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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

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__X__ New Submission _____ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic Resources Associated with Chinese Immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City Of Boston

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

1. South Cove Before Chinese Immigration, 1805-1875
2. Buildings and Spaces of the Chinese Settlement Era, 1875-1900
3. Boston's Chinese Community Develops, 1900-1943
4. Chinatown After Exclusion. 1943-1985

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date June 2017

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

Signature of certifying official	Title	Date
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I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper	Date of Action
Patrick Andrus	8/1/2017

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

Historic Resources Associated with Chinese Immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City Of Boston
Name of Multiple Property Listing

Massachusetts
State

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Chinese Immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston: Architectural and Historical Context

INTRODUCTION

Boston's Chinese-American history is rooted in its Chinatown, the third largest of its kind in the United States, following those in San Francisco and New York. For most of this history, from the 1870s, when the first Chinese are identified in the city, to the Post-World War II era when immigration restrictions (exclusions) were relaxed, the Chinese community in Boston was represented by Chinatown, even though hundreds of laundrymen were scattered throughout the city and surrounding towns. While its borders have shifted over time and are variously identified at many historical moments, Boston's Chinatown today covers about 115 acres in the city's South Cove area and ranges roughly between Essex Street on the north, Lincoln Street on the east, Marginal Road on the south, and Washington Street on the west (Fig1). In 2010, according to city data, its population was 4,444 persons, of whom 3,416, or about 77 percent, were of Asian descent.[1] The area houses an increasingly small percentage of people of Chinese descent living in Massachusetts as a whole, but it remains a "central place" for Chinese Americans throughout New England. Bridgewater State College Asian Studies professor Wing-kai To finds that "Boston's Chinatown, while small in comparison to New York's and San Francisco's, has maintained a rich history as a vibrant commercial and residential community in the same locale since its initial settlement in the late 1870s. Its continuity in preserving some of the traditional architecture and streetscapes, as well as its enduring character of family and community life, distinguishes Chinatown in Boston as a more coherent community than most others on the East Coast." Michael Liu, researcher at the University of Massachusetts Boston, has observed that the neighborhood has served as an economic, social, cultural, and political hub for Chinese Americans from all over the region for some 125 years, home to social service agencies, family associations, cultural and religious institutions, ethnic-oriented wholesale and retail businesses, and a myriad of other activities.[2]

Chinatown in Boston began as a small enclave of restaurants, Chinese-goods merchants, and dwellings concentrated in the first block of Harrison Avenue and a few locations on Beach Street. It came to occupy its current space even as highway development, urban renewal, and industrial, commercial, and institutional interests have encroached upon the neighborhood virtually since it took root in the South Cove. Such constraints, coupled with its historic function as the chief point of entry for Chinese in New England, have made Chinatown Boston's most crowded neighborhood, one in

[1] Chinatown Neighborhood 2010 Census, https://data.cityofboston.gov/dataset/Chinatown-Neighborhood-2010-Census. Population/ff3a-vq2d. In 1990 Boston's Asian population was 30,388, of whom 16,701 were Chinese. Tunney Lee, e-mail to authors, June 3, 2016, suggests that Chinatown's 1990 population was close to 3,000. Historian Shauna Lo has stated that in 2010 the Chinese represented 90% of the Asian population in two Chinatown census tracts. For 1990 data see *Chinese and Southeast Asian Births in Massachusetts* (Boston: Massachusetts Department of Public Health, June 1993), https://archive.org/stream/chinesesoutheast00mass#page/n1/mode/2up.

[2] Wing-kai To and the Chinese Historical Society of New England, *Images of America: Chinese in Boston 1870*-1965 (Charleston SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 7, and Michael Liu, "Chinatown's Neighborhood Mobilization and Urban Development in Boston," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts Boston, 1999.

which housing has been in critically short supply and open space almost nonexistent.[3] Still, in Chinatown Chinese immigrants and their descendants have, unlike most ethnic groups, created and maintained "a distinct, self-sufficient and permanent community in the area of their original settlement," as Charles Sullivan and Kathlyn Hatch noted in 1970, and the neighborhood contains numerous structures, sites, and spaces that both attest to this permanence and reflect the changes that have helped it persist.[4]

1. South Cove Before the Chinese Arrived, 1805-1875

Almost all of Chinatown is situated on land made by filling the tidal flats of Boston's South Cove between 1805 and 1843 (Fig.2). One of many land-making projects that created modern Boston, the filling of South Cove created at least 85 acres on the "Neck" that connected the Shawmut peninsula to the mainland. Only 50 feet wide in some sections, the Neck was constantly exposed to and eroded by storms and tidal action in the 17th and 18th centuries. Essex Street, so named since 1708, was the southernmost street in colonial Boston; Beach Street, also named in 1708, ran a short distance east from Washington almost to the tide line; and Washington Street (then Orange Street) was the only north-south road running over the Neck from Boston to points south.[5] Cultural geographer Arthur Krim has observed that the slope of the Neck toward the former shore is still apparent at two points, from Washington Street, near Bennet and Harvard streets, looking east toward Harrison Avenue, and along Harrison Avenue looking south from Essex Street toward Beach Street.[6]

EARLY LAND MAKING – SOUTH COVE

The need to protect the route to the mainland and to accommodate the city's rapid growth in population prompted the first land-making between the Neck and the South Cove, beginning about 1804. In March of that year, the state legislature chartered the Front Street Corporation, composed of 29 owners of land and flats on the west shore of South Cove, to create Front Street, later Harrison Avenue, to the east of and parallel to Washington Street from Beach to Dover Streets. In May 1804 the company began to build a wall along the new street's east side. Then scows brought in fill from the tidal flats outside the wall to create the street. Construction of the new street was completed by October 1805, and owners of the land between it and the old shoreline filled the space between, some not until about 1830. All told, the Front Street filling created twelve new acres of land, nine of them "buildable" acres between Front and Washington streets.[7]

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[3] In the mid-1990s Chinatown had more than 111 residents per acre; by 2000 it had .53 acres of park space, or about 9,608 people per acre of open space, far outdistancing the city's second least-open neighborhood, Central Boston, with 528 persons per acre of open space. See Andrew Leong, "The Struggle over Parcel C: How Boston's Chinatown Won a Victory in the Fight against Institutional Expansion and Environmental Racism," *Amerasia Journal* 21, 3 (Winter 1995/1996): 100.

[4] *The Chinese in Boston, 1970* (Boston: Action for Community Development, 1970), 19.

[5] On the original Neck area of Boston, see Nancy S. Seasholes, *Gaining Ground: A History of Landmaking in Boston* (Cambridge, MA, and London: MIT Press, 2003), 237-38; Robert A. Woods, ed., *The City Wilderness: A Settlement Study by Residents and Associates of the South End House* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1899), 20-21; Arthur Krim, "Chinatown-South Cove Comprehensive Survey Project: Final Survey Report," (Boston: Boston Landmarks Commission, 11 July 1997), 10-11 [in MACRIS: BOS_CHI_1997.pdf]. For maps showing the process of land making, see Alex Krieger et al., eds., *Mapping Boston* (Boston: MIT Press for the Muriel G. and Norman B. Leventhal Foundation, 1999), esp. plates 24 (175), 26 (179), 28 (183), 32 (191), 35 (197), 36 (199), 38 (203), and 39 (205).

[6] Krim, "Final Survey Report," 10.

[7] Seasholes, *Gaining Ground*, 241-43; Woods, *City Wilderness*, 21.

EARLIEST SURVIVING BUILDINGS

A few buildings in and adjacent to Chinatown date to this first era of development, among them the Peter Trott House at 37 Bennet Street (1807-1809, BOS.12830), and the James Spear House at 79 Harrison Avenue (1822-1823, BOS.2273), are the most intact and, therefore representative of house forms typical of the period. Peter Trott was a watchmaker, and his 3½-story brick residence was built on newly created Front Street (now Harrison Ave.) at the edge of Boston's commercial district where his shop was located. Its tall, narrow, profile and flattened façade reflected the prevailing Neoclassical-design taste of Boston merchants as popularized by Charles Bulfinch, the city's most renowned architect, in the houses he planned for Harrison Gray Otis and others. However, the scale and pretension of Trott's house was exceptional in South Cove, which rapidly built out with blocks of three-story rowhouses with gable roofs and attic dormers for less prosperous families. The lesser of these were erected with wood frames, which have proved impermanent in contrast to those constructed of brick. (In both instances, houses were built on wood piles that were driven deep into the soggy landfill and that began to rot in the 20th century as the watertable receded, undermining structural integrity.) The cooper James Spear's House is a rare survivor from 1822, with its form and roof unaltered by enlargements (Photo 1). One of a row of dwellings built by housewrights Isaac Jenkins and Edward Battle, it represents the scores of modest but modern homes occupied by middling merchants and tradesmen in the period. Whereas the Trott House was freestanding, with a bilaterally symmetrical front façade organized around a center entrance, with brick laid in Flemish bond and flat brick arches over the windows, the Spear House was engaged to its neighbors with its brick façade laid in a common bond and less balanced, even though the row's jack-arch fenestration maintained its own regular rhythm. As South Cove's development intensified, fewer large houses like Trott's, which benefited from more open settings, were built.[8]

The second major landfill project, stimulated by the need to create space for the depot and railyard of the Boston & Worcester Railroad, was also undertaken by a state-chartered private corporation. In 1833 businessmen and lawyers created the South Cove Corporation to fill the cove from Front Street east to Sea Street, in Boston proper; social-settlement worker Robert Woods claimed that the new corporation was formed as "an auxiliary" to the Boston & Worcester Railroad (chartered in 1831), which, in exchange for $75,000 of the company's $414,500 capital, agreed to buy the made land and keep its terminals on it forever. South Cove Corporation at first bought 2,375,000 feet of tidal flat at twelve cents a foot and by 1836 owned some 73 acres. Beginning in May 1833 it filled the flats with 28 feet of mud from two marshes it had acquired to the south, some amount of "cellar earth" from excavating basements for new buildings, and gravel from pits it owned in Roxbury and Dorchester. Though the financial panic of 1837 stalled the project for a time, it was complete by November 1839.[9] The railroad built its passenger depot between Albany and Lincoln streets on the entire block between the north side of Kneeland Street and the south side of Beach Street—directly across from the

[8] Harold Kirker, *The Architecture of Charles Bulfinch* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 226.
[9] Seasholes, *Gaining Ground*, 168, 244-49; Woods, *City Wilderness*, 21-22.

mammoth, 300-room United States Hotel, then being built by the South Cove Corporation—and its freight or "merchandize" depot between Lincoln and Utica streets at the eastern end of Oak Street. An undated, untitled plan in the Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library shows the path of the rail line, the sites of the depots, and a 415-lot subdivision covering the land between the east side of Front Street (renamed Harrison Avenue for the late president in 1841) and the west side of Broad Street, and between the north side of Beach Street and the south side of the Boston and Worcester rail corridor near Front Street (Fig.3). Most of these lots were from 60 to 70 feet deep and had from 20 to 25 feet of street frontage; 318 of them were within what is now Chinatown. In November 1838 the corporation sold its lots to its shareholders, and houses began to be built on the new land.[10]

THE IMPACT OF THE RAILROAD

By 1846, the Old Colony Railroad entered Boston from the south and sited its depot in South Cove along the southeastern corner of South and Kneeland streets, and the presence of these two railroads and their facilities had a multivalent effect on what became Chinatown. Before the railroads, developers and property owners built single-family houses in the area, many of them facing South Cove, but the increasing presence and noise of trains depressed residential property values. In addition, the fill used to create the district—mostly tidal-flat mud and household ashes—was believed to have produced what one 1849 report termed "disagreeable and unwholesome effluvia" along Harrison Avenue because it had not been permitted to settle properly before houses and sewers were built upon it.[11] Yet the railroad, and relatively low land values, lowered rents that attracted both industry and working-class tenants. Tenement rows arose on the South Cove Corporation's land, initially for Irish immigrant workers; historian Nancy Seasholes found that at least 56 of the 75 men the corporation paid to deliver fill by the scowload between 1837 and 1839 had Irish surnames. In the 1850s the leather industry sited its buildings next to the railroad to make shipping hides in and finished products out cheaper; then, in the 1860s, the garment industry was pushed south by the rising land values and rents of downtown Boston.[12] The South Cove developed as a district of some few single-family dwellings, almost no detached homes, quite numerous boarding and lodging houses, and multifamily rowhouses. To serve this concentration of working people, restaurants, groceries, theaters, and a full range of commercial enterprises planted themselves in the area, mostly along Harrison Avenue, Exeter Street, Beach Street, and Kneeland Street (Fig.4).

[10] Seasholes, *Gaining Ground*, 248-49. The Leventhal Map Center has dated the subdivision plan to 1842, but because it shows Harrison Avenue as Front Street it probably dates before 1841. It is given the stand-in title "Plan of Lots in Chinatown," though Chinatown did not then exist. See Leventhal Map Center collection BPL, http://maps.bpl.org/id/12137. For the United States Hotel, see also George W. Boynton, *Plan of the City of Boston, 1842*, Leventhal Map Center, http://maps.bpl.org/id/10940, which includes a large engraving of the hotel and promotional information about it.

[11] Seasholes, *Gaining Ground*, 17. The Leventhal Map Center has dated the subdivision plan to 1842s, but because it shows Harrison Avenue as Front Street it probably dates before 1841. It is given the stand-in title "Plan of Lots in Chinatown," though Chinatown did not then exist. See Leventhal Map Center collection BPL, http://maps.bpl.org/id/12137. For the United States Hotel, see also George W. Boynton, *Plan of the City of Boston, 1842*, Leventhal Map Center, http://maps.bpl.org/id/10940, which includes a large engraving of the hotel and promotional information about it.

[12] Murphey, "Boston's Chinatown," 244; Seasholes, *Gaining Ground*, 246.

ROWHOUSE ARCHITECTURE

Krim has stated that most of the rowhouses that still comprise much of Chinatown's housing stock were built between 1840 and 1850. These three-story, gable-roof brick dwellings varied from those built 20 to 30 years earlier in that they were often taller, and had corbelled brick cornices, stone lintels, and recessed entrances reflecting the emerging Greek Revival mode. Numerous examples are located on Tyler and Hudson streets both above and below Kneeland street, as well as on Harvard and Oak streets (Photos 11, 13, 17-19, 22). Smaller houses were built in alleys and courts, intensifying the occupancy of lots with rental units of lesser status. Examples of these, with three low stories, are extant on Oxford Place and Johnny Court (Photos 5 & 26). Constructed in blocks by various builders, most of whom are forgotten, using lot size, established rowhouse tradition, and cost as their guide, they all contain the simple Greek Revival-style elements that were provided to them at the time by builders' guides and periodicals and the building supply network. They were quickly built in mass production to standards developers believed were adequate for the lower-income tenants for whom they were intended. In addition to builder entrepreneurs, Boston's real-estate trusts invested in these properties, yet by the time the Chinese arrived at the end of the century, many had become owner-occupied. Also by then, most had been adapted into tenements, that is, housing three or more households.

As the plan built out, residential development, physically restricted by the presence of the cove, the leather and garment industries, and transportation infrastructure, was accommodated by upward expansion, in the form of fourth and fifth stories, and by increasing unit densities. In that respect it mirrored other American Chinatowns, which emerged on low-rent, "marginal land" around which the rest of the city grew. As geographer Rhoads Murphey noted in 1952, "As the Chinese themselves explain, their first settlements in most cities tend to be near the railway station as their first point of entry into a strange place where the language and ethnic barriers restrict their range and encourage them to keep in close contact with transport to friends and relatives in other cities."[13] Thus hemmed in by urban growth, as population grew, buildings were invariably put to mixed use, combining commercial, light industrial, residential, and institutional space.[14]

The presence of a large working class in the area inspired numerous charitable and philanthropic efforts to improve their lot, some of which had a lengthy presence in what became Chinatown. The first may have been the Lawrence Model Tenements (not extant) built on Kneeland Place in 1864. Created by the will of textile magnate Abbot Lawrence, the tenements were to be "model lodging houses . . . to be let to poor, temperate and industrious families . . . at reasonable rents" and were very likely based on model tenements built in England beginning in 1847 and exhibited at the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851, when Lawrence was Ambassador to the Court of St. James. In the early 1870s, the Lawrence estate trustees sold the model tenements to the Boston Roman Catholic archdiocese, which razed the buildings and erected

[13]"Boston's Chinatown," 246-47.
[14] Krim, "Final Survey Report," 13-14; Christopher L. Yip, "Association, Residence and Shop: An Appropriation of Commercial Blocks in North American Chinatowns," in Elizabeth Collins Cromley and Carter L. Hudgins, eds., *Gender, Class, and Shelter* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 112.

St. James the Greater Roman Catholic Church at 123 Harrison Avenue (1873-1875, BOS.12788) on the site. With Lawrence's bequest and proceeds from the sale of the Kneeland Place property, the trustees bought land and built new model tenements on East Canton Street in the South End. However short-lived, the model tenement on Kneeland Place was likely the first of several reform-based living arrangements undertaken in the city.[15]

2. Buildings and Spaces of the Chinese Settlement Era, 1875-1900

FIRST CHINESE MIGRANTS TO BOSTON

The specific origins of Boston's first settlement of Chinese immigrants are not precisely known. Boston had historic ties with China: the China trade between Salem, Boston, and Canton had begun in the 1780s; the first American consul to China was Boston merchant Samuel Shaw; and Anson Burlingame, who negotiated the 1868 treaty that established "most favored nation" status for China, was a Boston attorney. However, scholars who have addressed these connections suggest that they had little influence on the residence of Chinese immigrants that began about 1875.[16] It has been asserted, and accepted repeatedly on no discernible authority, that the first Chinese residents of Boston came from North Adams after having worked at the Calvin T. Sampson shoe factory there. In 1870 shoe workers organized by the Secret Order of the Knights of St. Crispin, which in its three years in existence recruited 50,000 members and had become the largest labor union in the nation, went on strike at the Sampson factory. Sampson promptly fired them, sought replacement local labor in vain, and then sent his agent to San Francisco to recruit Chinese immigrant workers. According to historian Ronald Takaki, Sampson had urged the use of Chinese workers as strike breakers in an 1869 issue of the trade journal *Hide and Leather Interest* after having learned of their effective employment in a San Francisco shoe shop. The transcontinental Pacific Railroad had been completed the year before, at once leaving many Chinese immigrants without work and providing an efficient mode of moving them across country; the railroad's completion also presented native-born workers with potential competition in the low-wage job market and provoked a new wave of hostility toward Chinese people in California. Sampson's agent hired 75 Chinese men on three-year contracts, and they arrived in North Adams on June 13, 1870. They were living in a "Chinese boarding house" in Adams when the 1870 census was taken on August 3rd of that year. All are shown as working in a shoe factory, and they ranged in age from fourteen to thirty-eight years old. Their output at Sampson's factory was significantly higher than earlier workers had been able to produce, and in 1871 Sampson hired another 50 Chinese men from California. After their contracts expired in 1873 and 1874, many are believed to have returned either to China or California—though riots against Chinese laborers had broken out in California in 1871—and some are said to have come to Boston. As logical as it seems, however, there is no firm evidence that any of the North Adams Chinese workers settled in Boston. And it is not known if any researcher has attempted to connect the 1870 Adams census listings of Chinese-born shoe workers to Chinese persons listed in later Boston directories and censuses. A task

[15] National Register of Historic Places nomination for 79-109 East Canton Street, 1983, Massachusetts Historical Commission.
[16] Huang, "Sociological Study," 12; Doris C. J. Chu, *Chinese in Massachusetts: Their Experiences and Contributions* (Boston: Chinese Culture Institute, 1987), 34.

beyond the scope of this project, it is made difficult by numerous facts: non-Chinese American compilers frequently transposed Chinese surnames and other given names, often offered radically variant spellings of Chinese names, and persistently undercounted Chinese people in enumerations due to the language barrier, the environs in which Chinese immigrants lived and worked, race-based neglect, or any number of other possible factors.[17]

LOCATION OF FIRST CHINESE SETTLEMENT IN BOSTON

The popular understanding of the locus of Chinese settlement in Boston is also not adequately documented. It has often been stated that the first group of Chinese men came about 1875 by train from North Adams to work on construction of the Pearl Street Telephone Exchange and that, having arrived at a South Cove rail depot, pitched tents in nearby Oliver Place, which at some unstated later date was renamed Ping On Alley, or Alley of Peace and Safety, "to reflect the wishes" of these tent dwellers, according to Doris C. J. Chu.[18] However, the brick tenements that once lined Oliver Place existed from the mid-1840s; Krim has dated them to 1843-1844, and the 1845 Boston directory lists occupants at every number on the street except #10. Dressmakers, housewrights, a stucco worker, a wood dealer, a West Indian goods dealer, a pianoforte manufacturer, a music professor, and a customs-house inspector lived on Oliver Place in 1845; by 1875, 4-13 Oliver Place were occupied by clerks, machinists, carpenters, a steamfitter, a gunmaker, a marble worker, a lager-beer manufacturer, and a watchman, several of them with Irish surnames. It seems unlikely that Chinese or any other group of immigrants would pitch tents on a fully developed and occupied street—unless, possibly, a building contractor or owner had arranged for such a camp on a street abutting a construction site. But the Pearl Street Telephone Exchange is roughly half a mile away from Ping On Alley, and, as Krim has pointed out, it was not built until 1884-1885.

In addition, some sources state that the original locus of Boston's Chinatown was Scollay Square (and thus closer to what is now North Station). In 1971 Margaret Huang wrote in her master's thesis, "Boston's Chinatown started in the old Scollay Square district which was dominated primarily by importing firms and small business," a claim earlier stated in a *Boston Traveler* article: "When in Scollay Square 80 years ago, Chinatown consisted of four or five importing stores. The community shifted when the business center moved."[19] Stated in each case as though it were common knowledge, the assertion is documented in neither account, though some facts suggest the possibility that it is true. The first overview of Boston's Chinese population was written in 1892 by Mary Chapman, whose identity is unclear but who appears to have worked in some capacity at the West End Chinese Mission, whose founding she dated to about 1879. The mission is not listed in directories of the period, and though its precise location is not known, the city's West End abuts what was

[17] Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1989), 96; Krim, "Final Survey Report," 31; Chu, *Chinese in Massachusetts*, 32, 44-46. Krim notes that no direct link between the North Adams workers and Boston's first Chinese settlement has been established. Chu gave the ages of the Chinese workers at Sampson's factory as between 16 and 22, but the 1870 Adams census shows a far greater range. Gao, "Social Survey," 43, has noted in addition that there are only one hundred family names in China, which often makes it difficult to establish exact kinship relations.
[18] Chu, *Chinese in Massachusetts*, 47.
[19] Huang, "Sociological Study," 18; Rolly Charest and Tom Murray, "Hub Chinatown, 3rd Largest, Really an American Miracle," *Boston Traveler*, April 18, 1956, 55. That Huang used this newspaper article as the basis of her statement seems unlikely.

Scollay Square. In addition, Harriette Carter, who became the City Missionary Society's missionary to the Chinese in 1881, is said to have proposed the institution of a Sunday school among Chinese immigrants in 1876 after having met two Chinese men on the street in the area of her mission work near Chambers Street Church, which also adjoins Scollay Square; a 2000 master's thesis notes that Chambers Street Church "was just next to Chinatown, so it was possible for her to meet the Chinese." David Chang's population research identified eighteen people of Chinese descent in and around Scollay Square and seventeen in what is now Chinatown in the 1880 census.[20] And in 1889, the Chinese immigrant merchant Sam Wah Kee celebrated the birth of his son Ames Hart Kee with three events—a feast at his store at 36 Harrison Avenue in Chinatown, another at downtown's Parker House "for his American friends," and "tea" at 20 Howard Street, part of Scollay Square.[21] Research undertaken for this project has failed to find evidence of a concentration of Chinese residents or stores in Scollay Square through tax records and directories; thus the matter remains as unsubstantiated as the claims for Oliver Place, and it bears closer investigation.

ORIGINS OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

According to the 1897 report of the City Missionary Society, about 39 Chinese people were living in Boston by 1875, and in his survey of the 1880 census David Chang found 89 Chinese persons living in 45 households in the city. "Boston's Chinese, like most permanent Chinese residents in US, are almost entirely Cantonese, from coastal margins of Kwangtung province. Kwangtung, together with Fukien, is not only a food deficiency area, but is the only part of China with a close orientation to the sea, implemented by numerous excellent natural harbors," geographer Rhoads Murphey stated in 1952. "The Cantonese, ethnically and linguistically distinct from the main body of Chinese people, are China's traditional overseas traders and colonizers, and Kwangtung has been for centuries the traditional supplier of emigrants." Boston's Chinese came from the Pearl River delta area of Kwangtung (Guangdong), most of them from the district of Toi Shan; according to Margaret Huang the "overwhelming majority" of Chinese in the United States before the 1960s came from eight of the 90 districts that then existed in the Guangdong province, all along the Pearl River delta.[22] They fled poverty, civil war, foreign invasion (Japanese), famine, high taxes, loss of land, and years of violence within their own villages and at large. The 1868 Burlingame Treaty had articulated the right of "free migration and emigration" of each country's citizens to the other for "purposes of curiosity, or trade, or as permanent residents," and the Chinese thus enjoyed virtually unlimited movement to and from the United States for the next 14 years.[23] Between 1841 and 1970, the decade of greatest emigration from China to the United States was 1871-1880, when some 123,201 Chinese entered the country—almost

[20] Mary Chapman, "Notes on the Chinese in Boston." *Journal of American Folklore* 5, 19 (1892): 323; Zhongxin Wang, "A History of Chinese Churches in Boston, 1876-1994" (Thesis, Boston University, 2000), 79; David Chang, "Chinese in the City of Boston, Suffolk County, to 1900—A Snap Shot Based on US Census Data" (Paper, March 2011), CHSNE Archives. Chang found 4 Chinese in Bowdoin Square, 4 on Leverett Street, 3 on Bulfinch Street, 2 each on Green, Cambridge, and Howard Streets, and one on Charles Street.
[21] "Sam Wah Kee Celebrates," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, January 8, 1889, 1.
[22] *City Missionary Society, Boston, Eightieth Annual Report, 1897*, 14-18, Congregational Library and Archives, Boston; Chang, "Chinese in the City of Boston"; Murphey, "Boston's Chinatown," 250; Huang, "Sociological Survey," 39-42. Huang identifies these districts as Toi Shan, Hoi Ping, Yan Ping, Sun Wui, Shun Tak, Nam Hoi, Pun Yui, and Chung Shan.
[23] This right is stated in Article V of the July 28, 1868 treaty; for the full text see https://academic.udayton.edu/race/02rights/treaty1868.htm. See also Wang, "History of Chinese Churches, 11-12.

double the number that had entered the decade before.[24] In 1879, California's state constitution banned the hiring of Chinese laborers, and continued hostility toward their presence impelled many Chinese who entered the country there and at other Pacific ports to come to the East by train.

EARLIEST CITY DIRECTORY LISTINGS FOR CHINESE RESIDENTS

The first listings of Chinese people in what is now Chinatown date to the 1875 Boston directory. Three laundries are shown there as being run by Chinese men: two were in Chinatown—Sam Wah at 21 Kneeland Street and Sing Lee at 110 Harrison Avenue—and the third was Wah Lee and Company at 1206 Washington Street. The 110 Harrison address was occupied by Tai Wah Laundry as late as 1917. Neither building in which these laundries operated is extant.[25] The 1877 city directory lists seventeen Chinese laundries in the city, four of them in Chinatown—Sing Lee, still at 110 Harrison Avenue; Tong Kee at 162 Harrison Avenue; Yue Lee at 50 Beach Street, and E. Wah at 62 Beach Street. The 1878 directory lists these four and two others—Wah Yuree and Company at 32 Harrison Avenue and Mrs. J. Young at 145 Harrison. Two more were nearby on Tremont Street, operated by Lee Wah & Co. (#275) and Kee Wah & Co. (#299). Seventeen others were scattered about the city in the South End, East Boston, Roxbury, Jamaica Plain, Charlestown, and Brookline. Four laundries had addresses on Bulfinch Place and Cambridge and Hanover streets in the vicinity of Scollay Square. Hing Hop Laundry at 136 Meridian Street was the only establishment in East Boston. Virtually all of the laundrymen resided at their place of business.

THE IMPORTANCE OF LAUNDRIES

Laundries are the earliest listed businesses for people of Chinese origin in Boston, and they employed by far the most Chinese immigrants of any commercial venture, particularly before the 1920s. Scholars have noted that laundry work required little capital investment and no proficiency in English; in addition, as David S. Li has noted, "The Chinese tended to concentrate in these occupations because they offered the few employment opportunities in which the Chinese were accepted. The laundry and the domestic services are similar in that they are both menial and undesirable for Whites, hence, non-competitive. . . . The Chinese 'chose' the laundry business, but only under the constraint that other choices were not opened to them."[26] Laundry work was labor-intensive and working conditions were gruesome; these workplaces also served as living quarters for laundrymen and their families. Chinese laundries served a largely non-Chinese clientele and were widely dispersed throughout most American cities with Chinese populations; they thus do not

[24] Sullivan and Hatch, *Chinese in Boston*, 2, table 1, citing federal Immigration and Naturalization Service data.
[25] Krim, Massachusetts Historical Commission inventory form for 15-35 Kneeland Street (BOS.12813), 1997; "Final Survey Report," 30-31; Betty H. Lam, "Earliest Chinese Settlement in Boston Dated 1875," *Chinese Historical Society of New England Newsletter* 4, 1 (Summer 1998): 1-2 (hereafter cited as *CHSNE Newsletter*). On directories listing Chinese businesses, see Krim, "Final Survey Report," 15-16, 30-31.
[26] Chang, "Chinese in the City of Boston"; Chapman, "Notes on the Chinese," 321; David S. Li, "Ethnic Businesses among Chinese in the U.S.," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 4, 3 (Fall 1976): 38-39. During Chinese New Year in 1896, the City Missionary Society's Harriette Carter visited nearly 700 laundries in Boston and its suburbs to distribute "red text cards," a traditional greeting among Chinese at this time. See *City Missionary Society Annual Report 1897*, 17. A more recent study of Chinese laundries is John Jung, *Chinese Laundries: Tickets to Survival on Gold Mountain* (N.p.: Yin and Yang Press, 2007), but it contains little on Boston establishments.

in themselves serve as markers of centers of Chinese settlement. David Chang found that 80 of the 89 people of Chinese descent listed in Boston's 1880 census were working in laundries; the other nine included a tea merchant, a student, a domestic servant, a dealer of cigars and tobacco, and two who worked in shoe stores. All but two of the 89 residents were men; one was a boy, and the sole woman was the widowed laundress M. T. Long. The 1885-1888 Sanborn fire insurance map shows ten Chinese laundries in Chinatown and two laundries not identified as Chinese at 25-27 and 43 Lagrange Street, neither of them extant. Lagrange Street was the home of the Boston Police Department's Station No. 4, responsible for Chinatown. These two addresses were also lodging houses, and both were occupied by Chinese launderers in 1885 and 1900, respectively. Mary Chapman stated in 1892 that of 1,000 Chinese people in Boston, 700 "are scattered about the town in 280 laundries and a few shops, while two hundred and fifty or three hundred live in Harrison Avenue, where they occupy about fifteen houses and shops." The city business directory that year listed Chinese laundries only by street name and number because, as the directory compilers put it, "Chinese names are not reliable"; 261 laundries were shown under this heading, fifteen of them within Chinatown.

Over the next eight years, that number more than doubled, both in Chinatown and in the city as a whole. In 1900 the *Boston Business Directory* listed 607 unnamed Chinese laundries in the city (Fig.5). Another source indicates that 90 percent of employed Chinese men in Massachusetts were laundry workers.[27] An analysis of the addresses in the directory located 33 in Chinatown, with the rest distributed in the South End (139), South Boston (75), East Boston (47), the West End (41), the North End (28), Beacon Hill (12), Back Bay (21), Dorchester (80), Roxbury (44), and Charlestown (40), as well as in the outlying areas of Somerville (6) and Roslindale (7); the locations of two addresses could not be found.[28] A further examination of eighty of these properties identified as laundries on Sanborn insurance maps from the period found historic buildings extant at 33 addresses, none of which contain Chinese laundries any longer. A query made to members of the Chinese Historical Society of New England resulted in the discovery of one extant Chinese laundry at 132 Jersey Street in the Fenway neighborhood of Boston (Fig.17). Chin Lee Young's laundry is not listed in either the 1900 or 1922 city directories. When it was established has not yet been determined.

THE OLDEST BUILDING IN CHINATOWN AND EARLY LAUNDRY LOCATION

In Chinatown, only one early laundry location, 50 Beach Street (1841-1842, BOS.1531), has survived into the current day, and its history illustrates the transitions through which many Chinatown buildings passed (Photo 2). The 50 Beach Street property, according to Krim, was probably built by housewright Abijah Johnson for physician William H. Page, who lived next door at 48 Beach with his wife, three young children, and four boarders in 1865. By 1860, Page had sold 50 Beach Street to Elijah R. Phinney, a native of Nova Scotia, who in 1855 lived with his wife and their two children at Plymouth Place, later Knapp Street, which ran from the west side of Harrison Avenue and angled north to the south side of Beach

[27] According to analysis of 1900 census data by the Institute for Asian American Studies, University of Massachusetts, Boston MA.
[28] This analysis was undertaken by Patrick Powers, student in the Boston University New England Studies Program interning at the Massachusetts Historical Commission, November 1, 2016.

Street; Krim has noted that Phinney was living at 50 Beach (then numbered 30) by 1856. Phinney kept a hotel and later a boardinghouse at this address at least through 1875. The 50 Beach Street address was known as Mercantile House by 1859, and Phinney is shown there in the 1860 census with his family and 29 other occupants—mostly in the skilled trades or in sales or clerical work, and mostly born in the United States, though some few were born in Ireland, France, and the maritime provinces; none were Chinese. The 1865 directory lists him as the proprietor of the Mercantile House at this address, and the state census for that year shows Phinney's family and eighteen others as occupants of the hotel. By 1870, though, Phinney is shown as running an unnamed "boarding-house" at this address, which suggests some decline in property condition or value, or both; he died at 50 Beach Street in 1888.

The history of 48-50 Beach Street exemplifies social worker Robert Woods's description of a certain declension in South Cove and South End dwellings that had been built as private residences. Initially owned by "prosperous families," they became lodging houses after "incompatible land uses" such as industry and rail impelled the affluent to leave the area. As the buildings aged and the neighborhood grew increasingly uninviting, the lodging houses were carved up "into very inconvenient tenements," Woods wrote. "It being possible in this form to rent the houses in sections, they endure to a prolonged if not a useful old age." One *Herald* article stated that before Chinatown emerged, many houses on Oxford Street were "fine residences." By 1892, one of the fifteen houses Mary Chapman identified as being occupied by Chinese immigrants housed seventeen people.[29] By 1875 Phinney had started a molding manufactory with his son even as he continued running the 50 Beach Street boardinghouse. Yue Lee's laundry was either on the ground floor of the building or in the basement. By 1880, tax records show the building as owned by Charles W. Wilson and housing a Chinese laundry as well as lodgers. Two laundrymen, Wing Leing and his partner Gin Leing, both married men who had emigrated in 1882 and 1880 respectively, occupied the commercial space in the building, which was almost continuously occupied, at least in part, by Chinese businesses and residents for the rest of the century.

Krim has termed 48-50 Beach Street as "the earliest original Greek Revival row now within old Chinatown" and part of a set of connected houses ranging from 48 to 56 Beach Street. Next door, the John Templeton rowhouse at 52 Beach Street (1841, BOS.1532) also housed a laundry by 1880, according to that year's federal census, though city tax records show it as a "vacant shop" in that year. No Chinese business or resident appeared to occupy this property again until about 1910, when a Chinese laundry and at least one Chinese-goods store were at this address. From that point to the current day, Chinese businesses and residents occupied most if not all of the building, including the grocery store Quong Wah Lung (or Quong Sung Wah) and Company, which operated at 54 Beach Street from at least as early as 1920 into the 1960s.[30]

[29] Woods, *City Wilderness*, 34; "'Mayor' of Chinatown Evicted as Wreckers Tear Down His Citadel," *Boston Herald*, July 9, 1919, 20; Chapman, "Notes on the Chinese," 321. The term "incompatible land uses" is from Murphey, "Boston's Chinatown," 245.

[30] A photograph dated August 8, 1901, shows the elevated railway's station at Beach Street with signs for "Lock Sen Low Co. Chinese restaurant" between the second and third floors of 44-46 Beach Street (not extant) and for "German Boarding House" at 52 Beach Street. Boston Elevated Railway photographs, 9800.018, City of Boston Archives, https://www.flickr.com/photos/cityofbostonarchives/15430643783/in/photolist-mKTrhB-qaTLy8-pvy5Nt-qMexYy-qaS2MR-qsiMdZ-qMiNUF-qsiKUr-nXmuVD-qaS5BZ-qaJSa7-uWu5jq-uWu7Vs-yo7euz. A street-level view of the same

WIDENING HARRISON AVENUE

Beach Street can claim to house the earliest extant Chinese business buildings because Harrison Avenue was altered in such a way as to obliterate its earliest Chinese enterprises. In 1893-1894, the city widened Harrison Avenue from Beach Street north to Essex Street. A map published in a *Globe* article on the plan indicates the widening took an angular path and effectively lopped off the fronts of buildings on both sides of the street (Fig.6). The *Globe* suggested that the widening would encourage the erection of more "large brick blocks for wholesale purposes" and improve "rapid transit," or the flow of electric railway cars through the block (Figs.7-8).[31] In 1894 the *Boston Herald* chronicled the effect of the alteration on the business of merchant Moy Toung You, who was then leaving Boston for China:

> He said he would be back in three months, and then he hurried away to his dying brother, leaving his chief store on Harrison avenue chopped in two by the widening of the street. He was sorry for the store, too, for in it he had traded for twenty years, entertained his friends and built up his fortune. . . The avenue is littered with the bricks that have been sliced off the fronts of the houses, and the houseless Chinamen are finding temporary shelter on Essex and Oxford streets.[32]

The *Globe's* coverage of the plan to widen Harrison Avenue was coupled with its report on the city's investigation of sanitary conditions in Chinatown, "huddled and congested" amid new construction and "fast becoming one of the most valuable pieces of real estate in Boston."

THE ELEVATED RAILWAY

The long-distance rail lines in South Cove were soon followed by horsecar lines along Washington Street in 1856 and Harrison Avenue in 1868, and by the expansion of the railyards in 1873, three years after the Boston & Worcester Railroad and three other companies were merged to create the Boston & Albany Railroad. Finally, in 1899, two other projects deepened the pall that transportation infrastructure had cast over the area, and would for the next four decades. South Station, a "union station" for all the rail lines entering Boston from the south, was built three blocks east of Chinatown by 1899, and the Atlantic Avenue line of the Boston Elevated Railway was run up Harrison Avenue and east down Beach Street in the same year. By then, a Chinese quarter had emerged at and around this curving juncture, but it was submerged in the darkness and din of the elevated line. "Here, with the recently widened streets, there is little to show that you are in the Celestial quarter, except the fantastic signs and balconies of a few restaurants and the displays of teas and china in the store windows, and a thin sprinkling of Chinamen on the sidewalks and in the doorways," Herbert

block, dated March 1, 1901, is on the Historic New England website, http://www.historicnewengland.org/collections-archives-exhibitions/collections-access/collection-object/capobject?refd=PC009.207.007, and is reprinted in Wing-kai To and the Chinese Historical Society of New England, *Chinese in Boston, 1870-1965* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 27.

[31] H. Jerome, "Boston's Chinese Quarter," *Boston Globe*, February 20, 1893, 1. Thanks to Tunney Lee for sending us a copy of this article.

[32] "Feud of the Moys and Yees," *Boston Herald*, May 9, 1894, 6.

Heywood wrote in *New England Magazine* in 1903:"Trolley cars and the thunder of the near-by elevated road are enough to destroy all Oriental aspect externally. So a visitor is compelled to go into the shops and restaurants to feel that he is in Chinatown at all." Murphey noted that the elevated rail line "through the northern part of the present Chinatown depressed rents and land values to a new low, and stimulated further invasion by the garment industry."[33]

THE BACHELOR SOCIETY AND THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT

Like every other 19th-century Chinatown in the United States, Boston's was a community composed almost entirely of men. In 1890, the City Missionary Society found 805 Chinese in Boston, only fifteen of them women and only ten of them children. Many Chinese male immigrants were also married and had come to the United States as sojourners, with the intention of earning enough money to return home and improve the economic situation of themselves and their families. This predominantly male community formed what many historians of Chinese Americans term a "bachelor society," with distinct customs not always regarded as benign by non-Chinese Americans. As the pace of Chinese immigration quickened over the 1870s, the fear of labor competition moved the United States Congress in 1882 to pass the Chinese Exclusion Act, which made it illegal for both skilled and unskilled Chinese laborers to enter the country, and banned for ten years the naturalization of Chinese people already in the country. Only merchants and a few other exempted categories of Chinese were permitted to enter and reenter the United States, and most Chinese women who were permitted to enter were the wives or daughters of merchants. Cultural factors also limited the emigration of Chinese women, some scholars have noted: they believed their husbands would return to China, they were responsible in the meantime for their children and parents, and they were discouraged from traveling alone.[34]

The 1882 act was extended for another ten years by the 1892 Geary Act, extended again by April 1902 legislation, and extended indefinitely in April 1904. Not repealed until 1943, these laws had a profound effect not only on the size of the Chinese-American population but also its gender profile and the development of illegal immigration both as a fact and as a business opportunity among Chinese merchants. Chinese population in the United States dropped from 132,300 persons in 1882 to 98,894 persons in 1890, and still further to 67,729 in 1900; it continued to fall through 1920. The rate of entry of Chinese persons to the United States declined from 123,201 persons in 1871-1880 to 14,799 in 1891-1900.[35] Though estimates vary widely, the population of Boston's Chinatown is most reliably put at about 300 persons by 1900, and remained approximately at that level for the next 30 years. The 1900 census lists 254 Chinese living in Chinatown and another 600 living in the rest of greater Boston, nearly all of them operating laundries in non-Chinese neighborhoods. Of the 254 adults in Chinatown, 243 were men, 11 were women, and, additionally, seven were children; by this time all but

[33] Herbert Heywood, "China in New England," *New England Magazine* 28 (June 1903): 480; Murphey, "Boston's Chinatown," 244. "Celestial" is considered a demeaning term used to characterize the Chinese.
[34] See, for example, Shauna Lo, "Challenging Exclusion: Chinese Entering the Northeast," *CHSNE Newsletter* 9, 1 (Fall 2003): 6-7, 9; Shauna Lo, "Chinese Women Entering New England: Chinese Exclusion Act Case Files, Boston, 1911-1925," *New England Quarterly* 81, 3 (September 2008): 385; and Monique Avakian, *Atlas of Asian-American History* (New York: Facts on File, 2002), 28.
[35] Ren-ying Gao, "A Social Survey of Chinatown, Boston, Massachusetts" (M.A. thesis, Boston University, 1941), 14, citing Annals of the American Academy 152 (November 1930): 363; Sullivan and Hatch, *Chinese in Boston*, 2.

one had been born in the United States. Historian K. Scott Wong has noted that not one single Chinese women of marriageable age then lived in all of Chinatown. (In 1893 the *Boston Globe* reported that over 20 white women were legally married to Chinese men and living in Chinatown.[36]) What prevailed in Boston was mirrored throughout the state: of 2,698 people of Chinese descent in Massachusetts in 1900, only twenty-eight were women.[37] In 1883, the birth of a child to laundryman Sam Wah Kee, also known as Ah Moy, was unusual enough to be announced in the Boston *Herald* under the headline, "Did Not Evade the Law." "A Chinese arrived in this city yesterday morning without evading the restrictive immigration laws," the *Herald* reported of the birth, "the first ever born of Chinese parents in Boston." Moy's wife was identified as sixteen years old and "the only pure-blooded Chinese woman in Boston." The family lived at 33 Causeway Street, near the current Zakim Bridge, though by the 1890s Moy had moved his family to Chinatown.[38]

BUSINESS PARTNERS, IMMIGRATION LAW, ILLEGAL ENTRY

As a result of the Chinese Exclusion Act, many Chinese gained entry through fake identities or business partnerships. These partners may have been literal partners in the sense that they may have contributed capital as well as labor to the business, or they may have been "paper" partners, having been brought into the country as titular partners in an existing Chinese-American business, but in fact more likely to have been employed in it.[39] Numerous passenger lists from Canadian maritime ports list merchants destined for Boston to join merchants already in the city, and Boston tax records for 1899 show 28 commercial operations in Chinatown run by a Chinese man and anywhere from one to 190 partners. When gaming-room proprietor Chin Ching "suddenly disappeared from Harrison Avenue" in 1893, the *Boston Journal* noted that all the boxes and jars in his 15 Harrison tea store were empty and that the store was not only a front for his gambling and opium businesses, but also the site of another "illegal business."

