PICTURING CHINATOWN

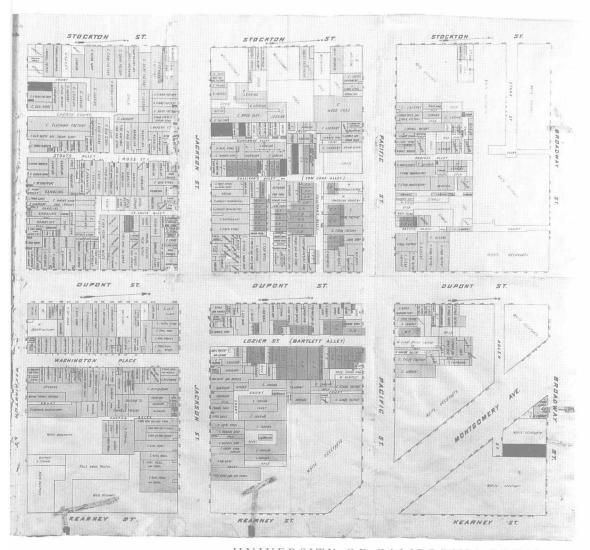
Art and Orientalism in San Francisco

Anthony W. Lee

PICTURING CHINATOWN

Art and Orientalism in San Francisco

Anthony W. Lee



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

Berkeley / Los Angeles / London

Frontispiece: Official map of Chinatown in San Francisco, 1885. Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.

University of California Press Berkeley and Los Angeles, California

University of California Press, Ltd. London, England

© 2001 by

The Regents of the University of California

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Lee, Anthony W., 1960-

Picturing Chinatown : art and orientalism in San Francisco / Anthony W. Lee.

p. cm.—(Ahmanson-Murphy fine arts imprint)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-520-22592-9 (cloth: alk. paper)

- 1. Chinatown (San Francisco, Calif.)—In art.
- Chinatown (San Francisco, Calif.)—Pictorial works.
 Painting, American—California—San Francisco.
 Photography—California—San Francisco.
 Title.

N8214.5.U6 L43 2001 704.9'4997461—dc21

2001027087

Printed in Canada

10 09 08 07 06 05 04 03 02 01 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1984 (R 1997) (Permanence of Paper). \otimes



THE AHMANSON FOUNDATION

has endowed this imprint to honor the memory of

FRANKLIN D. MURPHY

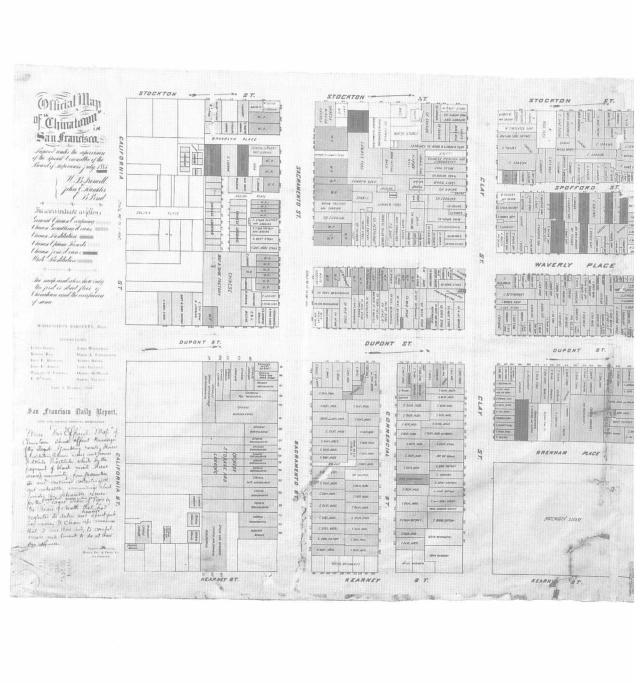
who for half a century served arts and letters, beauty and learning, in equal measure by shaping with a brilliant devotion those institutions upon which they rely.



The publisher gratefully acknowledges the generous contribution to this book provided by the WANG FAMILY FOUNDATION, San Francisco—Beijing—Napa.

The publisher also expresses appreciation to the Art Book Endowment Fund of the ASSOCIATES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS, which is supported by a major grant from the Ahmanson Foundation.

