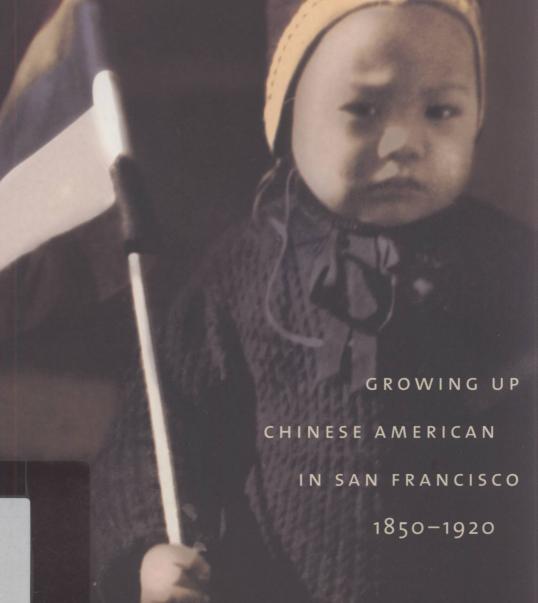
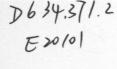
WENDY ROUSE JORAE

the children of chinatown







GROWING UP

CHINESE AMERICAN

IN SAN FRANCISCO,

1850-1920



NORTH CAROLINA PRESS





© 2009 The University of North Carolina Press All Rights Reserved

Designed by Courtney Leigh Baker and set in Dante and The Sans by Keystone Typesetting, Inc. Manufactured in the United States of America

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources.

The University of North Carolina Press has been a member of the Green Press Initiative since 2003.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Jorae, Wendy Rouse.

The children of Chinatown : growing up Chinese American in San Francisco 1850–1920 / Wendy Rouse Jorae.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 978-0-8078-3313-1 (cloth: alk. paper) ISBN 978-0-8078-5973-5 (pbk.: alk. paper)

- 1. Chinatown (San Francisco, Calif.)—History.
- 2. Chinatown (San Francisco Calif.)—Social life and customs.
- 3. Chinatown (San Francisco, Calif.) Social conditions.
- 4. Chinese Americans—California—San Francisco—History.
- 5. Chinese American children—California—San Francisco—
- History. 6. Children—California—San Francisco—History.

7. Chinese American families—California—San Francisco—History. 8. San Francisco (Calif.)—History. 9. San Francisco (Calif.)—Social life and customs. 10. San Francisco (Calif.)—Ethnic relations. 1. Title.

F869.836C474 2009 305.23089′951079461—dc22 2009011633

CLOTH 13 12 11 10 09 5 4 3 2 1 PAPER 13 12 11 10 09 5 4 3 2 1





the children of chinatown

此为试读,需要完整PIF请访问: www.ertongbook.com

WENDY ROUSE JORAE

the children of chinatown



tothe

CHILDREN OF

CHINATOWN,

PAST, PRESENT,

AND FUTURE





ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have accumulated many debts throughout this project, and there are numerous individuals and institutions whose support was instrumental in the completion of the final manuscript. I wish to thank Eric Rauchway for all of his support during the early stages of research and writing. I am also extremely grateful to Cecilia Tsu for her insightful comments and expertise on the subject matter. Lisa Materson, Louis Warren, and Kathy Olmsted also provided excellent advice and encouragement during the early process.

I am especially indebted to Lois Smith for her extensive editorial assistance. I also wish to thank the other colleagues who listened to my ramblings and offered feedback on my initial findings: Judy Walker, Jean More, and Ben and Sarah Symkowick. I extend a special thank you to Stephanie Chen Wu for her assistance in translating some of the Chinese-language sources.