> At one time he claimed to have 60 members in his firm, which gave each one of them the privilege of returning to their native land and back to the United States again on the grounds that they were merchants. Under the law passed some years ago it is necessary for a Chinaman to be engaged in a business before he was eligible to procure a certificate which would insure his safe return to this country without being questioned by the United States officials on the Canadian border. . . . The men who claimed to be partners were laundrymen and were rated in the firm as representing $400 each. . . . About a year ago the special

[36] April 28, 1893. From Shauna Lo & Laura Wai Ng, "Beyond Bachelorhood: Chinese American Interracial Marriage in Massachusetts during the Exclusion Era," *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* (January 1, 2013).
[37] K. Scott Wong, "'The Eagle Seeks a Helpless Quarry': Chinatown, the Police, and the Press: The 1903 Boston Chinatown Raid Revisited," *Amerasia Journal* 22, 3 (1996): 90-91*; Labor Bulletin of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* 27 (Boston: Wright and Potter, August 1903), 103. Harriette Carter of the City Missionary Society, according to its 1897 annual report, knew the twelve Chinese women and ten Chinese children living in Boston in 1896.
[38] "Did Not Evade the Law," *Boston Herald*, November 17, 1883, 3. Even though the newspaper apparently knew Moy's real name, he is most often called Sam Wah Kee, the name of his business.
[39] "Chinatown Excited," *Boston Journal*, July 9, 1892, 7.

agents became aware that large numbers of the Chinese certificates were being produced at the port of entry on the border, all giving the same address, and they were ordered to investigate.[40]

In 1901, Sam Wah Kee was arrested for a similar offense, having arranged for six Chinese men to enter the United States along the Maine border. Three of the men claimed that they had settled in Boston some twenty years earlier and had each invested $700 in Sam Wah Kee's business to become partners in his firm, but when the economy went slack after the 1893 panic, they moved to Montreal and were now simply trying to return. While he was awaiting trial, federal authorities claimed to have found papers on Kee indicating that "an organized band of influential Chinese have been engaged in smuggling their fellows into this country with the collusion of Government officials"; that Kee, the "head" of this group, had claimed to have brought 1,000 Chinese immigrants into the United States since 1889; and that the smuggled men each had paid Kee from $100 to $150 with "heavy interest" applied to the sum after a certain date. Kee was indicted on six counts of illegal importation of Chinese men, along with two non-Chinese residents of Houlton, Maine. He was released on bail of $1,000, and he promptly left the country, the newspapers alleged. But in May of the same year, a man believed to be him was arrested at Lowellton, Maine, with seventeen Chinese men who had just crossed the border. The men had taken a train across Canada from Vancouver—the preferred port of many Chinese as San Francisco became increasingly difficult to enter—and were met in Montreal by an "interpreter," believed to be Kee, who came with them by two trains to a spot near the Canadian border, where they disembarked and walked across. Sam Wah Kee disappears from Boston newspapers after that event.[41]

FAMILY ASSOCIATIONS AND MUTUAL AID

By the mid 1880s, Chinatown's bachelor society was more or less governed by family associations. A March 1886 *Herald* account noted, "The Chinese in this city, as in every large place in the country where there is any number, have their companies, the principal of which are the Moy, Chin, Lee and Sing combinations or associations. . . . made up of the Chinamen who come from the same city, town or province in China."[42] The principal company in Boston, according to the *Herald*, was the Moy organization, the headquarters of which was said to be in the brick row of 30 to 38½ Harrison Avenue (on the section of the street where demolition occurred in the 1894 street widening) and where Moy Toung You's

[40] "'Old Sport,' One of 'Chinatown's' Characters, Skips," *Boston Journal*, December 5, 1893, 2.
[41] "Chinamen Taken into Court," *Boston Herald*, Jan 18, 1901, 9; "Claims Made by Chinamen," *Boston Herald*, January 27, 1901, 2; "Thousands Smuggled," *Boston Journal*, February 15, 1901, 3; "Sam Wah Kee of Boston Indicted," *Boston Journal*, 8 February 1901, 3; "Perhaps Sam Wah Kee," *Boston Journal*, May 11, 1901, 1. Lo, "Chinese Women," 401-2, notes that beginning in the mid -1890s and continuing for about a decade, Chinese immigrants would land in Vancouver, take a train to a Canadian town near the U.S. line, and walk across the border into New York or Vermont. They would let themselves be arrested, request a trial, and claim that they had been born in the United States, and they arranged in advance to have witnesses testify to that effect. In the early 1900s, the federal Bureau of Immigration learned of the method. One bureau account noted that Felix McGettick, a federal commissioner and Vermont district court judge at St. Albans, admitted to allowing some 1100 Chinese to enter as citizens between 1894 and 1897.
[42] "Chinese: Inside Life of Boston's Heathen," *Boston Herald*, March 15, 1886, 5-6.

store was located (Fig.7).[43] By the turn of the century the family associations were described more as social and service groups that provided loans, referrals for jobs, housing information, and "a sense of family"; they also offered lodging to members.[44] But clearly some form of family association existed much earlier, though Anglo newspapers were initially inclined to describe it more as they would later characterize tongs after the turn of the century.[45] The *Herald* stated that the Moy and Chin family associations were at "swords' points" because each informed on the other's gambling activity to the police; each association ran a gambling den, the newspaper stated, and it depicted the family associations as principally involved in sponsoring and controlling gambling, as well as distributing opium. The newspapers were not inclined to attend in the least to the long cultural history of opium use, nor to the social aspects of gambling among unattached Chinese men. As scholar Stanford M. Lyman noted of San Francisco's gaming houses, "It was through gambling that overseas Chinese preserved one of the familiar institutions of Old World life, provided themselves with entertainment and financial opportunity, and promoted a sense of community and congregation in the midst of homelessness."[46]

HARRISON AVENUE - PEOPLE & PLACES

It is possible to envision the imprint early Chinatown made on the pre-existing South Cove built environment because it was so often the focus of police raids, reflexively reported in Boston's newspapers, that aimed to rout out gambling, opium, and other activities the majority culture at once disdained and sensationalized. The much-less-frequent, countervailing coverage of funerals, feasts, and single-family domestic life in Chinatown, rare enough to strike journalists and their readers as exotic and newsworthy, also helps construct a sense of the settlement area (Fig.9).[47] The March 1886 *Herald* account described in some detail "the buildings numbered 32, 34, 36, 38 and 38 ½ Harrison avenues, between Essex and Beach street [which] constitute what is Boston's 'Chinatown'" (Fig.7). On the first floor of 32 Harrison was a Chinese laundry, and above it were living quarters for Chinese men who slept on "bunks or shelves" attached to the wall. Also on the second floor was a "joss house," or temple, which included a figure the reporter identified as "Quang Goon Chong," a center table on which food offerings were sometimes made, red posters with Chinese characters on the walls, and "joss sticks" (incense) and candles. In the basement of 32 Harrison, entered by a door at street level "that juts out from the bay window of the laundry overhead" was a shop in which Chinese clothing, books, tea, groceries, and other

[43] "Not a Word from the Johns," *Boston Herald*, July 22, 1886, 5. The Lee family association was also claimed to be in this block, while the Chin Company was at 33½ Howard Street, just off Scollay Square, in a business run by one Hop Yuen.
[44] "Family Associations," *CHSNE Newsletter* 4, 1 (Summer 1998): 6-7.
[45] Literally "hall" or "gathering place," a tong was usually a business organization created to support and protect Chinese-American business men, and different tongs from time to time competed for members in given cities. In Boston, the chief tongs were Hip Sing and On Leong Tongs, the latter considered the wealthier of the two. One 1924 newspaper account stated that On Leong Tong was the most influential in the East and "predominate(s) overwhelmingly in Boston, and have the edge in New York," where the Hip Sing Tong was also "very strong." Soo Hoo Wing, here called "the prime minister of Chinatown," stated that On Leong represented "the hard-working, property-owning Chinese in the East," while Hip Sing, which has few members in Boston but an estimated 2,500 in New York, had "many times taken the initiative in tong struggles." At one point, Wing stated, Hip Sings had some 200 members in Chinatown, but "then came the battle in Oxford place, in 1907, which in Chinatown history is equal in importance to the battle of Lexington in the mind of the average schoolboy. That battle meant the dispersal of the Boston Hip Kings. There are still Hip Sings in Boston, but they are few and far between and live mostly in the suburbs. They seldom venture in the Tyler-Hudson-Harrison avenue section." See H. F. Manchester, "What is 'Tong' War All About? Soo Hoo Wing Tells Us," *Boston Herald*, December 14, 1924: 39.
[46] Lyman quoted in Wang, "History of the Chinese Churches," 120.
[47] See, for example, Sui Sin Far, "Sunny side of Boston's Chinatown," *Boston Globe*, April 3, 1910, SM4. Thanks to Shauna Lo for providing us with a copy of this article.

goods were sold; a bunk also existed in this room, and behind the room was another with a gaming table covered with a straw mat. The 34 Harrison Avenue building was "mostly used for lodging purposes," the *Herald* stated, though it had an "opium joint for Chinese only" on an upper floor and a store, gaming room, and "opium joint" in the basement. At 36 Harrison, Sam Wah Kee ran a tea and Chinese-goods store on the ground floor, the floors above were used for lodging, and the ground floor or basement of 38 Harrison housed another laundry. The newspaper account did not mention Hong Far Low restaurant, supposed to have been in business, presumably at 36½ Harrison Avenue, since 1879 (though not listed in the 1885 city directory or 1885 city tax records at this address) and declared one of the two "best restaurants in Chinatown" in 1889. The *Herald's* focus was instead on gambling, most evident, the newspaper noted, on Sunday afternoons and evenings—the only time off in the week for most laundrymen. The account added that the men who ran the gambling houses devoted themselves to "fleecing the washmen," as non-Chinese were not "tolerated" in these rooms.[48]

Thirty-two Harrison Avenue had been the site of Wah Yuree and Company laundry in 1878, housed four laundrymen by the 1880 census, and was identified as a Chinese laundry on the 1885-1888 Sanborn map. "The underground den under Yuen Wah's laundry" at 32 Harrison Avenue was raided by police in December 1887, as was the gaming room at the 36 Harrison space occupied by the store Sam Wah Kee, run by Ah Moy, the reputed head of the Moy family in Boston.[49] By 1888 the *Herald* termed 36 Harrison as "a Chinese gambling hell" directed by Kee, and police raided it and its neighboring buildings in the block frequently in the late 1880s and early 1890s.[50] At the same time, however, "Sam Wah Kee" was identified as one of Chinatown's leading merchants, his daughter Hattie was considered the first baby of Chinese-born parents born in Boston, and the party he threw at the Parker House to celebrate the birth of his son Ames Hart Kee in 1889 was attended not only by Dr. George E. Stackpole, who had delivered Hattie, but missionary Harriette Carter, William H. Jones of the Clarendon Street Baptist Church Chinese Sunday School, Mrs. Charles W. Wayland of the Temple Street Methodist Church Chinese Sunday School, and William Lloyd Garrison Jr., a vehement opponent of Chinese exclusion.[51] Kee had attended one of the Chinese Sunday schools after coming to Boston in the mid 1870s, and after having returned from China in 1895 with a third wife (he was reported to have had two wives living in China), he told his "old teachers" from Sunday school when they visited him at his 36 Harrison Avenue shop that they did not understand how "things were done" in China and that his wives there encouraged him to marry again. The *Herald* called

[48] "Chinese: Inside Life of Boston's Heathen." Chapman, "Notes on the Chinese," 321, stated in 1892 that the fifteen houses and shops Boston's Chinese occupied on Harrison Avenue "are said to contain sixty-three gambling tables. . . . Opium is said to be smoked in the basements of some of them. . . . Of the Chinese themselves, not over one third smoke opium at all, and of those many use it but seldom."
[49] "Chinese Gambling Dens," *Boston Herald*, December 23, 1887, 5.
[50] See, for example, "Chinese Gambling Dens," *Boston Herald*, December 23, 1887; "Pulling in the Pigtails," *Boston Herald*, March 26, 1888, 3.
[51] The Chinese Son and Heir," *Boston Herald*, January 10, 1889, 3. The 1875 directory lists the laundry Sam Kee & Company at 217 Shawmut Avenue, and the 1880 census shows Sam Kee, age 25, and a 22-year-old brother with the same name, at this address. In 1885 the directory shows Sam Wah Kee with a laundry at 26½ Leverett Street and in 1886 with a laundry at the same address and a grocery at 36 Harrison Avenue. One newspaper account states that he was born in Canton, China, on October 1, 1856, had emigrated to San Francisco by 1868, lived in Salem, Oregon, from 1868 to 1873, lived in Chicago in 1874, and then came to Boston; he was there said to have been in business on Harrison Avenue since 1874. See "Feud of the Moys and Yees," *Boston Herald*, May 9, 1894, 6.

Kee "the King of Chinatown" in 1894 and at various times called him "a great merchant," "probably the most influential Chinaman in Boston," and "the richest Chinaman in New England." Yet he was in and out of trouble with law-enforcement officials through the early 1900s.[52]

Before the brick row that housed the firm Sam Wah Kee was truncated for the widening of Harrison Avenue and rebuilt, in addition to the businesses the *Herald* identified in 1886, it had housed Chinese-goods merchants Sun Huen Hank Company, Quong Wah Laundry, the rooms of the Chinese Free Masons, a restaurant run by Auk Moy (probably the same man called in some newspaper accounts Moy Jark), and Hong Far Low restaurant; Hong Far Low was certainly at this address by 1889, and Auk Moy was living there at that date.[53] If the block was cleared so that Boston might "be rid" of Chinatown, as the *Worcester Spy* asserted, it was rebuilt in 1894 and its spaces again leased almost immediately to Chinese residents, stores, and restaurants, including Hong Far Low. The 1894 permit for the building numbered 28-32 Harrison Avenue (1894, BOS. 1774) stated that it was to contain one store and two living spaces; no permit has been found for 36-38 Harrison Avenue (ca. 1894, BOS.1776), but it was certainly completed by 1896. Both buildings were designed in prevailing urban, commercial styles (their owners were not Chinese); second-story restaurant balconies were added to both two decades later when their titles were held by Chinese merchants (Photo 3, Fig.10). The "lot" at 34 Harrison Avenue (ca. 1894, BOS.1775), according to Krim, was left "intact" during the rebuilding on both sides of it, though the building at that address had a footprint substantially different on the 1895 Bromley atlas map than the one that appears in the 1883 atlas.[54] By 1900, if not somewhat earlier, Ming Mow Chin, born in Toisan in 1855, had established his herbal-based drugstore at 38 Harrison Avenue in partnership with three other Chinese men. The federal census for that year shows the four druggists at this address with two lodgers, physician Ting Leing and photographer Shin Wee. As Gao noted in 1941, Chinese physicians often had offices in herb stores, which offered non-Western medical treatments with which Chinese immigrants were comfortable and familiar.[55] By 1905, the year Wah Chin joined him in the United States as the son of a "domicile merchant," Chin called his business at this address Wing On Tank. Chin was the grandfather of Yoke Soon "Billy" Chin, onetime president of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association and prominent in Chinatown's restaurant scene beginning in 1960.[56]

Newspaper accounts of gambling and opium raids before 1900 also mentioned other addresses, at thirteen distinct addresses on Harrison Avenue, between numbers 2½ and 42, and at three addresses on Oxford Place, immediately to the east. There was a "joss house" at 66 Harrison Avenue, and a Chinese tailor living and working at 5 Harrison Avenue in

[52] "Sam Wah Kee Has a New Wife," *Boston Herald*, April 21, 1895, 9; "Petite and Dainty Hostess," *Boston Herald*, February 5, 1897, 8; "'Shoon Foong Ark Lee," *Boston Herald*, February 8, 1890, 10.
[53] "Chinese Restaurants: Six of Them Flourish in the Hub," *Boston Globe*, June 23, 1889, 23; see also "Sharks' Fins and Abolones: Boston's Chinese Elite Honor Sang Kee and His Bride," *Boston Herald*, December 16, 1893, 7, which mentions a feast held at Hong Far Low.
[54] Krim, MHC Form for 28-38 Harrison Avenue, BOS.1774-1776, May 1997.
[55] Gao, "Social Survey," 32-33.
[56] Wing-kai To, "2012 Sojourner Awards Recipient Billy Chin," *CHSNE Chronicle* 18, 1 (Fall 2012): 14-18. Ming Mow Chin began his career in the United States selling herbs and patented formulas to laborers in California railroad camps.

1892, a store at 2½ Harrison Avenue, and a "chop suey house" at 33 Harrison Avenue in 1896. The restaurant run by Moy Auk and the Chinese Masonic Temple were identified as being at 29 Harrison Avenue in 1891 and 1897 respectively, the latter no doubt having been evicted from 36 Harrison Avenue when the street was widened.[57]

The building at 19-25 Harrison Avenue (1891, BOS.2268) is shown on an 1895 map as the rear portion of a massive block fronting on Washington Street that was built for carpet merchant John A. Pray in 1891 (Photo 4, Fig.10). City tax records indicate that the building previously on the site, once the Harrison School, had been occupied by Wei Ying Low and Company restaurant, run by Charles Moy, and Chinese-goods merchant Hope Wah and Company in 1889. By 1899 three Chinese-goods merchants occupied 21½, 23, and 25 Harrison Avenue—Wah Hing Lung and Company, run by Yeah Wah; Wing Hing Wo Onkee Company; and Hap Yick Lung Company. In this decade the Pray building also housed Prang Educational Company and the publisher L. Prang and Company, founded by famed chromolithographer Louis Prang, as well as the offices of the General Society of Christian Endeavor and the offices of the family weekly *Golden Rule*, general evangelical associations whose work among Chinese immigrants, if any, is not documented.

By 1900, 19 Harrison had become a lodging house mostly for unattached Chinese men. Twenty were listed in the census at 19 and 19½ Harrison—Charles Moy, who ran the ground-floor Wei Ying Lowe restaurant, who shared living space with a partner, three restaurant cooks, two waiters, and a carpenter; grocer Wong Don Chin and his five partners; laundry union treasurer Hen Li Yee, the union's agent, a tea merchant, and a grocery commission agent; and the tailoring partners O Way Len and See Chin. Both 23 and 25 Harrison Avenue were also occupied entirely by Chinese men in the same occupations. Many shared the Moy surname, and many were listed as living with business partners.

OXFORD PLACE AND OXFORD STREET - PEOPLE AND PLACES

Tax records for 1880 list no Chinese occupants of the eleven rowhouses on Oxford Place, a T-shaped street running a short distance east from Harrison Avenue and then both north and south between Harrison and Oxford Street (4-11 Oxford Place (ca. 1843, BOS.1925, Photo 5). By 1899, however, all of these units housed Chinese residents and businesses. Numbers 1-3 Oxford Place, on the north tail of the T, are not extant, but numbers 4-11 include three that appear to have been occupied solely as residences at that time; the rest housed businesses and, very likely, residents in the upper stories. Numbers 4 and 7 were dwellings, tax records indicate, and in 1900, 4 and 4½ Oxford Place had eight

[57] Moy Auk is said to have come to Boston from San Francisco in 1884, and his 29 Harrison Avenue business was termed "the aristocratic Chinese restaurant" in 1891. He was also a bandleader, and his 30-piece Chinese orchestra entertained at numerous benefits in Boston from the late 1880s into the late 1890s. See "Musical Matters, *Boston Herald*, April 14, 1889, 10, "A Dinner in Chinatown," *Boston Herald*, March 1, 1891, 7 (describing a banquet at 29 Harrison of the Folk-Lore Society attended by William Dean Howells and others), and "The Park Tonight," *Boston Herald*, April 25, 1897, 10. Given that he and the Chinese Free Masons occupied the same buildings, Auk may have been the "Chinese Mason" identified as Moy Jark whose September 13, 1897, funeral in Harrison Avenue was described in great detail in "Chinese Mason. Big Funeral Display in Chinatown," *Boston Journal*, September 14, 1897, 8. The newspaper noted he had died on August 29, 1897, at an "insane asylum" on Long Island in Boston Harbor. No death record has been found under any known variant of his name.

Chinese male residents—four laundry agents or laundrymen (one of them retired), two physicians, a butcher, and a barber. All but one were married men, and all emigrated between 1860 and 1880. Five Oxford Place had been occupied in 1899 by Chinese-goods dealer Chin Go, but during the year the firm was "out of business," tax records state, and Chinese people lived in the house. The 1900 census shows employment agent Ton Yee at this address with two lodgers, barber Mong Chin and laundryman Gau Joe. Tax records for 1899 show 6 Oxford Place as occupied by the Chinese-goods firm Q. A. Wing Company, run by Lum Sing and a partner, and the 1900 census shows "Sun Lem" as an employment agent living with six others—employment agent Hew Yee, tailor Jong Lam, laundryman Quong Lam, physician Yick Tein Joe, and janitor Ming Yen Goon and his non-Chinese wife Kelly.[58] At 8 Oxford Place were Sam Wah Kee and his Chinese-born wife, as well as the Chinese-goods business Hip Chong Wah, which Kee ran with five partners. A Chinese-born grocer and his two partners also lived at 8 Oxford Place. Other employment agents, laundrymen, merchants, and tailors lived in the other houses on Oxford Place at the turn of the century.

In 1899, a fifteen-unit brick row, then more than half a century old, occupied the east (even) side of Oxford Street, from Essex Street to Beach Street, and it was inhabited mostly, but not exclusively, by Chinese residents and businesses; Syrian and Armenian tenants occupied four of the fifteen houses. Numbers 4 through 14 are not extant, but 22-32 Oxford Street (1841, BOS.1927-1929) have survived in altered form; 22 through 30 were faced in yellow brick in 1937 (Photo 6). In 1899, 18 Oxford Street (not extant) was identified as the Chinese Mission (which rented the building), while 20 Oxford Street (not extant) housed Chinese-goods dealer Quong Wah Sing Company, workers from the mission, and Chinese men aided by the mission. The 1900 census shows missionary Rebecca Adams at 18 Oxford Street with two lodgers—missionary Charles Y. Sing and mission worker Aug Sih Quong, both single men. Nurse Mary MacDonald, born in New Brunswick, lived at 20 Oxford Street and rented space to two Chinese-born laundrymen.[59]

CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS AND MISSION SOCIETIES

Writing in 1899, social settlement worker Robert Woods construed the missions of Chinatown as part of the third stage in the evolution of the area. First, well-off and poor people lived together in the area, as "their interests were in a measure bound together"; then affluent residents left the district. In the third stage, a "quickened social conscience among the well-to-do and cultured" created "charities and philanthropies . . . in growing number and variety."[60] As distinct from foreign

[58] Chang, "Chinese in the City of Boston," found two Chinese men married to non-Chinese women in the 1900 census, one of them this 6 Oxford Place couple and the other being Lee Wah (or Wee Leo) and his wife Alice at 5 Oliver Place. Vital records and newspaper accounts happened upon in the course of this research found another six such marriages.

[59] The most significant loss on Oxford Street is 14 Oxford, destroyed by a gas explosion on January 6, 1983. It was the home of Chinese interpreter Charles Sing Doane in 1900, the business of well-known merchant Moy J. Orne in 1905, the United Chinese Association and printer Hop Yuen Company in 1931, the Chinese Patriotic Flying Corps, Shanghai Printers (the successor to Hop Yuen), the United Chinese Association, the Chinese Relief Association, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, and the Eng family association in 1949. The 1983 explosion injured three people, but restaurant worker Wing Sung Ng "survived the explosion unscathed when he fell from the top floor and landed on the mattress he'd been sleeping on"; see "Bed-riding Man Survives Boston Building Explosion," *The Day* (New London, CT), January 7, 1983. The ghost outline of 14 Oxford Street is visible at the end of the 1907 building occupying 73-79 Essex Street and 2-8 Oxford Street (BOS.1708).

[60] *City Wilderness*, 7-8.

mission work, this charitable endeavor was known as the "home mission" movement, which Carroll Smith Rosenberg defined as "an organized effort to disseminate the truths of revealed religion and the hope of eternal salvation among the city's unchurched and deprived."[61] City missions, such as those in Boston, were run by urban ministers and middle-class women, and among the Chinese and other immigrant groups, outreach took the form of Sunday School and instruction in English. The earliest-known Chinese mission was Harriette Carter's Monday-evening English class, which began in April 1876 at the Old Colony Chapel on Tyler Street (not extant), one of eighteen Sunday Schools then operated by the City Missionary Society. For some unexplained reason, the classes moved to Carter's home on Western Avenue in Cambridge for the summer, though the Chinese men who attended these twice-weekly sessions also continued to attend the Old Colony Sunday School. In the fall of 1876m the Sunday School moved to the Chambers Street Chapel, just off Scollay Square, and then a mission of Mt. Vernon Church on Ashburton Place in Beacon Hill. According to one historian, "because of the changes which had taken place in the district where the building was located," the Chambers Street chapel was discontinued in 1879, and the Chinese school moved to the chapel of Mt. Vernon Church. The 1886 article on gambling in Chinatown noted that many Chinese men then attended "the Ashburton place Sunday school." When Mt. Vernon Church moved to a new building, the school moved to Pilgrim Hall of the Congregational House at the head of Somerset Street in 1895. In 1896 the school attracted, on average, 118 Chinese persons each week, and 24 of them had become members of Mt. Vernon Church. Still, after its brief time at Old Colony Chapel, the school never appears to have established itself in Chinatown. In fact, "the distance between its headquarters and Chinatown" was offered as a reason for the Mt. Vernon Church mission to discontinue its work among Chinese people in 1920, five years after Harriette Carter died.[62]

The 16 Oxford Street mission had, by contrast, probably been in Chinatown since the American Sunday School Union founded it in 1895 as the New England Chinese Mission. It may have been at 61½ Essex Street (not extant) in 1897; the city directory that year cites Bethlehem Chinese Mission, run by the "open-air preacher" Yong Kay, at that address. In 1900 the *Boston Globe* identified Yong Kay as a Chinese missionary who had founded Bethlehem Chinese Sunday School at 114 Harrison Avenue (not extant) in 1896, and one 1906 Boston church directory shows Kay as the pastor at New England Chinese Mission at the three-story, wood-frame, Harrison Avenue building. In February 1902, when the mission staged a seventh-anniversary event, the *Boston Evening Transcript* identified Kay as "the only Chinese preacher in this vicinity" and "the general missionary-superintendent" of the New England Chinese Mission. In December 1902, Yong

[61] Rosenberg quoted in Wang, "Eagle Seeks a Helpless Quarry," 52; J. Leslie Dunstan, *A Light to the City: 150 Years of the City Missionary Society of Boston, 1816-1966* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), 174; *Boston City Missionary Society Annual Report* 1897, 15. Old Colony Chapel opened in 1825, occupied a space above the Old Colony Railroad depot until 1866, and then moved to Tyler Street. It used a frame building at 69-75 Tyler Street and is shown on Plate Q of *Atlas of the County of Suffolk, Massachusetts, Vol. 1st including Boston Proper* (Philadelphia: G. M. Hopkins & Co., 1874) and Plate 14 of George W. and Walter S. Bromley, *Atlas of the City of Boston Boston Proper and Back Bay* (Philadelphia: G. W. Bromley and Co., 1895). The chapel building was later acquired by Cornelia Warren, associated with the Denison House Settlement, and converted into a gymnasium for the neighborhood. See Martin Green, *The Mount Vernon Street Warrens: A Boston Story, 1860-1910* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989), 139-43.

[62] Dunstan, *Light to the City*, 174, 211; Wang, "History of Chinese Churches," 79-82; Wing-kai To, "Chinese American Missionary Schools in Boston, ca. 1870-1920," *CHSNE Newsletter* 13, 1 (Fall 2007): 10, 18.

Kay was one of two Boston Chinese men who accompanied Boston attorney Stephen Westcott Nickerson (by 1905 named the imperial Chinese consul at Boston) to Washington to testify before the United States Senate in opposition to the Geary Act and Chinese exclusion. Yong Kay has not been located in Boston censuses and directories after that point.[63]

In 1886 there were eight Sunday schools teaching English to Chinese men in Boston, and by 1901 there were fifteen, according to annual reports of the City Missionary Society. Boston public school teacher Vodisa J. Comey proposed opening a Chinese Sunday school during a prayer meeting at the Warren Street Baptist Church on May 26, 1889. It opened the following Sunday with 26 students and 24 volunteers teachers. By the end of the year, 68 Chinese laundrymen and restaurant workers were in attendance. The Warren Street Baptist Church is extant, although no longer functioning as a church, on the corner of Warren and West Brookline streets in the South End. When the Warren Street church merged with the First Baptist Church at 110 Commonwealth Avenue (1872, BOS.3472), the Chinese school relocated there. The Sunday school was self-supporting and, in addition to teaching English, it contributed to Chinese causes, such as the China Famine, Chinese Relief in San Francisco, Harriette Carter Memorial, Chinese YMCA, China Child Welfare Association, China War Relief, and Door of Hope Mission. By 1939, it had given $4,613.29 to these and other charities. This Sunday school operated into the 1960s.[64] Other Chinese Sunday schools were sponsored by Tremont Street M.E. Church, Temple Methodist Church, Charlestown YMCA, Berkeley Temple, Dudley Street Church, and Union Church in Boston, and the White Congregational Church in Dorchester.[65]

The only other religious or charitable groups, aside from the Bethlehem chapel organized by Chinese people themselves, were the Union Chinese Young Men's Christian Association, founded in 1893; the Chinese Y's Chinese Christian Home, organized by 1895; and a Chinese Christian Endeavor Society, organized at Berkeley Temple by early October 1899 by Yong Kay and physician Fong Y. Tang. At that time the society had nineteen Chinese "active" members, eleven Chinese associate members, and four American members. Whether the society was the same as the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor organized by Chinese in 1896 is unclear. None of these groups were, however, headquartered in Chinatown in its settlement era. [66]

In late December 1905, the 114 Harrison Avenue building occupied by the New England Chinese Mission burned, along with two smaller frame structures next to it, and at this time the mission appears to have moved to 16 Oxford Street (1841-42, BOS.1927), which had been occupied by Star in the East Mission since at least 1900. The mission was founded by a

[63] "Among our Own Heathen," *Boston Globe*, July 1, 1900; William Grant James, ed., *The Boston Church and Musical Directory* (Boston: William Grant James, 1906), 118; "New England Chinese Mission," *Boston Evening Transcript*, February 3, 1902; *Chinese Exclusion. Testimony Taken before the Committee on Immigration, United States Senate, on Senate Bill 2960 and Certain Other bills before the Committee Providing for the Exclusion of Chinese Laborers* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 19-20.
[64] Wang, "History of Chinese Churches," 82-85.
[65] Dunstan, *Light to the City*.
[66] *The Evangelist*, October 6, 1899, 16; Dunstan, *Light to the City*, 212. See also Wang, "History of Chinese Churches," 87-88, Chapman, "Notes on the Chinese," 323; Woods, *City Wilderness*, 218;

"Dr. Crocker," possibly the Episcopal cleric William T. Crocker, rector at St. Mary's Episcopal Church and St. Mary's Home for Sailors in East Boston. A native of Fitchburg and Harvard College graduate, Crocker left Boston in 1903 for the Church of the Epiphany in New York City, and his Chinatown mission may have been seeking new leadership. In 1906 the name of the mission changed to the Chinese Mission of New England, according to one account, and it was supported by five church organizations. It is not clear whether the 16 Oxford Street mission and the mission next door at 18-20 Oxford (not extant)—initially a hospital and mission conducted by Anna Fourner and other women under the auspices of Clarendon Street Baptist Church—were in fact the same entity by 1906. Edward D. Mason, pastor of Winter Hill Baptist Church, and his wife Josephine, a missionary for the American Sunday School Union, were placed in charge of the 16 Oxford Street mission in 1901; Edward Mason died by 1930, and his wife remained mission superintendent until at least 1938. She had died by 1940, when Dorene V. Robert is shown as living at 16 Oxford Street and working as mission superintendent. By that time Pauline Shen, who was born in Quangdong, China, about 1882 and had come to the United States after 1935, was living and working as a missionary there. City directories show female "resident missionaries" at this address from at least 1885 into the 1940s.[67] In 1946 the Wong family, owner of the Shanghai Printing business, bought 16 Oxford Street, demolished it, and built a four-story building for the printing company, which moved to 14 Oxford Street; the building also housed the Wong family and tenants.

Two other missions are known to have operated in Chinatown before 1900. One was St. Paul's Episcopal Mission at 6 Tyler Street (1840-41, BOS.2088).[68] Six Tyler Street is labeled "Episcopal City Mission" on the 1883 Bromley atlas map, and Krim has stated that St. Paul's Episcopal Church bought the building in 1876 and converted it to use as a mission by 1883. It remained a mission until 1892. To what extent it served the Chinese immigrant population is unknown, as Tyler Street was not then occupied by Chinese people and businesses, but the 6 Tyler Street building had a continuous association with them from 1909 to the current day, serving as the meeting place for the Chinese Free Masons. Similarly, it does not appear that the Tyler Street Day Nursery at 74-76 Tyler Street (1840/1901, BOS.2222) was much used by Chinese children, principally because there were few in Chinatown during the years of its operation (1895 to 1910). Established by St. Paul's Church, the nursery was permitted in April 1911 to turn its treasury over to the Boston Dispensary because it could no longer afford to continue its work.[69]

[67] To, "Chinese American Missionary Schools," 10, 18; Gao, "Social Survey," 76-77. Information on the Wong family's construction of the new building at 16 Oxford courtesy of Jeffrey Wong.
[68] Woods, *City Wilderness*, 218, stated in 1899 that the Chinese YMCA was the religious and social headquarters of the "Christian Chinamen of Boston and vicinity" and offered a ground-floor laundry, reading and recreation rooms, and two sleeping rooms as well as a Sunday afternoon service; it was housed at that time near Clarendon Street Church in the South End.
[69] Mary M. Kehew quoted in "Day Nursery is No More," *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 22, 1911, 5. One of its managers asserted that the nursery was in any event being improperly used by sojourning European immigrants: "The neighborhood has changed greatly since our work started. About ten years ago, when there was what we called an invasion of the locality by people of a certain nationality, we had an expert make a thorough investigation. We found that the new comers were not desirable citizens because they remained in this country but a few years and took their earnings to Europe. This report determined us, as much as anything else, that our nursery was not a successful enterprise in that neighborhood. We found that the people were imposing on us by sending their children for us to care for, and then going out to accumulate money to send back across the water. At that time we were caring for about forty children a day, almost our capacity, but that number was cut down to fifteen as a result of the investigation."

It also seems unlikely that the early clientele of Denison House, founded at 93 Tyler Street (not extant) in December 1892, was Chinese, particularly insofar as it was created to serve disadvantaged neighborhood women at a time when few Chinese women lived in Chinatown. In later years, however, the services at Denison House embraced Chinese men and women. The third "college" settlement in the United States and the first in Boston, Denison House was created by the College Settlements Association, founded in 1890 and incorporated in 1894 largely by college-educated women. Vida Dutton Scudder, a professor at Wellesley College, was one of three women who conceived the idea of combining academic with social work to remedy their "sense of privileges unshared," and by 1896 the association had members from eleven colleges working in settlement houses in Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston. By 1896 the Boston settlement had expanded into 91 Tyler Street.[70] Denison House ultimately occupied four adjoining buildings at 91-97 Tyler Street and, by the 1930s, owned an additional row at 89-97 Hudson Street (1843-45, BOS.2205-09). The settlement had a lengthy involvement with the Chinatown community, having sponsored English classes, a milk station, a medical dispensary, a Chinese girls' basketball team, a junior and senior Chinese girls' club, a nursery, summer camp for Chinese girls outside Boston, and dormitory space. "A considerable number of Chinese single men live in the dormitories who have business in other parts of Boston," according to Ren-ying Gao, who described its services just as it was closing and preparing to move to Dorchester in 1942.[71] (By the mid 20th century, this block of Tyler Street would be joined by the Maryknoll Sisters Center, run by the Roman Catholic Maryknoll order, which played an important role in helping young Chinese immigrants, particularly girls [see p. 69].)

SUMMARY

Considering the economic, social, political, and language obstacles confronting them, Chinese immigrants in Boston made significant strides in establishing a foothold in the city's South Bay neighborhood. Centering their settlement and commercial enterprises at the intersection of Harrison Avenue and Beach Street, some ventured out into other parts of Boston to begin a network of laundries that would expand into the hundreds by the turn of the 20th century. Prejudice-fueled extreme restrictions at the national level limited immigration, legal and otherwise, to men able to document a business interest in the US , primarily laundries, restaurants, and imported merchandise. This created a "bachelor society" of sojourners intent on providing support for families back in China and intending to return there. By the end of this period, an estimated 1,000 Chinese lived in Boston, with 250 to 300 of them residing in fifteen houses and shops on Harrison Avenue; the rest were scattered in laundries around the city and its surrounding towns. Religious charitable organizations and Chinese family associations were formed to provide social services to these unattached men. Their cultural preferences for opium and gambling placed them at odds with the local authorities, which continually raided their

[70] See William D. P. Bliss, *The Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1897), 1418; Collections Register, Denison House Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~sch00182.
[71] See Green, *Mount Vernon Street Warrens*, 142-43; Woods, *City Wilderness*, 258-60, 268-69; Gao, "Social Survey," 56. The site of the Denison House settlement is now occupied by the Chinatown Community Education Center.

gathering places. In addition, the city expressed their disdain for the Chinese settlement by widening Harrison Avenue in 1893 in an effort to drive the immigrants out through redevelopment, and again in 1899, when an elevated railway was routed down Harrison Avenue and Beach Street in the heart of Chinatown. This was only the beginning of a long history of assaults by transportation systems and urban renewal programs.

3. Boston's Chinese Community Develops, 1900-1943

By 1900 most of Boston's Chinese population resided outside of Chinatown in the laundries in which they worked; restaurant workers, a far smaller number, lived in Chinatown along with, as David Chang has documented, Chinese men in other occupations: druggists, physicians, laundry-union representatives, grocers, Chinese-goods importers and merchants, photographers, barbers, tailors, interpreters, employment agents, and a locksmith. Chang has pointed out that Chinese living outside Chinatown did not report employment in any line other than laundry or restaurant work, which suggests both Chinatown's "central place function" and the presence of a population large enough to support men in these other trades within the district.[72] By 1905, the city business directory continued to show Chinese laundries not by name but by address, and among the hundreds listed that year fewer than fifteen were in or near Chinatown. Family laundries became increasingly common where the entire family was employed, even young children and relatives. Home quarters were part of the laundry space, seldom in separate apartments; meals were made and consumed there, and cots were brought out for sleeping.

Six Chinese restaurants, all on Harrison Avenue, were listed in 1905—Yoot Sum Low at #13½, Wei Ying Lowe and Company and Royal Restaurant, both at #19, Fong Bun Low at #32, Hong Far Low and Company at #36½, and Lock Sen Low at 40-42 Harrison Avenue and 44-46 Beach Street. Fifteen Chinese grocers were listed, all in Chinatown and twelve of them on both sides of Harrison Avenue (between its beginning at Phillips Square south to number 42, the corner of Beach Street) and three at 1, 5, and 8 Oxford Street.[73] Only one dealer in "Chinese merchandise," Foo and Wing Herb Company, is listed in the directory, and it was outside Chinatown on Massachusetts Avenue near the Northampton Street elevated train station. The 1910 census lists a range of occupations similar to what Chang described in 1900, and it seems likely that directory enumerators quite generally undercounted Chinese-run businesses.