PICTURING CHINATOWN



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book owes a considerable amount to friends and colleagues both near and far. Close by, Bettina Bergmann, Nancy Campbell, Michael Davis, Bob Herbert, Bonnie Miller, Carleen Sheehan, Ajay Sinha, Joe Smith, Paul Staiti, and John Varriano have created an art department second to none—full of friendship, generosity, high learning and creativity, and dedication to our craft. They make being a teacher and scholar a daily pleasure. My colleagues in American Studies, especially Chris Benfey, Dan Czitrom, Marianne Doezema, Amy Kaplan, Paul Staiti (again), Michelle Stephens, and Elizabeth Young, gave parts of this book scrupulous and generous readings, and it has benefited enormously from their suggestions. My colleagues in the Five College Asian/Pacific/American Studies have spent the past eighteen months forging a new program, and their efforts and discussions that went into its making have forced me to think hard about how and why we recover the history and representations of Chinese Americans and have made me value the immensity and complexity of the task. A bit further from home, Dennis Crockett, Patrick Frank, and Michael Wilson have always been voices of warmth and intelligence, and I have learned to listen to their wisdom.

This book also owes a considerable amount to a number of generous and gracious people who invited me into their homes and let me pore over their scrapbooks, read their letters, borrow their photographs, and ask them all sorts of unusual questions. I especially want to thank Mary Mammon Amo, Georgia Brown, Larry Ching, Helen Gee, John Grau, Debra Heimerdinger, Frances Chun Kan, Li-lan, Jade Ling, Diane Shinn McLean, Lily Pon, Kim Searcy, Dr. Jess Shenson, and Stanley Toy.

At crucial moments, Dachong Cong and Lin Gong helped me with translations and transliterations. (Readers will note that I freely mix the Pinyin romanization system with the previous Cantonese system, especially when some Chinese Americans referred to themselves or their associations by an earlier spelling.) Patricia Akre, Linda

Callahan, Diane Curry, Susan Haas, Ellen Harding, Claudia Kishler, Dianne Nilsen, Susan Snyder, and Emily Wolfe were especially generous in helping me obtain reproductions. During the last push to finish the book, I was fortunate enough to receive a J. Paul Getty Postdoctoral Fellowship in Art History, which gave me time to think and write, and two Mount Holyoke College Faculty Grants, which gave me funds to travel and obtain reproductions. I am grateful for all three.

I had ample opportunity to try out some of my ideas in public lectures, where I received wonderful feedback and in addition was forced to think hard about the ramifications of many of my claims. I especially wish to thank Cécile Whiting at UCLA, Roger Buckley and Karen Chow at the University of Connecticut, David Craven at the University of New Mexico, Judson Emerick and Diana Linden at Pomona College, Michael Ross at the Institute of Fine Arts, Annie Coombes at the University of London, Andrew McClellan and Eric Rosenberg at Tufts University, Richard Meyer and Nancy Troy at the University of Southern California, Rob Burstow at the University of Derby, and Randy Griffin at Southern Methodist University.

This is the second book I've worked on with Stephanie Fay at the University of California Press, and I am extremely fortunate for, and also humbled by, her enormous generosity and diligent work. Alice Falk's copyediting has been expert.

Finally, this book is dedicated to Catherine, Colin, Rachel, and Caroline Lee. They were my first, best readers, my true loves. Of course, they will be pleased that the stories at the dinner table about an ancestor of ours, Little Lee of Old Chinatown, will finally stop, at least for now.

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations vii

Acknowledgments xiii

Introduction 1

One THE PLACE OF CHINATOWN 9

Two PICTURESQUE CHINATOWN 59

Three PHOTOGRAPHY ON THE STREETS 101

Four PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE BOOKS 149

Five REVOLUTIONARY ARTISTS 201

Six THE FORBIDDEN CITY 237

Postscript 287

Notes 291

Works Cited 325

Index 337

ILLUSTRATIONS

I	Theodore Wores, New Year's Day in San Francisco Chinatown, n.d.
2	Wores, Chinese Fishmonger, 1881
3	Wores, Chinese Restaurant, 1884
4	Edwin Deakin, Study in Chinatown, San Francisco, 1886
5	Laura Adams Armer, The Old Regime, ca. 1908
6	Yun Gee, Portrait of Otis Oldfield, 1927
7	Gee, The Flute Player, 1928
8	Gee, San Francisco Chinatown, 1927
FIGU	IRES
	Official map of Chinatown in San Francisco, 1885 frontispiece
I.1	Dorothea Lange, White Angel Breadline, San Francisco, 1933 2
I.2	Lange, San Francisco Chinatown, 1924 4
I.3	Unknown photographer, Chinese Children, Holiday Attire,
	ca. 1900–1910 5
I.4	Dorothea Lange, San Francisco Chinatown, 1924 6
I.I	Samuel Francis Marryat, San Francisco, 1851 13
1.2	Unknown photographer, View of San Francisco (plate 4 of 6), 1853
1.3	George Fardon, View down Sacramento Street, 1856 16
1.4	Fardon, View of the City from Stockton Street, 1856 21
1.5	William Shew, untitled (portrait of a man), n.d. 22
1.6	George Fardon, Fort Vigilance, 1856 28
1.7	Unknown photographer, untitled (portrait of a man), n.d. 30
1.8	Lai Yong, untitled (portrait of a man), n.d. 31

