Avenue	1	Y	B
Kong Chow Cemetery Ruins	Lincoln Park Golf Course	1	Y	A
China Beach		1	Y	A
Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association	843 Stockton Street	2	Y	A
Chinese American Citizens Alliance	1044 Stockton Street	2	Y	A
Chinese Telephone Exchange	743 Washington Street	3	Y	A
Nam Kue School	755 Sacramento Street	3	Y	A
Chinese World Building	736 Grant Avenue	3	Y	A
Sing Chong Building	601 Grant Avenue	3	Y	A
Gum Moon Residence Hall	940 Washington Street	3	Y	A

Property Name	Address	Theme	Strength Established (Significance)	SF Planning Dept. Historic Resource Status
Chinese Chamber of Commerce	728 Sacramento Street	4	Y	A
Chinese Hospital	835 Jackson Street	4	Y	B
Him Mark Lai Branch Library	1135 Powell Street	4	Y	A
Chinese Historical Society of America	965 Clay Street	4	Y	A
Statue of Sun Yat- Sen in St. Mary's Square	651 California Street	4	N	N/A
Great Star Theater	636 Jackson Street	4	Y	A
The Dragon Gate	Intersection of Grant Avenue and Bush Street	4	N	N/A
The Chinese Pavilion	Golden Gate Park	4	N	N/A
Gordon Lau Elementary School	949 Washington Street	4	Y	B
4 Star Theatre	2200 Clement Street	4	Y	A
Home of Sinclair and May Louie	15 25th Ave	5	Y	A
Residence: Soo Hoo family	232 10th Avenue	5	N	B
Residence: Bow Yuk and Rachel Tang	1263 20th Avenue	5	N	B
Residence: Andrew N. and Rose Lum	1819 48th Avenue	5	N	B
20th Avenue Cleaners and Laundry	1845 Irving Street	5	N	B
Sunset Kitchen	1283 24th Avenue	5	N	N/A
Chin's Hand Laundry	1922 Taraval	5	N	B
Ping's Hand Laundry	1111 Taraval	5	N	B
Sunset French Cleaner and Launderette	4021 Judah Street	5	N	N/A
Wing's Laundry	4035 Judah Street	5	N	B
Residence: Chinn Family	539 29th Avenue	5	N	B
Richmond Mexico City Restaurant	836 Clement Street	5	N	B
Spring Valley School	1451 Jackson Street	5	Y	B

Property Name	Address	Theme	Strength Established (Significance)	SF Planning Dept. Historic Resource Status
Jung's Chinese Food	5344 Geary Boulevard	5	N	B
Chung's Kitchen	343 Clement Street	5	N	B
Clement Restaurant	621 Clement Street	5	N	B
Golden State Realty	207/8 Clement Street	5	Y	B
Residence: Tim and Iola Wong	1553 45th Avenue	5	N	B
Residence: Sherman H. and Edna Lee	2827 Taraval Street	5	Y	B
Residence: Benn Y. and Margaret Sah	2827 Taraval Street	5	N	B
Asian American Political Alliance House	202 4th Avenue	6	Y	B
Former Home of Supervisor Gordon Lau	538 19th Avenue	6	N	C
Chinese for Affirmative Action	17 Walter U. Lum Place	6	Y	A
Affordable Housing Location	665 Clay Street	6	N	A
Residence: George Woo	1729 Lake Street Apt 3	6	N	B
Mel's Drive-In	3355 Geary Blvd	6	N	B
Residence: Gordon Chin and other Chinese American leaders from SF State	641 Balboa Street	6	Y	B
1980's Chinese and Asian American Activist House	243 2nd Avenue	6	Y	B
Dim Sum: A Little Bit of Heart film site	416 20th Avenue	7	N	B
Richmond Area Multi-Services	3626 Balboa Street	7	N	B
Ping Yuen	838 Pacific Avenue	7	N	B
Residence: Him Mark Lai	357 Union Street	7	N	A
Hang Ah Dim Sum	1 Pagoda Place	Unknown	N	A
Eastern Bakery	720 Grant Avenue	Unknown	N	A
Soo Yuen Benevolent Association	801 Grant Avenue	Unknown	N	A
Empress of China	838 Grant Avenue	Unknown	N	A

Property Name	Address	Theme	Strength Established (Significance)	SF Planning Dept. Historic Resource Status
Tat Wong's Kung Fu Academy	601 Clement Street	Unknown	N	B
New Lun Ting Café	670 Jackson Street	Unknown	N	A
Mural, "Multi-Ethnic Heritage: Black, Asian, Native/Latin American," Dewey Crumpler.	600 32nd Avenue	Unknown	N	B

APPENDIX B: CHINESE AMERICAN BUSINESSES

The following businesses and non-profit organizations may be eligible for participation in the San Francisco Legacy Business Registry. They are organized by neighborhood. This list is not exhaustive, and others may be added over time.

Chinatown

- Chinese American Citizens Alliance, 1044 Stockton Street, founded 1895
- Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 728–730 Sacramento Street, 1906
- Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, 843 Stockton Street, 1882
- Chinese for Affirmative Action, 1969
- East Wind Books and Arts, 1435 Stockton Street, c. 1970
- Eastern Bakery, 720 Grant Avenue, 1924
- Far East Café, 631 Grant Avenue, 1908
- Great Star Theater, 636 Jackson Street, 1925
- Hang Ah Dim Sum, 1 Pagoda Palace, 1920
- Quong Sing Laundry, 463–465 Seventh Avenue, 1897
- Nam Kue School, 755 Sacramento Street, 1926
- New Lun Ting Café, 670 Jackson Street, 1970
- On Lok, multiple locations, 1971
- Self-Help for the Elderly, multiple locations, 1966
- Tin How Temple, 125 Waverly Place, 1852

Richmond District

- 4 Star Theater (20–30 years old), 2200 Clement Street, 1992 (but previous ownerships have run theaters onsite since 1916)
- Quong Sing Laundry, 463–465 Seventh Avenue, 1897
- Richmond Area Multi-Services, 3626 Balboa Street, 1974
- Tat Wong's Kung Fu Academy, 601 Clement Street, 1983

Sunset District

- Twentieth Avenue Cleaners, 1845 Irving Street, 1948

South of Market

- Wo Chong Company (tofu manufacturer), 1001 16th Street, founded in Chinatown in 1935, now in SoMa