RESTAURANTS

Chinese restaurants became popular with non-Chinese attracted to their exotic food and adventurous experience. "Somehow the word Chinatown has become associated in the popular mind with objectionable Bohemianism," Herbert Heywood noted in 1903, "and perhaps this is because it is this aspect that is usually presented in the newspaper headlines

[72] "Chinese in the City of Boston".
[73] Another, Oriental Grocery Company, was at 27 Hudson and was run by non-Chinese men; it probably catered to Syrians.

about happenings in the much maligned district."[74] The restaurant trade provided a tremendous boost to the Chinatown economy, as their clientele expanded to include workers from the adjoining railroad, garment, leather, and theater districts looking for inexpensive meals, and evening "tourists" looking for other-worldly entertainment. Restaurant proprietors began to create theatrical, Chinese-inspired interiors and exterior façades and signage to attract business. In these years, the city's newspapers often described what they called "slumming parties" visiting Chinatown's eating spots; the *Journal* stated in 1892 that these parties were "organized . . . by respectable residents of the Back Bay and South End," and in 1900 the *Daily Advertiser* stated that these restaurants had long been "a visiting place for the curious." The visits of editor and novelist William Dean Howells, historian of Japanese art Ernest Fenollosa, collector Isabella Stewart Gardner, and Asian art curator Okakura-Kakuzo to Harrison Avenue restaurants in the first years of the 20th century were reported in the newspapers.[75]

Still, frequent press coverage of police gambling and drug raids appears to have thwarted the non-Chinese trade. In 1899 Boston's police commissioner ordered Chinatown's restaurants to close at midnight after complaints that "a large number of students of ethnology, as well as . . . a varied assortment of laymen" had begun to congregate there "after the closing of the lecture-rooms and the saloons," as reported in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* in July. Only a few years earlier, before such complaints had emerged, "carriages of the well to do were frequently seen about Harrison Ave.," and "ladies of refinement . . . were once wont to visit that section with their escorts." In his 1903 *New England Magazine* article, Herbert Heywood stated that the half-dozen restaurants in the district each had "its own particular class of patrons. To one comes the sporting element at night from the theatres and neighboring saloons and makes merry as late as the law will allow. Another aspires to a better class of patronage and is kept by Christians and members of a Christian Endeavor Society." In the same year, the *Boston Journal* stated, "Chinese restaurants still flourish and draw American patronage. The Chinese restaurants of Boston are fully up to the standard, and are supported largely by American patronage. There are few hours in the day when one cannot find parties of Americans."[76]

In 1910 a bill had been presented either to the Boston City Council or the state legislature that would have banned women under the age of twenty-one from entering a restaurant in Chinatown without an escort, an attempt that apparently did not trouble restaurant proprietors; one of them told the *Boston Journal*, "About all of them who ever come here are brought by men or are members of a slumming party." The bill was apparently engineered by the Watch and Ward Society, which

[74] "China in New England," 480-81.
[75] "Looking at the Chinese," *Boston Journal*, December 12, 1892, 3; "Its Glamour Gone. Chinatown Seems to Have Seen Its Best Days," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 27 November 1900, 2; "A Dinner in Chinatown," *Boston Herald*, 1 March 1891, 7; Wing-kai To, "A Brief History of Chinese American Cuisine in New England: From Chop Suey to Chinatown Dining and Suburban Restaurants," *CHSNE Newsletter* 16, 1 (Fall 2010): 6-7, 11.
[76] "Wave of Reform," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, July 3, 1899, 1; Heywood, "China in New England," 480-81; "Slumming Parties in Chinatown Forbidden By Police," *Boston Journal*, June 28,1903, 4.

had been alarmed by the June 1909 murder of New York City Chinatown mission worker Elsie Sigel, allegedly at the hands of two Chinese restaurant workers.[77]

NEIGHBORHOOD REDEVELOPMENT & DISPLACMENT: THE ENCROACHMENT OF GARMENT BUILDINGS AND SITING OF THE NEW ENGLAND TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH BEACH EXCHANGE BUILDING

The effort to restrict patronage at Chinatown restaurants was kept alive through at least 1913, when the district had begun to feel pressure of a different sort. Once the elevated railway was in place by 1900, the garment industry took advantage of depressed real-estate values to buy up older buildings, raze them, and put in their place multistory structures to house hundreds of small clothing manufacturers. The earliest incursions were on Essex Street, but by 1909 garment lofts were being built in the Chinese "quarter" on Harrison Avenue. In 1908 Fannie Morrison tore down five brick buildings (four of them owned by her late father, Daniel L. Demmon) on the west side of the street just north of Beach Street to construct the Demmon Building at 27-37 Harrison (1908, BOS.2269, Photo #7).[78] In 1899 three Chinese-goods merchants and one restaurant had occupied these buildings, along with the Chinese Free Masons, its officers, and other Chinese men in various trades. In September 1903 the "On Leung Tong Society," founded in 1893, but called a "new organization of Chinese merchants" by the *Globe* (which may have confused it with Hip Sing Tong) in 1903, dedicated its new headquarters on the third and fourth floors of 35 Harrison Avenue with a "half million firecrackers." By 1905 two Chinese tailoring shops were within this block, the respected merchant Moy J. Orne lived at 33 Harrison, and the so-called "undisputed queen of Chinatown," Belle Yuen, was living in the rear section of 29 Harrison Avenue in 1905 when she was removed to Long Island Hospital with severe tuberculosis.[79] Yuen, an Englishwoman who had married two Chinese men in succession and adopted Chinese customs, acquired her title from having been "the adviser and trusted counselor of Boston Chinamen for nearly two decades," according to a 1905 article in the *Boston Journal*. In December 1908, the *Boston Journal* reported that nearly one hundred Chinese people and businesses, including the On Leong Tong and three Chinese restaurants, were forced to leave these Harrison Avenue buildings, to be torn down for a ten-story commercial

[77] Heywood, "China in New England," 473; "Restaurant Men Fear Bill Little," *Boston Journal*, March 23, 1910, 5. The bill was triggered not only by the Sigel murder but by one Boston missionary's discovery in late December 1909, in a cellar beneath a Chinatown laundry, of a dissipated eighteen-year-old girl from Newark, NJ, who had been "cast off" by her family. See "Finds Young Girl in Chinatown Cellar," *Boston Journal*, December 28, 1909, 14. The Watch and Ward Society aimed "to prevent the resorting to Chinatown on the part of young girls and young men, for the curiosity which is aroused by the sight of Chinese smoking opium, often leads to a trial of the drug and the enslavement of the person making the experiment. The troops of white women not infrequently seen parading about Chinatown with the evident tokens of their shameless life upon them, are traceable to the habit." See "Opium Dens of Chinatown Raided by Police Inspectors and Several Arrests Made," *Boston Journal*, September 1, 1909, 1.

[78] Boston architect Clarence H. Blackall designed the building.

[79] Belle Yuen was born Annabelle Hubbell in Hudson, New York, in 1861 and was said to have begun her opium habit in New York's Chinatown in the late 1870s. It is not clear when she came to Boston, but she married a Chinese man, was widowed, and married Chelsea laundryman Song Yung in Boston in 1894. The *Boston Journal* stated that "her advice "was sought by the Chinese men on all matters of importance to them. She was for years the most conspicuous figure on Harrison avenue." See "Chinatown's Queen Begs for Her Pipe as Health Officers Take Her to Long Island Cot," *Boston Journal*, December 23, 1905, 5: "Queen of Chinatown Dead," *Springfield Republican*, May 16, 1906, 12. Yuen died at Long Island Hospital on May 13, 1906. On the On Leong celebration, see "Half Million Fire Crackers Explode: On Leung Tung Society Celebrates in Chinatown," *Boston Journal*, September 3, 1903, 4.

building. The On Leong Society moved to 6 Tyler Street, the former home of the Episcopal City Mission, near what the *Journal* called the "Black Arch" dividing Chinatown from the "Syrian colony."[80]

In 1899, when South Station was completed, the *Boston Daily Advertiser* noted that demand had increased for real- estate just to the east. "Some predict that a few years only will see Chinatown crowded with lofty office buildings," the newspaper announced, and, though it took longer than estimated, such a landscape did emerge. It was apparent to restaurant proprietor Law Han Son in 1913, when the *Journal* interviewed him about the city's effort to control the growth of both Chinatown and its restaurant patronage.[81] Han Son, then running an unnamed café at 16 Harrison Avenue, told the newspaper:

> The impression that Chinatown is growing is wrong. Business has encroached upon the restaurants and dwelling houses and Chinatown proper is actually smaller than it was years ago. Forced to move from Harrison avenue, many of the Chinese have had to go to Tyler street. The number of Chinese is smaller than it was five years ago. Our people are returning home to remain there. Very few young men are coming in. The new stores on Harrison avenue were established years ago. They are the general merchandise stores which sell supplies to the restaurants and clothing and other necessaries to the Chinese.
>
> All restaurants are closed at midnight. There is not a private dining room in the district, and those who think the place is not respectable should make personal examination. Young and irresponsible women do not come here. This place which I'm running is good enough for city officials who come here regularly. There are only eight cafes in the district and probably there will be no others as the last one was established about five years ago.
>
> The Chinese have no fault to find with the police, who are always fair, but there are certain politicians who seldom visit the restaurants to see anything with their own eyes, and who annoy us by talking about the place as if it were dangerous to morals.[82]

[80] "Celestials Must Leave Chinatown," *Boston Journal*, 5 December 1908, 3; Wing-kai To, "A Centennial Reflection of 1911: Boston's Chinatown in the Age of Reform and Revolution," CHSNE Newsletter 17, 1 (Fall 2011): 1. What the "Black Arch" was and and exactly where it was located is not yet known.
[81] "Its Glamour Gone. Chinatown Seems to Have Seen Its Best Days," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, November 27, 1900, 2.
[82] "Chinatown Orderly Says Café Owner," *Boston Journal*, April 7, 1913, 4. The café was probably Royal Restaurant, which was at 16 Harrison Avenue by 1917 but at 19 Harrison Avenue in 1905. The 1910 census and later newspaper accounts show Law Han Son as Lew Hanson, born about 1882 in California and working as a restaurant proprietor; he shared 19 Harrison Avenue with the restaurant and six lodgers, two of them waiters and four of them restaurant cooks. Hanson was the manager of both the Royal Restaurant and Joy Yong Company restaurant at 21-23 Harrison Avenue, "formerly Maxims," which opened in March 1917. See its advertisement in *Boston Herald*, March 11, 1917, and a later advertisement for both restaurants in the July 9. 1917 issue (page six). The Boston City Archives photograph showing this section of Harrison Avenue with the signs for Joy Yong, as well as for the Royal and Hong Far Low restaurants across the street, is dated March 23, 1917 and was thus taken shortly after Joy Yong opened.

The encroachment Law Han Son described continued through the rest of the decade and beyond, as did the newspapers' variously stated declaration that, as the *Journal* put it in 1915, "Boston's Old-Time Chinatown is Soon to be No More." In early June 1915, the four parcels across Harrison Avenue from the Demmon Building, at 40 and 42 Harrison Avenue and 44 and 46 Beach Street, were sold and destined to be razed for an "eight-story mercantile building as soon as possible" (Photo 7).[83] The *Journal* stated, "It has been the intention of several real estate brokers throughout the city to buy as much of this land as possible and build mercantile buildings, which would gradually eliminate the well-known abode of the Chinese." That the buildings on these parcels were old and, in the eyes of city assessors, worn out, is indicated by the fact that the two at 40-42 Harrison Avenue were valued at $6,800 of the $55,300 total value of the parcels, while those at 44-46 Beach, standing on lots totaling only 1,800 square feet, were valued at $4,000 of the $58,000 parcel value. About a week later, the *Journal* reported that Chinatown "is moving to the southward, and within a comparatively short time there will be little left of the old section, which for years has harbored the Celestial in the Hub":

> Already five big stores formerly occupied by Chinese merchants on Harrison Ave are vacant. On Oxford St buildings are being razed, and when the wreckers are through it looks as if the only place that will be left will be the Chinese school and mission and the big Oxford telephone exchange. Oxford place will also be hard-hit, for it is here that the fan-tan dens and the underground passageways have been centered for years.
>
> Beach street, which is in the heart of Chinatown, will be razed from Harrison avenue to Oxford street, and four big buildings on Harrison avenue will be torn down. Tyler street and the other thoroughfares leading off Beach street are about the only places not yet doomed, either by their owners or Building Commissioner O'Hearn, who started all the trouble, with the help of the police of the Lagrange street station.

The 1915 *Journal* article noted more specifically that 16, 18, 22, 32, 34, and 36 Oxford Street "are doomed," 40-44 Harrison Avenue and 60-62 Beach Street would be razed within the month, and 16, 18, and 22 Oxford Street had already been torn down. The 1917 Bromley atlas map of this district shows the new Harrison Building at 40-42 Harrison and 44-46 Beach, but 60-62 Beach is the same footprint of buildings shown on the 1895 atlas plate, while of the Oxford Street addresses only 18-20 is a new building by 1917. The newspaper stated, incorrectly on both counts, that because some of the Oxford Street houses "also face on Oxford place, where the Chinese usually enter," Oxford Place, "a real Chinese street," was also "doomed." The rear portions of odd, not even, numbers on Oxford Street faced on Oxford Place, and Oxford Place had survived the demolition of the odd-numbered Oxford Street houses in 1898 when the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company built its Beach Exchange on the site of 13-21 Oxford Street (BOS.1772). In 1920 the

[83] These houses were replaced by the eight-story Harrison Building designed by Boston architect Henry Francis Keyes, and was one of the first commercial building erected using the concrete "flat slab" structural system, an innovative and economical alternative to the conventional iron or steel frame (BOS.1777).

remaining six units in the row to the north and three large brick buildings at the head of Essex Street at the beginning of Harrison Avenue were demolished for the expansion of the Beach Exchange .[84]

The New England Telephone and Telegraph Company was "suggested as the indirect purchaser" in March 1917 when the *Journal* announced the "recent extensive real estate transaction involving the greater part of Oxford street and adjacent blocks." The newspaper stated that realtor William J. Stober had been "quietly buying up the various parcels from the former owners, among whom were several Chinese" (in fact, "Moy Wing et al." is shown as owning 11 Oxford Street in 1917), and a "large modern building will soon replace the rows of old houses which for years have been the homes of Chinese families." The *Journal* reported that "Boston's 3000 Chinese will soon make a grand exodus from the quaint locality known as Chinatown" because of the transaction, even though the actual Chinatown population at that time was probably closer to 300. The newspaper cited the statement of Chinatown's acting "mayor," Soo Hoo Wing, that the dispersal of the residents of Oxford Street "would undoubtedly be the signal for all the rest in the vicinity to follow, as the clannish spirit of his fellow citizens would not permit of their being separated." The newspaper, noting that the telephone company's expansion would reach around the corner of Essex to the beginning of Harrison Avenue, baldly allowed that it would not affect the larger stores and restaurants on Harrison between Essex and Beach Street, "as they cater almost entirely to American trade, and several of them own their own property."[85]

The *Journal* reported in 1917 that some occupants had already left their shops and tenements, though demolition to make way for the enlarged telephone building apparently did not start until the summer of 1919. At that time, the *Herald* reported, merchant Yee Wah, who had lived at an unstated Oxford Street address for thirty years, had been evicted; Wah was the Chinatown "mayor" who had gone to China in 1914 and returned to Boston in August 1917. His business, identified as Duck Chung Company, was at 9 Oxford Street, and since at least 1917 he and merchant Moy Ni Ding owned 11 Oxford Place, to which Yee Wah moved in 1919. Tax records for 1917 document that at least thirty-eight Chinese taxpayers, a house occupied by the Chinese American Citizens Association, a "Chinese club room," and at least fourteen businesses—importers, tailors, butchers, Chinese goods dealers, a laundry, and other merchants—occupied all of Oxford Street's addresses; the street was also the home to physician Yee Ping, the Chinese Mission, and Moy T. Dow, who for many years ran Hankow Restaurant at 15-19 Essex Street.

THE CITY'S ANTI-GAMBLING CAMPAIGN

That the clearance of buildings inhabited by Chinese people was not simply a matter of low acquisition costs is more than intimated in Boston newspapers. For one thing, the city was still trying to snuff out persistent gambling. The *Journal*

[84] Tongs, Fan-Tan and Hop Joints On the Move: Boston's Old-Time Chinatown is Soon to be No More," *Boston Journal*, June 11, 1915, 5; "Four Chinatown Buildings Sold," *Boston Journal*, June 3, 1915, 12.
[85] "Exodus from Chinatown to Start May 1," *Boston Journal*, March 23, 1917, 14. From at least 1911 to at least 1950, certain men had been designated informally as Chinatown's mayor and represented the neighborhood's interests in the larger city political and social arena.

stated in 1915 that Building Commissioner Patrick O'Hearn started all the trouble with a series of raids, organized by Mayor James Michael Curley and the city's Board of Health, to inspect the buildings for violations of city code—principally, it seems, illegal alterations—and transform the district into a "spotless town." According to the *Journal*, Chinatown was "full of fan tan dens, underground passages, double bolted doors, warning signals—all the elaborate law-dodging conveniences with the gambling Chinese are adepts at devising." The unit at 11 Oxford Place was the "best fitted gambling den" of all, where police found doors made of two planks sandwiching a layer of metal, slits in doors for "lookouts," no light except from tungsten lamps, and a tin can tied to a rope that the lookout pulled to stop a game if police were spotted. A pipe had been connected from one of the basement rooms to the city sewer, where in the event of a raid all the gaming apparatus was deposited; pails of water stood alongside this pipe to flush the evidence. Police noted that 11 Oxford Place had a permit from the city for alterations, but it did not allow walling in windows or creating a passage to the sewer. O'Hearn charged that the police of Lagrange Street station "made possible the present condition of Chinatown, with its police-proof walls, bricked-up windows, and illegal tunnels."[86] The account continued:

> Many of the biggest fantan dens were ripped out and big windows put in the place of the little slits where the 'lookout' used to sit while he watched for an invasion by the police. The underground passageways which undermined Oxford street, Harrison avenue, Beach street and the rest of Chinatown were also bricked up, or at least they were supposed to have been bricked up. The eight-inch hallways which have been built out from the walls on the street floors where the big games used to be played, so that the raiding policemen could not swing sledge hammers against the big doors, were also condemned. . . . When the wreckers are through it looks as if the only place that will be left will be the Chinese school and mission and the big Oxford telephone exchange. Oxford place will also be hard-hit, for it is here that the fan-tan dens and the underground passageways have been centered for years.[87]

According to the *Journal*, "Beach street, which is in the heart of Chinatown, will be razed from Harrison avenue to Oxford street," though in the end it was not entirely.

TONG WARS AND THE 1903 IMMIGRANT RAID

Oxford Street and Oxford Place, as well as Yee Wah and Moy T. Dow, were also centrally involved in the complicated and bitter "tong wars" that affected Boston and many other American cities with significant Chinese populations from the 1890s into the 1930s. Takaki has stated that tongs emerged in Guangdong as "underground anti-government movements," and in the United States they not only offered opportunity for countrymen to socialize and assist each other, as family associations did, but they also "came to control the opium trade as well as gambling and prostitution in the Chinese

[86] "Mayor Makes 'Cleanup Raid in Chinatown," Boston Journal, January 13, 1915, 1; "Blames Police for Chinatown," Boston Journal, January 19, 1915, 10.
[87] "Tongs, Fan-Tan and Hop Joints On the Move: Boston's Old-Time Chinatown is Soon to be No More," *Boston Journal*, June 11, 1915, 5.

communities."[88] In Boston, as elsewhere on the East Coast, the chief tongs were On Leong, said to have been composed of merchants, and Hip Sing, composed largely of laundry and other semiskilled workers. The tongs in Boston and elsewhere also controlled the laundry business, lending capital to new enterprises and assuring that members did not locate their shops too close to each other, and they also earned money from illegal immigrants who failed to secure certificates of residence. The establishment press characterized the situation negatively. "It is an open secret," the *Globe* reported in 1903, "that both societies have been bleeding the more ignorant of their countrymen by promising them immunity from police interference. They have also been levying blackmail upon the Chinese who are in the city without having complied with the requirements of the Chinese registration law."[89] On Leong Tong's headquarters had been at 35 Harrison Avenue until it was razed for the Demmon building; then it moved to 6 Tyler Street in 1909. Hip Sing Tong's headquarters were at 48-50 Beach Street in 1903 and at 205 Harrison Avenue from about 1940 through about 1952. The enmity arose between the two tongs over the control of this multifaceted underground economy—both a response to foreclosed opportunity and an opportunity in itself—and the suspicion that members of each informed on the other to Boston police.[90]

On October 2, 1903, about a month after On Leong moved its headquarters to 35 Harrison Avenue and about the time that Hip Sing Tong was organized in Boston, Roslindale laundryman Wong Yak Chong was shot and killed in front of 13 Harrison Street (not extant). Two men, Wong Chin of 48 Harrison Avenue and Charlie Chinn of 2 Oxford Place, were arrested for the murder, and both were sentenced to life in prison in January 1904. The newspapers speculated both that On Leong Tong members feared that Chong would reveal information about "features of life in Chinatown which it was to the interest of the dominant party to keep secret," and that Chong had been sent from San Francisco to organize the Hip Sing Tong in Boston. On October 11, the day of Wong Yak Chong's funeral, Boston police took advantages of the presence of hundreds who had come from outside Chinatown to attend the procession to stage a raid at which 234 men were arrested for not carrying proper documentation. One historian has stated that police arrested no members of Hip Sing because Police Commissioner William H. H. Emmons had made a deal not to do so in exchange for information on On

[88] Takaki, *Strangers*, 119.
[89] Gao, "Social Survey," 40, stated that Hip Sing translates to "Hall of Victorious Union," while On Leong means "Chamber of Far Reaching Virtue." On the laundry business, Gao, "Social Survey," 29, stated, "The Chinese laundries are a monopoly and the tong protects its members in the territory assigned to them. If a new laundry is set up in an unassigned territory against the wishes of existing laundries, the tong will send its agent to stop the work. The regulation is that there shall be only one laundry for every eighty families and it must be at least one hundred street numbers away from the next one. The administration fee for the tong is five dollars; and the tong fixes the prices which may be charged for the work. . . . If a laundryman wants to dispose of his business, he must first give notice by placing an announcement on the bulletin board of the tong or the United Chinese Association and give a full description of the establishment; its business name, the number and name of the street and the name of the city and state. The buyer can only pay ten per cent of the value of the property to the owner and gives the rest to the headquarters of the United Chinese Association, so that the mayor of the association has the money to clear up the accounts for the retiring laundryman. This is one of the reasons why the Chinese businessmen never leave bills unpaid, because they are taken care of by the United Chinese Association or by the tong to which they belong."
[90] Giles Li and Peter Kiang, "The 1903 Immigration Raid in Boston Chinatown," *CHSNE Newsletter* 10, 1 (Fall 2004): 1, 6-8,

Leong's activities. Of the 234 arrested, 182 were able to produce documentation after their arrests, and 52 were ultimately deported.[91]

The biggest confrontation between the tongs took place on August 2, 1907, when nine or ten Hip Sing tong members, all said to have been brought in from New York City, killed three men and wounded seven others in Oxford Place. They killed Chinese Free Mason Wong Lee Ching of 29 Harrison Avenue, in front of 8 Oxford Place; Chin Lete, who lived on Dover Street in the South End; and Chin Mon Quin of 11 Oxford Street, the last two in front of 4 Oxford Place. Among the injured men, one was a laundryman visiting from Gloucester. The police arrested ten men, charged nine of them with first-degree murder, and executed three on October 11, 1909 in the electric chair at Charlestown State Prison. Warry S. Charles, a Hip Sing leader, was charged with having organized and financed the confrontation in order to compel "every businessman" to join Hip Sing Tong; he died in prison in 1915.[92] The 1907 "battle in Oxford place," according to a 1924 *Herald* article, "in Chinatown history is equal in importance to the battle of Lexington in the mind of the average schoolboy. That battle meant the dispersal of the Boston Hip Kings. There are still Hip Sings in Boston, but they are few and far between and live mostly in the suburbs. They seldom venture in the Tyler-Hudson-Harrison avenue section."[93]

OXFORD PLACE – PEOPLE & PLACES

Despite the violence and repeated predictions that the street would be obliterated, Oxford Place is now among the most intact 1840s tenement rows remaining in the South Cove. Like most other buildings occupied by Chinese people in Chinatown, the small units on Oxford Place served multiple purposes, often housing a business on the ground floor or in a basement space and lodging space (or family association space) on upper floors. Certainly many buildings, including these, had been constructed strictly for residential use first, before the railroads came and then before those railroads had had a major impact on the district. But given Chinatown's location—between Boston's central business district, the garment industry, South Station, and all points south—specifically residential buildings, especially north of Kneeland Street, have had an unusually short life. In this period, when the Chinese settlement area had not extended far south of Kneeland Street, even buildings on streets that were not wide and heavily traveled, such as Oxford Place and Oxford Street, combined commercial, institutional, and residential space from a fairly early point in Chinatown's history.

[91] "A Murder by Highbinders," *Boston Herald*, October 3, 1903, 1; "Murdered Chinaman Had Lived in Roslindale," *Boston Herald*, October 6, 1903, 11. See also K. Scott Wong, "'The Eagle Seeks a Helpless Quarry': Chinatown, the Police, and the Press: The 1903 Boston Chinatown Raid Revisited," *Amerasia Journal* 22, 3 (1996): 83, 85-86, 92-93, 99 n. 5, n. 20; Allan Rogers, "Chinese and the Campaign to Abolish Capital Punishment in Massachusetts, 1870-1914," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18, 2 (Winter 1999): 39, 43; Li and Kiang, "1903 Immigration Raid," 7.

[92] "Three Killed when Chinese Tongs Battle in City Street," Boston Herald, August 3, 1907, 1, 2; Rogers, "Chinese and the Campaign," 45-49, 52, 71 n. 74; "Feud Victims Go to Graves Today," *Boston Herald*, August 11, 1907, 14; "Story of the Tong War Shooting in Chinatown is Told by Witnesses," *Boston Journal*, January 23, 1908, 3; "Celestials Who Pay Penalty by Death in Electric Chair for the 'Shooting Up' of Boston's Chinatown," *Boston Journal*, October 12, 1909, 1. Wong Lee Ching's death record shows him as Wong Shee Chung, age 54, a resident of 7 Oxford Place, and cause of death as "gunshot wound of heart." Chin Lete, shown as Chin Let on his death record, lived at 1112 Washington Street and was 32 years old; the gun shot penetrated his heart and lungs. Chin Mon Quin was 45 and lived at 36 Yarmouth Street; he died of a gunshot wound to the heart, and his body was returned to Hong Kong; the other two men were buried at Mount Hope Cemetery.

[93] H. F. Manchester, "What is 'Tong' War All About? Soo Hoo Wing Tells Us," *Boston Herald*, December 14, 1924, 39.

Three Oxford Place, demolished when the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company built 8-24 Harrison Avenue (1964, BOS.1773), had housed Chinese-goods firm Fook Yuen and Company in 1899, provision dealer Singe Lee and his two partners in 1900, Doc Wah Chung Company and the three Chinese men who ran it in 1917, and the Tai Lee (sometimes shown as Tai Kee) Noodle Company and the family of its manager from about 1930 through at least 1947. Four Oxford Place (BOS.1925), one of the foci of an 1895 police gambling raid and of the 1907 tong war shootings, was occupied "by Chinese" in 1899, by a "laundry agent" and six Chinese lodgers in 1900, by the grocer Moy C. Wing and possibly the laundry of Moy Done Lok in 1917 (though he may only have lived at this address), by Y. Y. Hin restaurant in 1926, and probably strictly by Chinese residential tenants after that point (Photo 5). Five Oxford Place (BOS.1925) had housed Chinese-goods dealer Chin Go, out of business by 1899, employment agent Ton Yee and two lodgers in 1900, San Francisco-born laundryman Yee Sing Hin in 1908, and restaurateur and court interpreter Moy T. Dow and tailor Moy Ni Sing in 1917 (Photo 5). By 1940 retail grocery buyer Fet Lee, his wife, two of their sons, and their grandson Tunney Lee (Tun Fee Lee) were at 5 Oxford Place; the family grocery was at 54 Beach Street (BOS.1532). Eleven Oxford Place (BOS.1925), the site of "the best fitted gambling den" in Chinatown in 1915, had housed Chinese-goods firm Quong Chong Tai in 1899, employment agent Sing Chin in 1900, restaurant proprietor Moy Li Ding in 1916 (who owned the building), and Lung Wing Grocery from at least 1937 to 1947; living there from at least 1933 to 1944 was Mrs. W. S. Moy (Photo 5). Thus, even as the 1947 and earlier directories listed a "Chinese family" at most Oxford Place addresses, these units had housed businesses as well at various points in their history.

HARRISON AVENUE ABOVE BEACH STREET – PEOPLE & PLACES

By contrast, the larger, mixed-use buildings on Harrison Avenue were adapted for ground-level retail space, if not built that way originally, with housing on the upper floors, or, as in the case of garment buildings, designed with ground-level retail space and upper-floor garment lofts. In both cases occupancy by Chinese businesses was common. At 19-25 Harrison Avenue (BOS.2268), for example, restaurants occupied the ground floor and perhaps also the second floor in 1905, while the rest of the building was a lodging house (Photo 4, Fig.10). In 1911 Clarence Blackall converted the rear of this massive building into the Hotel Maxim, which existed only briefly; by March 1917, the owners of Joy Yong Chinese and American Restaurant advertised its opening in the space "formerly Maxims." Joy Yong billed itself as "The Real Place / Best in America / Cuisine Perfect / Prices Reasonable," was open from noon until midnight, and offered "souvenirs for all" who attended its opening. The historic photo shows a two-story commercial façade designed in a Chinese mode with a tiled pent roof running above the second story, multipaned fenestration, and window boxes. A tall sign above it and out of view in the photograph indicates the role bold, illuminated signage had in the image of a Chinese restaurant (Fig.10).

Joy Yong Restaurant remained open at this address through at least 1957; by January 1959, South Seas Restaurant, serving Chinese and Polynesian food, opened in the space. Above the restaurant, twenty Chinese men—two of them restaurant proprietors, three of them restaurant cooks, two of them waiters—had lived in 1900, before the building became Hotel Maxim; in 1910 restaurant manager Lew Han Son (usually shown by now as Lew Hanson) had lived above the restaurant space, and he lived there afterward, while he managed the Royal and Joy Yong, through at least 1940. In 1930 eleven people are shown at 19 Harrison—grocery manager Moy I. Ding, his two sons, both restaurant waiters, and eight lodgers—while another twelve, including Hanson and a 21-year-old son, born in China, were listed at 21 Harrison Avenue above Joy Yong. Hanson's lodgers paid from two to five dollars a week for their living space, and they included the restaurant's treasurer, three cooks, and two waiters. By 1935 Konleon Liu was the assistant manager of Joy Yong, and he lived at 19 Harrison through at least 1947; he is probably the King Hon Lew shown among the 21 persons shown at this address in the 1940 census. Hanson too was among them but is by then listed as a physician. The lodgers, who paid five to eight dollars in rent, included eight restaurant workers, from a floor washer to managers, and the family of the widowed Phyllis Moy—a son, a Chinese-born daughter-in-law, and four grandchildren all born in Massachusetts. Konleon Liu moved to Keswick Street by 1948 and continued to manage Joy Yong until at least 1947 and probably until it closed; he was living in Allston when he died in January 1973.

Balconies recessed into the second or third story of buildings are visible indicators of a formal Chinese function, either a restaurant or an association headquarters. The 1917 view of Harrison Avenue also shows that two of the buildings constructed on the east side of the street after it was widened in 1893 (nos. 28-32 and 36-38) had been altered with the addition of second-story balconies (Fig.10). Both these addresses had a history of restaurant and association use both before and after the widening. To enhance the experience, restaurant owners created extravagant Chinese façades and interiors and glittery signage. These architectural features are evidence of the Chinese taking firmer and more permanent physical and economic control of their surroundings.

BEACH STREET – PEOPLE & PLACES

Beach Street, the path of the elevated railway until 1941 and a direct route to South Station, was equally commercial, but on it some rowhouses managed to survive amid the garment-industry construction that claimed its intersection with Harrison Avenue. By 1926 48-50 Beach Street (BOS.1531), which housed one of Chinatown's earliest-known laundries in the 1870s, was home to importers Sum Hong Lung Company, Eastern Live Poultry Company, and the club rooms of the Lee Family Association (Photo 2). By 1938 Sun Foo Lee and others had acquired 50 Beach Street, which continued to be occupied by the Lee Family Association and Sun Chong Ling and Company (presumably the same business shown in the 1926 Chinese business directory as Sum Hong Lung), as well as by an unnamed "Chinese Social Club." The import firm and the Lee Association remained at this address through at least 1952. Next door, the three houses comprising 52-56 Beach Street (BOS.1532), built for John Templeton in 1841 and owned but not apparently occupied by him into the

1870s, were partly vacant and partly occupied by non-Chinese lodgers, a Chinese laundry, and a junk shop in 1880. They housed 25 people, all but six of them listed as lodgers and none of them of Chinese descent, in 1900 (Photo 2). A restaurant run by Maine native Arthur Cann was then doing business at 54 Beach; Cann lived there in 1900 but had moved to Roxbury by 1905. By 1910 three laundrymen, a grocery store salesman, and three Chinese merchants (one of them, Soo Hoo Kee, with his wife, having married Quincy native Grace Howard the year before and also listed as living in Revere with a domestic servant) were living at 52 Beach Street. By 1920 the grocery firm Quong Sung Wah (Kwong Sun Wo in the 1926 Chinese business directory) occupied the ground floor of 54 Beach Street, where it remained into the 1960s, and 56 Beach was the longtime home of Chinese-goods store Quong Wah Lung. In 1940 one Chinese family—Helen Wong and her four children, who had lived in New York in 1935—and eleven unattached men were living on the upper floors of 52-56 Beach Street. The row was also occupied by Chinese institutions—the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association had its headquarters in the mid 1920s, the Moy Family Association from 1935 to 1979, and the New England Chinese Women's Association in 1940. By 1938 Chinese merchants owned all of the buildings in this row and the front façades had been rebuilt, possibly because of failing footings, two of them with a fourth story added. Local tradition states that the yellow brick was used in an effort to recast the pre-existing rowhouses in the appearance of houses back in China.

The four brick units in the row at 61-65 Beach Street (1843, BOS.1536) were owned by Wong H. Sang and others by 1938, and they have a similar history of occupancy. Initially built by housewright William Swift along with a corner business address at 67 Beach Street and a two-story brick building at 3 Hudson Street (c. 1843, BOS.1803), developer Michael Rougham recast the six buildings as a "tenement district," according to Krim. Rougham tore down the corner building for a new five-story brick tenement at 67 Beach Street (1887, BOS.1538) with ground-floor retail space, added a fourth story to the 61-65 Beach row and rebuilt the façades in 1916. He also added a third story to 3 Hudson Street and faced it in stucco in the same year. By 1917,61-65 Beach Street was the only block with Chinese occupants on the south side of Beach Street. At 61 Beach was the laundry-supply company Charles E. Holske, founded by the second-generation German wholesale grocer of that name but run by Moy Shee (or J.) Orne. It was one of twelve laundry-supply companies in Boston and one of four in Chinatown, the other three being David J. Brown at 75 Harrison Avenue, Hap Yick Lun Company at 5 Oxford Street, and On Hing Company at 30 Oxford Street.

Born in Canton, China, about 1865, Orne emigrated about 1895, and he was shown with an unstated business at 14 Oxford Street (later the home of the printing company Hop Yuen/Shanghai, not extant) and living at 33 Harrison Avenue (not extant) in 1905. By 1916 he was living and working at 61 Beach Street (possibly living at 61A Beach). He had married Ung Shee, probably in China, by 1897; she emigrated in 1909 with the couple's two eldest children, Edward and Pearl. Orne was head of the Chinese Empire Reform Association in Boston in 1911. He died in 1917, and the 1920 census shows his widow at 61 Beach with her six children—Edward, shown as a supply-store proprietor and probably running the Holske business; Pearl, a hospital nurse; George, Alice, Arthur, and Henry. In 1924, the four youngest children were

all sent to China to study, but by 1930, they had all returned and moved to Cambridge. Both George Moy Orne and Arthur Moy Orne graduated from MIT in the early 1930s, George in electrical engineering and Arthur in mining engineering.[94]

Two other units at 61 Beach in 1920 housed families as well—that of grocer Hu Keon, his wife, and their son Benjamin, born in Massachusetts in 1914; and restaurant-supply merchant Moy Ni Wing, his Chinese-born wife, and their four children Sam, Mabel, Bessie, and Frank, all born in Massachusetts between 1904 and 1916. Despite the fact that the 1920 census shows the family at 61 Beach Street, the *Herald* stated in the same year that his business was at that address while he lived at 4 Tyler Street. The newspaper then identified Moy Ni Wing as "one of the most prominent Chinese merchants in the country," and stated that his funeral was held in the street because he was a large man, and his coffin was too big to be carried into the Tyler Street apartment.[95] Grocery-store proprietor Ow Tong lived with his wife and two children at 63 Beach in 1920, along with a Chinese-born waiter and his wife and four Chinese men in a third unit. Seven Chinese men and one Chinese woman lived in the three units at 65 Beach Street at that time. By 1938 Wong H. Sang and others had acquired 61-67 Beach Street, possibly for the Chinese Merchants Association, which owned them into the 1970s. The association had once owned twenty buildings in and around Chinatown and rented space in them to poorer families, but by 1979 it owned only 61-67 Beach and 1 Hudson Street, which provided 24 housing units of two to three rooms each, at $250 a month.[96] The 63A Beach Street address was identified as a "Chinese dormitory" in the 1947 directory, Asian-goods merchant Sing Tai Company occupied part of 61 Beach, and 63 Beach was listed as a "clubroom." In the late 1940s and early 1950s, Gee's Family Association was at 61A Beach Street.

HARRISON AVENUE BELOW BEACH STREET – PEOPLE & PLACES

Like 48-50 and 52-56 Beach Street, the rowhouses at 75-83 Harrison Avenue (1822-26, BOS.2271-74) had been built as single-family dwellings at an earlier point in the development of the South Cove (Photo 1). The block was built for the Front Street Associates in two stages, the earliest being 77 and 79 Harrison Avenue. Krim has noted that 79 Harrison, built for James Spear, is "only surviving period building to date to the Front Street wharfage lots facing South Cove." By 1845 the family of historian, publisher, and statesman Lemuel Shattuck (1793-1859) occupied the house and remained there, often with one or several domestic servants, until Shattuck's wife Clarissa died in 1871. By 1885, Henry and Michael Carney operated Carney and Company liquor store at 79 Harrison Avenue, and by 1905 an Italian-run barbershop and a Greek-run tailor shop operated at this address. In 1917 Charles K. Shue ran Chinese-goods store Quong, Shue, Lung Company as well as a restaurant at 79 Harrison Avenue (though only grocer K. C. Tang Company is listed there in the 1918 *Boston Register and Business Directory*), and four Chinese clerks lived at 79A Harrison. Shue, born in Seattle in 1873, was living in Boston by 1894, when he was listed among the probationary members of Bromfield Street Methodist

[94] T. S. Tse, "The Chinese in New England," in *1931 The Chinese Directory of New England* (Boston: Hop Yuen Co, 14 Oxford Street, 1931), 38-39.
[95] "Will Hold Chinese Funeral in Street," *Boston Herald*, March 28, 1920, 11. Moy Ni Wing and Yee Wah owned 11 Oxford Place in 1917, and tax records for that year show him as one of three trustees of Sun Yuen Hank and Company, which owned 6 Tyler Street.
[96] Liu, "Boston Chinatown," 152.

Church. He lived then and in 1910 at 18 Harrison Avenue (not extant). In 1909 Governor Ebenezer Draper appointed Shue a justice of the peace; he was believed to be the only Chinese person serving in that capacity in the country. In 1912, Shue ran for state representative, pledging to "work for wage earners," improve conditions at the Quincy School, and "better living conditions for the people of many nationalities" in his district.. Despite the fact that he offered to donate his salary to charity if he were elected, Shue lost the race by a narrow margin. In 1919 he bought Elm Hill Stock Farm in Wakefield, which he ran in conjunction with the unnamed 79 Harrison Avenue restaurant; by 1921 he managed Pekin Restaurant at 684 Washington Street and lived with his family at 19 Harrison Avenue. Shue died in 1926, and his widow lived at 19 Harrison Avenue until about 1932, when she moved to the South End.[97] By 1926 Kwong Ching Tang Company is shown as an import firm doing business at 79 Harrison Street, while the upper floors were occupied in 1920 and 1940 by Chinese restaurant workers, laundrymen, and grocers. By 1949 Dr. Ensang W. Chen had his medical offices at 79 Harrison Avenue.

Buildings on both sides of 79 Harrison Avenue also had lengthy associations with Chinese businesses and residences. The house at 77 Harrison Avenue was remodeled in 1918-19 by Kung Wo Company into a four-story garment loft; it was then one of fewer than a dozen Chinatown buildings owned by Chinese people.[98] In 1938 Wah Fuke Chin and others owned the building and leased its space to Ringer Dress Company and Trimount Lunch. Wah Fuke Chin managed Hon Hong Low Restaurant on Tyler Street and lived at 77 Harrison Avenue in 1940 with his Chinese-born wife Chew Shee and their children Katherine, Frank, Hazel, Jenny, Edward, Helen, and Anna, all born in Massachusetts between 1920 and 1932. Chin let another unit in the building to Hing Chung Chin, who managed an import/export business—probably Sun Lee Chong, shown at 77 Harrison as an import firm in 1947 and 1949—and three lodgers. In 1960 Gee How Oak Tin Association acquired 77 Harrison Avenue for its headquarters. On the other side of 79 Harrison, 81-83 Harrison Avenue was rebuilt in 1874-75 with a bay window and fourth story, and by 1917 it served as a store of Chinese-goods merchant C. C. Wing Company and as housing for the company's partners. In 1920 and 1930 Wah Fuke Chin and his family lived at 81 Harrison Avenue. They shared 81 Harrison Avenue in 1920 with the family of retail grocer Tant Gong Chin, who lived in a second unit with his wife Lu Shee and daughter Hong Sing (Rose in later censuses), who was born in China in 1912. By 1940 T. Gong Chin was a laundryman and lived at this address with his wife and children Rose, Stanley, Doris, and Beatrice. The family remained at 81 Harrison until at least 1947.

[97] Shue and his wife Nettie Lee Shue had three children—Russell Bates in 1900, Albert Page in 1901, and Elizabeth in 1910. Named in part for John Lewis Bates, the son of Bromfield Street Methodist Church minister Lewis Benton Bates and later a governor of Massachusetts, Russell Bates Shue graduated from Boston University and served as "the American attorney" in the court at Shanghai in the late 1920s; son Albert graduated from MIT and worked in his father's business. Shue's funeral took place at Copley Street Methodist Church, and he is buried at Mount Hope Cemetery. In 1910 his family was profiled in Sui Sin Far, "Sunny side of Boston's Chinatown," *Boston Globe*, April 3, 1910, SM4. His obituary states that Shue "is credited with having organized the Chinese-American restaurants in this country, and had restaurants in Chicago and Providence. He was connected with five or six restaurants here and at one time was manager of the foreign department of the Cosmopolitan Trust Company." See "Dead Chinese Merchant to Have Church Funeral," *Boston Herald*, December 25, 1926, 5.

[98] The 1917 Bromley atlas attaches Chinese names to 36-38 Harrison Avenue, 6 and 11 Oxford Place, 11 Oxford Street, and 6 and 14 Tyler Street.

TYLER STREET – FAMILY ASSOCIATION BUILDINGS

By the 1920s, Tyler Street between Beach and Kneeland streets epitomized the multiple uses to which former rowhouses were put in Chinatown (Photo 9). Before 1910, few Chinese businesses, residents, or associations occupied the street, which was largely populated by first- and second-generation Irish, Greek, Italian, and Canadian people. The family of Irish-born merchant Alexander Christian occupied the original rowhouse at 10 Tyler Street (BOS.2090) from at least 1865 until the mid 1910s. Christian, his wife Rebecca, and their two sons Samuel and Albert had had the income of boarders or lodgers since at least 1860, when they lived at 11 Oliver Place (Ping On Street), and after Christian's death from consumption in 1868, Rebecca Christian kept lodgers at 10 Tyler, seventeen in 1870 and thirteen in 1880. She and her son Albert owned a cottage in Winthrop and are shown there in the 1900 census, but she was listed as living at 10 Tyler when she died in June 1901. Albert Christian was at this address when he married in 1908, and he owned the building until at least 1917, when tax records show him living there with the families of a detective and a clerk. By 1920 Christian, his wife, an aunt, and two other lodgers had moved to Winthrop, and the building was occupied by Gun Yee, a grocer who emigrated from China in 1887, and his four partners. William Chang bought the building in 1922, which then housed the import-export firm Chey Chung Wing Company and the Goon Tong Society. Four years later, import firm C. C. Wing and Company and Chinese grocer Wing Kee were addressed at 10 and 10A Tyler Street. In 1928 the Goon Tong Society razed the old rowhouse and built the building known as the Goon Shee-Lee Association Building on the site, said to be the first in Chinatown to be designed in Chinese Revival style (Photo 10). The 1930 Chinese directory shows the Goon Shee-Lee Association and Wo Hing Company at 10 Tyler Street, and the 1940 census shows the family of merchant Ben Mun Goon at this address. The building was owned by Moy G. Shee in 1938, and by 1947 the Goon Shee-Lee Association rented space to Mun On Lung Company, a Chinese-goods dealer. The Goon Family Association sold the building to the Lee Family Association ca. 1960; the name reflects the building's origin and present owners.