PLATES

following page 224

1.9	Lawrence and Houseworth, View among the Chinese on Sacramento St.,
	n.d. 34
Ι,ΙΟ	Carleton Watkins, Casa Grande, Arizona, 1880 35
I . I I	Herman Schoene, untitled (Chinatown buildings), n.d. 35
I.I2	Carleton Watkins, Chinese Quarter, Dupont and Sacramento Streets,
	n.d. 37
1.13	Isaiah West Taber, Chinatown, S.F., Cal., Miss Cable's Class of Chinese Girls,
	n.d. 40
1.14	Taber, Taber, Photographic Artist, n.d. 43
1.15	Taber, Street Scene, Chinatown, S.F., Cal., n.d. 44
1.16	Taber, Chinese Tenement House, n.d. 44
1.17	Studio of Isaiah West Taber, untitled (Taber in Chinatown), n.d. 45
1.18	Isaiah West Taber, Clay Street Hill, Chinatown, San Francisco, n.d. 47
1.19	Taber, Dupont Street, Chinatown, San Francisco, n.d. 48
1.20	Taber, Chinese Butcher and Grocery Shop, Chinatown, S.E., n.d. 49
1.21	Taber, Chinese Opium Den, ca. 1886 51
1.22	Taber, Shop in Chinatown, S.F., Cal., n.d. 52
1.23	Taber, Chinese Butcher and Grocery Shop, Chinatown, S.F., n.d. 53
1.24	Taber, Chinese Butcher and Grocery Shop, Chinatown, S.E., n.d. 53
1.25	Taber, Chinese Butcher and Grocery Shop, Chinatown, S.F., n.d. 54
1.26	Taber, Provision Market in Alley in Chinatown, San Francisco, n.d. 55
2.1	Ernest Peixotto, untitled (from Ten Drawings in Chinatown), 1896 62
2,2	Paul Frenzeny, A Holiday in Chinatown, San Francisco, 1880 70
2.3	Joseph Becker, A Street Scene in the Chinese Quarter of San Francisco,
	1875 71
2.4	T. de Thul, The Massacre of the Chinese at Rock Springs, Wyoming,
	1885 76
2.5	George Keller, The Coming Man, 1881 76
2.6	Frank A. Namkivel, The Ultimate Cause, 1900 77
2.7	Theodore Wores, In a Corner of My Studio, ca. 1876–84 82
2.8	Edwin Deakin, Studio of S. M. Brookes, San Francisco, Cal., ca. 1884 84
2.9	Deakin, Chinatown, San Francisco, 1885 89
2.10	Deakin, untitled (intersection in Chinatown), 1886 90
. I I	Deakin, St. Louis Alley, Chinatown, S.F., New Year's Day, 1886 92
2.12	Deakin, New Year's Day in Chinatown, San Francisco, 1886 93

Unknown photographer, untitled (Chinese parade), n.d. 2.13 Arnold Genthe, Self-Portrait with Camera in Chinatown, ca. 1898 3.I 102 Genthe, No Likee, ca. 1898 3.2 Charles Weidner, The Cobbler, 1900 3.3 Weidner, Hitting the Pipe, 1900 3.4 Hortense Shulze, untitled (Chinese children), ca. 1899 3.5 Unknown photographer (8000 Photographer), untitled (man in doorway), 3.6 8000 Photographer, untitled (man in doorway), n.d. 3.7 IIO 8000 Photographer, untitled (man in doorway), n.d. 3.8 8000 Photographer, untitled (fishmonger), n.d. 3.9 8000 Photographer, untitled (sleeping man), n.d. 3.10 8000 Photographer, untitled (man standing), n.d. 3.II I I 2 8000 Photographer, untitled (butcher's shop), n.d. 3.12 I I 3 Arnold Genthe, Street of the Gamblers, ca. 1898 3.13 Oscar Maurer, untitled (Chinatown street), 1898 3.14 Arnold Genthe, A Slave Girl in Holiday Attire, ca. 1898 3.15 3.16 Genthe, A Slave Girl in Holiday Attire (cropped), 1913 (orig. ca. 1898) Genthe, Children of High Class, ca. 1898 3.17 Genthe, The Alley, ca. 1898 3.18 Laura Adams Armer, Chinatown, San Francisco, ca. 1911 3.19 134 Armer, untitled (men reading wall posters), ca. 1900 3.20 135 Armer, untitled (Chinatown street), ca. 1900 3.2I Armer, Chinatown, ca. 1900 3.22 D. H. Wulzen, Corner of Dupont Street, 1900 3.23 3.24 Wulzen, Chinatown, Chinese Cobbler, 1900 Wulzen, Fortune Teller, 1901 3.25 Wulzen, Umbrella Repairman, 1901 3.26 Wulzen, Fish Market, Three Clerks, 1901 139 3.27 Wulzen, Fish Market, Two Men, 1901 3.28 Arnold Genthe, Fish Alley, ca. 1898 3.29 141 D. H. Wulzen, Fish Market, Two Men without Pigtails (Highbinders), 1901 3.30 142 Wulzen, Fish Market, Three Men, 1901 3.3I 8000 Photographer, untitled (sidewalk stall), n.d. 3.32