Restaurant façades on Harrison Avenue, and probably Beach Street, had been decorated with fronts, recessed second-story porches, and tiled pent roofs, before the Goon Shee-Lee Association building was erected, but those designs did not incorporate the entire building as in the 10 Tyler Street building. Arthur Krim described the architectural features in 1997 as follows:

> The cast stone and stucco façade follows traditional Chinese motifs developed in San Francisco Chinatown with a second-story celestial balcony capped by a curved tile roof and an upper recessed loggia with Foo-Dog pole brackets and projecting tile cornice. The third story façade is centered by a scalloped window in Neo-Spanish Style, perhaps adopted by architect Doane from his experience in the Philippines before the First World War. The upper story side-façades are marked by deep recessed arches that project [from] the building above the skyline of Tyler Street. Original photographs of ca. 1929

(S.P.N.E.A.) show the Goon She Building [sic] with cast iron grillwork on the windows and a recessed plate glass store front on the ground floor, now remodeled.[99]

Krim acknowledged the obvious, that the Goon Shee-Lee Association Building is the most elaborate example of traditional Chinese urban architecture in Boston. His reference to San Francisco Chinatown architecture comes from the Ph.D. dissertation of Christopher Yip, a Berkeley architectural historian.[100] In a later article, Yip explained the development of "commercial blocks," or association buildings as they are termed here, in North American Chinatowns. Although he focused on Chinatowns in the Northwest, his descriptions resonate strongly with the Boston experience:

> In their earliest stage of development, Chinese associations sought any space that was available and affordable, and some ended up being housed in residential hotels, basements and loft spaces. The associations of greater wealth and power sought locations that expressed their prominence in the community. An association rarely occupied ground-floor street frontages, since such spaces were commonly reserved for wholesale or retail business that needed sidewalk exposure and access.
>
> Each multistoried commercial block tended to become a cross-section of the Chinese community in microcosm, with businesses, residential space, and associations under one roof. The commercial street frontages commonly had a large expanse of glass to light the interior that, secondarily, created a visual connection between the shop and the street. In the early years these frontages often opened directly to the street in the manner of the Asian shop house; later shop fronts were built in the style of the typical North American glass front with a recessed entry placed symmetrically in the façade.
>
> A residential hotel occupied the middle floors of multistoried buildings. Buildings with more area per floor often had rather regular floor plans, while small buildings squeezed in as many rooms as they could. This sometimes resulted in contorted floor plans with irregularly placed light wells for interior rooms. Any remaining space in an association's commercial block was occupied by some combination of warehouses, small factories, temples and other associations. A gambling establishment might be found in a back room or the basement, and a prostitute's crib might be linked to the passageways of the residential hotel section of the building.[101]

There were a number of impediments to presenting a Chinese image in association buildings, the biggest being the complications of land ownership. Even if there was an opportunity to acquire property, many Chinese were reluctant to do

[99] MHC Building Form BOS.2090.
[100] Christopher L. Yip, *San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1985). Yip has written further on Chinese association buildings in "Association, Residence and Shop: An Appropriation of Commercial Blocks in North American Chinatowns" in *Gender, Class, and Shelter*, edited by Elizabeth Collins Cromley and Carter L. Hudgins. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995.
[101] Christopher L. Yip, "Association, Residence and Shop: An Appropriation of Commercial Blocks in North American Chinatowns" in *Gender, Class, and Shelter*, Elizabeth Collins Cromley and Carter L. Hudgins, eds. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 112-113.

so for reasons of their sojourner status or the instability of non-citizenship. And in most cases, landlords were not predisposed to Chinese tenants making significant alterations to their buildings, especially in a Chinese vein. Traditional Chinese public buildings were low in scale and modeled on a courtyard plan, which was not directly adaptable to the narrow, vertical organization of a North American urban building. The hierarchy of spaces in China was related to the courtyard and ritual movements along a horizontal axis. Furthermore, the traditional symbols of prestige and authority common to Chinese buildings were not easily transferrable to the urban tenement house. Associations struggled to find a way to express continuity with their Chinese cultural and architectural heritage in an alien environment. In San Francisco, a design evolved that incorporated loggias above the ground-floor storefront symbolic of Chinese identity, yet ironically, derived from British and Portuguese colonial architecture in Hong Kong and Macao. Façades were designed to translate the traditional hierarchy of plan to the vertical organization of space: street-level commercial, mid-level residences, and uppermost association rooms. Decoration was then applied to the exterior that visually expressed the interior hierarchy and incorporated elements that reflected traditional Chinese design: tiled pents with curving eaves, coffers, railings, marble architraves, calligraphy, and red, green and gold colors.[102]

The Goon Shee-Lee Association Building at 10 Tyler Street epitomized the North American Chinese Association style and represented the prestige of the organization in Boston's Chinatown. Evidently, there was enough familiarity with the design and communication among Chinatowns for this iconic building to be built in Boston. Yip did not consider the roles of architects in the buildings he studied, but in the Boston instance, one is clearly identified in building-permit records. Ralph Harrington Doane (1886-1941) was a well-positioned Boston architect who spent two years in the Philippines after studying architecture at MIT. He was appointed Consulting Architect for the Philippine Insular Government in 1916, and for the next two years, supervised the construction of the Capitol in Manila, which he designed along with other buildings on the islands, all, it seems, in a Classical colonial government mode. He may have become familiar with indigenous Asian architecture, but his published corpus shows no indication of his having worked with it, as suggested by Krim. How Doane connected with his Boston Chinatown clients is not known, nor whether he had other commissions in Chinatown. His obituary cites his reputation for school design, and in 1927 he was awarded the Parker Gold Medal by the Boston Society of Architects for his design of the Motor Mart Garage in Park Square. [103]

Other association buildings stood on both sides of 10 Tyler Street (Photos 9 & 10). In 1909 the Boston Lodge of Chinese Free Masons (Chee Kong Tong) moved from Harrison Avenue to what had been the Episcopal Mission building at 6 Tyler Street, part of a three-unit row built in 1840 at 4-8 Tyler Street (BOS.2088-89). The *Boston Globe* reported in September of that year that the building was "a Chinese temple . . . [the] only structure of its kind in the United States, outside of San Francisco, to be erected for the Chee Kong Tong. . . . It is the intention to make the new temple the mecca

[102] Yip, "Association, Residence and Shop," 114-115.
[103] Henry F. Withey and Elsie Rathburn Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)* (1956; rpt. LA: Hennessey & Ingalls, Inc., 1960) 176.

of all Chinese societies in this part of the country."[104] The building was not only the first Chinese-owned property in Tyler Street, but is claimed to be the first such in the city. By 1910 the building was also a residence for thirteen Chinese men, including Fue Wong, the Masonic temple's janitor, numerous Chinese goods merchants, six Chinese grocers, and three laundrymen. In 1920 nine Chinese men shared the Free Masons' upper-floor space.[105]

In December 1912, the Wah Chong Lung "family club" bought 14 Tyler Street (1843-44, BOS.2091), part of a nine-unit brick rowhouse block built by Boston housewright Asa Stearns and for decades the site of the Nickerson Home for Children (Photo 10). Founded in 1835 and incorporated in 1850 by the Ladies' American Home-Education Society and Temperance Union, it became known as Nickerson Home for Children in 1880 and provided a home "for destitute children, especially half orphans, when their homes are suddenly broken up by death, where they can enjoy all the comforts of a well-regulated family, and be instructed, not only physically, but intellectually and religiously." By 1892 it cared for 44 children, and in 1912 the Nickerson Home moved to Townsend Street in Roxbury.[106] Wah Chong Lung's acquisition of 14 Tyler Street, the *Boston Journal* announced, formed "a new boundary line for Chinatown" and represented part of the movement of Chinese residents "retreating before the onrush of business houses along Harrison avenue." Wong Gee, the newspaper noted, had recently come from the West Coast to organize Wah Chong Lung. "The building has a frontage on Tyler street and is about 70 feet deep. Extensive repairs will be made and the furnishing will be elaborate," the *Journal* reported.[107] By 1917 a partnership of six men ran Wah Chong Lung grocery on the ground level and rented lodging for six Chinese laundry workers above. The business is shown as an importing firm in the 1926 Chinese directory, and by 1940 only three Chinese men were living on the upper floors. The building was listed as vacant in the 1947 city directory.

Another institution established its presence on Tyler Street in 1919, when On Leong Tong (On Leong Goon Shan Weh, or the Chinese Merchants Association) bought the Jonathan Edwards rowhouse at the southeast corner of Beach and Tyler streets. The building was constructed in 1840 and rebuilt as a four-story apartment block between 1879 and 1882 (Photo 9). By 1917, tax records indicate that four Chinese men—one laundry worker, one clerk, and two salespeople—occupied the building, acquired two years later by the merchants' association. By 1920, 2 Tyler Street (1840/1879/1919, BOS.1533) was remodeled in Chinese style for the merchants' group, and the only other occupant of this part of the building was the janitor of Kwong Kow School, which CMA founded in 1919 or 1920 to provide instruction in Chinese language, history, and culture in the afternoons or early evenings after public-school sessions were over. The 1926 Chinese directory lists the On Leong Tong Merchants Association and the "Chinese Universal School" at this address. When the association built its

[104] *Globe* quoted in Wing-kai To, "A Centennial Reflection of 1911: Boston's Chinatown in the Age of Reform and Revolution," CHSNE Newsletter 17, 1 (Fall 2011): 5-6.
[105] Lai Ying Yu and Reggie Wong, "Chee Kong Tong: Chinese Freemasons: Recipient of the 2005 CHSNE Sojourner Award," *CHSNE Newsletter* 11, 1 (Fall 2005): 18-20.
[106] *Annals of the Nickerson Home for Children, No. 14 Tyler Street, for the Year Ending October, 1893* (Boston: Daniel Gunn and Co., 1893), https://archive.org/stream/annals00nick#page/n5/mode/2up.
[107] "New Boundary Line for Chinatown," *Boston Journal*, December 27, 1912, 5.

new headquarters at 20 Hudson Street in 1950, in a significant Modernist interpretation of the Chinese style, the building it vacated was occupied by the Chinese Women's Association, and in 1951 Kew Sing Music Company, which was founded in 1939 and earlier rented space at 56 Harvard Street, acquired 2 Tyler Street.[108] In 1917 Chin D. Chew acquired 27 Tyler Street (1840, BOS.2095), which housed Chin Wing Chuen Tong Family Association from about 1926 through at least 1947 (Photo 11).

TYLER STREET - RESTAURANTS

Of these institutions, the CMA and Goon Shee-Lee and Chin Wing Chuen Associations had altered their façades in Chinese style by 1921, thus establishing a firm visual presence on Tyler Street that restaurants would thereafter supplement and strengthen (Photos 10-13). Apparently the first Chinese restaurant on Tyler Street was Joy Hong Low at 8 Tyler Street (1840-44, BOS.2089), sandwiched between the Chinese Free Masons building at 6 Tyler and the Goon-Shee Association building at 10 Tyler (Photo 9). In 1920, according to Krim's research, Chew Park bought the building for a restaurant, and Joy Hong Low was definitely open by the time the 1921 city directory was published. In 1933 the building's owners remodeled the façade in Art Deco style. The restaurant remained in business at this address for more than four decades. It was the only Chinese restaurant on Tyler Street in 1921, one of the twelve shown in and bordering Chinatown, and one of 22 in Boston.[109] The second restaurant on Tyler was King Wah Low at 16 Tyler Street, within the nine-unit row of brick houses built by Boston housewright Asa Streams and numbered 12-22 Tyler Street (1843-44, BOS.2091). Chin Suey bought the 14 Tyler building in 1922, and advertisements in the *Boston Herald* indicate that King Wah Low opened at this address by August 1923. It remained in operation there until 1947 or 1949, when Lichee Village took its spot. The first restaurant on the west side of the street may have been Ngar Hong Guey at 17 Tyler Street (not extant), which opened by 1926 and was still operating in 1933, when it and four other Chinatown restaurants advertised in the *Handbook of Chinese Students in U.S.A.*[110] At 25 Tyler Street (1840, BOS.2095), Hon Hong Low was in business by 1926—and shared space with Chan's Family Association through at least 1949—while next door at 23 Tyler Street (1840, BOS.2094), Gain On Low had opened by 1930 (Photo 11). One of the first restaurants on Tyler Street was Hong Loy Doo, which occupied a portion of the Tyler Street side of the Gaston Building, a large six-story garment-loft block stretching from 74 Harrison Avenue (1910, BOS.1779) to Tyler Street just south of Beach Street. A second-story Chinese balcony distinguished the façade. The only other restaurant known to have opened on this first block of Tyler Street

[108] "Kew Sing Music Company," *CHSNE Newsletter* 4, 1 (Summer 1998): 3-5.
[109] The 1921 directory shows these restaurants in Chinatown and on corresponding Washington Street blocks—Grand Garden on the second floor of 660 Washington; Asia American Chinese Restaurant, 699 Washington; Hong Far Low, 36 ½ Harrison Avenue; Joy Hong Low, 8 Tyler Street; Joy Yong, 19 Harrison Avenue; King Ying Low, 34 Oxford Street; Loy Chin, 82½ Harrison Avenue; Nanken Low, 84 Harrison Avenue; Pekin Restaurant, 684 Washington Street; Red Dragon, 9½ Harrison Avenue; Royal Restaurant, 16 Harrison Avenue; and Siwoo, 24 Harrison Avenue. Krim, "Final Survey Report," states that Wah Han restaurant was at 12 Tyler, Wah Chong Lung at 14 Tyler, and Kong Wo Chung at 18 Tyler by 1923-1927, but they appear to have been short-lived.
[110] Red Rooster at 11 Hudson Street, Joy Yong, Hon Hong Low at 25 Tyler, and Joy Hong Low all took out quarter-page advertisements in this handbook, which listed and quantified Chinese students at U.S. and Canadian colleges and universities. Of 1,305 Chinese students listed at U.S. institutions, 76 were in eastern Massachusetts schools—37 at Harvard, 24 at MIT, 7 at Boston University, 3 at the New England Conservatory of Music, 2 at Wellesley, and 1 each at Northeastern, Tufts, and Wheaton. *Handbook of Chinese Students in U.S.A.1933* (New York: The Chinese Students Handbook Co., 1933), https://archive.org/details/ldpd_11359670_005.

before World War II was the Good Earth, at 7 Tyler Street (1940, BOS.2092), also in the Gaston Building but with an Art Deco façade claimed to be the first building in Chinatown designed specifically for restaurant use (Photo 12, Fig.11). The creation of Art Deco façades indicates the impact "tourists" were having on the Chinatown restaurant economy.

Except for the Good Earth, which was incorporated into the rear of a garment-loft building fronting on Harrison Avenue, all of the Tyler Street restaurants occupied pre-existing rowhouses and shared space with renters, family associations, and other businesses. By 1930 the restaurant proprietor Pah Chu (possibly the Chew Park whom Krim noted as having bought the building in 1920) lived above Joy Hong Low at 8 Tyler Street with his four partners, all of them restaurant cooks; at 8½ Tyler were three small units, one occupied by laundry proprietor Harry Wong and his business partner; one by grocer Lee Yong and his partner Wee Wong, listed as a restaurant proprietor; and the third by waiter Lim Eng and partner Kim Kit, a restaurant dishwasher. In 1920 seven Chinese men, five of them restaurant cooks and waiters and the other two laundrymen, lived in two units at 16 Tyler Street, above King Wah Low; in 1940 16 Tyler is overlooked in the census. By 1940, restaurant chef Ham Chin and four lodgers, all doing restaurant work, lived at 23 Tyler Street.

CHINESE RESTAURANTS & FOOD PURVEYORS

By 1931, in a short essay on New England's Chinese population in the *Chinese Directory of New England*, T. S. Tse stated that restaurants "in great numbers" existed in Chinatown, which he defined as covering "a few blocks along Beach, Tyler, Oxford, and Hudson streets, and a part of Harrison Avenue." Tse noted that they "cater to many American customers fond of Chinese or pseudo-Chinese food," but in Chinatown, he asserted, they were not yet night spots. "In the more fashionable centers of the city," Tse wrote, "there is a type of Chinese dining-houses that are 'different,' being as they are a combination of restaurants and amusement place. Serving specially as rendezvous for night crowds and after-theatre parties, they are usually running full tilt."[111] The 1925-26 Chinese directory lists 37 Chinese restaurants, at least eleven of them outside Chinatown (three on Huntington Avenue, two on Court Street downtown, one on Atlantic Avenue near the waterfront, one on Massachusetts Avenue, and one on Hanover Street in the North End), while the 1931 Chinese directory lists 34 Chinese restaurants in Boston, sixteen of them outside Chinatown. By that time, four Chinese restaurants each operated on Huntington Avenue, Tremont Street, and Massachusetts Avenue, while others were on Dover and Stuart streets in the nearby South End and one, Lun Ting, was in Scollay Square. In 1925-1926 Chinatown had 26 restaurants, six grocery stores, 21 laundries, 44 importers, 21 "merchants," fourteen clubs and societies, one barber, a commission merchant, a dry-goods dealer, a dealer in Chinese herbs, and two noodle manufacturers, some if not all of whom also made wonton and egg-roll wrappers; none of the pre-World War II noodle manufacturing buildings appear to have survived.[112] Hop Yuen Noodle Company was in business by 1924 at 195 Harrison Avenue (not extant), and by that time Mrs. Chin Lok started Lok Kee, which used the basement space to grow mung and soybean sprouts for the restaurants,

[111] "Chinese in New England."
[112] *Chinese Commercial Directory of United States Eastern Section 1925-26* 1, 3 (New York: Chinese General Information Bureau, 1926), CHSNE.

two doors south at 199 Harrison Avenue (also not extant); the bean-sprout company May Products Company shared that building with Gee How Oak Tin Association, import/export firm Wah Heng Company, and George S. N. Chin in 1947. The 1935 Boston house directory lists nineteen Chinese restaurants, five noodle companies (three on Hudson Street, Tai Kee at 3 Oxford Place, and Perfection Noodle at 78 Harrison Avenue), four bean-sprout growers all on Hudson Street, and seventeen Chinese grocers. By 1941, according to one survey, five Chinatown shops made noodles, and five used a "low-ceilinged, damp cellar" to make bean sprouts.[113]

DEVELOPMENT OF A CHINATOWN COMMERCIAL STREETSCAPE

The proliferation of restaurants and their growing reliance on customers, both Chinese and American, residing outside of Chinatown resulted in the development of eye-catching façades and creative signage. By one account, this practice began on Tyler Street to attract attention around the obstacle of the elevated railway; many of the earliest projecting signs incorporated address numerals for clientele not literate in Chinese.[114] Initially, restaurants occupied commercial spaces created in pre-existing rowhouses, either on first floors elevated on granite stoops above street level or in basements a half-story below. Façades were altered with the addition of large shop windows to replace the original residential pair. Signs in Chinatown's earliest period were applied flat to the walls, either horizontally between stories or vertically between windows. They were descriptive and were painted with Chinese characters. Of course, the need to use steep stairs was inconvenient for businesses and unconventional, and when new buildings were constructed in place of the rowhouses, they were designed with storefronts at street level. These new buildings with storefronts included the garment lofts, as well as tenements and association buildings. It is possible that some of the impetus to rebuild façades on Beach Street was to address this condition; all the renovated buildings incorporated first-story storefronts at street level. Many of the Chinese-inspired features introduced in the association buildings were incorporated into storefronts: stone architraves, tiled pents, calligraphy and the signature red, green and gold colors. Other festive motifs from Chinese iconography, such as dragons, lions, fish, etc., were incorporated in signage, and store and restaurant products decorated front windows.

As the restaurant business boomed, their exterior and interior design, as well as the streets themselves, took on a theatrical appearance. The glittery, gaudy decoration emphasized the exotic features of Chinese design and created both a familiar environment for the Chinese who came on weekends to bond with kin and shop for Chinese goods, and an exotic destination for non-Chinese tourists who had an increasing presence in the local scene. As time went on, and typical of the restaurant business, these enterprises changed hands frequently and reinvented their images with new façades and signs. Competition also fueled the escalation of decoration, which grew more Americanized in its manufacture, and building permits show that a core of Chinese electricians, plumbers, and building contractors emerged to provide services.

[113] Gao, "Social Survey," 31. This thesis sited noodle shops on Oxford Place and at 17, 23, 36, and 46 Hudson Street; in 1947 the city directory shows Tai Lee (or Kee) noodle shop at 3 Oxford Place and 104 Tyler, Hop Hing at 40 Hudson Street and Hop Lake at 46 Hudson. Perfection Noodle had earlier been at 51 Hudson. Bean sprouts were shown here as being made at 52 Tyler and one unlabeled Tyler Street address to the south (possibly number 72), 14 and 40 Hudson, and 17 Albany Street, home of Yee Yee Noodle by the later 1940s.
[114] Wing-kai To, *Chinese in Boston, 1870-1965* (Arcadia, 2008), 53.

It was not just restaurants that participated in the commercial remaking of street-level Chinatown. Other Chinese-oriented businesses, such as groceries, bakeries, produce stores, clothing and China-goods stores, travel agencies, and laundries contributed to a bustling scene redolent with Chinese imagery. Like some other immigrant groups, the Chinese settled in an old, marginalized part of the city inhabiting worn, tenement housing from another era that was not their own, and with little help from the establishment, revitalized it into a cultural center. Their Asian identity was the target of prejudice and discrimination directed at them personally and as a group; however, they persevered and turned their exoticism into a marketable commodity that ultimately has distinguished it as a landmark within the city.

HUDSON STREETABOVE KNEELAND STREET – PEOPLE & PLACES

By the 1930s, the first block of Hudson Street had also developed as a mixed-use, largely Chinese district (Photo 13). Chinese restaurants, importing firms, barbers, and associations were on both sides of the block; at 6 Hudson Street by 1929 was Ruby Foo's Den, sometimes simply cited as the Den in city directories (Fig.12). One Hudson Street, which was part of the Wong Sang building at 67 Beach Street (1887, BOS.1538), had fifteen residents and a Chinese laundry in the 1920s; in the 1930s and 1940s Chinese-goods stores occupied 3 Hudson Street (1843, BOS1803). In the row numbered 11-23 Hudson Street (1843, BOS.1805), a restaurant occupied 11 Hudson Street by 1926 (Wee Yin Low in 1926, Red Rooster in 1931, House of Chan in 1947), and by 1931 Mee Hong Low restaurant and Thing Horn barber shop shared 13 Hudson with residential space. At 15 Hudson, Syrian Joseph A. Hadge operated a pool room and rented space to Eng She Kung Shaw Association, a laundryman, and widowed noodle-factory manager Wong Leong Shee and his four children. In 1910, 17 Hudson Street was a lodging house with no Chinese residents, and it housed four first- and second-generation Syrian families in 1920. By 1927, the Boston branch of Kuomintang, the Chinese Nationalist party, moved from 10 Hudson to this building, which has remained its headquarters into the current day. In 1935, this block of Hudson Street had five Chinese restaurants, two Chinese barbers, five Chinese clubs, three Chinese grocers, seven firms offering Chinese and other goods, and two dormitories, one of them over Ruby Foo's Den. Across Kneeland, from number 61 north, were three more clubs, a Chinese laundry, and two noodle manufacturers, but for the most part Kneeland Street was the dividing line between Chinatown and what Louis Hadaya termed Syriantown, south of Kneeland. Tunney Lee noted, "Kneeland Street at that point was a big divider. it was a big street, first of all, but most of the core of Chinatown was north of Kneeland Street. South of Kneeland Street was where the Syrians lived until after World War II."[115]

KNEELAND STREET WIDENING

In this period, the encroachment on Chinatown in the name of transportation enhancement and business development continued. From 1925 to 1927, the north side of Kneeland Street was widened between Washington Street and Atlantic

[115] Louis Hadaya, interview with Chien Chi Huang, September 18, 1995, and Tunney Lee, interview with Chien Chi Huang, August 28, 1995, Remembering Hudson Street Oral History Project, CHSNE.

Avenue to improve the flow of trucks and other traffic from the Back Bay to South Station. The city took property judged to be worth $1,142,800 from both abutting property owners and those owning property within 150 feet of the project; these latter received what the city called "betterment assessments." Seven of those receiving these assessments were Chinese, but their specific properties were not indicated in the newspaper.[116] The widening necessitated the demolition of two brick rows between Tyler and Hudson Streets on the south side of Kneeland for the massive Hudson building at 75 Kneeland Street (1928, BOS.2214) in 1928-1929, but it does not appear that these rows had Chinese occupants at that time. In 1930, however, the widening project triggered a reaction among Chinatown residents when the Atlantic Refining Company proposed building a gasoline filling station on the corner of Hudson and Kneeland Streets (Photo 14). Residents argued that the station, to be built at 74-84 Kneeland Street (1830, BOS,1832), would endanger the safety of children, lower property values, and present a fire hazard; their opposition was echoed by "a group of real estate experts" who asserted that creating a gas station at this corner would defeat the purpose of widening the street in the first place. Despite protests, the gas station was built and is shown on the 1938 map of this section of Boston as a one-story brick building with an open space east of it for cars.[117] A more significant encroachment on Chinatown's built environment in this period was, as geographer Rhoads Murphey noted in 1952, "the demolition of tenements to save taxes following the universal drop in land values after 1928 unaccompanied by a decline in assessments."[118] Numerous brick rows were razed; in particular, the rowhouses at 15-21 Tyler Street and 72-82 Harrison Avenue were demolished in 1938, with the remaining space paved for parking.

And the garment industry, even though it was not the robust enterprise it had earlier been, continued to buy up and take down brick rows and build loft buildings in Chinatown before the Second World War. A rooming house on the corner of Tyler and Kneeland was razed about 1915 for a seven-story garment loft at 72 Kneeland Street (1915, BOS.1831), but the Chinese-goods dealer Pow On Company occupied part of the new building by 1925. The ground floor still houses numerous Chinese businesses. Houses were taken down in the same year for a six-story loft building at 41-55 Beach Street (1915, BOS.1530). The site had been occupied earlier by B. F. Shattuck's Boston Hotel and another brick block and did not have a history of Chinese occupancy. Nor did the Simon Building at 70-72 Beach Street (1920, BOS.1539), built for garment firms; not until 1945, when Cathay House occupied its ground floor, does it appear to have had any Chinese association (Photo 15). Much as before, the community took control of the street-level environment while the upper stories, be they used for tenements or garment lofts, faded in the background. Chinatown weathered the assault and embraced the intrusions.

[116] "Kneeland Street Awards, $1,142,800," *Boston Herald*, October 25, 1925, 48. Those seven, and the amounts the city awarded each, were James Chin et al., $2925; J. You Chin et al., $2292; L. Wah Chin, $1470; Ye Hong Wah et al., trustees, $3675; Szee Wong Lee, $3177; Hong Wah Yee et al., trustees, $1253; Konleon Liu et al., trustees, $1844 and $1383; and Leo Fat at al., $984.
[117] "Chinese Protest Fuel Station Permit," *Boston Herald*, May 2, 1930, 33. Among those listed as speaking against the station were Wong Kew, Mrs. Lee Shee, and Lee Foo; Willie Chin, secretary of United Chinese Association; Moy Ni Ding of On Leong Tong Chinese Merchants Association; Mong Boy, Lee Chang, and Hom Don Foo.
[118] "Boston's Chinatown," 245.

NEIGHBORHOOD INSTITUTIONAL ACTIVITY

In addition to the rooms of family and business associations, numerous institutions, organized and run both by Chinese and non-Chinese people, functioned within Chinatown between 1900 and the Second World War. The Chinese Mission at 16 Oxford Street remained active at least until the war; in 1941 it offered a Sunday school, English classes both for children older than fourteen and men working in laundries, Saturday clubs for ten- to sixteen-year-olds in various subjects, Friday afternoon "mothers' meetings," Sunday afternoon church services, home visits, summer open-air services, and an annual fair that sold women's handiwork and presented an evening children's entertainment.[119] By 1917 the Union Chinese Young Men's Christian Association had moved from Berkeley Temple to 56 Tyler Street (not extant). In its three-story building the "Chinese Y" had space for table tennis, handball, reading and discussion, and classes on the first floor, and there were ten rooms for transient Chinese men on the second and third floors. The Y offered Bible classes, religious discussion groups, classes in Chinese painting, and sports teams. In 1915 the Boston Public Library moved its "delivery station" to the second floor of 118 Tyler (not extant), a city-owned building that had a gymnasium on the third floor; it closed in 1938 despite active protest from numerous Chinatown residents, including more than two hundred children. Denison House remained active at 89-97 Tyler Street (not extant) into the 1940s. The Boston Tuberculosis Association operated a clinic at 35 Tyler Street (not extant) in the 1930s to confront the high rate of the disease in this densely populated section; its services were perceived as vital enough that the Chinese Merchants Association and others organized a dragon dance that raised $468 to benefit the clinic in November 1935. Of the 397 persons examined at the clinic between April 1932 and April 1939, 285 were adult men, 113 worked in laundries (110 of them men), and 79 were restaurant workers. Thirty-four were diagnosed with active tuberculosis, and only three were found to be "working and well" in 1941; fourteen died, fifteen went to hospitals, and five moved out of Boston.[120]

A significant public educational building established by non-Chinese before World War II is extant in Chinatown. The Josiah Quincy Grammar School at 88-90 Tyler Street (1847-48, BOS.2229) was the first graded middle school in the United States and one of two surviving Boston grammar schools whose design was influenced by the ideas of Boston educator Horace Mann, who advocated classrooms with individual desks and seats for students grouped together by age and achievement levels (Fig.13, Photo 16). Each classroom at Quincy School was designed for 56 students; "between fifty and sixty, all being about equally advanced in their several studies, can be well taught by one teacher," Boston school superintendent Nathan Bishop stated in the 1850s. The school also featured an assembly hall on its fourth floor. Built on a lot given to the city by former mayor Josiah Quincy Jr., the school is named for Quincy's father, also a mayor of Boston in the 1820s. From the start, the school was viewed as an agent of Americanization. At its dedication on June 26, 1848, Quincy, as quoted in a paraphrased account published later that year, stated his belief "that nearly half of the 400 boys in that school were not Americans. Many of their parents were not fitted for the duties of a Republic. But these children,

[119] Gao, "Social Survey," 76-77.
[120] Gao, "Social Survey," 51, 53-55; Stephanie Fan, "The Boston Chinatown Library 1896-1938 and 1951-1956," *CHSNE Newsletter* 12, 1 (Fall 2006): 14-16.

educated side by side with our own, would learn self-government, and be trained to become worthy citizens of this free country. It seemed, he said, the design of Providence to mix races; and this influx of foreigners might constitute the very elements necessary to give to American character its highest excellence. Standing on a moral elevation, as Boston did, they felt it a duty to provide the education of all, and thus present to the whole country, models of *popular* education."[121]

A boys' school into the 1920s, Quincy School enrollment by the late 1800s was ethnically mixed, judged to be about one-third students of Irish descent, one-fifth Jewish students, and one-third students born in the United States. After 1900, as families began to form among newer immigrants, Italian and Syrian students became a larger part of Quincy School's population. By the 1940s Syrians were among the largest ethnic groups in the school. But Chinese students first enrolled beginning in the 1890s, and appeared in growing numbers about 1915. By the 1939-40 school year, before Chinese exclusion laws were nullified, 90 of 331 Quincy School students were Chinese, more than one third of them from families living on Tyler and Hudson streets. In that year seven Chinese children were in kindergarten, twelve in the first grade, none in second grade, sixteen in third grade, nine in fourth grade, 28 in fifth grade, and eighteen in sixth grade. The parents of two thirds of these students were laundry workers (22 persons), restaurant workers (15), store proprietors (12), and merchants (12); there were also factory owners, managers, cooks, noodle makers, an interpreter, and students among the parent population.[122] Quincy School is also notable for offering one of the few open spaces in Chinatown at the rear of its lot bordering Hudson Street, and both children and adults used it as a playground.

THE CHINESE CONSOLIDATED BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION

By 1926 the Chinese directory listed fourteen clubs and societies in Chinatown, and the 1931 Chinese directory listed twenty. The oldest among them appears to have been the Chinese Free Masons, at 6 Tyler Street since 1909 but in existence since at least 1886. Among the newest appears to have been the Boston branch of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), founded in 1923 at 14 Oxford Street (not extant). The United Chinese Association of New England (Chung Wah Gong Shaw) was also at this address, in some directories listed there along with CCBA; the two were actually the same organization. Tse noted that the association's work included settling disputes, issuing news, and assisting consular officials with commercial matters. The CCBA was an umbrella organization, with most of Chinatown's family associations and civic groups as members. It was, one scholar has noted, "actually an official government inside Chinatown and the most important voice of the Chinese immigrants speaking to American officials or other organizations outside of Chinatown."[123]

[121] "Plan and Description of Quincy Grammar School-House, Boston," in Henry Barnard, *School Architecture; or, Contributions to the Improvement of Schoolhouses in the United States* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Co., 1855), 202, 204, 206; Woods, *City Wilderness*, 37; Susan Wilson, "The Old Quincy School," *CHSNE Newsletter* 12, 1 (Fall 2006): 23-25, excerpted from Wilson's 2004 *Boston Sites and Insights*.
[122] Gao, "Social Survey," 87, 95-96.
[123] Wang, "History of Chinese Churches," 119. The CCBA is an outgrowth of Congress of the Six Companies (or the Chinese Six Companies), formed in 1862 by the Sam Yup, Sze Yup, Yeong Wo, Yan Wo, Ning Yeung, and Hop Wo family associations in San Francisco.

The first CCBA was incorporated in New York City in 1890. Boston's CCBA, said to have been a branch of New York's, was one of eleven that existed in the United States by 1940, and as elsewhere it has represented civic groups, family associations, merchants, and residents in general. It has been the agency charged with communicating with consular officials, settling community disputes, hosting visiting dignitaries, keeping the community informed on conditions in and news from China, and helping workers in various fields with employment and wage issues. It has also historically been responsible, with family and other associations, for sending the bones of the dead back to relatives in China.

MOUNT HOPE CEMETERY & FUNERAL CEREMONIES

In Boston, early Chinese settlers were buried at Mount Hope Cemetery, a city-owned facility of 125 acres, six miles from downtown Boston in Mattapan, but the intent after a certain interval, generally eight to ten years, was to "repatriate" the bones in their homeland "so that their spirits will not be wandering and troubled without rest." At some point, the city set aside three sections of land for Chinese burials, and periodically the CCBA had the bones exhumed and hired someone who, according to an early *Boston Globe* article on Chinese burial and funeral customs, "understands the anatomy of the human body," to clean and wrap them in different packages according to different areas of the body. They were then returned to China. In 1922 the CCBA spent $10,000 to have an East Boston undertaker exhume the bones of 350 Chinese people buried at Mount Hope and a "Chinese expert" from San Francisco and four assistants to package the bones in zinc boxes. These boxes were placed in larger wood boxes and sent on the steamship *Esther Dollar* to China in late November of that year. "Many Chinaman believe that burial in consecrated ground in the soil of their ancestors is necessary to insure translation to the Heaven destined for their race," the *Globe* reported, "but the bones are regarded as the main essential for resurrection, the more perishable part of the body being always removed before transference to the final resting place. . . . No Chinaman who has been married to an American woman will be disinterred for fear of possible legal complications." The practice continued until the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937; the Second World War and the Communist takeover of China in 1949 further forestalled and ultimately ended the repatriation effort.[124] In 1930 CCBA bought land at Mount Hope Cemetery for the burial of those who had no family in China, and since then more than 1,500 Chinese have been buried there.[125]

From an early point in the district's history, the newspapers described funeral processions beginning in Chinatown and wending their way to Mount Hope Cemetery (BOS.821, listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2009); when the Chinese Free Mason Moy Jark died in September 1897, for example, the *Journal* stated that his funeral ceremony "was held in the open street, on straw matting laid down over the slimy pavement" in front of the Chinese Masonic Temple, then on Harrison Avenue. "Not a soul that passed that way or near there in the morning afoot or in any kind of

[124] Gao, "Social Survey," 37-38; "Food by the Graves of the Dead," *Boston Globe*, September 13, 1896, 25; "Will Exhume 350 Chinese," *Boston Globe*, November 3, 1922, 2; Deborah Dong, "The Mount Hope Cemetery Chinese Immigrant Memorial Project 1998/1999 Summary," *CHSNE Newsletter* 5, 1 (Winter 1999): 7; *Mount Hope Cemetery Chinese Immigrant Memorial* (draft booklet, CHSNE, 2013); Chu, *Chinese in Massachusetts*, 49.
[125] Ting-Fun Yeh, "The Beginning," *CHSNE Newsletter* 1, 1 (Spring 1995): 1.

conveyance but can tell the precise spot and can hear the dinning of the Chinese gongs, mingled with the dirge of the brass band yet ringing in the ears." Tables bearing displays of fruit, incense burners, and a roast pig were part of the funeral, where the coffin draped in black cloth stood on a bench draped in white fabric amid roses, ferns, and peacock feathers; over the coffin was a fringed cloth canopy. Pallbearers wearing red head sashes, and costumed musicians, including cymbal players "with long paper-wound poles over the shoulders and banners including an American flag," took part in the trek of the hearse to the cemetery, along with "prominent Harrison Avenue merchants, on horse back, riding single file." In 1903 Herbert Heywood called funerals "the most spectacular occasion" in Chinatown. The coffin was placed on the street, "bedecked with amulets" and food placed there to feed the deceased person "on his long journey to sprit-land"; one 1907 article noted that the procession included mourners who "strew the way with paper prayers interceding for the departed."[126] The grave itself was the site of another ceremony involving the burning of incense, offerings of food, and ritual bowing and kneeling; paper, sometimes representing money, was placed in boxes or bags and then burned. Initially, burning of paper and sometimes clothing took place in the open at Mount Hope, but in 1892 the Chinese Free Masons paid for the construction at Mount Hope Cemetery of a brick "temple" that featured an altar flanked by small furnaces at each end.[127] Roasted meats (including a roast pig), bowls of rice, and three cups of wine were arranged on the altar. Some of the food was placed in the grave and some brought back to Chinatown, where one or several feasts then took place; funerals often drew relatives and friends from the suburbs and beyond. In the spring, Qing Ming was a memorial day in which people visited the cemetery and swept the graves of the dead; another memorial day took place in the fall. Caroline Wong Chang, who grew up on Hudson Street in the 1950s, remember sweeping the graves on Chinese memorial days, "and I always remember bringing chicken and then a little rice wine and the chop sticks, the little cups, and you know, laying them out and then when it was all laid out . . . the men would do the bowing." Gao noted that mourners at the gravesite were "given ten cent pieces neatly wrapped in paper, which stand for good luck. This is a sort of wish, expressing thanks for attending the unhappy event in the family of the deceased and wishing them good luck as they go back to their own homes."[128]

PUBLIC CELEBRATIONS

Processions organized for patriotic and many other purposes have been common events in Chinatown, and they signify the importance of the street and the outdoor life of the neighborhood. Chinatown was historically among the most crowded of Boston's neighborhoods and woefully short of open space, and much of its social life took place outdoors. When On Leong Tong opened its headquarters at 35 Harrison Avenue in 1903, it placed long strings of firecrackers down from the third- and fourth- floor windows and set them off all at once; a band of Chinese musicians also played in front of the building. At a Fourth of July celebration in 1909, a large American flag was displayed with "a huge bunch of peacock

[126] Food by the Graves of the Dead," *Boston Globe*, September 13, 1896, 25; "Chinese Mason. Big Funeral Display in Chinatown," *Boston Journal*, September 14, 1897; Heywood, "China in New England"; "Feud Victims Go to Graves Today," *Boston Herald*, August 11, 1907, 14.
[127] The temple stood into the early 2000s and was replaced in 2007 by the Chinese Immigrant Memorial at the cemetery.
[128] "Food by the Graves of the Dead"; "Chinese Temple Dedicated," *Boston Globe*, October 28, 1892, 9; "Chinese Temple Dedicated," *Boston Globe*, October 28, 1892, 9; Gao, "Social Survey," 100, 103; Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 119-20.

feathers tied to the end of the staff above the field of stars. In front of every store in that section of the city bounded by Harrison Avenue, Essex and Beach streets, diminutive boys of Chinese extraction, but wearing American-cut clothing, lighted giant cannon and dwarf fire-crackers, fired rockets, and watched colored bulbs soar in the air from Roman candles." For his 1911 wedding Soo Hoo Wing and his friends walked around Chinatown "in gala costume, headed by musicians," the *Boston Journal* reported. "They visited all the restaurants, which they serenaded and where they partook of refreshments." After arriving at South Station, the bride, Eng Soy Kung of New York, was driven to Soo Hoo Wing's 23 Oxford Street home, and "cheers went up from the crowd of Chinese and others" who had assembled outside. Firecrackers and Chinese music were part of the event as well. And visiting during Chinese New Year was also marked by street display. Gao wrote in 1941, "The Chinese, dressed in their best clothes, spend the first day in making personal calls on their friends. Sweet candies, oranges, olives and pomegranates are offered to one's guests as symbols expressing wishes for life, peace and prosperity. Children visit their friends also, and parents of the visited families give the small visitors money wrapped in red paper and candy. Stores and homes are beautifully decorated with flags and new year scrolls. Appropriate inscriptions are written on red paper with black Chinese ink and pasted on the front doors of the stores. The most popular one is 'Peace between China and America' or 'The East and West are in Harmony'. The most common one is 'Happiness, Honor and Long Life.'"[129]

OXFORD STREET BULLETIN BOARD – COMMUNITY OVENS

The neighborhood's outdoor life was epitomized in the bulletin board that ran along the Oxford Street side wall of the two-story commercial building at 58 Beach Street (Fig.15). When it emerged is unclear, but the bulletin board played the role of a Chinese-language newspaper in Chinatown until 1991. It carried notices of jobs, news reports, and event announcements and was divided into sections by organization; during the war a committee of the United Chinese Association read all available Chinese- and English-language news articles in order to prepare written summaries for the bulletin board.[130] The neighborhood also had two ovens, said to have been on Ping On Street. In place by 1922, a *Boston Herald* reporter noted in that year that "the ovens are reached by going through a dingy house and out into the back yard. Here are two brick ovens about 10 feet high, with a big opening at the top. Wood fires heat the bricks until they are almost white. Then the fire is pulled, the pig is hung, head down, inside. After he is well roasted he is taken out. By the ovens is a pail of honey and a brush. Quickly the roasted pig is smeared with honey and as quickly hung back in the oven and left until the honey permeates the whole animal. Then he is ready to eat." The ovens were used by restaurants and grocers that sold roast meats, and were run by skilled roasters into the 1950s. Tunney Lee recalled that his grandparents, who ran the grocery Quong Sung Wah at 54 Beach Street, "roasted in a brick oven, that is on Oxford Street. They carried the pigs and

[129] "Half Million Fire Crackers Explode: On Leung Tung Society Celebrates in Chinatown," *Boston Journal*, September 3, 1903, 4; "Police Watch Chinatown Fearing Tong War, but Find All Serene," *Boston Journal*, July 6, 1909, 3; "Wedding Bells in Chinatown: Oriental Customs at Culmination of a 20th Century Romance," Boston Journal, May 24, 1911, 12; Gao, "Social Survey," 99-100; Caroline Chang, interview by Ai Li Chin, April 7, 1994, Chinese Historical Society of New England and the Schlesinger Library at Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Chinese American Women Oral History Project Transcripts, CHSNE.
[130] Gao, "Social Survey," 93.

the ducks over to outside, roasted them and brought them back."[131] One gained access to the ovens from a hallway at 32 Oxford Street, which suggests that they may have been in the back-yard space of 22-32 Oxford Street and 9-14 Oliver Place.

VOLLEYBALL, LION DANCE TROUPES

Before the Second World War, at least two other groups organized primarily for outdoor activity. In 1935, a group of men began playing nine-man volleyball, traditional in Toishan, in the streets of Chinatown, and by 1937 teams had organized in Providence and New York. On Labor Day weekends, when train and bus fares were low, the teams congregated in one or another city for tournaments, the first of which took place in either 1939 or 1940; games were often played in parking lots in Boston's Chinatown. And in 1938, eight female students at Quong Kow School on Oxford Street formed a lion dance troupe to help raise funds for China. They staged weekly lion dances that paraded through Chinatown with a lion head, a drum, cymbals, a gong, and swords to gather donations from businesses. The girls' Quong Kow classes were cut short to accommodate their practice sessions, which took place six days a week for three hours each evening. The troupe disbanded in 1939, but was revived by Gunk Kwok Asian Women Lion Dance Troupe in 1998.[132] As families slowly formed in Chinatown and its often poorly ventilated living spaces aged and grew more crowded, the less commercial streets became "an extension of the home," as Albert K. Lee put it, a fact of life that became a more critical feature of the postwar district.[133]

CHINESE NATIONALISM AND POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association also took the lead in collecting contributions for various causes, often for the aid and relief of China. The Sunday schools and Anglo-sponsored missions collected for Chinese famine and war relief since the late 1800s and had generally sent these funds to missions active in that country. But Chinese-sponsored charitable work was broader and often had a decidedly political cast. In May 1903, Boston's Chinese Empire Reform Association held a reception at Harrison Avenue's Royal Restaurant for Chinese journalist Liang Quichao, who with Kang Youwai helped initiate the "Hundred Days' Reform" of the Qing Dynasty in the late 1890s. A conservative faction led by Empress Dowager Cixi overthrew the emperor, placed him under house arrest, ended the reforms, and forced Liang and Kang into exile. In 1899 Kang went to Vancouver to develop support for restoring the emperor and the truncated reforms, and there formed the first Chinese Empire Reform Association. Within years, 150 chapters had been formed in other cities, including Boston. In 1903 Liang, still a supporter of Chinese revolutionary Sun Yat-sen's nationalist cause, began an eight-month lecture tour of the United States in which he began to argue for, as one scholar put it, "enlightened

[131] Joe Toye, "East Meets West and Still Stays East in Oxford Street," *Boston Herald*, January 22, 1922, 34; Tunney Lee, interview with Chien Chi Huang, August 28, 1995, Boston MA, Remembering Hudson Street transcripts, CHSNE.
[132] Reggie Wong, "60th North American Chinese Volleyball Tournament Comes to Boston Chinatown," *CHSNE Newsletter* 10, 1 (Fall 2004), 2-5; Carmen Chan and Connie Wong, "Boston's First Women's Lion Dance Troupe Formed Over Sixty Years Ago," *CHSNE Newsletter* 7, 1 (Fall 2001): 10-11.
[133] Albert K. Lee to CHSNE, 27 October 1995, Remembering Hudson Street files, CHSNE.

absolutism" in China; by contrast, Sun Yat-sen, also in exile, thought violent overthrow of the Qing dynasty was inevitable and necessary in order to create a democratic republic in China. Wing-Kai To has speculated that Sun chose not to visit Boston on his 27-city tour of the United States in 1904 because of local support for the Chinese Empire Reform Association. Kang Youwei, however, did visit the city in July 1905 and spoke at Park Street Church to an audience that, according to the *Globe*, included "every sort of Chinaman from the laundry man with his queue to the student at Tech or Harvard."[134]

In December 1909, Chinese supporters of Sun Yat-sen in Boston formed a chapter of the United League of Revolutionary Alliance (Tongmenghui), which Sun had founded in Tokyo in 1905. On November 16, 1911, scarcely a month after the overthrow of the Qing (or Manchu) dynasty, Boston's Chinese founded a branch of the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, with its headquarters first at 10 Hudson Street (not extant) and by 1927 at 17 Hudson Street (Photo 12). Sun had founded the Kuomintang in 1893 as a secret party dedicated to revolution, but with the establishment of the Chinese Republic it became a political organization. Support in Chinatown for Sun and his "Three People's Principles"—nationalism, democracy, and the welfare and livelihood of the people—was strong: in 1911, Chinese women paraded holding a large sheet to gather money to support Sun Yat-sen, and a mass celebration took place in the district on the first National Day of the Republic of China, on October 10, 1912.[135] After Sun died in 1925, a *Herald* article noted that Moy Dow had operated "the headquarters of the revolutionary movement in the western hemisphere" at Hankow Restaurant, which had occupied the second and third floors of 19-21 Essex Street (not extant) since mid-September 1907.[136]

> Money was raised there in hundreds of thousands of dollars, and there many young Chinese who as boys had learned Boy Scout craft in the streets of Chinatown, pledged themselves to fight the Manchu, and fight they did and some fell. . . . It was the old Hankow restaurant, occupying the second and third floors of two buildings from 15 to 21 Essex street, that he [Sun Yat-sen] made his headquarters during his Boston activities. Moy Dow, known today in the picturesque argot of the quarter as 'Mayor of Chinatown,' was proprietor of the place. The Hangkow [*sic*] was so named because its properties and a large number of its patrons, who included Chinese men of wealth in Boston and many New England cities, were sympathizers with the movement which Chinese of liberal tendencies were informed had been undertaken from the great Chinese city of Hangkow as a centre.

[134] Wing-kai To, "A Centennial Reflection of 1911: Boston's Chinatown in the Age of Reform and Revolution," *CHSNE Newsletter* 17, 1 (Fall 2011): 1; Sophie Site Jia, "Sun Yatsen, Liang Qichao: Friends, Foes, and Nationalism," http://history.emory.edu/home/documents/endeavors/volume4/Jia.pdf.
[135] Chu, *Chinese in Massachusetts*, 53, 55.
[136] "Boston Chinese Mourn Dr. Sun; City Headquarters of Revolt," *Boston Herald*, March 15, 1925, 10. See advertisement in *Boston Herald*, September 12, 1907, 5, which reads: "First Time in Boston / An up-to-date Chinese restaurant where cleanliness and distinctly Chinese cooking are combined. Will be one of the Beauty Spots of Boston. / Open Today. / Speical Private Banquet Rooms. / Hankow, 19-21 Essex Street." A menu dated to 1910 also states the address as 19 Essex Street, though the street number for Hankow is sometimes given in directories as 15 Essex Street.

The *Herald* noted, apparently based on an interview with Moy Dow, that Sun had visited the spot, "which he was credibly informed was a rendezvous for the most progressive elements of his people," and introduced himself as Sun Wen. When Sun learned of Moy Dow's sympathy with the nationalist movement, he made himself fully known, came to Boston often, and had "frequent conferences in an upper room of the restaurant." At one point during the overthrow of the Qing dynasty, Dow sold bonds to subscribers at a mass meeting, which, according to the *Herald*, "made possible the arms and ammunition that overthrew the power of the Manchu and helped set up the new government in Pekin."[137] The Quong Kow School was registered with the nationalist government, and its goals were influenced by Sun's Three People's Principles.[138]

Interest in Chinese nationalism and political mobilization gave rise to other organizations in Chinatown. A Chinese American Citizens League (or Alliance) was formed by 1922, and by the mid-1920s was located at 34 Harrison Avenue (1894, BOS.1775); the group sponsored Boy Scout Troop 34 in Chinatown. In the 1930s Japanese military incursions in China—in Manchuria in 1931, at Shanghai in 1932, and at Wanping in 1937, the last triggering the Second Sino-Japanese War—are believed to have brought the tong wars in the United States to an end and to have brought American Chinese together in support of their homeland. In September 1934, the family associations, the Chinese Merchants Association, the United Chinese Association, and the Chinese Women's Patriotic League sponsored the visit of Tsai Ting Kai, who led the Chinese Nationalist army that defended Shanghai. The organizations staged a vast and circuitous parade through Chinatown and other parts of Boston in Tsai's honor, and 2,500 people turned out to hear his address at an unstated Chinatown location. One historian has noted that of $25 million raised among American Chinese for homeland defense and assistance between 1937 and 1945, $2.1 million came from New England.[139] Chinatown residents staged a demonstration decrying Japan's invasion on July 7, 1938; in support of Chinese refugee relief in 1939, children in Chinatown staged a parade in 1941 to boycott Japanese silk, and wartime parades and rallies in the district vowed resistance to Japan "until the end."[140]

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[137] "Boston Chinese Mourn Dr. Sun; City Headquarters of Revolt," *Boston Herald*, March 15, 1925, 10. Born in China in 1877, Moy Tot Dow was living in Boston by 1900 and earning three dollars a day as a government court interpreter. One newspaper article claimed that he was educated in Worcester public schools and was the son of "the second Chinaman who came to this city," and in 1903 during the first tong war he fled to Worcester and told police that Hep Sing Tong had threatened his life "because of some of his actions while acting in his official capacity" in Boston courts. In 1900 he lived at 34 Common Street, in 1912 at 1305 Washington Street, and in 1918 at 9 Oxford Place. Tax records for 1917 show Dow and Moy Ni Wing as the proprietors of Hankow Restaurant, and Dow took charge of Moy Ni Wing's funeral in March 1920; an article then referred to him as "representative of the Chinese Merchants' Association east of St. Louis." His association with On Leong Tong is stated in a 1923 article about the group's June outing at Canobie Lake. In 1923 the directory lists Dow as president of Asia Products Corporation at 69 Newbury Street; he then lived at 22 Tyler Street. Dow died in 1927. See "Moy T. Dow Claims He is Threatened with Death," *Worcester Daily Spy*, October 18, 1903, 5; "Will Hold Chinese Funeral in Street," *Boston Herald*, March 28, 1920, 11; "Chinese Disport at Canobie Lake: On Leong Tong's July Outing an Enjoyable Affair," *Boston Herald*, June 17, 1923, 12. Hankow Restaurant filed for bankruptcy in December 1920; see "Petitions in Bankruptcy," *Boston Herald*, December 11, 1920, 16.

[138] To, "Enduring Legacy."

[139] "Hero of Shanghai Here Today," *Boston Herald*, September 14, 1934, 37; "City Hails Hero of Shanghai," Boston Herald, September 15, 1934, 6; Shih-san Tsai, *China and the Overseas Chinese in the United States, 1868-1911*, 113, cited in Stevens, "Dinner at the Den," 29.

[140] To and CHSNE, *Chinese in Boston*, 97-101.

China's struggle with Japanese aggression was reported often in the newspapers, struck a chord with non-Chinese American, and helped build a broad sympathy for the Chinese and Chinese Americans in this country. It also gave rise to several other organizations among the people of Chinatown. In October 1932, the Chinese Patriotic Flying Corps was organized with the aim of training Chinese Americans to fly in the war against Japan. By mid-January 1933 six students had logged more than ten hours of solo flight under the direction of National Guard lieutenant Francis P. Kendall at "Boston airport" and had acquired solo licenses; another five Chinese men were then in training. The corps, headquartered at 14 Oxford Street with the United Chinese Association and Hop Yuen/Shanghai Printing Company, owned its own Curtiss airplane, according to one newspaper account. Its best-known member was its only known female member, Rose Lok, daughter of Boston wholesale merchant Moy Lok. Rose Lok was eighteen or nineteen when she joined, and may have developed an interest in flying at Denison House, where Amelia Earhart had worked in 1926-1927.[141]

The New England Chinese Women's Association was founded at 14 Hudson Street (not extant) in 1938 after Tsai's visit, and it appears to have been renamed the New England Chinese Women's New Life Movement Association to work for "for resistance and reconstruction" and the "revival of the Chinese cardinal virtues of propriety, loyalty, integrity, and honor in daily living," the four virtues enunciated by Madame Chiang Kai-shek as the basis of the New Life Movement she and her husband, president of the Chinese Republic, founded in 1934. The first organization formed by Chinese women in Boston, the association had headquarters at 52-56 Beach Street and later at 6 Tyler Street. The association and other groups organized a huge welcome celebration for Madame Chiang, a 1917 graduate of Wellesley College, when she visited Boston during a sleet storm in early March 1943. Thousands, according to the *Herald*, met her at South Station, and more stood along the sidewalks of Beach Street waving American and Chinese flags as her motorcade drove toward Harrison Avenue.[142]

REMOVAL OF THE ELEVATED

In February 1942, after having been out of service for more than three years, the Atlantic Avenue line of the Boston Elevated Railway was taken down after the state's Supreme Judicial Court ruled that the company must pay for the removal. "In addition to making tons of metal available for national defense," the *Herald* reported, "the demolition is expected to go far in restoring property values on Atlantic avenue, Harrison avenue, Beach and Kneeland streets." Numerous civic organizations had lobbied for removing the structure, and with the war the demand for scrap steel made it seem more imperative. The *Herald* noted that the structure between Castle Street in the South End and Keany Square in the North End, "contained steel enough for several destroyers, quantities of shells and guns, and even a couple of tankers."

[141] "Eleven Chinese Men and a Woman Learn Flying Here to Fight Japanese," *Boston Herald*, January 15, 1933, 13; "Boston Chinese, One a Woman, Learn 'War Flying,'" *Boston Herald*, April 30, 1933, 51. Lok did exhibition flying, and the fact of her flying achievement was reported widely throughout the country. In 1935 she married Roxbury merchant Edward N. Jung, but the 1940 census shows her working as a restaurant waitress and living with her widowed mother Goon Shee, who kept a lodging house at 3 Bennet Street; the family had earlier lived in Lexington in 1922 and on Chelsea Street in Boston in 1930.
[142] Gao, "Social Survey," 56; Chu, Chinese in Massachusetts, 54; "Lady from Chungking Captivates All," *Boston Herald*, March 7, 1943, 47.

Geographer Rhoads Murphey noted that Chinatown was suddenly on "potentially very valuable property," and since 1942 "nearly a dozen new restaurants have been built or remodeled, complete with modern architecture and neon signs to attract the non-Chinese trade. . . . Restaurateurs estimate that before this development three quarters of their business came from their own people, whereas at present the balance is exactly reversed in favor of the non-Chinese Americans."[143] Land values began to rise just at the moment when changes in federal law began to permit increased immigration from China and thus heighten the demand for residential space in the crowded district.

SUMMARY

Bracketed by the construction of the elevated railway on Harrison Avenue and Beach Street in 1899 and its reduction to scrap metal in 1942, the community-development period in Chinatown represented its growth and organization into a mature ethnic neighborhood. Marginalized and oppressed at the opening of the 20th century, the Chinese were by no means fully accepted by the establishment, but they had earned a certain level of recognition through their network of hundreds of laundries in the city and the exotic appeal of Chinatown's restaurants and nightlife. And throughout, Chinatown was the central place and cultural hearth of growing numbers of Chinese living in New England. The period was not without its difficulties. The city maintained its crackdown on gambling and other aspects of the Chinese underground culture. The garment industry expanded into Chinatown with large, multistory buildings replacing old rowhouses that contained Chinese businesses and residences. The community responded by taking over the street-level commercial spaces, preserving the integrity of the street-level environment as best they could. The New England Telephone & Telegraph's Beach Exchange grew at the expense of Chinese homes on Harrison Avenue, Oxford Place, and Oxford Street. Kneeland Street was widened for automobile traffic, taking buildings only on the Chinatown side of the street. Family associations, the Chinatown Business Association, and the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association renovated the rowhouses they occupied and had repurposed, creating distinctive façades distinguished by Chinese-American design elements and iconography developed in San Francisco. Stores and restaurants spread eastward along Beach Street and south along Harrison, Tyler, and Hudson streets, incorporating the first and basement stories of existing rowhouses into vibrant commercial streetscapes. The streets themselves were drawn into the community by parades, patriotic precessions, and funeral ceremonies, and they provided outdoor spaces for dance troupes, sporting events, games, and other social interactions. In spite of urban development and civil actions that undermined Chinatown's growth, the Chinese in Boston had created a permanent and enduring place for themselves.

[143] "The Atlantic Avenue El," *Boston Herald*, December 28, 1940, 6; "El Must Raze Atlantic Ave. Structure," *Boston Traveler*, January 9, 1942, 1; "Start Made of Removal of Atlantic Avenue El," *Boston Herald*, February 4, 1942, 23; Murphey, "Boston's Chinatown," 251.

4. Chinatown after Exclusion, 1943-1985

CHANGES IN IMMIGRATION LAWS

On December 17, 1943, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed into law the Magnuson Act, or the "Act to Repeal the Chinese Exclusion Acts, to Establish Quotas, and for Other Purposes," which nullified all earlier legislation on emigration from China, allowed 105 Chinese to enter the United States each year, and permitted Chinese aliens to apply for American citizenship. Far more significant were the ensuing War Brides Act of 1945 and the Chinese Alien Wives of American Citizens Act of 1946. According to Shauna Lo of the Institute for Asian American Studies, University of Massachusetts Boston, most Chinese women who entered the country after World War II came under the War Brides Act, and between 1945 and 1950 almost 8,000 women, some with children, came to the United States.[144] Regionally, according to the Chinese Overseas Literary Association of Boston, "the influx of war brides and immigrants" had produced "a remarkable growth of Chinese population in New England since the war ended," enough to impel the group to produce a handbook "dealing with the activities and the organizations of New England Chinese communities."[145] Estimates vary, but in 1940, Chinatown was from 83 to 95 percent male; by 1960 it was 30 percent female.[146]

Additional war-related legislation also increased Chinese entry to the United States. The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 allowed an estimated 2,600 more Chinese admissions and allowed almost 3,500 Chinese people already in the United States to change their status to permanent resident. After the Communist takeover of mainland China in 1949, a succession of Refugee Relief Acts (1949-1957) permitted more than 14,000 Chinese to enter the country. According to Lo, at the emergence of Communist China about five thousand Chinese citizens were living in the United States, more than half of them students; the China Area Aid Act of 1950 allowed these students to seek employment here, and the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act permitted the entry of skilled workers of any race or nationality up to 50 percent of the overall ceiling on entry. Thus, even as the 1924 quota system was still in effect, more Chinese were admitted in the 1950s than at any time since the early 1880s.[147] Between 1940 and 1952, Murphey found, the population of Chinatown increased about 60 percent, mostly through the entry of women.[148] By 1965 the student population at Quincy School was 97 percent Chinese, and half of all students of Asian descent were foreign-born.[149]

By 1960, according to one scholar, 5,564 Chinese people lived in Boston, and another 1,181 Chinese lived in other Massachusetts cities and towns. Of Boston's 5,288 Chinese whose neighborhood residence was known, 2,503 lived in

[144] Shauna Lo, "Transition and Change: Chinese Immigration to the U.S., 1943-1965," *CHSNE Chronicle* 18, 1 (Fall 2012): 11-13; Lo, e-mail to authors, 9 March 2016.
[145] *The New England Chinese Community Handbook* (Boston: Overseas Literary Association, 1949), 3, CHSNE.
[146] Sullivan and Hatch, "Chinese in Boston," 7; Huang, "Sociological Study," 17; Gao, "Social Survey," 14-16. Gao counted 824 men and 171 women in the two census tracts embracing Chinatown in the 1940 census. She counted them all as Chinese but added that Chinese residents of Chinatown put the district's Chinese population at 550 persons in 1940.
[147] Sullivan and Hatch, "Chinese in Boston," 6-7; Lo, "Transition and Change," 12.
[148] Murphey, "Boston's Chinatown," 254-55.
[149] Sullivan and Hatch, "Chinese in Boston," 53.

Chinatown, or about 47 percent, a proportion that dropped steadily afterwards as the district's housing stock was unable to absorb greater numbers of immigrants and as long-established families moved into other neighborhoods such as Allston-Brighton, Parker Hill-Fenway, and Roxbury and North Dorchester.[150] Still, Chinatown remained the center for Chinese people over much of New England. No other locale in the city coalesced with a Chinese identity, and only scattered laundries and restaurants were indications of a Chinese presence. Two *Boston Traveler* reporters declared in 1956, "Every person of Chinese extraction in New England maintains an address in Chinatown. Why? It's the custom. They start here. They always 'stay' here, even though they live elsewhere. Every holiday they come back. Many return every weekend, too."[151] Rhoads Murphey wrote in 1952, "Chinese in New England now number about 5000, most of them inveterate week-enders in Boston. Chinatown comes to life on Friday night and until late Sunday is a hive of activity for Chinese laundrymen and restaurateurs from as far away as Springfield, Mass., and Portland, Maine. They come to see friends and relatives, to speak their own language and live in their own customs, and to find recreation in Chinese opera or gambling, which is unfortunately a major vehicle of organized social activity for at least the older generation."[152]

Tunney Lee recalled laundrymen coming in from the suburbs on weekends to stay "in the village rooms" kept by family and district associations. "On Sundays all the laundrymen all over the metropolitan area, obviously relatives, would come by, and you can count on them to come on Sunday. . . The laundrymen would come in on Saturday night and sleep, many in a room, and spend the day in Chinatown essentially socializing, visiting families, and visit my grandmother, you know, that kind of thing. . . . We looked forward to it because as a kid there was some uncle who'd take you to the movies and downtown. They always brought something, oranges or whatever and we always chatted." Lee described the unattached men living in Chinatown who after the war, "were stuck. They all expected to go back to China, bring the small amount of money they earned in the U.S. and live comfortably back in the village. But the war stopped all that so they all were stuck in Chinatown and they were very poor. . . . Many of them lived in little rooms in which their village association would rent a room." Laundrymen from the city and beyond spent Sunday mornings, Lee said, at the public baths, one of them at the Trans Lux Theater at 623 Washington Street. Caroline Chang noted that on New Year's Day, "a lot of our relatives, our male uncle relatives, who were here by themselves, you know, their families were still in China, they would come by and visit; they would have some of my mother's pastry."[153]

CHANGES IN TRADITIONAL BUSINESSES: FEWER LAUNDRIES, MORE RESTAURANTS

A massive expansion in the production of consumer goods took place once the material and manpower shortages of the war ended, and the development of urban self-serve laundromats and of automatic washing machines for the home

[150] See Liu, "Boston Chinatown," 74, 75.
[151] Rolly Charest & Tom Murray, "Hub Chinatown, 3rd Largest, Really an American Miracle," *Boston Traveler*, April 18, 1956, 55.
[152] "Boston's Chinatown," 250. On laundrymen coming into Boston see Gao, "Social Survey," 30.
[153] Chang interview. Heywood, "China in New England," 482, had noted in 1903 that clerks, laborers, and laundrymen "come from all parts of the city and surrounding country. Sunday afternoon is the time when they congregate in Chinatown to visit friends and buy their tea, liche nuts, dried mushrooms, rice and the other eatables and articles of dress imported by the Oriental merchants."

reduced the number of hand laundries all over the country. In 1930, 25 percent of the Chinese male labor force worked in laundries, but by 1970 only 1.7 percent of that labor force still did laundry work.[154] In 1949, there were 221 Chinese laundries in Boston, probably no more than eight of them in Chinatown. By 1962 there were only two in Chinatown—Harry Chin's at 36 Harvard Street (not extant) and the Joe Chin Hand Laundry at 66 Tyler Street (1840, BOS.2192)—both of them in business for decades.

By contrast, the restaurant trade was even more robust than it had been before the war. The 1948-49 city directory and the 1949 Chinese directory list between 22 and 27 Chinese restaurants in Chinatown, at least six of them founded during and after the war, with twelve on Tyler Street alone. Some, including the Lantern House at 20 Tyler Street and the Dragon at 21 Tyler Street (not extant), occupied the sites of earlier Chinese restaurants; others occupied sites formerly occupied by non-Chinese businesses (Photo 17) . In 1944 Gordon and Anita Chue, who had been manager and hostess at Ruby Foo's Den on Hudson Street, opened Cathay House at 70-72 Beach Street (1924, BOS.1539), which had been built for textile firms (three clothing manufacturers and a sole leather maker occupied the upper floors in 1947) and had no prior ground-floor Chinese association (Photo 14).[155] Ultimately acquired by the Wong Family Benevolent Association, the building has had Chinese restaurants on its street level since 1944.

In 1960 Yoke Soon "Billy" Chin opened China Pearl Restaurant at 9 Tyler Street, which Hong Loy Doo restaurant had occupied since the early 1930s. Chin's family had been in Chinatown since the late 1800s. His grandfather, Ming Mow Chin, ran an herbal store at 38 Harrison Avenue by 1900, and his father, Wah Chin, had joined the family business after coming to Boston from China in 1905 as the son of a "domicile merchant." After Ming Mow Chin died in 1919, Wah Chin moved the business, known as Wing On Tank Company, to 32 Oxford Street (1841-42, BOS.1929). He is shown at this address in the 1920 census as an importer and merchant living with five laundry workers and a restaurant cook; Chinese men lived in two other units above the store at this address. In 1922 Wah Chin married Len Thsill Wong, and they lived in a third-floor apartment at 32 Oxford Street into the early 1930s with their children (named, according to Frank Chin, by an Oxford Street missionary) Amy, Helen, Ann, Rose, Billy, and Frank. After the deaths of Len Chin in 1932 and Wah Chin in 1934, the children were sent to China to live with Wah Chin's first wife; they returned to Boston in 1948 and 1949. Billy Chin worked after school at a Chinese laundry in Roxbury, in the kitchen of Cathay House, and as a busboy at House of Wong, also in Chinatown. After serving in the Army and then graduating from Burdett College under the GI Bill in 1959, Chin was asked by the owners of Hon Loy Doo to open a new restaurant at 9 Tyler Street. China Pearl

[154] Peter S. Li, "Ethnic Businesses among Chinese in the U.S.," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 4, 3 (Fall 1976): 39.
[155] Gordon Winton Chue was born November 21, 1901 in Victoria, British Columbia, and was a student in Chicago in 1930. He came to Boston in 1937 and married Anita Chin in that year. Chue was naturalized in 1945 and died at his home at 60 Harvard Street (not extant) on November 21, 1962. See "Gordon Chue, Restaurant Proprietor," *Boston Herald*, November 22, 1962, 48.

quickly became not only a popular dine-and-dance spot, but also a center for community gatherings, including family association banquets and political and community fundraising dinners.[156]

NEW EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHINESE WOMEN IN THE GARMENT INDUSTRY

The presence of a growing number of Chinese immigrant women after the war impelled garment firms, always seeking low-wage labor, to hire them. Garment manufacturer Herman Geist, who had worked with his father Nathan in ladies' dress manufacture in New York City since the 1910s, moved to Boston about 1926 and took up space on the fourth floor of the Kneeland Building at 15 Kneeland Street (1924, BOS.12813). He is said to have begun to hire Chinese women as stitchers about 1946. In 1950 skirt manufacturer Samuel C. Mover, doing business on the eighth floor of the Demmon Building at 27-37 Harrison (1908, BOS.2269), hired Chow See Chin. In 1947 the Demmon Building housed nine clothing firms and the offices of the Touraine Stores; by 1951 only S. Mover and Company is shown at this address (Photo 7). By then, one firm had moved to the South End, and six were not listed in the 1951 state manufacturers' directory. Where there had once been hundreds of garment firms doing business in Chinatown, by 1951 there were only 36, with 32 of them employing from 50 to 99 persons and four employing from 100 to 249 persons.[157] Caroline Chang (born in 1940), her sister, and her mother worked at Sally Dress Company of Boston, at 786 Washington Street near the intersection of Bennet Street. Some Chinese women did piecework in their homes, as Cynthia Yee recalled below:

> In those days, mothers were home usually stitching piecework, 50 cents per shirt for College Town Sportswear Co. Fathers slept until noon and went to work at 2:00 p.m. in the restaurants across Kneeland Street, the crucial divide between residential and commercial life. It was a commonly accepted rule that we were to play quietly outdoors until noon so as not to disturb the fathers who had returned from work at 2:00 a.m. and sometimes 3:00 a.m. in the morning.[158]

While Chinese industrialists often owned garment firms in New York City and San Francisco by this time, almost no garment firms in Boston were owned by Chinese people. Murphey noted of Boston's garment shops in 1952, "Businessmen among the Chinese would like to buy an interest in the garment industry as the clearest first step toward branching out into the general economic life of the city, but so far this has been limited to the Chinese ownership of a small company wholesaling textile machinery." By 1974, 72.9 percent of employed Chinese women were working in the garment industry as stitchers.[159]

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[156] On Billy Chin, see Wing-kai To, "2012 Sojourner Awards Recipient Billy Chin," *CHSNE Chronicle* 18, 1 (Fall 2012): 14-18; Allan Tow, "From Take-out Counter to Podium: Journeys into Public Life," *CHSNE Newsletter* 16, 1 (Fall 2010): 8-10; "As 'Mayor of Chinatown,' Chin Stands the Heat, Stays in Kitchen," *Boston Globe*, November 17, 1996.

[157] Krim, "Final Survey Report," 17, 20; *A Directory of Massachusetts Manufacturers Employing Fifty or More Production Workers 1951* (Boston: Massachusetts Development and Industrial Commission, 1951), 6-14. https://archive.org/details/directoryofmassa951mass

[158] Cynthia Yee, "If Hudson Street Could Talk," *CHSNE Newsletter* 9, 1 (Fall 2003): 3. College Town Sportswear was in business at 35 Morrissey Boulevard from at least 1944 through at least 1961.

[159] Lui, "Boston Chinatown," 82; Sullivan and Hatch, *Chinese in Boston*, 9, Murphey, "Boston's Chinatown," 252-53.

HUDSON STREET SOUTH OF KNEELAND STREET – PEOPLE & PLACES: THE STORY OF THE LEE FAMILY

With the postwar growth of population and the increasing presence of families, Chinatown expanded into areas formerly occupied by Syrians and longtime residents of Irish descent south of Kneeland Street. In 1946 the family of Tunney Lee moved from 5 Oxford Place to 73 Hudson Street (1840-41, BOS.2201), just south of Hudson's intersection with Harvard Street (Photo 18). The property had been occupied by Syrian and other families through the early 1940s, and it was part of a century-old, five-unit, brick row. In 1902 a third story had been added to 73 Hudson Street, in 1918 Syrian-owned apronmaker Homsi Manufacturing Company occupied a unit at that address, and in the 1920s a store operated at the basement level, likely vacant by the time the Lee family moved here. By 1947 seventeen Hudson Street households were occupied by Chinese tenants, one sharing space with Syrian families, while at least 60 non-Chinese households existed on the block between Harvard and Oak streets. St. John of Damascus Syrian Orthodox Church had once stood across the street at 68 Hudson Street but had been taken down by 1946. The block also included Homsi Manufacturing Company, now at 77 Hudson Street (BOS.2203), the rear yard of the Quincy School, and bean-sprout manufacturer Qwong Lung Company at 80 Hudson Street (not extant). The Oxford Place unit the Lee family had rented, for fifteen dollars a month, was a cold-water flat with a kerosene stove for heat. The 73 Hudson Street apartment rented for forty-five dollars a month. Lee described the property, as follows;

> The houses [on Hudson St] were three stories with a livable basement. So essentially it had four stories. The Chinese people bought that house, 73, lived on the first floor and the basement and then they rented out the second and third floors. They were row houses, must have been about, I guess, not more than 16 feet wide. Stairways in the middle as you came in. We built a small partition for a bedroom for my grandparents. There was a little living room and a couch in it for my uncle. I had a small room which was about maybe 5 feet wide, enough for a built-in desk and a bed, actually quite comfortable because we came from one bedroom on Oxford Place. There was no bedroom—just one big room where everybody slept at the same time. So in the case of Hudson Street we actually had separate places to sleep, which was a big improvement. The kitchen was in the back, facing the back yard. . . . We had a bathroom, a real bathroom with a bathtub and running hot water and heat. The kitchen had a sink, a porcelain sink that broke. We had no refrigerators. I remember we just used the fire escape to store stuff. Because you bought stuff every day more or less. You go down to Chinatown and buy whatever you needed. Sometimes in the winter you could keep stuff out on the balcony. But most of the time, we just ate what we bought that day or stuff that could keep, all the dry stuff the Chinese use anyway.[160]

[160] Lee interview, Remembering Hudson Street, CHSNE. Jennie Chin Hansen stated that after her family moved to Boston in the late 1950s, they occupied a "very small unit, on 21 Tyler Street, that doesn't exist right now any longer. . . . One thing that was notable and remarkable, we had this tiny room that served both as a bathroom and as our cooking place. There's a burner with gas flames and there was a bathtub and a sink in there. And that was our way of living, you know? And we had two other rooms: my parents had one room and I had a . . . small room, kind of a general living

TYLER STREET SOUTH OF KNEELAND STREET – PEOPLE & PLACES

Other tenement districts south of Kneeland Street opened up to Chinese renters. The block of Tyler Street between Harvard and Oak Streets had been largely Syrian in 1918 with the Syrian Mission Church at 70 Tyler, physician Hafiza Ameer at 74, and dry-goods merchant Joseph Naimey at 104. The 1940 census shows no Chinese residents on the east side of the block, except at 68 Tyler Street and 72 Tyler Street. By 1947 the southernmost part of this block remained largely Syrian still, but 100 Tyler Street (1846-47, BOS.2233) was a Chinese "dorm," 104 Tyler Street (1846-47, BOS.2235) housed Tai Lee Noodle Company, and on that part of the block north of the Quincy School all but 67, 74, 75, and 76 Tyler were occupied by Chinese people. The units at 100 and 104 Tyler had been part of a five-unit row with three stories; to create more rentable space, fourth floors were added to both, at 100 Tyler about 1885-1890 and at 104 Tyler between 1910 and 1920 (Photo 19). As on Hudson Street, there were numerous vacant stores here, and three units at end of the row—108-112—had been torn down by 1928. In 1940 the house at 72 Tyler Street (1840, BOS.2221), according to the census, had four units and fourteen first- and second-generation Chinese-American tenants (Photo 20). Eight of the fourteen were the family of the widow Yong Shee. Her eldest daughter Mabel, born in China about 1915, was a dress-factory bookkeeper in 1940 (and one of probably few Chinese female garment-industry employees at this date) and provided the income supporting herself, her mother, and her siblings Albert, Edward, David, Dorothy, Lillian, and Neil all born in Massachusetts between 1924 and 1935; a brother-in-law, Tin Tuey Chin, also lived in the unit, and her brother Neil, born in 1918, was listed there in the 1941 directory. Another unit was occupied by the widow Ong Shee and her children, Arthur and Sylvia Chin, while the third and fourth units housed five Chinese men, one working as a carpenter and the others as grocery and restaurant workers. By 1947 bean-sprout grower Kee Fong occupied 72A Tyler Street. Ten Chinese men occupied 68 Tyler Street, six of them restaurant workers, one a laundryman, one a grocery-store bookkeeper, and one an agent for a clothing factory. No listings showing post-1940 occupancy of these two addresses are available, but 68 Tyler (and 55 Harvard Street) is now the headquarters of Nin Lun Welfare Association, while 70 Tyler houses a Chinese hair salon.

This block of Tyler Street was also the site of the Quincy School, the Tyler Street Day Nursery, Denison House, and, from 1946 forward, the Maryknoll Sisters Center at 78 Tyler Street (1901, BOS.2227). Oral histories attest to the important role the Maryknoll Center had in the lives of Chinese girls in the district.[161] Built in 1901 as a rectory for the Syrian Orthodox church, the building functioned as the Syrian Mission church from 1905 to 1946 (Photo 21). In 1946, after the Syrian Church had followed its members to another part of the city, the Boston Roman Catholic Archdiocese obtained the

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area. So that was our space." Reginald Wong recalled that most flats in Chinatown had two rooms; his family paid $25 to $30 a month for a four-room, second-floor apartment at 48 Hudson Street. Hansen interview, Chinese American Women Oral History Project; Wong interview, Remembering Hudson Street Project, CHSNE.

[161] Founded in 1912 by Mary Josephine Rogers (1882-1955), a native of Roxbury and former Boston public school teacher, the Maryknoll Sisters was at its founding the first group of Catholic sisters founded to undertake overseas missionary work. In 1920, it was formally recognized as a religious organization of the diocese and called the Foreign Mission Sisters of St. Dominic.

building and installed four Chinese sisters of the Maryknoll order from a convent in Hong Kong. (The order had been founded in 1912 by Roxbury native Mary Joseph Rogers.) The sisters helped Chinese immigrants with the citizenship process and conducted English-language classes. They organized picnics, dances, and other social events, and sponsored both a boys' basketball team, the Maryknoll Lions, and Chinese Girl Scout Troops 445 and 551. Jennie Chin Hansen, who lived at 21 Tyler Street and was a member of Troop 551, recalled the following:

> I went to the Quincy school, which was at that point located also on Tyler Street. And then . . . I had the chance of being introduced to the Maryknoll Center, which became a very big part of my life. And . . . the Girl Scout activity was really what exposed me, and many others of us, you know, to what American culture was about. . . . Collectively we were the Chinese Girl Scout Troop, Troop 551. And, you know, there was just a real sense of pleasure to have a uniform, and knowing how to tie our scarves and earning these badges and getting certain pins. . . . And I can still remember for the very first American meal we had ever prepared, it was meat loaf, mashed potatoes, and peas. And we were taught not only to cook this meal, but how to set an American table. And so that was something very, very big for us to learn this and learn though the Sister. We learned all the American Christmas songs and the holidays. And also, they were obviously very influential for some of us to become Roman Catholic. And that's something that I did when I was about ten years old. The rest of my family was not.[162]

HARVARD STREET – PEOPLE & PLACES

Between these blocks of Tyler and Hudson streets, both sides of Harvard Street were also occupied by Chinese businesses, organizations, and renters. On the south side of Harvard Street, Chinese people had begun to displace Syrians in the row numbered 55-65 Harvard Street (1839-42, BOS.2192-96) by 1947 (Photo 22). The Syrian American Educational Association was at 55 Harvard in that year, but at 57 Harvard Street, Boston Cleaning Company was in business on the ground floor while two Chinese families or individuals lived on the upper floors. Three Chinese households occupied 59 Harvard Stree, while Syrian and Chinese households shared 63 Harvard Street and William Haddad's grocery store did business at 65 Harvard Street. Currently Ni Lun Welfare Association has its rooms at 55 Harvard Street (and 68 Tyler), while Soo Yuen Benevolent Association of New England is at 61 Harvard Street. Since having been demolished for parking, the north side of this block of Harvard Street was the site of the first Chinese Christian Church of New England, at 54 Harvard Street, the earliest Chinese church in Boston. The church was created with other of Boston's Protestant churches by the City Missionary Society, which in the same year had revived its mission among Boston's Chinese population. The group hired Peter Shih, a 1936 graduate of Hartford Theological Seminary who

[162] Jennie Chin Hansen was born in 1948 in New York City just after her father, a veteran of World War II, brought her mother and two brothers to the United States from China. When she was in the fourth grade, the family relocated to Boston, living first in the South End and then at 21 Tyler Street. See Jennie Chin Hansen, interview with Lai Ying Yu, June 16, 2008, Chinese Historical Society of New England and the Schlesinger Library at Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. Chinese American Women Oral History Project transcripts, CHSNE.

had returned to China in 1941 and was then dean of the West China Union Theological Seminary, to become pastor of the new church. The congregation met at the Chinese Y at 58 Tyler Street until 1949, when it rented three rowhouses at 52, 54, and 56 Harvard Street; the church occupied the center building, while the other two were used for, among other functions, a day nursery run by Shih's wife and a Sunday school. In 1955, after an extensive capital campaign that included Chinese meals that Shih's wife cooked at various churches, the Chinese Christian Church bought the three houses.

A schism within the church led associate minister James Tan and eighteen members to break away and form the Chinese Evangelical Church in 1961. This was the first church in the city created and run by Chinese people themselves. At first located at the Union Rescue Mission on Berkeley Street, in October 1961 the Chinese Evangelical Church moved to 225 Harrison Avenue (1836-37, BOS.12800), which had been remodeled for commercial use at some point between 1867 and 1885. In 1947 Mass Corrugated Box Company occupied the first floor of 225 Harrison, while two Syrian families lived on the upper floors. In September 1963, when the church refused to allow the building's owner to open a bar at 227 Harrison Avenue, it was evicted and moved to the Union Rescue Mission's Boston Industrial Home, the former Rufus Dawes Hotel, at 8-10 Pine Street (not extant). When the Industrial Home left Boston in 1971, the Boston Redevelopment Authority acquired the building and required the church to share its space with the Pine Street Inn, a home for transient alcoholics. In addition to its active program of home visits, worship services, and language classes, the church initiated a campaign to raise funds for its own building in November 1963. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association helped the Chinese Evangelical Church get the approval of the Boston Redevelopment Authority to buy land for a new church at 247 Harrison Avenue, dedicated in 1979 (Photo 23).[163]

HARRISON AVENUE SOUTH OF KNEELAND – PEOPLE & PLACES

With the exception of the mid 19th-century housing blocks between Oak and Pine streets, including Johnny Court, Harrison Avenue south of Kneeland Street was entirely redeveloped during the late 20th and early 21st centuries. This has eradicated evidence of the Chinese presence here after the Second World War. A Chinese laundry operated at 205 Harrison Avenue in 1885, and other businesses were there by the mid-1920s. At that time Pekin Laundry (by 1949 Charles Gow Laundry) occupied part of 191 Harrison Avenue (not extant), at the northeast corner of Nassau Street, and at the other corner at 195 Harrison (not extant) was Hop Yuen Noodle Company. By 1940 thirteen Chinese men in five units, eight of them laundry workers and one the interpreter George S. N. Chin, lived at 195 Harrison Avenue; Gee How Oak Tin Association was at 199 Harrison Avenue (not extant) in 1931, and George S. N. Chin is shown at this address in

[163] On the churches see Dunstan, Light to the City, 257-58, and Wang, "History of the Chinese Churches," 92, 102-3, 105-6, 113-14, 119, 126-27, 145, 177-80. Wang notes that after the Chinese Christian Church buildings on Harvard Street burned in 1975, the congregation hoped to rebuild in Chinatown. The BRA had proposed building a community building on the site that would include apartments for elderly people, a community center, and a chapel for the church. CCBA, to which BRA had granted the right to approve any construction in Chinatown, proposed that the new chapel be used for the "non-Christian public" at all times other than Sunday services, which Shih and his congregation rejected. The CCBA rejected the project, and the Chinese Christian Church of New England acquired the former Lyden Congregational Church in Brookline and moved there in 1975. According to Wang, from thirty to forty of Shih's congregation who lived in Chinatown thereupon joined the Chinese Evangelical Church.

the 1941 and 1943 directories. This row, owned by Chin Ah Toon and others from at least 1938 and built in 1834, was razed in 1996; further south, 207 Harrison, part of the same row, had been demolished in 1938. In between the two, 201-205 Harrison Avenue lasted longer, but it too has been demolished. According to Krim, 201 Harrison was remodeled with a "celestial" balcony and Chinese-style tile cornice in 1929, but the building is shown as occupied by five families of Syrian, Lebanese, Portuguese, and Anglo descent in 1940. In the same year, 72-year-old On Chin lived with eight lodgers, six of them laundryman, at 205 Harrison. By 1947, 201 Harrison held a mix of Chinese, Syrian, and Portuguese tenants, 203 was Rogers Chair Hospital, and 205 had become the headquarters of Hip Sing Association of Boston, the old Hip Sing tong, which remained at this address into the 1950s.

The brick row at 211-219 Harrison Avenue (1836-37, BOS.12794-12798) was owned by H. W. Hunnewell and Frederick C. Bowditch from 1837 through 1917; by 1938 Elizabeth Haddad, probably Syrian, owned 211-213 while R. W. O'Brien owned 215 (Photo 24). In 1947 Syrians still occupied 211 Harrison, but Chinese men occupied 213 and 215, and by the 1960s the block, according to Krim, was almost wholly Chinese. And not until after the war did Chinese live and work in any part of the block numbered 223-239 Harrison Avenue (1836-42, BOS.12799-12803). In 1949 Mrs. Ching Young Shee is shown at 229 Harrison, between a machine company and Syrian and Anglo tenants at 227 Harrison and six garment firms at 231 Harrison (Photo 25). By 1952 Mabel Chin is shown at this address, and in the 1960s Chinese businesses began to occupy the block. The house at 225 Harrison Avenue, briefly occupied by the Chinese Evangelical Church from 1961 to 1963, now houses New England Food Supply Company, owned by Paul Eng, while Lun Fat Produce Company occupies part of 227 Harrison Avenue. The short lane between 211-219 and 223-239 Harrison Avenue, originally Maple Place but now Johnny Court, had no Chinese occupants in 1940, but by 1947 5 Johnny Court (1837-38, BOS.12806) and 6 Johnny Court (1837-39, BOS.12811) both had Chinese tenants; the Leung Association of New England now uses part of 6 Johnny Place as its headquarters (Photo 26).