- 4.1 Arnold Genthe, Chinese Cook Grinning, ca. 1898 158
- 4.2 Genthe, A Prosperous Assemblage, ca. 1898 158
- 4.3 Genthe, Devil's Kitchen by Night, ca. 1898 159
- 4.4 Genthe, Rescued Slave Girls, 1913 (orig. ca. 1898) 160
- 4.5 Louis Stellman, untitled (Chinatown speaker), ca. 1911 163
- 4.6 San Francisco police file photographs, 1910 164
- 4.7 Maynard Dixon, cover for Sunset Magazine, 1906 166
- 4.8 Louis Stellman, untitled (American and Chinese flags), ca. 1912 166
- 4.9 Stellman, untitled (outside Young China's offices), ca. 1912 167
- 4.10 Stellman, untitled (revolutionary telegraph operator), ca. 1911 168
- 4.11 Stellman, untitled (parade for the Republic of China), ca. 1911 168
- 4.12 Stellman, A Parade Honoring the Republic of China, ca. 1912 169
- 4.13 Unknown photographer, Panama Pacific International Exposition, 1915 169
- 4.14 Louis Stellman, untitled (Chinatown shop interior), ca. 1912 172
- 4.15 Stellman, untitled (roof storage), ca. 1912 173
- 4.16 Arnold Genthe, untitled (children and storeowner), ca. 1898 176
- 4.17 Genthe, An Unsuspecting Victim, ca. 1898 178
- 4.18 Genthe, page from Old Chinatown: A Book of Pictures by Arnold Genthe, 1913 (orig. ca. 1898) 179
- 4.19 Genthe, page from Old Chinatown: A Book of Pictures by Arnold Genthe, 1913 (orig. ca. 1898) 180
- 4.20 Louis Stellman, untitled (men reading wall posters), ca. 1913-15 183
- 4.21 Stellman, For children the Sun Min season, ca. 1908 183
- 4.22 Stellman, untitled (Chinatown alley), ca. 1908 184
- 4.23 P. Douglas Anderson, A Corner in Chinatown, S.F., ca. 1915 185
- 4.24 Louis Stellman, untitled (shopkeeper), ca. 1910 186
- 4.25 Stellman, collage of Chinatown photographs, ca. 1913 189
- 4.26 Stellman, Spofford Alley, Decorated for Moon Festival, 1908
- 4.27 Stellman, untitled (street scene), ca. 1908 192
- 4.28 Stellman, This crowd is reading an announcement of truce between the Hop Sing and Bing Kung tongs, 1908 193
- 4.29 Stellman, Spofford Alley, Stronghold of the Revolutionists, ca. 1913–15
- 4.30 Laura Adams Armer, Chinatown, San Francisco, ca. 1908 195
- 4.31 Louis Stellman, untitled (street corner), ca. 1913–15 196
- 4.32 Stellman, untitled (street corner), ca. 1913-15 197

Unknown photographer, Chinese Revolutionary Artists' Club, ca. 1927 5.I 202 Yun Gee, Man in Red Chair, 1926 5.2 Gee, Steps, 1926 5.3 Gee, Man Writing, 1927 5.4 204 Unknown artist, untitled (seated woman), ca. 1926 5.5 Yun Gee, The Chinese Lion Is Aroused, 1931 5.6 Unknown photographer, untitled (public burning of opium), ca. 1921 5.7 Yun Gee, Head of Woman with Necklace, 1926 5.8 219 Gee, Landscape with Telephone Poles, 1926 5.9 Gee, The Blue Yun, 1929 5.10 5.II Unknown photographer, untitled (Chinatown studio portrait), ca. 1925 226 Yun Gee, San Francisco Street Scene with Construction Workers, 1926 5.12 228 5.13 Unknown photographer, Yun Gee, ca. 1927 Yun Gee, Chinese Man in Hat, 1928 5.14 Gee, Houses on a Hill, 1926 5.15 Unknown photographer, Yun Gee, ca. 1927 5.16 Unknown photographer, brochure cover for Forbidden City, n.d. 6.I 238 Unknown photographer, Exotic Splendor, Forbidden City Interior, n.d. 6.2 241 Unknown photographer, Forbidden City Dressing Room, n.d. 6.3 Unknown photographer, The Kiss, n.d. 6.4 Unknown photographer, Tai Sings, n.d. 6.5 Unknown photographer, Larry Ching and Patron, n.d. 6.6 Unknown photographer, Charlie Low and Forbidden City Chorus Line, 6.7 n.d. 246 Unknown photographer, Larry Ching and Charlie Low, n.d. 6.8 246 6.9 Bruno Studios, Paul Wing and Dorothy Toy, n.d. Unknown photographer, Forbidden City Chorus Line, n.d. 6.10 248 Hansel Mieth, Chinese Six Companies, Stockton Street, 1936 6.11 252 Mieth, Chinese Man, San Francisco, 1936 6.12 Mieth, Sweat Shop, San Francisco Chinatown, 1936 6.13 258 Mieth, Chinatown, San Francisco, 1936 6.14 José Moya del Piño, Chinese Mother and Child, 1933 6.15 259 Hansel Mieth, untitled (child eating), n.d. 6.16 260 Dorothea Lange, School in Chinatown, 1945 6.17 26 I

6.18	John Gutmann, The Hand of Authority, 1934 264
6.19	Gutmann, Chinese Boy Looking at Display of Warplane Models,
	1938 266
6.20	Gutmann, The Artist Lives Dangerously, 1938 266
6.21	Gutmann, Chinatown Boys Looking at Military Charts, 1937 267
6.22	Hansel Mieth, General Fang Chen Wu, 1936 267
6.23	Mieth, General Fang Chen Wu Is Speaking against Chang Kai-
	shek, 1936 268
6.24	Unknown photographer, Forbidden Acres, n.d. 270
6.25	Unknown photographer, Charlie Low, n.d. 271
6.26	Unknown photographer, Charlie Low and the Forbidden City Chorus Line,
	n.d. 271
6.27	Unknown photographer, Charlie Low as Grand Marshal, n.d. 272
6.28	Unknown photographer, Charlie Low and Forbidden City Dancers,
	n.d. 272
6.29	Unknown photographer, 'Tis a Great Day for the Irish, n.d. 273
6.30	Unknown photographer, Miss Chinatown, n.d. 274
6.31	Unknown photographer, Diane Shinn at Forbidden City, n.d. 274
6.32	Unknown photographer, Jack Mei Ling and Jade Ling, n.d. 279
6.33	Romaine Studios, Jade Ling, n.d. 280
6.34	Unknown photographer, Jack Mei Ling, n.d. 281
6.35	Page from Forbidden City brochure, n.d. 282
6.36	Brochure cover for Andy Wong's Shangri-La, 1942 284

INTRODUCTION

In her famous account of her conversion to documentary photography, Dorothea Lange remembered observing the depressing life on the streets from her studio window and suddenly feeling the need to take the camera off its tripod and down to the scene below. It happened one day in San Francisco in 1933:

I remember well standing at that one window and just watching the flow of life. Up from the waterfront it came to that particular corner, that junction of many different things. There was the financial district to the left, Chinatown straight ahead, and the Barbary Coast and the Italian town. The unemployed would drift up there, would stop, and I could just see they did not know where next. . . . The studio room was one flight up and I looked down as long as I could and then one day I said to myself, "I'd better make this happen," and that started me. I made a print and put it on the wall to see what reaction I would get, and I remember well the customary, common reaction was, "Yes, but what are you going to do with it?" I hadn't the slightest idea. . . . Things are very often apt to be regarded as a vehicle for making a name for yourself. But the way it happened with me, I was compelled to photograph as a direct response to what was around me. !

The picture she shot and put on her wall, *White Angel Breadline*, *San Francisco* (fig. I.1), is now equally famous. She had wandered down to the waterfront and stood behind the mass of unemployed men who "did not know where next," and she captured something of the aimlessness she saw in them, in the sea of hats and the line of broad, flat shoulders. Although she professed that the picture was not an attempt to make her reputation, in fact it quickly did just that. In most accounts of her life and work, *White Angel Breadline*, *San Francisco* is a dramatic turning point: it changed Lange from an un-

1