POST-WWII REDEVELOPMENT

City transportation and urban planners continued to disregard Chinatown as a legitimate neighborhood after the war, and failed to recognize the effects of population growth occurring with changes to immigration laws. By 1950, according to Murphey, the amount of space for housing in Chinatown had dropped by about a third from its 1925 level, and a new era of encroachment in the form of highway projects, hospital expansion, and urban renewal severely reduced what remained. In 1952 Murphey noted that Chinatown as a residential district was endangered not only by "encirclement of incompatible land uses" but by "two more recent developments: the purchase by the New England Medical Center of an entire city block within it (bounded by Oak, Harrison, Harvard, and Tyler Streets) and their subsequent demolition of most of the

housing there; and a proposed traffic artery of the City of Boston, a section of which would include a freeway through the neighborhood, occupying three additional blocks."[164]

HOSPITAL EXPANSION

The Tufts-New England Medical Center had begun to expand into neighborhoods south of Kneeland Street before it had begun to be populated by Chinese residents and businesses. The medical center was the product of the merger in 1930 of the Boston Dispensary, Boston Floating Hospital, and Tufts Dental School, and the dispensary had been in South Cove since 1856. In 1883, it erected the existing Dispensary building at 25 Bennet Street (1883, BOS.12829), enlarged in the 1890s, and acquired the 1807 Peter Trott House next door at 37 Bennet Street (1807, BOS.12930), one of the earliest single-family dwellings in South Cove, to house its nursing staff. Boston Floating Hospital, established in 1894 on a ship in Boston harbor "to provide healthful sea breezes to urban children," created an onshore facility in the 1920s and opened its Jackson Memorial Building on Nassau Street in 1931. By 1938 all but one building on the block bounded by Bennet Street, Harrison Avenue, Nassau Street, and Ash Street was owned by the Boston Dispensary and Boston Floating Hospital. The exception was the Pratt Diagnostic Hospital at 38 Bennet Street (1937, BOS.12833), across Bennet Street from the dispensary.

It is not clear how much of the block between Harrison and Tyler streets north of Harvard Street had been cleared by December 1953, when box company president Harry Posner gave Tufts University more than a million dollars for a new dormitory to house 305 students, but in late November 1954 Posner Hall opened at 200 Harrison Avenue.[165] It covered the space formerly occupied by eighteen buildings and ten vacant lots on Tyler Street and Harrison Avenue; by 2002, with the completion of Tufts-NEMC's Jaharis Center for Biomedical and Nutrition Research just north of Posner Hall, all that remained of the former buildings on this long block were the five units of 77-85 Tyler Street (1860-61, BOS.2223-26, Photo 27). Built relatively late in the residential development of Chinatown, the brick row had housed Chinese businesses, associations, and residents since about 1915, when the Chinese National League (Kuomintang) was located at 77 Tyler Street; by 1925 it had moved to 17 Hudson Street, its current headquarters. San Yick Noodle Company occupied the basement of this address in 1922, and the firm is identified also as an importer at this address in the 1926 Chinese directory while another import firm, Quong Yick Yuen, operated from 79 Tyler Street. By 1940 all five units were occupied by Chinese people, including two families—laundry proprietor Goon Wah Moy, his wife Young Shee, and their four children, all born in Massachusetts between 1922 and 1927, and restaurant manager Lee Wong, his wife, and their three daughters, born in Massachusetts between 1925 and 1933. Thirty-three Chinese people lived at these five addresses; of the twenty for whom occupations are given, thirteen were in restaurant jobs, five in laundry work, one a grocery truck driver, and one the proprietor of a bean-sprout shop.

[164] Murphey, "Boston's Chinatown," 245.
[165] "Ex-Russian Gives $1,086,000 to Tufts," *Boston Daily Record*, December 1, 1953, 3; "Tufts' Posner Hall Dedication Today," *Boston Herald*, November 30, 1954, 22.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE CENTRAL ARTERY

At the same time that Tufts-NEMC began to claim residential areas on the southwest side of Chinatown, the Central Artery claimed them on the northeast side. In 1949, in an effort to "revive" Boston's central city, the state hired former department of public works commissioner William F. Callahan to help build three new highways—Route 128 around the city, the Southeast Expressway, and the Central Artery, which would run through the center of Boston and connect to the expressway. The plans had been publicized by 1951, and by 1953 sufficient objection to the route planned through Chinatown had emerged that the city began planning an alternate route. "There are a lot of good reasons why most of Boston's Chinatown should not be torn down to make way for a new cross-town arterial highway," the *Boston Traveler* noted in October 1953. "The most important and compelling reason, however, is that such destruction appears to be totally unnecessary. . . . The result of running the highway through Chinatown would be that thousands of Chinese would not only lose their homes, but their jobs. The state plan would also wipe out three churches, two schools, a playground, a 14-story garment building, and other valuable property. . . . The route through Chinatown looks so unsound that we wonder how it was ever proposed at all."[166] A state revision of the plan in early 1954 brought "angry blasts" from Chinatown's merchants, who saw little difference from the original plan, and the city proposed a route that would skirt Chinatown. The state public works commissioner stated that 58 Chinese families would be "relocated"; the original plan had called for displacing 170 families. Though it is not yet entirely clear how much of the demolition of the east side of Hudson Street took place during Central Artery construction and how much from the soon-to-follow extension of the Massachusetts Turnpike, some studies state that the Central Artery project displaced 250 residents, three or four restaurants, ten garment and leather shops, and 58 dwelling units; others suggest the actual taking from this project was less extreme.[167] One of the buildings taken was 74-76 Beach, at the corner of Edinboro Street, which had housed the grocery firm Sun Sun Company since about 1935. Owner Gow Sue Wong (1903-84) moved the business to a basement space at 34 Oxford Street, so small that he was forced to stop his wholesale business, and in 1983 the business acquired its current building at 18-20 Oxford Street, then being sold by the Chinese Merchants Association. It is now the oldest continuously operating grocery in Chinatown.[168] In 1956 the highway project also took about a third of the Chinese Merchants' Association building at 20 Hudson Street (1951-52, BOS.1802), completed only four years earlier; the building closed for sixteen months and reopened in October 1957, and a 1959 *Herald* photograph showed the truncated building in the background of construction at the point where the artery tunnel connected to an elevated portion of the road (Photo 28).[169]

[166] "Saving Chinatown," *Boston Traveler*, October 21, 1953, 42.
[167] "City Begins Revision of Artery Plan," *Boston American*, February 13, 1954, 2; Chun Wan Lui, "Boston Chinatown: Housing and Land Development Strategies," Master's thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1979, 16. Shauna Lo, "CHSNE Event Focused on Boston Chinatown History and Community Organizing," *CHSNE Chronicle* 19, 1 (Fall 2013): 6-7, states that only 14 of the planned 170 families were actually displaced by the Central Artery project.
[168] CHSNE Board, "Shanghai Printing Company and Sun Sun Company: Recipients of the 2009 CHSNE Sojourner Award," *CHSNE Newsletter* 15, 1 (Fall 2009): 10-11.
[169] "Chinese Open Four-Day Fete," *Boston Traveler*, October 11, 1957, 10; *Boston Herald*, January 24, 1959, 1.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS TURNPIKE EXTENSION

The extension of the Massachusetts Turnpike into Boston in the 1960s had a more significant impact on Chinatown (Fig.14). In 1955 the state legislature, not convinced that Boston's renaissance would occur, asked Callahan to extend the toll road into Boston along the path of the Boston & Albany Railroad; after much debate over the route, the extension was connected to the Central Artery in 1965. According to Chun Wan Lui, extending the turnpike involved the taking by eminent domain of 360 housing units and the displacement of 950 residents. Louis Hadaya, whose family had left Hudson Street for West Roxbury in 1953, stated that "the buildings on Hudson Street where the Mass Pike is and going on the Southeast Expressway, I would say 99 percent were Chinese. The Chinese people were really hurt more so than anybody else because what happened was they didn't have anywhere to go." Helen Woo noted that "all of us that lived on that side of Hudson Street were devastated"; her family moved to the Back Bay in 1962. Randy Tow, whose family was among the last to leave Hudson Street, said, "Prior to moving out, the area was like a ghost town with looters and scavengers going through the abandoned homes." Reginald Wong, whose family had lived at 48 Hudson Street since 1939, when he became manager of Gamsun Restaurant at 21 Hudson Street, was among those whose housing was taken for the highway project. His son Reginald, born in 1948, had the following recollection:

> I guess they built it in two phases. I remember when they took the rear part of Hudson Street which is Albany Street, all those buildings down to build the expressway. While they were building the expressway as kids we used to play on the construction site. Piles of sand, the landfill and all that stuff to get the right grade and fill the highway. We used to play over there. The second phase came when we had to move to make way for the Mass Pike extension. That's when they took the Hudson Street side of the row houses. I guess there were 60 to 70 families that had to be relocated. That was like 1960, 1961, I would guess. . . We didn't all move at the same time. As each family left, there would be a vacant floor, a vacant building.[170]

The Wong family moved to Johnny Court from Hudson Street and remained there until 1967, when they moved to Mattapan.[171] Also forced to relocate was Dr. Stanley Lin Foo Chin, who had grown up at 81 Harrison Avenue and had graduated from medical school in 1943. After postgraduate work at the University of Pennsylvania, Chin established his practice at 92 Hudson Street by 1947 and remained there until 1964, when he relocated his offices to 80 Boylston Street. For three decades he was the English secretary of the Chinese Merchants Association and the Gee How Oak Tin Association of New England.[172]

[170] Louis Hadaya, interview with Chien Chi Huang, September 18, 1995, Boston, Remembering Hudson Street project, CHSNE; May Lee Tom and Chien Chi Huang, "Chinese Historical Society of New England: Remembering Hudson Street: Preserving Our History: Oral History Interview with Reggie Wong" (September 18, 1995, Boston), CHSNE; May Lee Tom, "Remembering Hudson Street," *CHSNE Newsletter* 2, 1 (Spring 1996): 3.
[171] Caroline Chang interview.
[172] See Chu, *Chinese in Massachusetts*, 98, and "Dr. Stanley Chin, 64, Leader in Chinese Community," *Boston Herald*, January 1, 1985, 31.

In 1965, the same year the turnpike extension was completed, the federal Immigration and Nationality Act abolished all national-origin quotas, permitted 170,000 immigrant visas to be issued each year (no more than 20,000 from any given country per year), and allowed husband, wives, parents, and unmarried children to enter the United States in unlimited numbers. The effect of the act was to triple the Chinese population of Boston between 1960 and 1980. Estimates of population growth in Chinatown itself between 1960 and 1970 vary widely, from 19 percent to as much as 66 percent and from a total population of 1,000 in 1960 to about 1,900 in 1970. Even at 66 percent, its growth was modest when compared to such neighborhoods as Allston-Brighton, which grew by 608 percent, and the Parker Hill-Fenway area, which grew by 108 percent.

New organizations developed in the 1960s amid this growing population. In 1961 Reginald Wong, who had grown up at 48 Hudson Street, founded the Boston Knights Athletic Club chiefly among American-born Chinese men (jook sing) who worked in laundries and restaurants. The Knights first established a meeting room at the Kuomintang building at 17 Hudson Street, and in 1963 moved to 18 Oxford Street, above Sun Sun Company's market; the club maintained a headquarters into the early 1980s, by which time many of its members were living in suburban Boston. Bob Lee, a neighbor of Wong on Hudson Street and owner of Bob Lee's Islander Restaurant on Tyler Street, paid for the club's uniforms and tournament travel. The Knights were the first jook sing volleyball team in the United States and the first jook sing team to win the North American Chinese Invitational Volleyball Tournament, in 1967.[173] Also in 1967 the Chinese American Civic Association was formed to provide services to the Chinatown community; now the Asian American Civic Association, its headquarters are 87 Tyler Street, where the Quong Kow school also moved when the building was completed in 2007. The civic association is the publisher of *Sampan*, the district's first sustained Chinese-language newspaper, which Gloria J.K.Y. Chin founded in 1970 after graduating from Boston University's graduate journalism program. And in 1967 as well, Richard Cardinal Cushing of the Boston Roman Catholic Archdiocese invited the Rev. Francis Li of Hong Kong to become assistant pastor at St. James the Greater Catholic Church at 123 Harrison Avenue (1873-75, BOS.12788), thereby creating the first ministry among Boston's Chinese Catholics. The Chinese Catholic congregation uses the church's lower chapel and serves more than one thousand persons throughout the archdiocese.[174]

[173] Nancy Eng, "Sojourner Award Recipient: The Boston Knights Chinese Athletic Club," *CHSNE Newsletter* 16, 1 (Fall 2010): 17; Bryan Marquand, "Reggie Wong, 'Everyone's Uncle' in Chinatown, 68," *Boston Globe*, April 7, 2011.

[174] Lui, "Boston Chinatown," 52; Chu, Chinese in Massachusetts, 98; Gao, "Social Survey," 76. According to Gao, efforts to provide a ministry among Chinese Catholics date to March 1939, when Rev. Paul Yu-pin, the bishop of Nanking, visited Boston as part of a tour to urge the United States to stop providing arms and ammunition to Japanese forces. The bishop returned to Boston in September 1939, gave an interview at 14 Oxford Street, and addressed a crowd of 1,000 at 9 Tyler Street. After his visit several leaders in the Chinatown community converted to Catholicism. See ["Chinese Bishop Here Begs for Ban on Shipments of Arms to Japan," *Boston Herald*, March 26, 1939, 66; "Chinese Catholic Bishop Honored Here," *Boston Herald*, March 27, 1939, 11. In 1892 P. Y. Moy published the short-lived *Chinese Monthly News* at 36 Harrison Avenue.

SOUTH COVE URBAN RENEWAL PLANS

The growing population in Chinatown further strained its aging, crowded, and increasingly limited housing stock, and one study noted that its physical area was "reduced by half" between 1960 and 1970.[175] The housing in which the district's elderly men lived was a critical concern; one study found many of them poorly nourished and chronically ill, with a higher incidence of lung disease than prevailed in the general population, and because of persistent low wages they were "unable to retire to China in the traditional manner. . . . Often they are without the families who would normally support them, and must live with other elderly men in cramped, overcrowded quarters." Forming possibly as much as 10 percent of Chinatown's population, these men lived where the rents were lowest, and they were unwilling to enter nursing homes because their English skills were generally poor and they hated the non-Chinese food offered in such facilities.[176] Similarly, one 1970s Chinese Economic Development Council survey of more than 100 restaurant workers who either worked in Chinatown or lived in the district and were shuttled out each day to suburban restaurants found 62 percent of 72 respondents preferred to live in Chinatown because they experienced no language barrier, had access to customary foods and goods and to transportation, and liked the community.[177]

Just at the time when housing was more urgently needed, urban renewal in Chinatown further reduced its supply. The city had been urging an "area face-lifting" for Chinatown as part of a general campaign to "flight blight" since the mid-1950s. In 1961 Boston Mayor John F. Collins hired Edward J. Logue, who had just completed an urban renewal project in New Haven, CT, to become the development administrator of the BRA. Two years later, in recognition of the fact that "the Chinese residential community has suffered severe dislocation and reduction of its land area through highway construction" and faced potentially more intrusion, the BRA signed an agreement with the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association in which the CCBA's consent was required (though it was not accorded "veto power") for any proposed development in that area of the South Cove south of Kneeland Street. The BRA stated its desire "to protect and preserve the Chinese community" and to find more land for Chinatown "consistent with other interests in the South Cove area." The authority promised to build new "low-cost housing" on a phased basis so as to "preclude dislocation of the Chinese families within the area," to permit no high-income housing, to involve CCBA in selecting the housing developer, and to keep the development of Tufts-NEMC from intruding on Chinatown except in the redevelopment "sub-area" already allotted for that purpose. CCBA, for its part, was to form or sponsor a development corporation for the housing project and an urban renewal committee representing the interests of Chinatown's residents, businesses, and organizations.[178]

[175] Sullivan and Hatch, *Chinese in Boston*, 9-10, 15-16; Lo, "Transition and Change," 13; Lui, "Boston Chinatown," 9, 20. One survey of the medical needs of the community found that between July 1, 1966 and June 30, 1967, 697 immigrants came to Boston from Hong Kong, many of them in families with young children. See "Tufts Taking One Step to Give Chinatown Health Care," *Boston Herald*, February 17, 1970, 9. Population estimates vary widely; another study stated that Chinatown had a population of 1,000 persons in 1972.
[176] Sullivan and Hatch, *Chinese in Boston*, ii, 72.
[177] Lui, "Boston Chinatown," 100-101.
[178] Memorandum of Understanding between Mayor of Boston, BRA, and CCBA, 24 May 1963, Appendix 1 in Lui, "Boston Chinatown," 275-77.

In June 1965, BRA issued its urban renewal plan for the South Cove, which identified five major sections of the area—the Tyler-Hudson Street residential area, the Tufts-NEMC area, Bay Village, the Tremont-Shawmut residential area, and the entertainment and commercial district. BRA stated its intention to keep the existing street pattern and as much of the existing housing as possible in the Tyler-Hudson Street area, and to mitigate the visual intrusion of the Massachusetts Turnpike, its retaining wall along Hudson Street, and the "cut" for the railroad corridor. Six parcels were defined as urban renewal areas in the Tyler-Hudson Street area—two between Tyler and Hudson Streets both north and south of Harvard Street (one being the Quincy School parcel), one ranging along Hudson Street from just north of Oak Street south to Curve Street and bordered on the west by Harrison Avenue, a small parcel on the east side of Tyler Street just to the north, and two contiguous parcels south of Oak Street between Harrison Avenue and Washington Street. The Tufts-NEMC area included fourteen parcels altogether, two of them between Harrison Avenue and Tyler Street south of Harvard Street (including the six-unit row at 77-87 Tyler Street across from Quincy School), two parcels on Harrison Avenue between Nassau Street and Oak Street, and another bordering both the north side of Harvard Street and the west side of Harrison Avenue.[179]

In 1965 the South Cove project was projected to displace 130 families and 400 individuals. In October 1967, a BRA report on the residents expected to be relocated stated that some 550 families would be displaced from about a third of the occupied dwelling units and furnished rooms in the area. Of the 410 households to be relocated that BRA surveyed, 234 were Chinese; of those 234 households, 29 percent were people living alone, 14 percent were individuals living in "joint households" (compared to 8 percent living in such households in the city as a whole), and 39 percent were living in families of from four to more than eight persons. Fully 93 percent of single-person households in Chinatown were men. On the whole the Chinese households were less poor and more apt to be employed full-time than non-Chinese households to be relocated, but they were more apt to be living in housing judged to be either overcrowded or substandard. When asked where they would prefer to live after being displaced from their current homes, 65 percent of the 234 Chinese household heads stated that they wished to remain in the South Cove after relocation (compared to 24 percent of non-Chinese households), while another 24 percent said they would prefer to relocate in the South End, still relatively close to Chinatown.[180] By that time, BRA had signed an agreement with Tufts-NEMC giving the center the right to develop parcels abutting and extending into Chinatown on the condition that it not do so until "new relocation housing" had been built, and that the center build and maintain a "small park" between Tyler Street and Harrison Avenue for the public to use. The agreement noted that the medical center had already spent more than $2,000,000 between 1958 and 1962 buying land and razing buildings, and promised equivalent Section 112 credits to its expansion. Section 112 credits, part of the

[179] "Boston Redevelopment Authority Urban Renewal Plan South Cove Urban Renewal Area: Project No. Mass. R-92 June 8, 1965" [pencil note "with amendment thru Jan. 1969"], https://archive.org/stream/urbanrenewalplan65bost#page/n5/mode/2up:
[180] Walter L. Smart, "Diagnostic Report of Residents to be Relocated, South Cove Urban Renewal Project" (Boston Redevelopment Authority Family Relocation Department, October 1967), https://archive.org/stream/diagnosticreport67bost#page/n5/mode/2up. See also Sullivan and Hatch, *Chinese in Boston*, 47, and Lui, "Boston Chinatown," 187.

1959 Housing Act, were a federal match that boosted the amount of federal money available to certain projects—making them instantly more appealing to city officials--and aimed to make it easier for hospitals and universities to expand in urban areas. Numerous institutions "landlocked" in cities used the credits to expand.[181] One study determined that the expansion of Tufts-NEMC Chinatown lost 782 dwelling units, far more than it had lost from the Central Artery and turnpike projects.[182]

The South Cove Urban Renewal Project was designed principally, according to some analysts, to meet the medical center's desire to grow and to rid the area of housing the BRA considered blighted, and, despite the 1963 agreement between BRA and Tufts-NEMC, the needs of Chinatown continued to be minimized; after the agreement was signed and well into the 1990s, units occupied by Chinese people at 50-67 Harvard Street, 18-56 Harvard Street, and 58-64 Harvard Street were razed and now serve as parking for Tufts-NEMC. In 1964, New England Telephone and Telegraph Company was permitted to raze 14-18 Harrison Avenue (and 1-3 Oxford Place) for a new building. In 1969, the Boston Redevelopment Authority estimated that 72 percent of the housing in Chinatown was deteriorated or dilapidated, a far higher proportion than the 14 percent so classified in the city as whole. "I think what happens is that in those days, the engineers would come down and look," said Tunney Lee, who had grown up on Oxford Place and Hudson Street and returned to Boston to work for BRA in 1961. "What they would see is the leather district, the garment district, a dying industry or some empty buildings. They look at Chinatown and they see slums. . . . I think for them it looked like junk. I think the professional view, especially engineers in those days, was it was a bunch of old, abandoned or nearly empty old buildings and a bunch of slums so we're doing everybody a favor."[183]

CHINATOWN ACTIVISM FOR NEW HOUSING AND NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICES

These radical displacement projects posed a serious threat to greater Boston's Chinese American community, and the Chinese American Civic Association (CACA, now known as the Asian American Civic Association or AACA) was created in 1967 to protect the community's identity and preserve what was left of Chinatown. After a series of outreach meetings, the CACA identified its immediate concerns as the social and cultural isolation of Chinese American children in the suburbs, racial identity of their children, fear of commercial development in Chinatown by outsiders, lack of communication among themselves and with newly arrived immigrants, and the need to instill pride in the community through improvements in housing and health.[184] Its efforts in improving the health and welfare of Chinatown's residents,

[181] Ladale Winling, "Section 112 Credits," Urban Oasis website, http://www.urbanoasis.org/2011/07/01/section-112-credits/.
[182] Lui, "Boston Chinatown," 16. Lui states that all told the three projects took 1,200 dwelling units—58 dwellings units lost to the Central Artery, 360 lost to the turnpike extension, and 782 to Tufts-NEMC expansion—as well as ten garment and leather shops, three or four restaurants, and part of the CMA building.
[183] "Chinatown Leaders Meet for Area Face-Lifting," *Boston Traveler*, 24 May 1956, 5; George Clarke, "Plans for 'New' Boston Has Chinatown Worried," Boston Daily Record, 11 September 1956, 24; Liu, "Boston Chinatown," 93, 98; Lee interview. Sullivan and Hatch, *Chinese in Boston*, 22, stated that Chinatown did not receive the "full protection" it had been promised in its 1963 agreement and that Tufts-NEMC received "favored treatment" from the BRA as it continued to expand.
[184] From documents in the Asian American Civic Association Archives.

many of them aging immigrant bachelors, resulted in the formation of the South Cove Community Health Center and the Golden Age Center in the 1970s. The CACA also initiated an English-education program for restaurant workers and sponsored a conference on the future of Chinatown.

The CACA also was involved in organizing a Grievance Forum, in which city and state officials met with the community to discuss the many social and development issues facing Chinatown. This event marked the beginning of Chinatown's active participation in the mitigation of the adverse impacts that highway construction and urban renewal had wrought on the Chinese-American community. In response, the Mayor's Task Force for the Resolution of Grievances in Chinatown was created In December 1969, and the 1963 Urban Renewal Agreement was revised.

One of the first accomplishments was the construction of Tai Tung Village at 232 Harrison Avenue, completed in 1973 (Photo 29). Erected on the site of a municipal building that once housed the Boston Public Library's delivery station and a gymnasium, the project provided 214 new dwellings for displaced Chinatown residents. It was fully rented by March 1972, a year before its doors were opened, with a waiting list that included as many as 800 persons. The first family to move in was that of Wai Foo Leong, who had lived at 27 Tyler Street; the family of Ying Yee Chan moved from Oxford Street shortly afterward.[185]

The completion of Mass Pike Towers and Quincy Towers shortly afterward added another 362 units to the district's housing stock. Ninety-five percent of the 576 units in these apartment complexes were rented to Chinese people by the end of the 1970s, but they replaced only 48 percent of the total loss of units from highway projects and urban renewal and had a waiting list at that time of 900 persons. In 1978, the BRA estimated that 78 percent of Chinatown's housing units were overcrowded, compared to a citywide figure of 8 percent, while a Chinese Economic Development Council survey of 65 Chinese households in March 1979 found 80 percent were overcrowded.[186] Chinese-American developer Stanley Chen built Quincy Towers in 1978, as well as South Cove Plaza East and West in 1982. He helped found the Chinese Economic Development Council in 1974, the first Chinatown organization to secure significant federal funding for housing and commercial improvement projects.

Planned in the 1960s and opened in 1976, the new Josiah Quincy School at 885 Washington Street created a controversy with Tufts-NEMC, which had hoped to have a role in the health facility planned for the school complex. The Chinese American Civic Association successfully argued that the facility should instead be operated by the Chinese community, which in 1970 organized the Boston Chinese Community Health Services, located temporarily at 199 Harrison Avenue until construction of the new Quincy School was completed. When the school and clinic moved to the new building, the

[185] Barbara Rabinovitz, "Chinatown Housing Opens," *Boston Herald*, March 31, 1973.
[186] Lui, "Boston Chinatown," 93, 154.

clinic became South Cove Community Health Center. The original Quincy School would sit vacant for the next seven years, while the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) petitioned the City's Department of Public Facilities for the title to the building for uses as a community center.[187] The school property was finally transferred to the CCBA in 1983.

The Chinese YMCA, whose 56 Tyler Street building was demolished as part of South Cove urban renewal, relocated to three temporary bubble structures until a donation from the An Wang Family Foundation allowed it to acquire the former Don Bosco Technical High School's gymnasium at 8 Oak Street and refit it as the Wang YMCA of Chinatown.[188]

Since 1970, most of the activity aimed at improving housing and other conditions in Chinatown has been undertaken by the Chinese community itself. The Greater Boston Chinese Golden Age Center (also an outgrowth of CACA) was opened in 1972, first on Harrison Avenue and currently at 75 Kneeland Street; it owns the elderly housing project known as Hong Lok House, built behind the façades of historic buildings at 15-25 Essex Street in 2006. The Chinese Progressive Association was founded in 1977 to deal with issues of employment and housing among Greater Boston's Chinese population.[189] And in 1992, after the Maryknoll Sisters left 78 Tyler Street, the Chinese Catholic Pastoral Center established its offices at that address.

CHINESE CONSOLIDATED BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION

One of the oldest Chinatown organizations, the CCBA of New England was created in 1884, and registered with the Ching government in Peking (as a branch of New York's CCBA) in 1890. Initially, it served as an umbrella organization for local family associations and provided some clout with outside groups and the city government. Today, there are 34 member organizations. The CCBA' s current mission is to promote unity amongst its membership, to preserve Chinese culture and tradition, safeguard equal rights for its members, seek affordable housing opportunities, and to enhance the general welfare of the Chinese community.

Originally located amid the family and business associations and restaurants at the Beach Street end of Tyler Street, the CCBA acquired the old Quincy School at 88-90 Tyler Street from the city in 1983. It repurposed the building into a multiuse facility to provide much-needed space for community programs for adults and children in traditional Chinese arts

[187] On the new Quincy School, see Caroline Chang interview; see also Susan Wilson, "The Old Quincy School," *CHSNE Newsletter* 12, 1 (Fall 2006): 23-25. In 1971 the CCBA executive board included representatives of the CMS, the Chinese American Civic Association, the Chinese Nationalist Party, the Chinese Free Masons, the Chinese Evangelical Church, the Chinatown YMCA, the Chinese Women's Club, the Ni Lun Association (a seamen's organization), Hip Sing Association, the American Legion Chinatown post, and Kew Sing Music Club. See Sullivan and Hatch, *Chinese in Boston*, 76.
[188] Fan, "Wang YMCA," 12.
[189] Livia Gershon, "Who Owns Chinatown?" BuzzFeed website, http://www.buzzfeed.com/liviagershon/who-owns-chinatown#.pvmb7rPBY. A 2013 report by the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund found that while the absolute number of Asian residents in Chinatown had increased modestly, the overall percentage of Asian residents of Chinatown fell from 70 to 46 percent between 1990 and 2010. The typical Asian household in Chinatown earned $13,057 in 2009, while the income of a typical non-Asian household in the neighborhood was $84,225.

and crafts and other skills. Among them are folk and classical dance, Chinese opera, traditional music, art, calligraphy, and language, as well as martial arts, ping pong, and Chinese chess. There are English language classes, ballroom dancing for senior citizens, and Chinese checkers/Go club, as well as resident associations and a credit union. A conference room is available for meetings of the Chinatown Neighborhood Council, Neighborhood Crime Watch, Hong Lock elderly residents, and historic and preservation groups.

The following organizations are among those supported by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association.

- Kwong Dung Music Group
- Que Shing Chinese Music & Opera Group
- Boston Chinese Folk Dance
- Boston Yuan Chi Dance Association
- Boston Chinese Folk and Classical Dance Troupe
- Boston Chinese Folk Dance
- CCBA NE Children's art class
- New England Kung Fu & Dance Association
- Senior Aerobic Dance
- Senior Ballroom Dance
- CCBA NE Drum & Dulcimer classes
- Woo Ching White Crane Martial Arts
- Nam Pai Kung Fu Martial Arts
- Shinkendo Shisinkan Dojo Martial Arts
- Benevolent Jade Society of New England
- Chinese Women's Association of New England
- Gee Tuck Sam Tuck Association
- Gin Family Association
- CCBA-NE Ping Pong Club
- CBA-NE Chinese Chess club
- Chinatown Resident Association
- New England Lee Federal Credit Union
- Herald International, dba Restaurant Missionary
- Harvard Phillips Brooks After School Program
- Ching Wah Academy of New England
- Harvard Phillips Brooks House Chinatown Teens
- Professor Huang Chinese Mandarin class and English as a Second Language

PUBLIC SPACES & THE CHINATOWN GATE

Both the open space needs and outdoor traditions of Chinatown have been addressed in numerous projects. In 1969 or 1970 Davis Woo, part of the 1969 Grievance Task Force, helped institute the August Moon or Mid-Autumn Festival in Chinatown, and the historic tradition of outdoor life in Chinatown has been enhanced by the Boston Chinese Evangelical Church's summer outdoor evangelism meetings, started in 1971, and the Dragon Boat Festival on the Charles River Esplanade, started in 1978.[190] In 1973, after the persistent efforts of Caroline Chang of Chinatown's Little City Hall, Jim Fong, Davis Wood, William Bray, and Francis Chin to increase open recreational space in Chinatown, the city agreed to build Pagoda Park on 2.5 acres of land on Hudson Street leased from the Metropolitan Boston Transportation Authority (MBTA). It included two basketball courts, a volleyball court, bleachers, and oak trees that screened the park from expressway ramps. Chang noted that Chinatown's children had been using the area already and even cut the grass

[190] Chu, Chinese in Massachusetts, 67; Wang, "History of Chinese Churches," 193.

themselves.[191] Less than a decade after the park was completed, however, the MBTA announced plans to build new ramps from South Station to the Southeast Expressway and Kneeland Street that would necessitate relocating Pagoda Park. The BRA had a $400,000 grant from the state Executive Office of Communities and Development to relocate the park, but in 1987 it determined the costs of doing so would be about $3.7 million, and that all possible relocation sites in or near Chinatown were committed to building new housing. The BRA convinced the MBTA to reconsider its ramp plans in order to avoid displacing Pagoda Park.[192]

The Chinese Nationalist Government in Taiwan made a gift of building materials for a Chinese-style gate for Boston's Chinatown. The gate was a symbol of welcome that frequently is seen at entrances to cities and villages throughout China; the Foo Dog figures at the base of the gate are symbols of protection. The materials had been warehoused for over ten years due to a shortage of funds for the gate's erection. After lobbying the city, the brothers Billy and Frank Chin secured the city's approval as well as funding from the city and the Edward Ingersoll Browne Fund to complete the project. The gate was constructed at the intersection of Beach and Hudson streets in 1982 (Photo 30). The gate stands within the 0.75-acre Chinatown Park, now part of the Rose F. Kennedy Greenway, Adding to its setting, the gate is flanked by the .082-acre Mary Soo Hoo Park, formerly the Chinatown Gateway Park, established in 2011 and named in honor of longtime philanthropist, community activist, and civic leader Mary Soo Hoo. South of the park is additional privately owned vacant land on the east side of Hudson Street that was created in the 1990s when the city of Boston demolished four buildings, including the former Ruby Foo's at 6 Hudson Street, because of rotten pilings[193]

Chinatown has also expanded modestly into bordering areas. Empire Garden Restaurant opened in 1995 in the 1903 Globe Theater at 690 Washington Street (1903, BOS.2340); though not earlier occupied by Chinese tenants, Chinese restaurants had operated on this block of Washington Street for decades (Photo 31). Sun Hing Noodle Company does business at 170 Lincoln Street (1899-1901, BOS.1856), an address not earlier associated with Boston's Chinese population. South Cove Community Health Center operates clinics at 885 Washington Street and at 145 South Street (1884, BOS.1987). Chinese-owned and -operated business have also spread west along Beach and onto Knapp Street, areas also not earlier associated with Boston's Chinese population; the Greek Revival rowhouse at 5 Knapp Street (1835-39, BOS.2276), where Labelle Hemstitching Company operated in 1925, now houses Pot Luck Café; Teo Chew Association of New England and a Chinese tailor occupy 9 Knapp Street (1889, BOS.2278), and Jia Ho Supermarket

[191] Paul Sullivan, "Chinatown Persistence Wins Park," Boston Herald, June 15, 1973, 15; in 1987
[192] See "Pagoda Park Relocation: Alternative Sites: A Preliminary Evaluation" (Report, Boston Redevelopment Authority, February 25, 1987), Internet Archive, https://archive.org/stream/pagodaparkreloca00bost#page/n1/mode/2up.
[193] Fan, "Boston Chinatown"; "Hudson Street: Then and Now," *CHSNE Newsletter* 2, 1 (Spring 1996): 6; Lui, "Chinatown in Boston," 44; To, "2012 Sojourner Awards Recipient Billy Chin." The Chinese government sent 55 crates of green ceramic tiles for a "double-roofed gateway" to Chinatown in 1975. The gate was designed by Jung/Brannen Associates of Boston and the park by Carol R. Johnson Associates and Turenscape. See Dan McLaughlin, "Parade, Picnic, Family Day Draw Big Crowds," Boston Herald, June 8, 1981, 3. On falling groundwater levels in South Cove and the deterioration of wooden pilings on made land, see Seasholes, *Gaining Ground*, 252.

occupies ground-level commercial space across Knapp Street at the rear of 692 Washington Street, the former Globe Theater.

SUMMARY

The repeal of the Exclusion Act made it possible for Chinese families to reunite, which brought scores of wives and children into Boston. This new population wave also included the wives of war veterans. The Chinatown population swelled, pushing its bounds south of Kneeland Street into old South Cove neighborhoods vacated by Syrians and others, and it overflowed into the South End, as well as the Allston-Brighton and Parker Hill-Fenway neighborhoods. Chinatown remained the cultural center of this dispersed population and the traditional occupations were maintained, although there were increasingly fewer laundries and more restaurants. Chinese women found employment in garment factories. Chinatown continued to be comprised of old and substandard housing. Postwar highway expansion, redevelopment, and urban renewal programs claimed large amounts of the available housing, and the Chinese community mobilized to ensure that these losses were mitigated by new housing and health and human services. Organizations were formed to take charge of Chinatown's destiny, preserve Boston's Chinese American culture, and provide a safe haven for families living isolated outside the area, much in the same way it had coalesced as the home base for bachelor laundrymen years earlier.

Chinese Americans in Boston after 1985

Having grown and transformed significantly after the Second World War and the repeal of the Exclusion Act, the Chinese-American community in Boston experienced another burst of growth and resettlement after 1980 and particularly following the June Fourth Incident in Tiananmen Square in 1989. The effect of this growth, coupled with the strides Chinese-American agencies made to mitigate the adverse effects of the South Bay Urban Renewal Plan on Chinatown and bring stability to the neighborhood, was to instill an esteem and a permanence that had not been there before. With thousands of new immigrants arriving in the region, Chinatown has taken on a new significance as a Chinese (and Asian) cultural center and a symbol of pride of heritage. Service organizations and cultural groups have multiplied, many of them integrated with those representing the city and region at large.

As Chinese Americans have become more numerous and successful in the greater Boston area, they are more visible in public positions. City Council President Michele Wu was the first Chinese American to be elected to the Boston City Council, in 2009. US Senator Elizabeth Warren, a mentor of Wu's when at Harvard University, appointed Roger Lau as her State Director in 2016. Son of Chinese immigrants in Queens, New York's Chinatown, Lau had been on the staff of Warren's predecessor, John Kerry. And in 2017, Dr. Tommy Chang was hired as superintendent of Boston's public schools. Today, Chinese Americans fill positions in all professions and occupations; many continue to work in restaurants, the most obvious landmarks of the Chinese presence in the United States and their immigration history.

No longer restricted, Chinese Americans reside in every neighborhood in Boston and its surrounding towns. Yet Chinatown is still the principal commercial, organizational, and entertainment center. Nevertheless, encroachment on the settlement area has not abated. One indication is that while the population of Chinatown increased 43.7 percent from 2000 to 2010, ten times the rate of the city as a whole, the percentage of Chinese in that population decreased ten percent. New high-rise residential development has attracted non-Chinese occupants, although some of that development has been undertaken by Chinese-run development companies, such as the Asian Community Development Corporation.

Chinese American organizations are numerous and thriving, such as the following:

- Boston Chinatown Neighborhood Center (BCNC): the largest social service provider to Asian families in the greater Boston Area
- Chinatown/South Cove Neighborhood Council (CNC): concerned with physical aspects of neighborhood, such as cleanliness, safety, and business relations
- Chinatown Resident Association (CRA)
- Chinatown Safety Committee (CSC)
- Asian Community Development Corporation (ACDC): runs a variety of programs for individuals and families living in the Greater Boston region as well as the traditional Chinatown neighborhood. The corporation's stated goal through these programs is to "foster new leadership and give low and moderate income residents the tools and resources they need to stabilize their housing which may include buying their homes, participating in the change and growth of their neighborhoods, and contributing more fully to economic and civic life throughout the region." These programs include Community Organizing and Planning, Youth Programs, Housing Counseling and Assistance, and Real Estate Development.
- Asian American Civic Association (AACA): The Asian American Civic Association provides limited English speaking and economically disadvantaged people with education, occupational training, and social services enabling them to realize lasting economic self-sufficiency.
- Chinese Progressive Association (CPA): Founded in 1977, a grassroots community organization that works for full equality and empowerment of the Chinese community of greater Boston; activities to improve living and working conditions of Chinese Americans and to involve ordinary community members in decision making.
- Chinese American Citizens Alliance (CACA) – Boston Lodge: a non-partisan Chinese-American fraternal, benevolent nonprofit organization founded in 1895 in San Francisco, California, to secure equal rights for Americans of Chinese ancestry and to better the welfare of their communities. CACA is the United States' oldest Asian-American civil-rights organization. The Boston Lodge was founded in 1927, dissolved and re-chartered in 2014.
- South Cove Community Health Center: Founded in 1972 to improve the health and well-being of all medically underserved in Boston and surrounding communities, with a special focus on Asian Americans.
- Greater Boston Chinese Golden Age Center: A nonprofit organization serving the Asian elderly since 1972 with culturally sensitive and linguistically appropriate programs and services.
- Kwang Kow Chinese School: Founded in 1916 by the Chinese Merchants Association to establish an educational institution to help maintain Chinese heritage among immigrants. The school is the oldest one of its kind in Boston and one of the longest-running Chinese schools on the East Coast. Through its long and distinguished history, KKCS has provided Chinese language and cultural education, academic support, and recreational programs for more than 20,000 children of Chinese immigrants in Eastern Massachusetts region.
- Chinese Merchants Association: One of the original service associations formed in Chinatown.
- Boston Lodge of Freemasons (Chee Kong Tong)

The preservation of Chinatown and Boston’s Asian-American heritage is supported by a number of Asian studies programs at the region’s many colleges and universities. For example,

- Rosenberg Institute for East Asian Studies, Suffolk University, Boston
- Asian Studies Program, Bridgewater State University
- Asian Studies Program, Morrissey College of Arts & Sciences, Boston College
- Institute for Asian American Studies, University of Massachusetts, Boston
- Asian Studies Program, Northeastern University

The Chinese Historical Society of New England

Incorporated in 1992, CHSNE is the first educational organization dedicated solely to documenting, preserving, and promoting the history and legacy of Chinese immigration in New England. It has taken the lead in a number of cultural initiatives, such as the Chinatown Heritage Trail Project and the Restoration of Mount Hope Chinese Burial Grounds. The Chinese-American Women Oral History Project is a joint undertaking with the Schlesinger Library of the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University to record oral histories of Chinese-American women who lived in New England. In 1995, CHSNE began presenting annual Sojourner Awards, in memory of the early Chinese sojourners, to recognize individuals and organizations for their contribution to the Chinese-American community in New England. It also conducts walking tours of historic sites in Chinatown and is in the process of developing a visitors' center.

Section F.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES & REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

A. National Register Criteria and Aspects of Integrity as They Apply to Historic Resources Associated with Chinese Immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston

Historic resources associated with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston will be eligible under Criteria A, B, C, or D. Eligible properties can meet more than one criterion. They must also be demonstrated to be significant within the period of significance of the context and retain physical integrity from that period as described below. Amendments may be made to existing listings to address associations with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in Boston. For example, the National Register Nomination Form for the Mount Hope Cemetery in Boston (listed in the National Register in 2009) is being amended under this context to include significance of Chinese burials and cemetery sections created for the city's Chinese population there.

Period of Significance

The period of significance for the historic resources associated with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston extends from 1875, when the first group of Chinese men settled in Boston, to 1985, at which time the fluctuating physical parameters of modern Chinatown became fixed, and the Chinese-American population of Boston and its environs began to multiply enormously. The historic events associated with eligible properties or the individuals who inhabited them must have occurred within the period of significance or be demonstrated as being exceptional under the National Register criteria.

National Register Criteria

Criterion A. An eligible property must possess a documented association with a significant event or represent a distinguishing aspect of the history of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston in a local, state or national context, though in this Multiple Property Submission properties will be evaluated at a state or local—not national—level. It is also important to document that the property existed at the time the significant event or activity occurred. Under this criterion, the representative features will be principally buildings, but structures, sites, objects, and historic districts may also qualify.

Criterion B. An eligible property must be associated with an individual who can be documented as having established his or her significance within the context of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston at a local, state, or national level. Properties should reflect the time period when that person achieved significance; properties that postdate that period will not be eligible. A property may, however, predate the period of the person's significance, as long as its association under Criterion B are within the period of significance. Under this criterion, the representative resources will be principally buildings. Graves of persons with notable significance under the context, if erected within the period of significance and for whom no associated building or structure survives, also will be eligible. Commemorative objects, such as monuments erected to recognize a documented individual, will be eligible in the context of their own era and design significance, if erected within the period of significance, especially if an associated property is no longer intact or extant.

Criterion C. An eligible property must possess distinctive characteristics that directly relate it to property types associated with the Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston. Physical evidence and design features directly attributable to the Chinese presence that can be convincingly associated to documented functions—for example, spaces used for laundries, restaurants, and shops—or to exterior decoration and signage of characteristic building types occupied by Chinese Americans will apply to this criterion. In the majority of cases, Criteria A and B will the principal means of establishing significance, and the architectural evaluation of a property will focus on distinctive characteristics of workmanship, material, and/or design outside the specific context of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston. However, design features pertaining to this criterion may emerge from continued research and comparative analysis. In addition, this criterion will apply in determining the significance of distinctive features of cemeteries and gravesites, such as Chinese-style markers, altars, and other structures or objects

Criterion D. An eligible property must be archaeological in nature and examined and evaluated following a specific research design. For example, properties known to have been associated with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston may contain archaeological evidence that would provide valuable information concerning their living conditions, lifestyle, and their preservation of traditional objects.

Criteria Considerations. Certain property types are generally excluded from consideration for listing on the National Register unless they are part of historic districts that meet the criteria or meet certain criteria considerations. In the context of the Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston, those considerations are as follows.

- A religious property will qualify for listing if a documented association with the Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston can be demonstrated to be significant under Criteria A, B, and/or C.
- A building or structure moved from its original location will have diminished significance because of the strong geographical component of the context. However, a moved building or structure may be eligible if it can be documented that it is the most significant surviving resource associated with a person or event significant in the history of the Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston.
- A birthplace or grave of a figure significant in the history of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston may be eligible if there is no appropriate building or site directly associated with that individual. However, to be eligible according to this theme, the property should date within the period of significance (1875-1985). Resources that were constructed later than the period of significance may still be eligible, yet they will need to be nominated outside of this context.
- A cemetery may be eligible for its distinctive design features and/or association with persons of transcendent importance or association with significant historic events. The presence of gravesites associated with figures significant for their association with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston will contribute to the eligibility of a historic cemetery, but it is unlikely that the cemetery, as a whole, will qualify for listing in this context alone. Furthermore, many burials are likely to postdate the period of significance of the context. There may be certain cemeteries, such as Mount Hope Cemetery in Boston, where associations with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston will have a more prominent role in their significance. If associations can be documented and if sufficient burials were made during the established period of significance, then the resource may be eligible in this context.
- A reconstructed building will not be eligible in the context of the Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston because the integrity of its association will most likely have been compromised or because its construction date falls outside the established period of significance.
- A commemorative property associated with the Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston – for example, monuments erected to recognize significant documented events or individuals – will most likely be eligible as long as they were created during the established period of significance.
- A property achieving significance since 1985, the end date of the period of significance, will not be eligible in the context of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston, because it falls outside the established period of significance.

- A property achieving significance since 1985, the end date of the period of significance, will not be eligible in the context of the Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston because it falls outside he established period of significance. However, properties whose associations with the context are less than 50 years prior to the year of listing (2017) but that fall within the 1967-1985 time frame may be eligible if they are of demonstrated exceptional significance.

Amendments. Under this context, existing National Register listings for individual properties or historic districts can be amended to address significant aspects associated with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the city of Boston where they were under-represented in the original documents. For example, documentation of the Mount Hope Cemetery in Boston (Mattapan), which is listed on the National Register, has been amended to reflect the significance of Chinese burials as established in this context statement.

Integrity

An eligible property must exhibit sufficient historic integrity to convey its significance. Many of the historic properties with documented associations with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston have been altered. This is particularly true in Chinatown, where pre-existing rowhouses have been routinely altered to meet the changing nature of businesses and residences. In scores of locations elsewhere in the city, Chinese laundries and restaurants no longer function at their historic locations.

The distinguishing cultural expression embodied in these resources and their explicit association with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston create an exceptional situation in the application of the integrity standards for National Register properties. A more-specialized application of the integrity requirements is needed to accommodate this unique class of building and the often cultural factors of their preservation. To be eligible for listing in the National Register under this context, properties must have integrity of associations with the context of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston. Of the remaining integrity standards, properties should usually have a high integrity of location and sufficient integrity of setting, design, materials, workmanship, and feeling to convey their association with the context. It is understood that eligible properties may not meet all the integrity standards at a high level, and that some physical characteristics of a property from the period of significance may typically have been lost to or visually obscured by subsequent actions. This is particularly the case in Chinatown, where commercial fronts and signage have been and continue to be continuously upgraded. In general, integrity of association and location should be primary considerations, followed by overall design, feeling, and setting. Integrity of workmanship and materials sometimes may be of secondary concern under this context.

In applying the integrity test for a potentially eligible property, the means by which it meets the registration criteria is a determining factor. Properties associated with events or individuals significant in the history of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston (Criteria A and B, respectively) may not need to meet the standards of architectural integrity as stringently as a property where the significance is primarily for its design and workmanship (Criterion C). In certain cases, aspects of integrity pertaining to location, setting, feeling, and association are more relevant. The integrity test should be applied in a balanced manner that uses each of the seven aspects of integrity in a cumulative rather than selective way. The integrity test was never intended to expect that all seven standards be met in a single property. Many properties significant in the context of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston will require a careful consideration of the integrity test in order to ensure that these valuable resources are not excluded from registration because standards from other social, cultural, or architectural contexts form the basis for evaluation.

The following guidelines can be used in applying the seven aspects of integrity to properties associated with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston:

Location. To be eligible under this context, properties are expected to have a high integrity of location. Location is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred. Geography is a crucial factor in the history of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston, such as a presence in Chinatown or in the network of Chinese laundries across the city, and integrity of location is very important.

Design. To be eligible under this context, properties are expected to retain a level of integrity of design that at least conveys their form, plan, and structure from the period of significance. Design is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, structure, and style of a property. In buildings associated with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston, aspects of architectural design will play a factor in their evaluation, notably in restaurants, shops, and association buildings, schools, and churches. The integrity of design for many others, such as more modest homes in aging rowhouses, will be considered in the context of their existing form, plan, and structure, and how those characteristics continue to convey the comparative social and domestic conditions in which the associated people lived. Small, modest houses often have been altered by additions and interior changes that compromise the original design of the building, and the extent to which the original physical characteristics are preserved *in spite of* those modifications needs to be evaluated. Also, how the revolving habitation and periodic alterations common to affordable housing have played a factor in their continued preservation should be considered.

Setting. Setting is the physical environment of a historic property. The settings of properties associated with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston are urban by nature, and it is the character of that setting that

defines Chinatown: crowded, weathered, and marginalized in places, vibrant and renewed in others; highly commercial, heavily trafficked, and strongly expressive of identity. Setting provides important information about the living conditions of early Chinese immigrants and current Chinese Americans in Chinatown. Culturally associated occupations characterize the Chinatown setting status, but the settings of laundries and restaurants elsewhere in the city indicate their cultural separation. These characteristics are important to consider, although it must be acknowledged that these historic settings have changed significantly while the characteristic Chinatown functions have been preserved. Elsewhere in the city, the network of Chinese laundries can still be discerned by their addresses, but their historic settings in many cases have been altered by redevelopment and only one out of the more than 600 laundries that existed at their height is extant.

Materials. The level of integrity of materials for properties eligible for listing under this context may be quite varied. 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. For any historic building to be considered intact, it needs to substantially retain the materials that created it. In general, most historic buildings retain significant amounts of original material, but the proliferation of replacement wall, roof, and window materials in the last 50 years has seriously compromised the appearance of their historic integrity. This is particularly the case with vernacular architecture that does not have the elaboration of form and ornament to distinguish its exterior envelope beyond surface materials. Plain buildings will appear less intact when they have been re-roofed and re-sided, even though they retain a high degree of material integrity. Realizing that in most cases replacement materials have been applied over historic fabric, the impact of this alteration is visual rather than physical, and it should be balanced against the significance of the property.

In nearly all cases, historic properties associated with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston were constructed of brick, which is still evident on the exteriors of most of them and establishes a baseline for material integrity. Material removals and alterations are more likely to involve window and door replacement, cornice alteration, porch removal, and the addition of new walls and dormers on upper stories. Mixed-use buildings contain commercial fronts on first and basement levels that have been renovated numerous times. It also can be expected that substantial changes to interior walls and ceilings have occurred. Assuming that material alterations will be a common factor in the evaluation of properties associated with the Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston, the cumulative impact of a high degree of material alterations will be assessed in the spectrum of other areas of integrity.

Workmanship. Similarly, the level of integrity of workmanship for properties eligible for listing under this context will be varied. Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history. It is an effective tool for distinguishing between elite and vernacular architecture, and for identifying local building traits. There should be sufficient evidence of workmanship in a significant building to determine the status of the household and its cultural milieu. Craftsmanship is a cost item, and the evidence in the mid 19th-century rowhouses and

tenements of South Cove will be subtle and restrained. Properties that are eligible because of their association with significant events or individuals should have evidence of craftsmanship that reflects the economic and cultural context of those events or people. Alterations that remove this evidence or transform it into another type or craft era will diminish the integrity of a property.

Feeling. While the levels of integrity of setting, design, workmanship, and materials may vary, together they should convey a strong sense of feeling of a property's significance under this context. Feeling is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. Properties significant for their association with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston need to convey the sense of that historic period to a sufficient degree. This aspect is particularly useful in the assessment of their integrity. It establishes a benchmark for assessing the overall architectural integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. In spite of physical alterations, if these aspects of the building still combine to convey the feeling of the property's historic significance, then a positive evaluation is possible.

Association. To be eligible for listing under this context, all properties must have a high level of integrity of documented association with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston. Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. This integrity is established by documentation, and will apply to all properties associated with the history of the Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston.

Levels of Significance

All properties associated with the Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston will be significant at a local level of significance. Properties that are determined eligible for the National Register using this context will be evaluated in a citywide perspective. The significance of some events and the actions of some people in Boston will transcend the local context and be associated with state and national themes and contexts. In these cases, properties representative of a broad pattern in a meaningful state or national context will be discussed in terms of those levels of significance.

Property Types Associated with Chinese Immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston

1. Adapted Brick Rowhouses
2. Chinatown Era Mixed-Use Buildings
3. Garment Loft Buildings
4. Institutional Buildings
5. Subsidized Housing
6. Properties collectively significant in historic districts

1. ADAPTED BRICK ROWHOUSES

Description

Chinatown developed within a pre-existing neighborhood (South Cove) on streets characterized by three-story brick rowhouses erected between 1800 and 1870. These single- and multi-family dwellings were occupied by a succession of Irish, Italian, Jewish, and Syrian families employed on the wharves and the railroad, and in the garment and leather districts. It was into this working-class and transitional area that the first Chinese workmen are said to have settled in 1875-1880. Buildings elsewhere in the city in which hundreds of Chinese laundries operated were similar in type.

The buildings vary subtly in scale and style that are still discernible after serial alterations to adapt to changing functions and tastes. Few are intact; many have been demolished and replaced by garment factories, more recent tenement housing, and parking lots, while those that remain have been put into mixed use. Most of them have been undermined by the decay of the timber pilings on which they were built, as the landfill has dried out.

The rowhouses have granite basements, which increased in elevation over time, and pressed-brick façades usually containing three window bays and an entrance offset to one side. In cases where the basement is elevated, entrances are fronted by a granite stoop with a basement entry tucked under the stairs. In all but the earliest houses, the entrance and landing are recessed within the house under a prominent stone lintel. Windows are trimmed with stone lintels and sills, and corbelled brick entablatures distinguish the front eave of gable roof. (Windows in the earliest houses, of which only one survives, are spanned by brick jack arches.) Rear or alley façades were similar in materials and fenestration. These houses were designed to have two gable dormers in the roof, front and back. Two chimneys were located on either side of the roof ridge on the end opposite the entrance. There are no parapets between units, suggesting that the rows shared a common attic and roof.

The expected interior plan contained a stair hall on the entrance side, flanked by two principal rooms with small chambers at the front and rear of the hall on the upper stories. In single dwellings, the plan would have contained a kitchen and dining room in the elevated basement, parlors on the first floor, and bed chambers above; lesser quarters would have been

located in the attic. However, many of these houses functioned as tenements, with absentee owners containing rental units on each of the three principal floors, with a shared kitchen in the basements and additional rooms for family overflow or lodgers in the attic.

As the Chinese community became established, these rowhouses were further adapted in a number of significant ways. These can be described as follows.

- *Tenements.* This use represented minimal change to the exterior appearance or interior plan from that predating Chinese occupation unless they were altered at street level for commercial uses (see below) or enlarged on the fourth story with larger dormers or a raised front wall. Few of these buildings exist north of Kneeland Street, where commercial redevelopment has been focused, with Oxford Place being one location. However, rows of tenements remain essentially intact on Hudson and Tyler streets south of Kneeland.
- *Single Room Occupancy or Boarding Houses.* This use is externally indistinguishable from tenements, although more often combined with first-story commercial functions. This property type is associated with the earliest phase of Chinatown history, where the population was comprised primarily of "bachelor" men working in Chinese businesses. This function is documented by historical sources rather than architectural features.
- *Mixed Commercial and Residential.* Chinatown developed its unique identity around commercial enterprises, particularly restaurants, groceries, bakeries, laundries, and other retail establishments catering to the broader Chinese population (and non-Chinese Americans). Pre-existing rowhouses were renovated to accommodate this use. Initially, basement and first-story parts of the plan were adapted for commercial use and the upper stories maintained as housing for the business owners, employees, and other tenants. The exterior appearance was altered with the addition of signage and, later, changes in fenestration (Fig.16). Interior residential spaces also were changed to accommodate commercial functions. Later in the early 20th century, façades were reconstructed either wholly or in part to lower first floors to street level for easier access to businesses. Attic levels also were renovated to create more usable space. These alterations compromised the integrity of the original design and plan of the rowhouse, but the revised use and appearance of the building is associated with Chinatown's development as a commercial and entertainment center. These alterations, while continuing to evolve over time, are historically significant and character-defining. They also have a symbolic value for the Chinese-American presence in the city.
- *Chinese Family, Regional, and Business Associations.* The Chinese established family associations to provide support for their kin where it was denied by the American host culture. Other associations were centered in immigrants' places of origin, and Chinatown businessmen formed associations to further their ends. These associations occupied rowhouses where they installed offices, social rooms, family shrines, and dormitory housing within, as well as commercial tenants. Usually, little evidence of association functions was expressed on the exterior, except for a sign, but in a few instances, the façade was altered by the addition of a second-story

balcony decorated in a Chinese manner. This use is associated with the ethnic heritage and social history themes of the Chinatown context. In the early 20th century, a few of the more successful family and business associations renovated façades or entire buildings to more emphatically express their Chinese identity and community status, such as the Goon Shee-Lee Association at 10 Tyler Street or the Chinese Business Association at 20 Hudson Street.

- *Settlement Houses*. Numerous religious and benevolent groups provided social, religious, and educational services to the Chinese in rowhouses adapted for those purposes. Some operated above street-level and basement commercial spaces. This particular function did not require any physical changes to the exterior of the existing building. The Maryknoll Sisters Center at 78 Tyler Street (1901, BOS.2227), if it can be considered a settlement house, is an exception; it was built as a rectory for the Syrian Orthodox church and functioned as the Syrian Mission church from 1905 to 1946.

Significance. The surviving brick rowhouses built during the first half of the 19th century on the new land filling in South Cove have an intrinsic architectural and historical significance associated with an important period of Boston's commercial and real-estate development. Once a common property type in the city and in Chinatown, it is becoming increasingly rare through losses, making it all the more significant in both contexts. The few that remain are landmarks of an era and the city's architectural heritage and should be preserved for that reason alone. However, since the inception of Chinatown in the 1870s, these buildings—along with the memory of many lost along the way—represent the core history of the Chinese community in Boston and the significance of its survival today. Like most immigrant groups in 19th-century urban America, the Chinese moved into pre-existing housing of low value, in poor condition, and abandoned by others, in which they were marginalized. And like many others, the Chinese revitalized the neighborhood and the buildings in line with their traditional cultural practices. The antique rowhouses have been renovated, repurposed, and replaced as part of the Chinese redevelopment of South Cove in ways that are now historically and architecturally significant in a modern context.

All of the rowhouses retain the essential features of their exterior appearance even as they exhibit the changes and additions that distinguish them in the Chinese-American context. Distinctive within this group are those decorated properties that house Chinatown's family and business associations. Others have been adapted for commercial functions with purposeful alterations and added ornament that distinguish them as part of Chinatown's internal and tourist economy. These altered buildings are significant for the designs that express and celebrate the enduring presence of the Chinese in Boston.

Registration Requirements. Only properties that have documented associations with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston will be eligible, and those properties have the potential to be eligible under Criteria A, B,

and C. Significance will be established under Criterion A by a property's associative characteristics with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston. A property sufficiently documented to be associated with a notable individual during this period also will be eligible under Criterion B. Distinguishing physical characteristics, either in terms of original design or as adapted in the Chinese-American period of significance, will play a determining role in establishing eligibility under Criterion C.

An adapted rowhouse type, in all its subgroups, should retain sufficient physical integrity to convey its association with the context and the period of significance. (Association is the most important integrity standard to meet.) A feeling of the Chinese-American presence will also be a factor in rowhouses adapted for commercial and family association uses. A property's location in Chinatown is a given integrity standard; however, other properties in the city of Boston with Chinese-American associations during the period of significance will also meet the standard. The same conditions apply in terms of setting, whether the property is located in Chinatown or elsewhere in Boston's urban environment. Eligible buildings will generally meet registration requirements if they retain the essential forms, plans, and materials associated with their period and function. Aspects of workmanship are useful in assessing the integrity of a building in relation to other comparable buildings, both within the context and more broadly.

While adapted rowhouses originated in an earlier period, assessments of their architectural integrity will be made in the context of their later Chinatown history. For residential buildings the form, scale, and brick materials of the houses are features contributing to their significance, as well as the three-bay fenestration pattern of the façades. Entryways and their stone features are important elements, although doors and windows are expected to have been replaced. Dormers are key features, but they also have typically been altered or replaced over time. The Chinatown association will not always be outwardly evident; rather it will be found in the history of the occupants and interior functions. Rowhouses containing family associations will, in most cases, be differentiated from residences only by exterior signage. Their special functions are revealed on the interior. A few have been adapted on the exterior with the addition of traditional Chinese decoration, notably second-story balconies. The many rowhouses that function in a mixed use with commercial spaces in the basement and first story and residential areas above are also historic, and the purposeful alterations that distinguish them are contributing features. The most extreme alterations involve the reconstruction of façades to create street-level storefronts and fourth stories replacing gable roofs and dormers. These are alterations that also contribute to the architectural evolution of Chinatown rowhouses and their historical significance. The archaeological nature of the rowhouse form and materials in this context is crucial in the documentation of the early immigrant history (as that immigration is ongoing), along with the juxtaposition of austere early 19th-century architectural landmarks with theatrical late 20th-century commercial expression. These two elements are now inseparable in distinguishing Chinatown's historical significance amid the large-scale real-estate development encroaching on its borders.

Chinatown's historic brick rowhouses will be eligible for registration if they retain the essential architectural characteristics of their scale, form, and façades, and survive in a discernible attached group of similar types with equal integrity. Certain rowhouses may he individually eligible if they retain their essential exterior integrity to a period or function and have a significant historic association that is discernible on the interior (e.g. a residence or family association building). Rowhouses converted to commercial uses are expected to retain sufficient upper-story integrity, such as a brick exterior, three windows on the second and third stories with stone lintels and sills, corbelled brick cornices, gable roofs, and dormers. Added mansards and fourth stories are also considerable, but those where façades have been completely reconstructed with new materials will be eligible as another property type (see Chinatown-Era Mixed-Use Buildings, below). It is expected that the basement and first stories of historic rowhouses will have been altered by the addition of commercial spaces and profuse signage and advertising. Signage may intrude on upper stories. In spite of this, intact granite stoops and steps, and first-story entrance architraves, are favorable.

2. CHINATOWN-ERA MIXED-USE BUILDINGS

Description

A number of buildings were constructed in Chinatown at the turn of the 20th century. The earliest ones were constructed on Harrison Avenue after it was widened in 1884. This represented the core of Chinatown at the time, and the displaced Chinese eventually returned to occupy the new buildings. A hotel on the west side of the street served commercial, family association, and lodging functions, as did new, large block buildings on the east side, all of which were built by absentee American owners. These buildings are landmarks to a new modernizing stage in Chinatown's development. The south side of Beach Street between Tyler and Hudson also was redeveloped before the end of the 19th century; new tenement blocks with commercial street levels were erected at the corners, and old rowhouses in between enlarged and renovated into tenements with street-level commercial spaces. The appearance of tenements represents an improvement in living conditions, although many of them still were occupied by non-Chinese families; however, the trend also paved the way for the increasing number of Chinese families formed in this period. This practice of modernizing rowhouse façades continued into the early 20th century. Two projects on Beach and Oxford streets introduced the use of yellow brick on renovated rowhouse façades in the 1930s. Arthur Krim has speculated that the material was chosen to associate their appearance with the stucco exterior finish, characteristic of houses in China, but this has not been documented in any other source. The Chinese Business Association owned the Oxford Street properties; its building across the street at 2 Tyler Street was a rare stuccoed building in Chinatown at the time.

The Chinese Business Association's new building, erected on the corner of Hudson and Kneeland streets in 1951, also was stuccoed, and designed in a Moderne Chinese style. By this time, the expression of Chinese style on restaurants and association buildings evolved into an amalgam of Chinese and American design, reflecting greater interaction of the two cultures.

Significance. Although its existence was still tenuous, Chinatown became more established and economically viable in the early 20th century. Incursions such as the widening of Harrison Avenue and the construction of the elevated railway on Harrison and Beach streets were civic improvements clearly at odds with the nascent Chinese settlement, but the immigrants persevered and pursued new commercial developments. By 1941 when the elevated came down, Beach Street had been remade and Chinatown expanded south to Kneeland Street. This period represents a significant phase leading to the permanence of the Chinese community, and the stability of its unique economy.

Registration Requirements. Only properties that have documented associations with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston will be eligible, and those properties have the potential to be eligible under Criteria A, B, and C. Significance will be established under Criterion A by a property's associative characteristics with Chinese

immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston. A property sufficiently documented to be associated with a notable individual during this period also will be eligible under Criterion B. Distinguishing physical characteristics, particularly those reflecting a Chinese presence or function, will play a determining role in establishing eligibility under Criterion C.

A Chinese-era mixed-use building type should retain sufficient physical integrity to convey its association with the context and the period of significance and the feeling of the Chinese-American presence. A property's location in Chinatown is a given integrity standard; however, other properties in the city of Boston with Chinese-American associations during the period of significance will also meet the standard. The same conditions apply in terms of setting, whether the property is located in Chinatown or elsewhere in Boston's urban environment. The mixed-use buildings and renovated rowhouses that appeared in Chinatown after the widening of Harrison Avenue and the construction of the elevated railway will be eligible for registration if they retain the essential architectural characteristics of their scale, form, and façades. Certain buildings may be individually eligible if they retain their essential exterior integrity to the period and functions and have a significant historic association that is discernible on the interior (such as the building containing the Chinese Business Association at 2 Tyler Street). Old rowhouses enlarged and converted to mixed commercial and tenement uses are expected to have sufficient integrity to indicate their association with this property type, such as exterior materials, fenestration, and decoration. It is expected that the street-level storefronts will have been altered by changing uses and modernizing design and signage over time. Signage may intrude on upper stories. Those that are grouped in planned rows will be eligible as components of groups or districts.

3. GARMENT LOFT BUILDINGS

Description

The first multistory garment loft building built in Chinatown (south of Essex Street) was the Demmon Building completed in 1908 on the northeast corner of Harrison Avenue and Beach Street. After that, at least fifteen more were built north of Kneeland Street, and another five to the south. All of these resulted in the destruction of scores of historic rowhouses and tenements that had been a part of the Chinese community. This happened due to a combination of depressed property values, absentee ownership, the spread of the city's garment district, and continued prejudice shown towards the Chinese. With large footprints and generally eight stories tall, the form and function of these buildings were not compatible additions to Chinatown, especially when balanced against the characteristics of the lost rowhouses. Nevertheless, most of them were built with commercial spaces at street level, and gradually, these lower spaces were occupied by Chinese businesses. From a pedestrian's perspective, these businesses with the prevailing Chinese displays and signage are integrated parts of Chinatown streetscapes.

Significance. In their primary purpose and design, these garment loft buildings are more legitimately significant as part of a Boston Garment District theme than as part of Chinatown. Some of them also are architecturally distinctive. However, the factors leading up to their construction relate to important themes in Chinatown history, notably the continued encroachment on its borders. The ill effects of their intrusion have been mitigated by the incorporation of their street levels into the Chinatown commercial streetscape.

Registration Requirements. Only properties that have documented associations with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston will be eligible, and those properties have the potential to be eligible under Criteria A, B, and C. Significance will be established under Criterion A by a property's associative characteristics with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston. A property sufficiently documented to be associated with a notable individual during this period also will be eligible under Criterion B. Distinguishing physical features characterizing the building as a garment loft building erected in Chinatown during the period of significance will play a determining role in establishing eligibility under Criterion C.

A garment loft building type should retain sufficient physical integrity to convey its association with the context and the period of significance. A feeling of the Chinese-American presence will be critical, specifically at street level, as garment loft buildings' significance in the context Is how these intrusive structures were incorporated into the Chinatown scene. Only properties of this type located in the Chinatown setting will be considered eligible. Eligible buildings will generally meet registration requirements if they retain the essential forms, plans, and materials associated with their period and function. Aspects of workmanship are useful in assessing the integrity of a building in relation to other comparable buildings, both within the context and more broadly.

Garment loft buildings in the Chinatown context will be eligible only if historic associations can be documented, and only then as contributing properties in a historic district. These properties may also be individually eligible as part of a garment loft building theme, regardless of their location of Chinatown. Conversely, properties that are currently part of the Textile National Register District (listed 1990) and overlapping into Chinatown, and any Chinatown property eligible in this theme, will need to document an association with the context.

4. INSTITUTIONAL BUILDINGS

Description

There are very few institutional buildings in Chinatown: one school, two churches, and a convent, all of which are located south of Kneeland Street, a neighborhood into which Chinese families began moving in the 1940s. During this time, the makeup of the neighborhood was an ethnic mix predominated by Syrian Americans. St. James the Greater Roman Catholic Church at 125 Harrison Avenue was established in 1873 to serve Irish Americans then residing in the

neighborhood. Since 1967, the church has hosted the Boston Chinese Catholic Community, which serves all Chinese Catholics for the Archdiocese of Boston. The Maryknoll Sisters Center at 78 Tyler Street played an important role in the lives of Chinese girls in the district. Built in 1901 as a rectory for the Syrian Orthodox church, the building functioned as the Syrian Mission church from 1905 to 1946, when it became the residence of four sisters of the Maryknoll order who helped Chinese immigrants with the citizenship process and conducted English-language classes. A Chinese Evangelical Church, founded in 1961, built their church at the southern end of Harrison Avenue in 1979. No public schools were provided in Chinatown north of Kneeland Street, as children did not comprise a part of the population until the early 20th century. At that time, they began attending the Quincy School on Tyler Street, south of Kneeland, and gradually represented the majority of students there. The historic school building, has functioned as a community center of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association since 1983. Other institutional buildings with associations with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in other parts of the city may yet be identified.

Significance. All the institutional properties in Chinatown are significant for the historic roles they have served in the development of the Chinatown community.

Registration Requirements. Only institutional properties that have documented associations with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston will be eligible, and those properties have the potential to be eligible under Criteria A, B, and C. Significance will be established under Criterion A by a property's associative characteristics with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston. A property sufficiently documented to be associated with a notable individual during this period also will be eligible under Criterion B. Distinguishing physical characteristics of original institutional design, or as adapted in the Chinese-American period of significance will play a determining role in establishing eligibility under Criterion C.

An institutional building type should retain sufficient physical integrity to convey its association with the context and the period of significance. (Association is the most important integrity standard to meet.) A feeling of the Chinese-American presence may not be strongly expressed in the architecture. A property's location in Chinatown is a given integrity standard; however, other properties in the city of Boston with Chinese-American associations during the period of significance will also meet the standard. The same conditions apply in terms of setting, whether the property is located in Chinatown or elsewhere in Boston's urban environment. Eligible buildings will generally meet registration requirements if they retain the essential forms, plans, and materials associated with their period and function. Aspects of workmanship are useful in assessing the integrity of a building in relation to other comparable buildings, both within the context and more broadly.

Two churches located within Chinatown are St. James the Greater Church at 125 Harrison Avenue (1873; BOS.12788) and the Chinese Evangelical Church at 249 Harrison, built in 1979 (not yet surveyed).

5. SUBSIDIZED HOUSING

Description. Urban Renewal and expressway construction in the mid to late 20th century has taken a serious toll on Chinatown in the numbers of buildings and housing units destroyed as part of projects. This diminishment coincided with a surge of immigration following the relaxation of limits in 1965. More recently, the neighborhood has experienced encroachment from Tufts Medical Center south of Kneeland Street and commercial high-rise urban development from all sides. In efforts to mitigate the adverse effects of these actions, a number of housing projects have taken place in Chinatown with the direct involvement of Chinese-American agencies.

The most significant example of this property type is Tai Tung Village, a high-rise subsidized housing project at the southern end of Tyler Street, built in 1973. Other subsidized housing projects, such as Castle Square, Quincy Towers, and Mass Pike Towers came soon after and have provided housing for Chinese-American families and effectively expanded the boundaries of Chinatown west across Washington Street and south across the Mass Pike. The Asian Community Development Corporation has built affordable and market-rate projects in Chinatown. These properties are associated with the themes of architecture, community planning, and social history in the Chinatown context.

Significance. Subsidized housing is a significant property type in the history of Chinatown in the late 20th-century. It is associated with the growth of the Chinese-American population after the Second World War and positive changes to restrictive immigration laws in 1965. These factors have contributed to an expansion of Chinatown into new areas south of Kneeland Street, and the emergence of new avenues for self-determination within city planning. The designs of some of these new projects, particularly Tai Tung Village, designed by Carl Koch, are architecturally significant.

Registration Requirements. Only properties that have documented associations with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston will be eligible, and those properties have the potential to be eligible under Criteria A and C. Significance will be established under Criterion A by a property's associative characteristics with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston. Distinguishing physical characteristics, either in terms of original design or expressive of the Chinese-American period of significance, will play a determining role in establishing eligibility under Criterion C.

An example of subsidized housing should retain sufficient physical integrity to convey its association with the context and the period of significance. (Association is the most important integrity standard to meet.) A feeling of the Chinese-American presence will also be a factor. A property's location in Chinatown is a given integrity standard; no examples of

this property type appear to exist elsewhere in the city. The same conditions apply in terms of a property's setting in the Chinatown area. Eligible buildings will generally meet registration requirements if they retain the essential forms, plans, and materials associated with their period and function. Aspects of workmanship are useful in assessing the integrity of a building in relation to other comparable buildings, both within the context and more broadly.

Because of the recent context of subsidized housing, the registration of any of these properties will require that they be 50 years old or be determined of exceptional significance, meeting Consideration G.

6. PROPERTIES COLLECTIVELY SIGNIFICANT IN HISTORIC DISTRICTS

Description. Boston's Chinatown is more than a collection of historic buildings, it is a place defined by geography, cultural and tourist activity, and a shared history. Originating in a core area on Harrison Avenue north of Beach Street, Chinatown gradually spread to Beach, Tyler, Oxford, and Hudson streets, largely through commercial development, since the community was almost exclusively composed of working men supporting families prevented from leaving China by repressive American immigration laws. As it continued to expand, the southern limit of Chinatown did not extend south of Kneeland Street until the 1940s. It is the physical development of the ethnic enclave and commercial enterprises of Chinatown bounded by pre-existing areas such as the leather, garment, and theater districts and reduced by street and highway construction that characterizes what can be considered "old" Chinatown in the current context of the city (see map on p. 109).

Non-Chinese development on the south side of Kneeland Street, some of it very recent, has created a physical division between "old" Chinatown to the north, and the area south of Kneeland along Hudson and Tyler streets and Harrison Avenue into which Chinese families moved as their numbers grew and immigration restrictions relaxed. This area was particularly hard hit by highway construction and urban renewal programs, as well as the unabated expansion of the Tufts Medical Center, located on Washington Street. Portions of the residential quarter survive along Tyler, Hudson, and Harvard streets and a mixed-use enclave at the southern end of Harrison Avenue. Added to this in the latter section have been a number of subsidized housing projects where a major portion of Boston's Chinese community now resides. A second historic district exists in "new" Chinatown that includes the remaining rowhouses in the vicinity of the Quincy School and those remaining on Johnny Court, Oak Street, and Harrison Avenue. The two enclaves are linked by Tai Tung Village, a high-rise subsidized housing project built in 1973 (see map p. 110).

Significance. As this context statement documents, Chinatown is a physical entity that is historically and architecturally significant for what it represents as the legacy of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston. While there are property types that will be individually eligible for the National Register, there are portions of Chinatown that will be eligible as historic districts. Two areas, one north and the other south of Kneeland Street, containing one or more

historic districts, are described here, defined as they are by the extent to which bordering areas or transportation structures have constrained it and obliterated portions of it (see maps below). These potential historic districts, significant for their association with the history of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston, are also significant as surviving elements of a physical entity in the constantly evolving urban environment in which it exists.

Registration Requirements. Only historic districts that have documented associations with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston will be eligible, and those districts have the potential to be eligible under Criteria A, B, and C. Significance will be established under Criterion A by a district's associative characteristics with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston. Components of a district that are sufficiently documented to be associated with a notable individual during this period also will be eligible under Criterion B. Distinguishing physical characteristics, either in terms of original design or as adapted in the Chinese-American period of significance, will play a determining role in establishing eligibility under Criterion C.

A historic district should retain sufficient physical integrity to convey its association to the context and the period of significance. (Association is the most important integrity standard to meet.) A feeling of the Chinese-American presence will also be a factor in assessing the integrity of historic districts. A district's location and setting in Chinatown is a given integrity standard; however, no potential historic districts have been identified elsewhere in the city of Boston. Eligible historic districts will generally meet registration requirements if they retain the essential plans, components, and design associated with their period and function. Aspects of workmanship are useful in assessing the integrity of a component in relation to others and to the district as a whole.

Historic districts in Chinatown will be eligible for registration if their components retain the essential architectural characteristics of their scale, form, and façades and can be associated with significant themes within the history of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston. Historic brick rowhouses will be considered contributing to a historic district if they retain the essential architectural characteristics of their scale, form, and façades and survive in a discernible attached group of similar types with similar levels of integrity. Rowhouses enlarged and converted to mixed commercial and tenement uses are expected to retain sufficient upper-story integrity, such as exterior materials, fenestration, stone trim, and decoration. It is expected that the street-level storefronts will have been altered by changing uses and modernizing design and signage over time. Signage may intrude on upper stories.

Section G.

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

All properties and districts must have been located within the City of Boston during the period of significance.

Section H.

SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

The context for multiple property listings of the historic resources associated with Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans in the city of Boston is based on an inventory of historic properties compiled by the Massachusetts Historical Commission and the City of Boston Landmarks Commission over the past 40 years. It also has relied on historical records collected by the Chinese Historical Society of New England since its formation in 1992 and on the Boston Chinatown Atlas, as well as on the input of scholars associated with the Institute for Asian American Studies, University of Massachusetts, Boston, MIT Department of Urban Studies and Planning , and the Asian Studies Program, Bridgewater State University. The inventory contains documentation on more than 80 properties or groups of properties in Boston's Chinatown and includes the Mount Hope Cemetery (NR listed), where deceased members of Boston's Chinese community have traditionally been buried. Other properties in the city with associations with Chinese-American history, such as restaurant and laundry locations, may already have been inventoried but without those associations known.

In developing this context, existing inventory documentation for Chinatown properties was reviewed and field verified. A precise understanding of the Chinese presence and its growth over time was obtained using research in primary and secondary source materials, and using census schedules and city directories.

The properties are grouped under four historic contexts relating to the historic development of Chinatown:

1. South Cove Before Chinese Arrived, 1805-1875
2. Buildings and Spaces of the Chinese Settlement Era, 1875-1900
3. Boston's Chinese Community Develops, 1900-1943
4. Chinatown After Exclusion. 1943-1985

A fifth section discusses Chinese Americans in Boston after 1985.

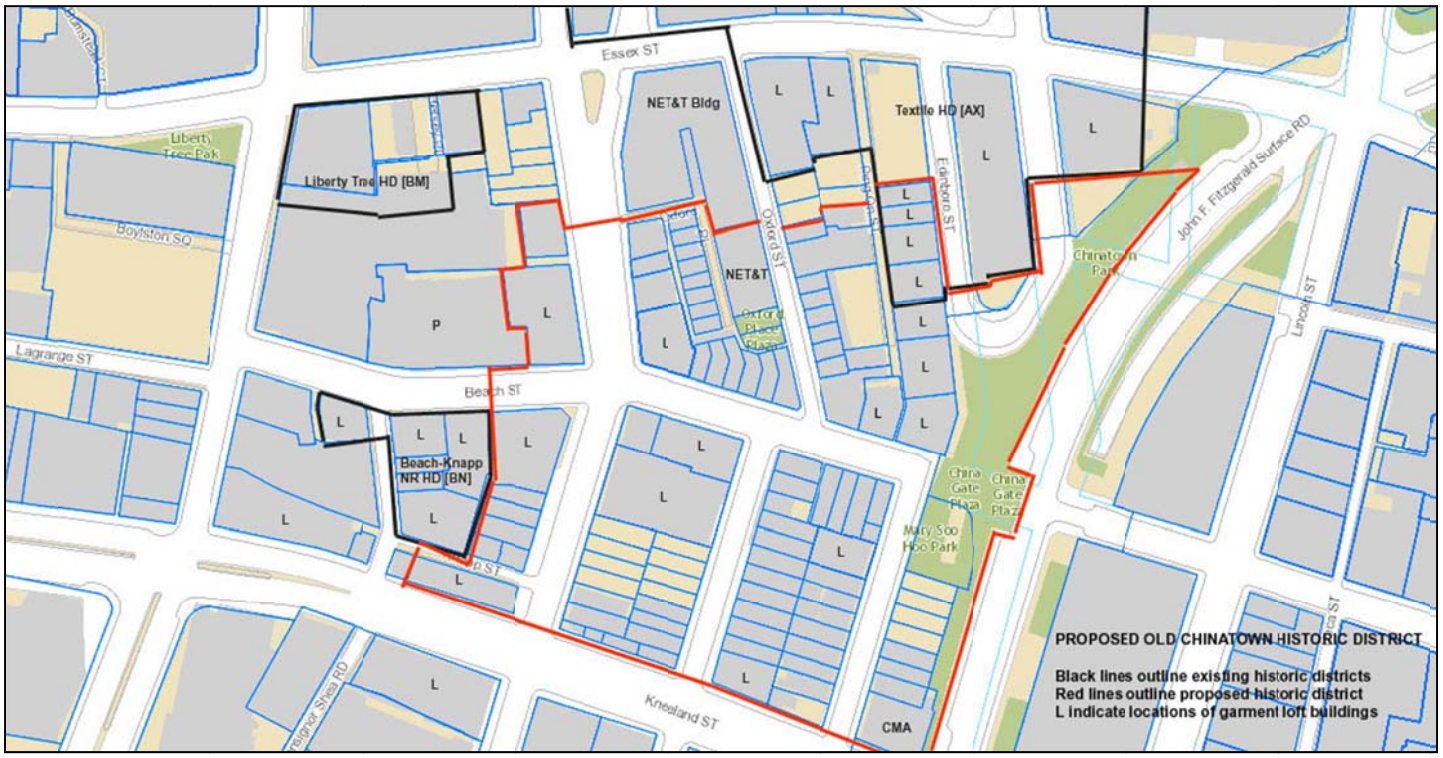
The property types associated with these contexts have been outlined and described. A preliminary list of properties eligible for the National Register under this context has been developed and model nomination forms created, one for an individual property associated with the Chinese in Boston and another amending an existing listing to address under-represented Chinese associations.

Properties Potentially Eligible for the National Register under the Chinese in Boston Context (note: this list may be expanded)

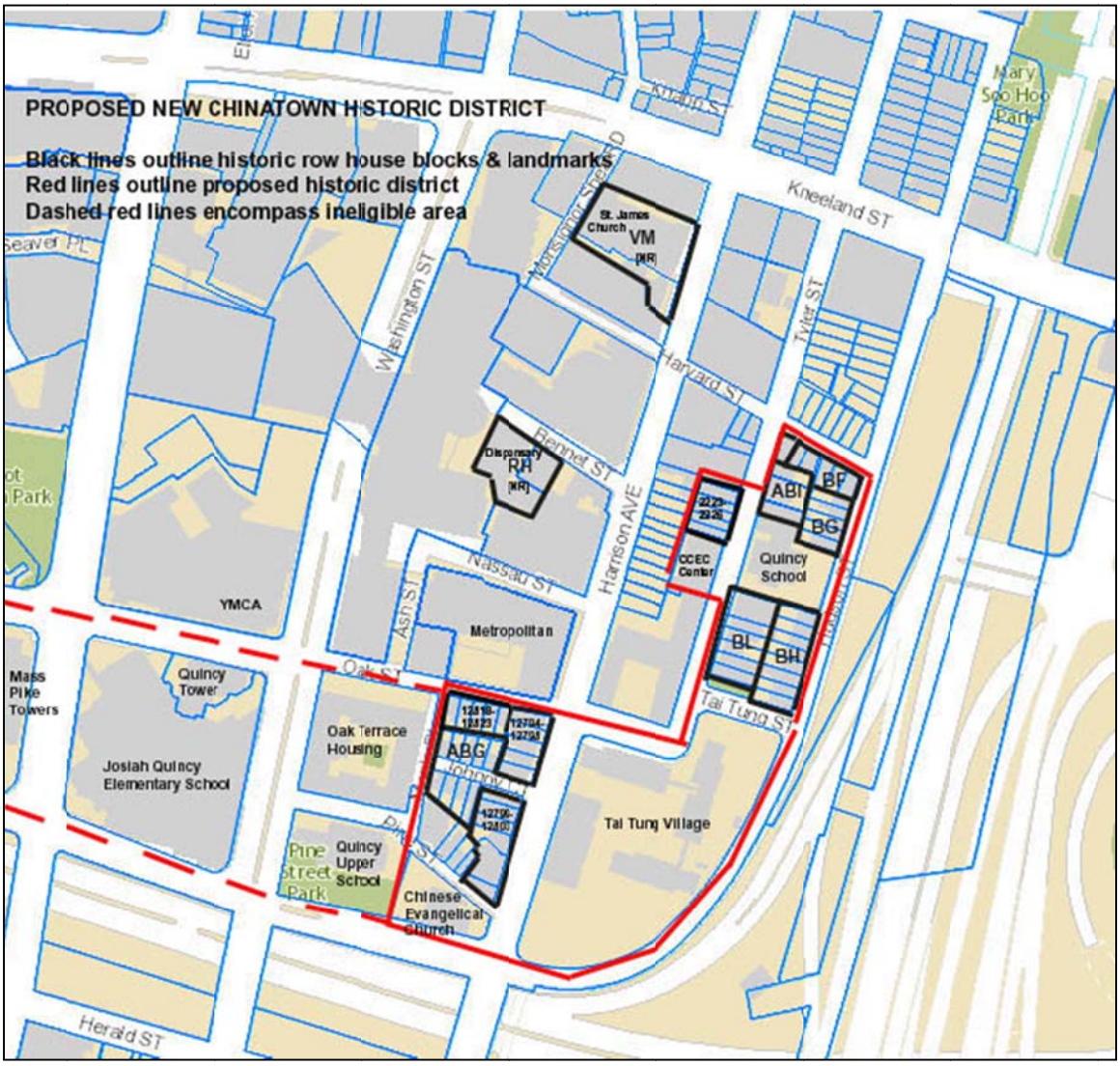
- Potential Old Chinatown Historic District (see map p. 109)
- Potential New Chinatown Historic District (see map p. 110)

- Oxford Place Row (1-11 Orchard Pl., BOS.1925)
- 19-25 Harrison Ave. (Pray Building Rear, BOS.2268)
- Harrison Avenue Row
    - 28-32 Harrison Ave. (Lung, W. S. Company - Low Bun Fong Restaurant, BOS.1774)
    - 34 Harrison Ave, (Chinese American Citizens Alliance Building, BOS.1775)
    - 36-38 Harrison Ave. (Hong Far Low Restaurant, BOS.1776)
- 79 Harrison Ave. (Spear, James House, BOS.2273)
- 20 Hudson St. (Chinese Merchants Association, BOS.1802)
- 76-84 Kneeland St. (Atlantic Filling Station, BOS.1832)
- 125 Harrison Avenue (St. James the Greater Church, BOS.12788)
- 17 Hudson St. (Chinese Nationalist Party Building, BOS.1805)
- 16 Oxford St. (Shanghai Printing/Chinese Mission, BOS.1927)
- 18-20 Oxford St. (Quong Kow Chinese Junior High School /Sun Sun Co., BOS.1928)
- 2 Tyler St. (Chinese Merchants Association, BOS.1533)
- 4-6 Tyler St. (St. Paul's Episcopal Church Mission House / Chinese Free Masons Association, BOS.2088)
- 7 Tyler St. (Good Earth Restaurant, BOS.2092)
- 9 Tyler St. (Hong Loy Do Restaurant, BOS.2093)
- 10 Tyler St. (Goon Shee-Lee Association Building, BOS.2090)
- 84-88 Tyler St. (Quincy School, BOS.2228-2229)(NR pending)

The development of this context was funded through a National Park Service Underrepresented Communities grant awarded in 2015 to the Massachusetts Historical Commission with its community partner, the Chinese Historical Society of New England (CHSNE). The MHC and the preservation consultants for the project collaborated with CHSNE, its staff, board, and members, as well as with the Boston Chinatown Atlas Project, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association of New England, and scholars associated with the Institute for Asian American Studies, University of Massachusetts, Boston, MIT Department of Urban Studies and Planning, and the Asian Studies Program, Bridgewater State University, and with other knowledgeable members of the Boston Chinese-American community.



Potential Old Chinatown Historic District



Potential New Chinatown Historic District

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MAPS

Hale map of 1812

The South Cove Territory, Comprising Every Part Which is Coloured on This Map. 1835. (Boston Public Library, Norman Leventhal Collection)

Plan of the South Cove. 1837. (Boston Public Library, Norman Leventhal Collection)

Plan of Washington Street showing Proposed Lines of Widening from Warren to Kneeland. Boston: Boston Engineering Department, 1860. (Boston Public Library, Norman Leventhal Collection)

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"Over 300 Chinamen Arrested in Big Round-up by Police," *Boston Herald*, October 13, 1903

"Chinatown Proud of It's [sic] Boy Scouts—And It Has Good Reason for It," *Boston Globe*, July 23, 1922.

FIGURES

Fig.1: Aerial view of Chinatown area with liberal boundaries reflecting its spread in residential and commercial development in the late 20th century. Based on Boston Redevelopment Authority "Chinatown Core Area" determined using census block data in 2000. Within this boundary are two historic districts, one north of Kneeland St. along Harrison Ave., Oxford Pl. and Tyler, Oxford, Beach and Hudson sts., and one south of Kneeland St. along Harvard, Hudson and Tyler sts. And lower Harrison Ave. Image from Chinatown Master Plan, 2010, courtesy of CHSNE.

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Fig.4: Detail of Bird's-Eye View of the City of Boston (1873). View from the north shows the Boston Common and Public Garden on the right with Essex Street running on a diagonal towards bottom center; South Station is in the lower left. The density and character of mid-19th-century brick rows are apparent. From Leventhal Map Collection, Boston Public Library, http://maps.bpl.org/id/10664.

Fig.5: Chinese laundries in Boston, 1931. Image by Beehive Mapping – Chinatown Atlas

Fig.6: Map of rerouting of Harrison Avenue between Beach and Essex streets in the core of old Chinatown. From Boston Globe, 20 February 1893.

Fig.7: Harrison Ave. north of Beach, 1893. Note façade has already been removed from building at far right. From CHSNE Archives.

Fig.8: Harrison Ave. north of Beach, 1893. Note two-and-a-half buildings at far right later replaced by garment loft building. From CHSNE Archives.

Fig.9: Map showing core area of "old" Chinatown on Harrison Ave. and Oxford Place. Note route of elevated railway up Harrison Ave. and turning on Beach St. Image by Russell Imai – Chinatown Atlas.

Fig.10: Street-level view of Harrison Ave. looking south towards Beach St., 1917. Note Chinese-style restaurant façade on 19-25 Harrison Ave. on right and second-story Chinese balconies on 28-32 and 36-38 Harrison Ave. on left. From City of Boston Archives.

Fig.11: Postcard views of exterior and interior of The Good Earth Restaurant, 7 Tyler St. From CHSNE archives.

Fig.12: Postcard view of interior of Ruby Foo's Den, 6 Hudson St. From www.cardcow.com.

Fig.13: Historic view of Quincy School, 88-90 Tyler St., 1847-1848. From Homans, 1851.

Fig.14: Demolishing houses on west side of Hudson Street for Mass Pike. From City of Boston Archives

Fig.15: View of community bulletin board on Oxford St. side wall of 58 Beach St., ca. 1955. From CHSNE Archives.

Fig.16: View of east side of Tyler St. towards south, ca. 1925. From CHSNE Archives.

Fig.17: Views of Chin Lee Young laundry, 132 Jersey Street, in the Fenway neighborhood of Boston, 2013. Photo courtesy CHSNE.

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

Photographer: Neil Larson

Date Photographed: 2016

Description of Photograph(s) and number:

1 of 31 View of 75, 77, 79 & 81 Harrison Ave. right to left, from east. The James Spear House (#75) is the short house left of center. Its neighbors originated as similar house forms in 1822-23.
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3 of 31 View of 28-32, 34, 36-38 & 40-44 Harrison Ave., left to right, from NW. These buildings were erected after the street was widened in 1894.
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5 of 31 View of 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 & 11 Oxford Pl., right to left, from north.
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20 of 31 View of 72 Tyler St. from east
21 of 31 View of Maryknoll Sisters Center, 78 Tyler St., from east.
22 of 31 View of Photo 22: 55, 57, 59, 61, 63 & 65 Harvard St., right to left, from NE.
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24 of 31 View of 215, 217 & 219 Harrison Ave., right to left, from S
25 of 31 View of 223, 225, 227, 229, 231-235 & 237-239 Harrison St., right to left, from south. Also 16, 18 & 20 Pine St. on left.
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30 of 31 Chinatown Gate, 1982, from NE. Source: http://www.boston-discovery-guide.com.
31 of 31 View of Globe Theater (1903), 690 Washington St., home of the Empire Garden Restaurant since 1975.

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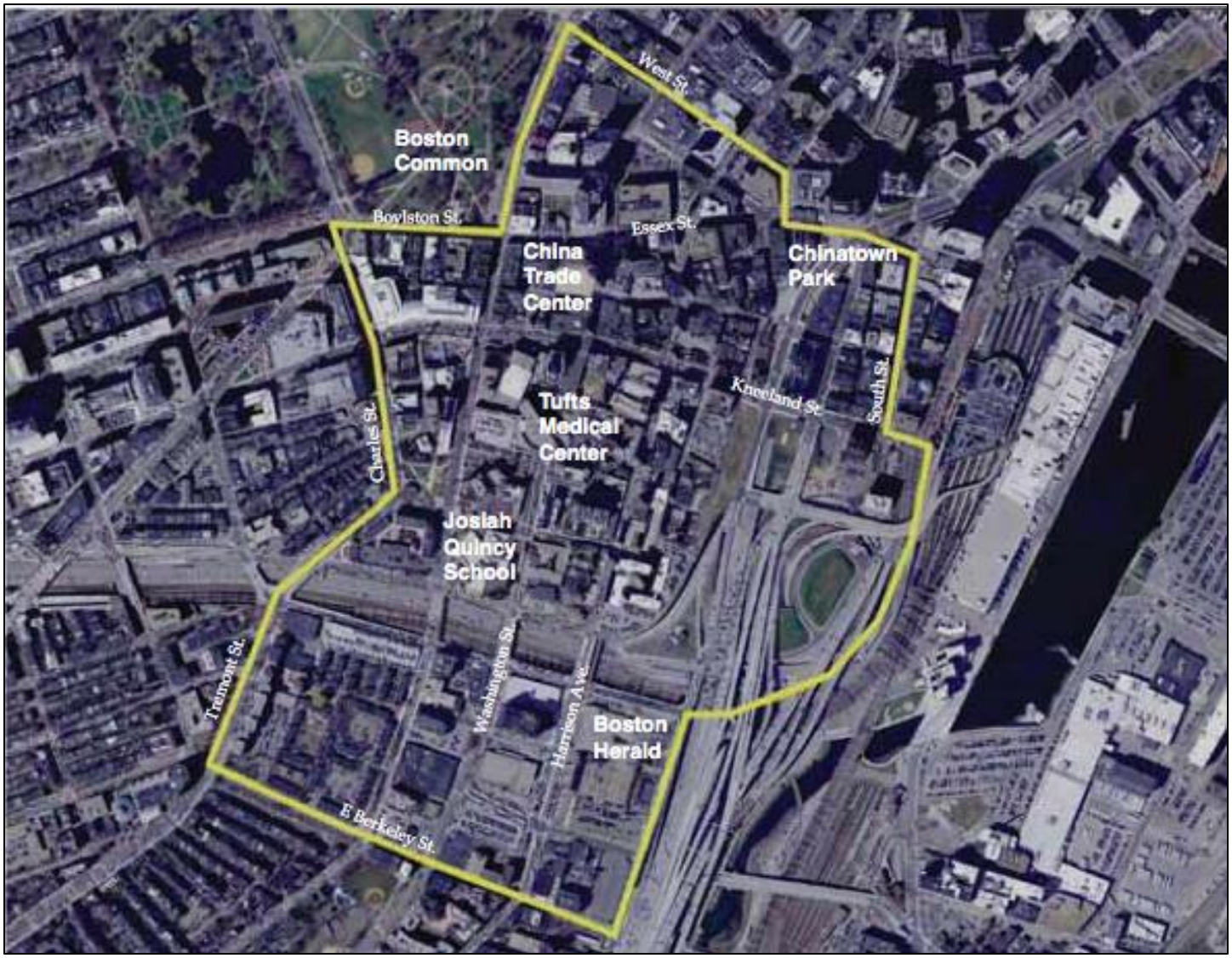
FIGURES



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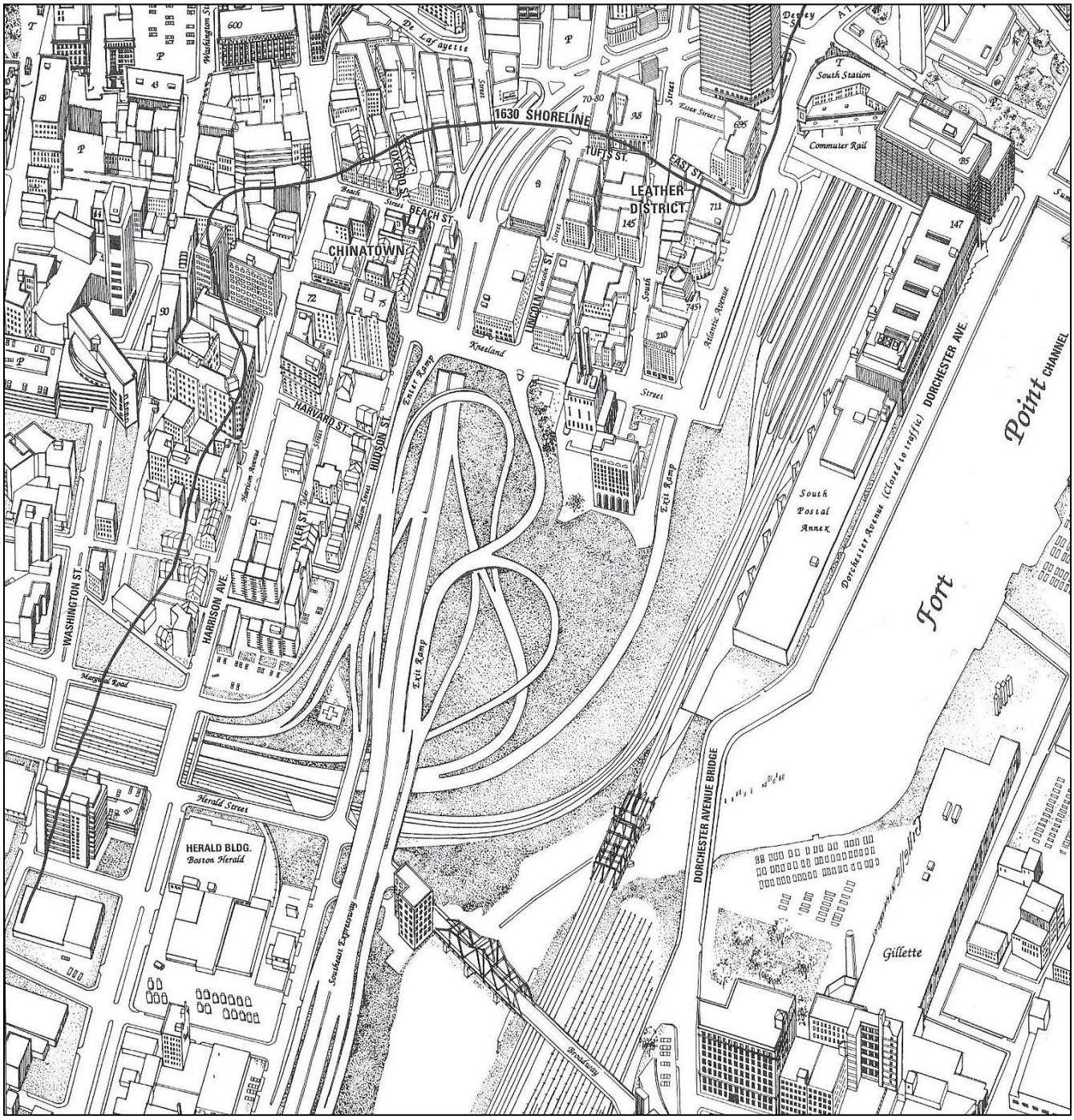

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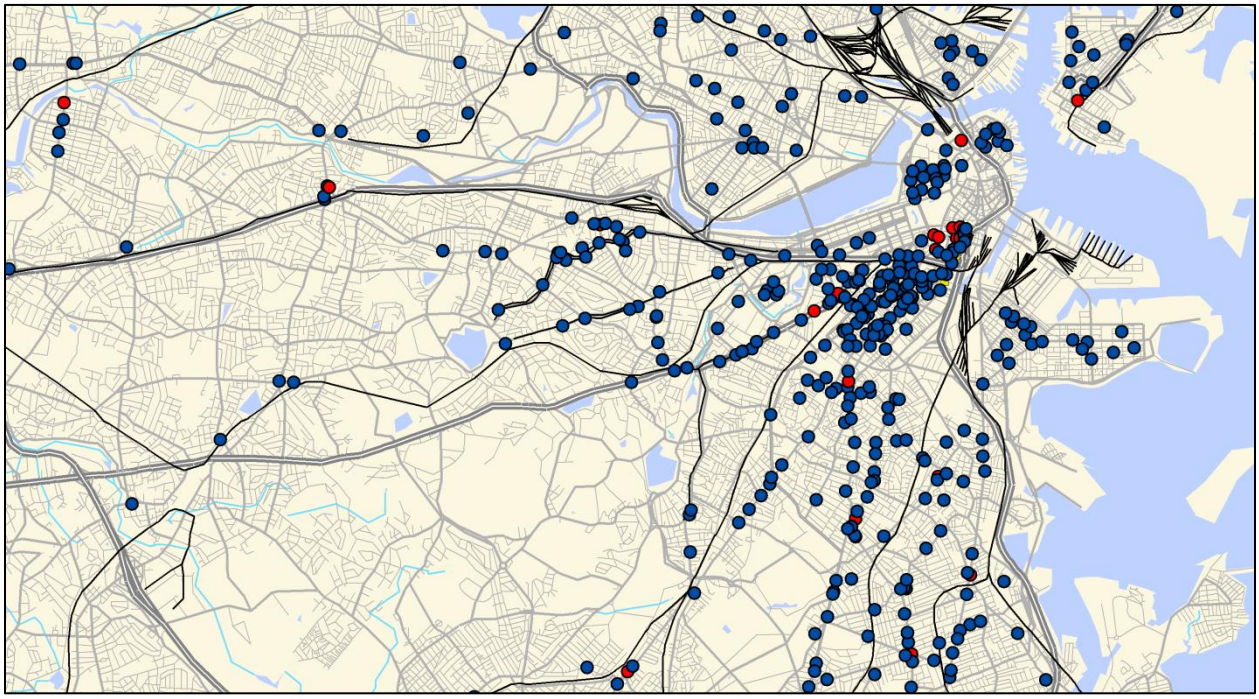

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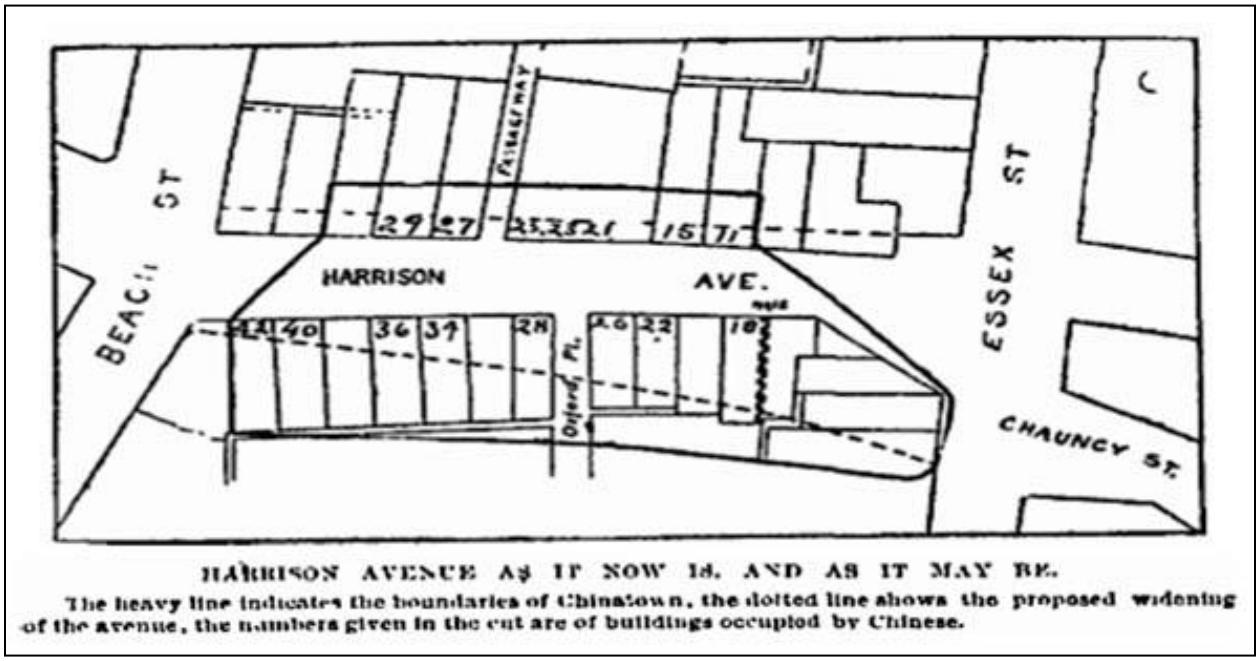

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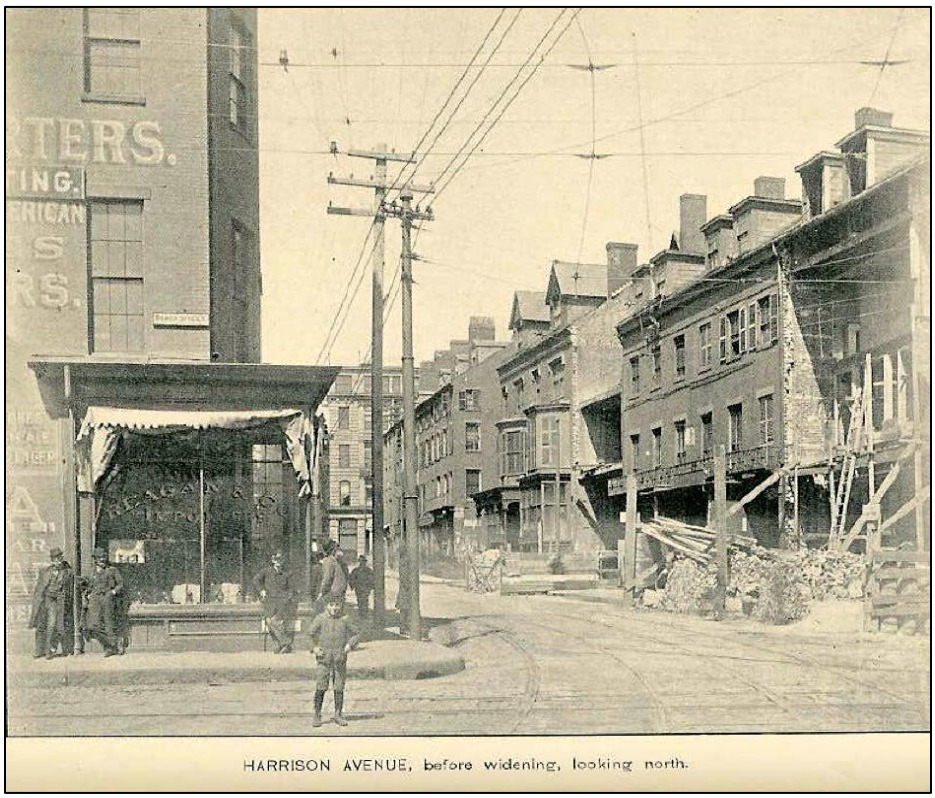

Fig.7: Harrison Ave. north of Beach, 1893. Note façade has already been removed from building at far right. From CHSNE Archives.

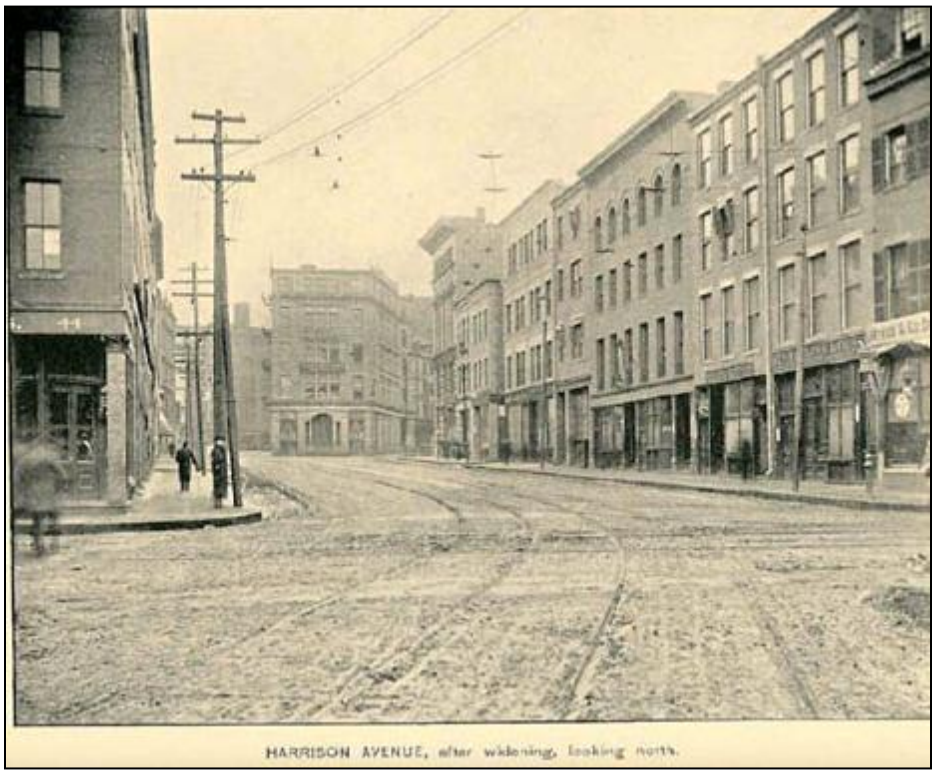

Fig.8: Harrison Ave. north of Beach, 1893. Note two-and-a-half buildings at far right later replaced by garment loft building. From CHSNE Archives.

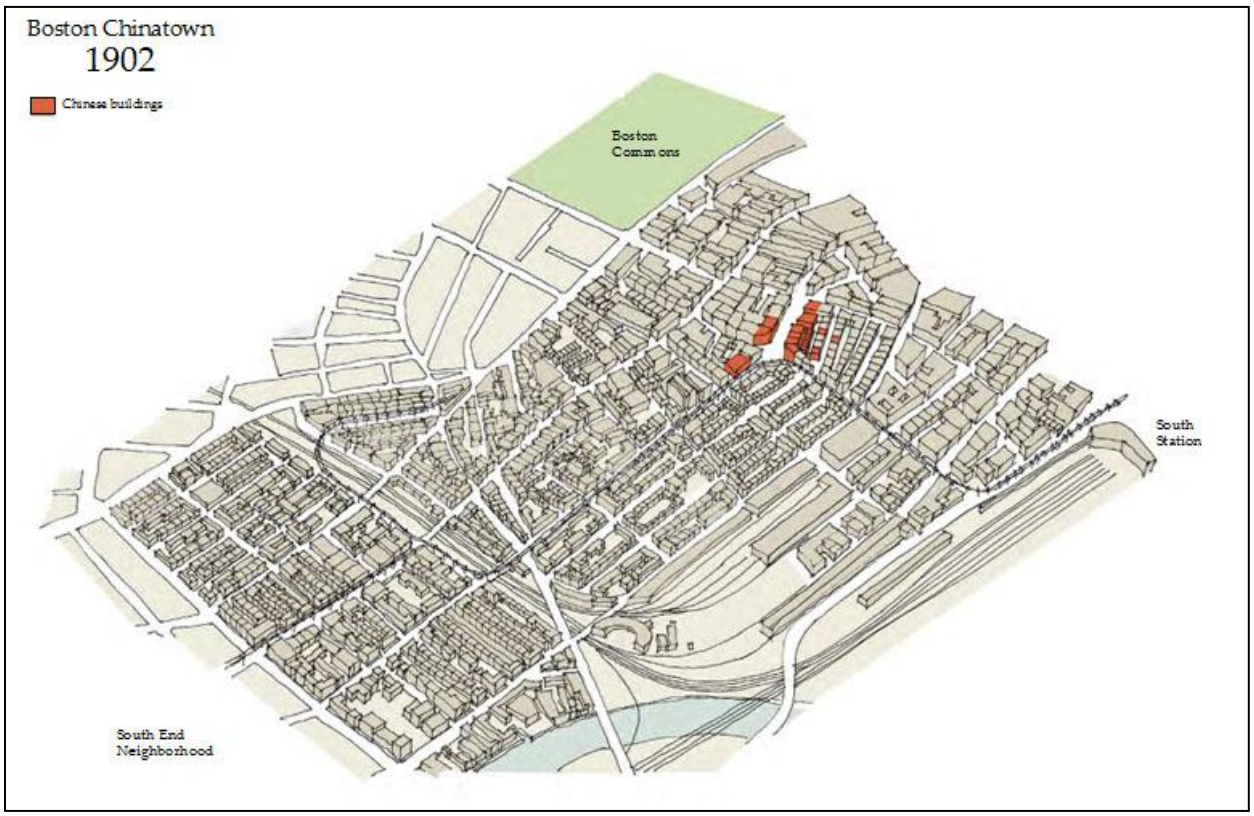

Fig.9: Map showing core area of "old" Chinatown on Harrison Ave. and Oxford Place. Note route of elevated railway up Harrison Ave. and turning on Beach St. Image by Russell Imai – Chinatown Atlas.

Fig.10: Street-level view of Harrison Ave. looking south towards Beach St., 1917. Note Chinese-style restaurant façade on 19-25 Harrison Ave. on right and second-story Chinese balconies on 28-32 and 36-38 Harrison Ave. on left. From City of Boston Archives.

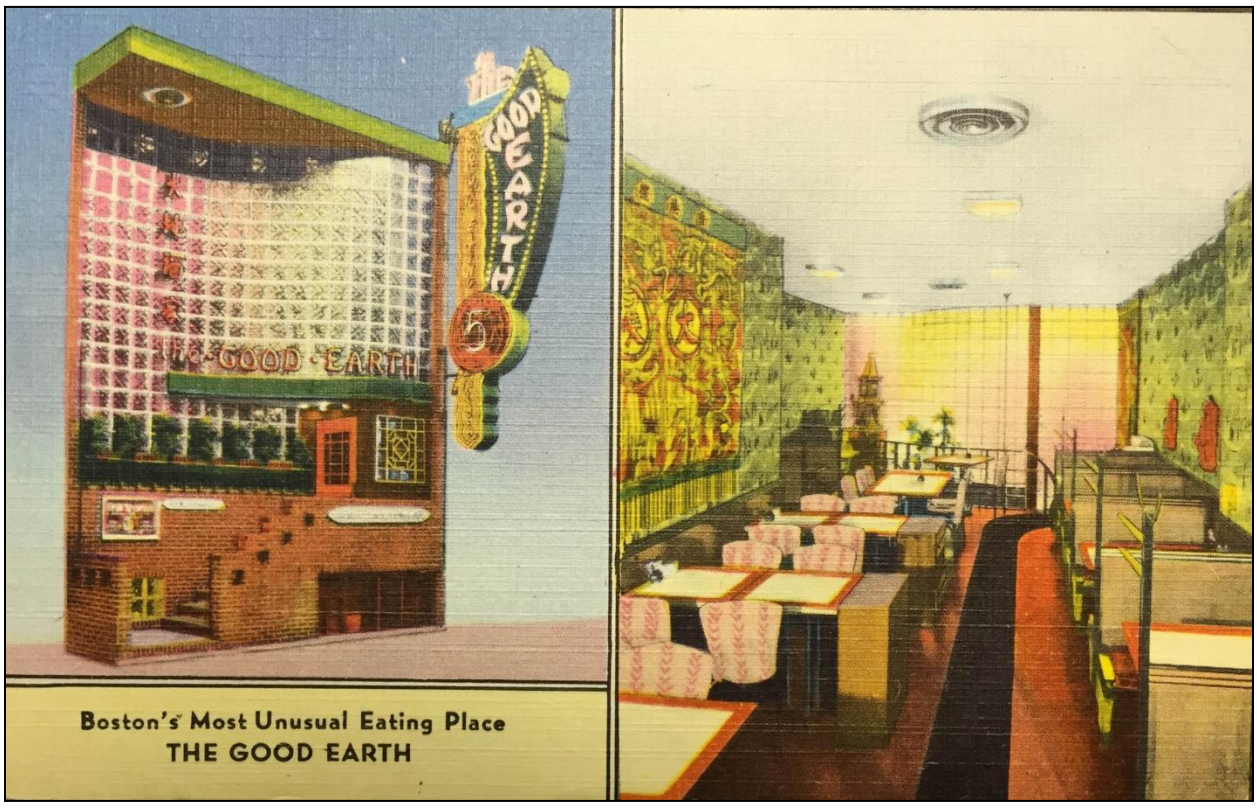

Fig.11: Postcard views of exterior and interior of The Good Earth Restaurant, 7 Tyler St. From CHSNE archives.

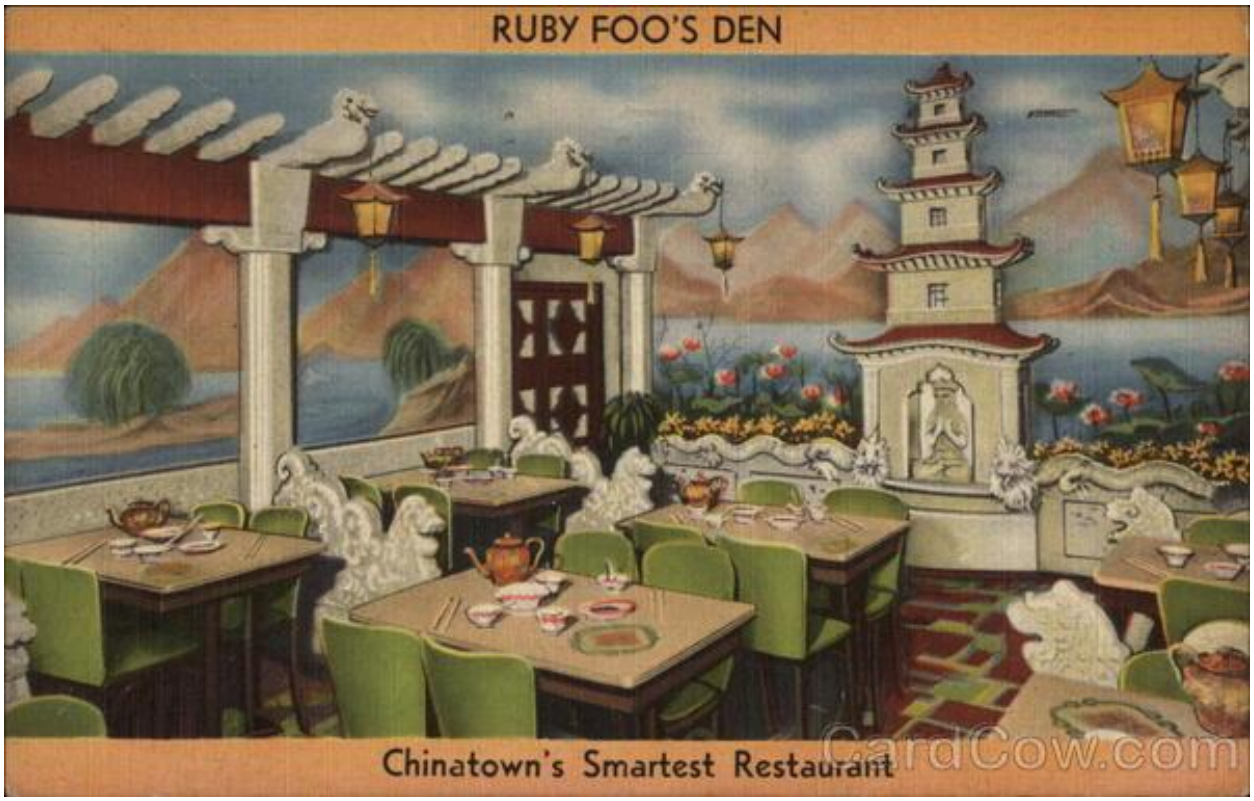

Fig.12: Postcard view of interior of Ruby Foo's Den, 6 Hudson St. From www.cardcow.com.

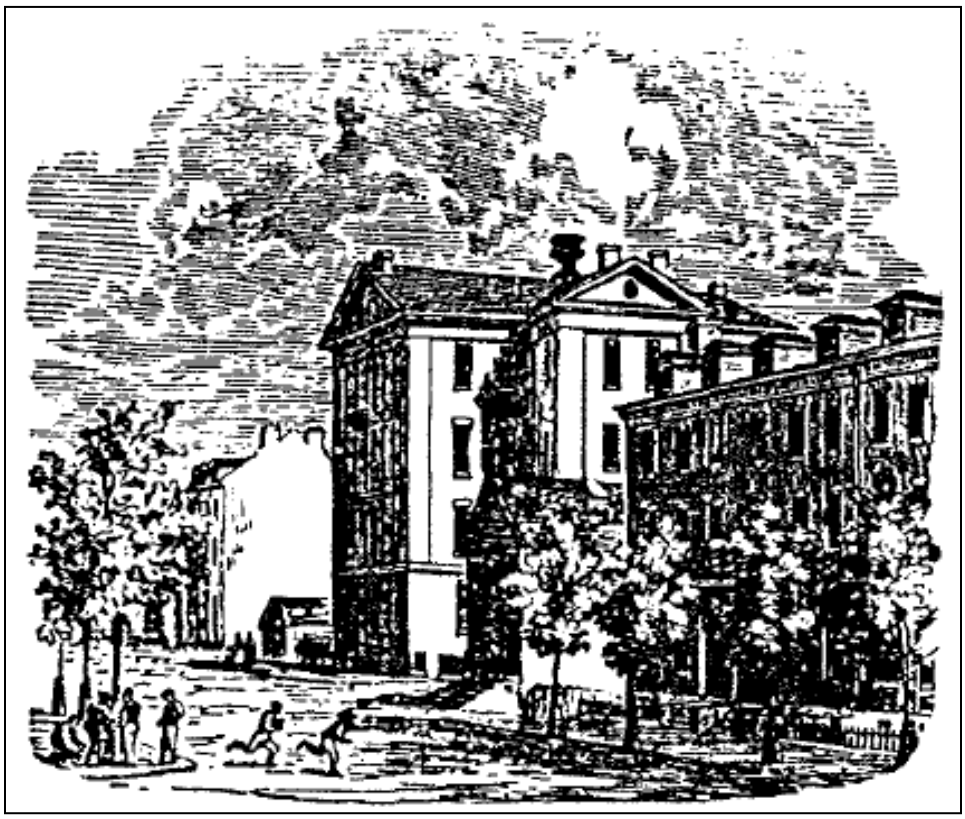

Fig.13: Historic view of Quincy School, 88-90 Tyler St., 1847-1848. From Homans, 1851.

Fig.14: Demolishing houses on west side of Hudson Street for Mass Pike. From City of Boston Archives.

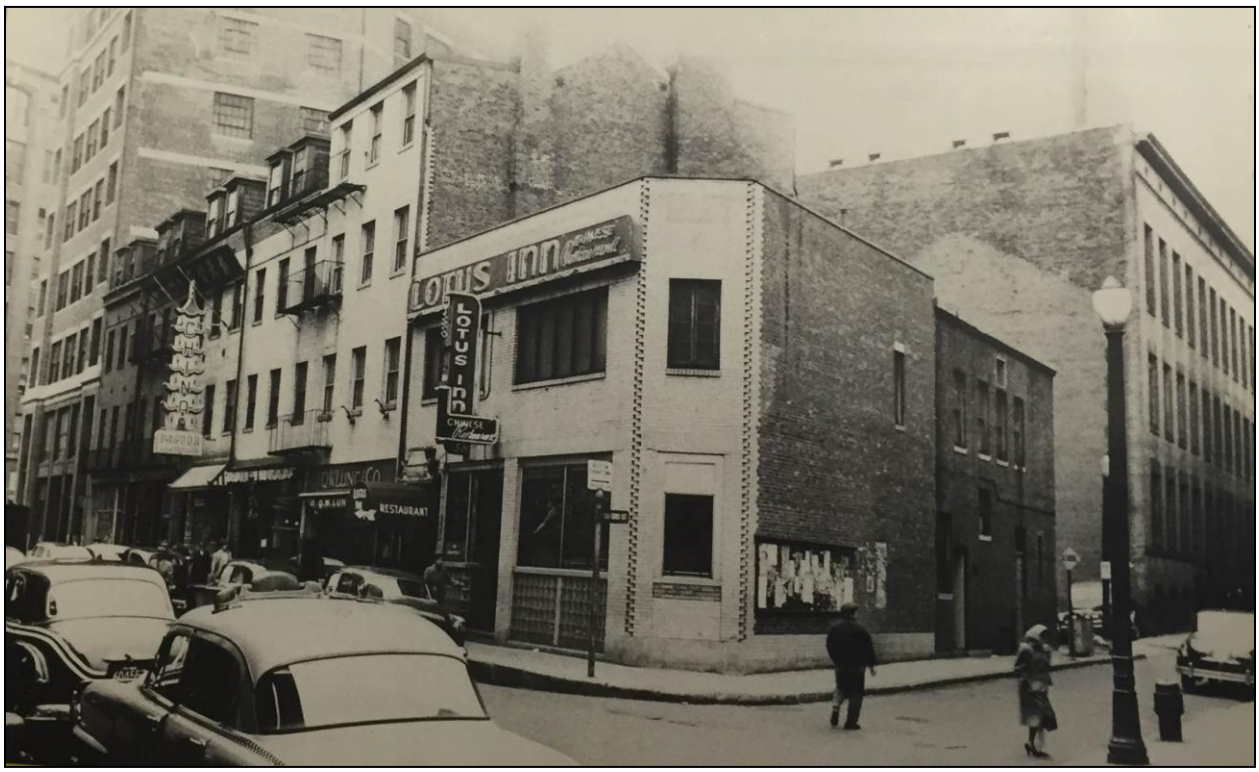

Fig.15: View of community bulletin board on Oxford St. side wall of 58 Beach St., ca. 1955. From CHSNE Archives.

Fig.16: View of east side of Tyler St. towards south, ca. 1925. From CHSNE Archives.

Fig.17: Views of Chin Lee Young laundry, 132 Jersey Street, in the Fenway neighborhood of Boston, 2013. Photo courtesy CHSNE.

PHOTOGRAPHS (All photos by Neil Larson, 2016)

PHOTO 1: View of 75, 77, 79 & 81 Harrison Ave. right to left, from east. The James Spear House (#75) is the short house left of center. Its neighbors originated as similar house forms in 1822-23.

Photo 2: View of 48, 50, 52, 54, 56 & 58 Beach St., left to right from south.

Photo 3: View of 28-32, 34, 36-38 & 40-44 Harrison Ave., left to right, from NW. These buildings were erected after the street was widened in 1894.

Photo 4: View of 19-25 Harrison Avenue from SE.

Photo 5: View of 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 & 11 Oxford Pl., right to left, from north.

Photo 6: View of 22, 24, 26, 28, 30 & 32 Oxford St., left to right, from south.

Photo 7: View of Harrison Building, 40-44 Harrison St. From MACRIS BOS.1777, 1980.

Photo 8: View of 61, 63, 65 & 67 Beach St., right to left, from NE. A partial view of 3 Hudson St. at far left.

Photo 9: View of 2, 4, 6, 8 & 10 Tyler St., left to right, from north. Note balconies incorporated in facades of three association buildings.

Photo 10: View of 10, 12, 14, 16, 18 & 20 Tyler St., left to right, from north.

Photo 11: View of 23, 25 & 27 Tyler St., right to left, from NE. Note balcony added to #27.

Photo 12: View of 3, 5, 7 & 13 Tyler St., right to left, from south.

Photo 13: View of 3, 5-9, 11, 13, 15 & 17 Hudson St., right to left, from south. Note 20th-century garment lofts replacing two mid-19th-century row houses.

Photo 14: View of Atlantic Refining Co. filling station, 74-84 Kneeland St., from SW.

Photo 15: View of 70-72 Beach St., 1920, from SE.

Photo 16: View of Quincy School, 88-90 Tyler St., 1847-1848, from SW.

Photo 17: View of 12, 14, 16, 18, 20 & 22 Tyler St., left to right, from north. Note #20 is building with large yellow sign.

Photo 18: View of 71, 73, 75, 77 & 79 Hudson St., right to left, from NE.

Photo 19: View of 94-96, 98, 100, 102, 104 & 106 Tyler St., left to right, from SW.

Photo 20: 72 Tyler St. from east.

Photo 21: View of Maryknoll Sisters Center, 78 Tyler St., from east.

Photo 22: View of Photo 22: 55, 57, 59, 61, 63 & 65 Harvard St., right to left, from NE.

Photo 23: View of Chinese Evangelical Church, 247 Harrison Avenue, 1979, from west.

Photo 24: View of 215, 217 & 219 Harrison Ave., right to left, from S.

Photo 25: View of 223, 225, 227, 229, 231-235 & 237-239 Harrison St., right to left, from south. Also 16, 18 & 20 Pine St. on left.

Photo 26: View of Johnny Ct., from west.

Photo 27: View of 77, 79, 81,83 & 85 Tyler St., right to left, from south.

Photo 28: View of Chinese Merchants' Association Building, 20 Hudson St., from west.

Photo 29: View of Tai Tung Village, 232 Harrison Ave., 1973, from east.

Photo 30: Chinatown Gate, 1982, from NE. Source: http://www.boston-discovery-guide.com.

Photo 31: View of Globe Theater (1903), 690 Washington St., home of the Empire Garden Restaurant since 1975.