I am deeply grateful for the help of the numerous individuals who pointed me in the right direction with my research, including Judy Yung, Colleen Fong, Lucy Salyer, Timothy Fong, Erika Lee, Bill Hing, Marlon Hom, Jeanie Low, Sue Fawn Chung,

Laverne Dicker, Charles Egan, Ron Fillon, Marcia Bell, Kathryn Gin, Lynette Choy Uyeda Gin, Miroslava Chavez-Garcia, Lewis Baer, and Jack Hudson. David Garton provided access to his family documents. Jeffrey Staley shared his excitement for the subject and his research findings, and he graciously opened up his home to me. Financial assistance was made possible by Betsy and Roland Marchand, the California State University Chancellor's Doctoral Incentive Program, and the University of California, Davis, Institute of Governmental Affairs. I am also indebted to the following people and institutions: William Greene of the National Archives and Records Administration, Pacific Region, San Bruno; Jeannie Woo and Anna Naruta of the Chinese Historical Society of America; Erika Gee of the Angel Island Immigration Station Foundation; Wei Chi Poon of the Asian American Studies Library, University of California, Berkeley; Tami Suzuki of the San Francisco History Room; Verne Deubler of the California Genealogical Society; Ronald Lee of the Boy Scout Troop Three Alumni Association; Father Daniel McCotter of St. Mary's Chinese School; William Jorae of the Photographic Archives, California State Parks; the California State Library; the California State Archives; the Bancroft Library; the California Historical Society; Stanford Special Collections; the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University; the University of Oregon Special Collections; the San Anselmo Theological Seminary; and the Holt-Atherton Library at the University of the Pacific. I continue to be inspired and moved by conversations with several people presently working to improve the lives of the children of Chinatown. These include Marlene Callejas, principal of Gordon Lau Elementary School; Helen Joe-Lew at San Francisco Unified School District Multilingual Programs; Ben Wong, deputy director of Community Education Services; and Christina Wong at Chinese for Affirmative Action.

The anonymous readers for the University of North Carolina Press helped me clarify my points and strengthen the overall argument, and their insightful comments improved the flow of the manuscript. I am also grateful to Chuck Grench, Sian Hunter, Jay Mazzocchi, and the UNC Press staff for believing in this project and guiding it through publication.

On a personal note, I am eternally grateful for the loving support of my husband, Wil Jorae, who is both my most honest critic and best friend. My father, Denis Sweeney, has provided a constant model of integrity and inspired in me a love of learning since I was a young child. My mother, Sherry Sweeney, has taught me the value of hard work while demonstrating the most generous spirit of anyone I have ever met. My grandmother, Lina

Rouse, has been with me every step of the way and has provided a foundation of unconditional love and stability for the entire family.

Acknowledgments: xiii





Acknowledgments: xi

INTRODUCTION: I

Constructing Childhood in Early Chinatown Image versus Reality

CHAPTER 1:9

The Immigration of Chinese Children and the Chinese Question

CHAPTER 2: 42

Recentering the Chinese Family in Early Chinese American History

CHAPTER 3:78

For the Family Back Home Chinese Children at Work

CHAPTER 4: IIO

Challenging Segregation Chinese Children at School

CHAPTER 5: 140

Articles of Contention
Chinese Children in the Missions and Courts

CHAPTER 6: 176

Children of the New Chinatown

CONCLUSION: 215

Constructing the Future

Notes: 231 Bibliography: 265 Index: 285



Fong Bow and his father : 27

Au Kai Yung: 30

Two children pose for the camera: 62

Errand girl: 80

Young servant girls known as mui tsai: 86

Chinese newsboy: 105

Classroom in the Chinese Primary

Public School: 117 '

Patriotic Chinese American boys: 134

Rescued Chinese slave girls: 158

Youthful Chinese offender: 169

Chinese children celebrating a holiday: 182 ·

Postcard "Chinese Children in

Holiday Attire": 189

Postcard "Greetings from San Francisco": 191

Chinese in traditional clothing: 193

Postcard "Troubles of His Own": 193

Postcard "A Group of Chinese Children": 195

Postcard "Sing Chong Company,

Chinatown, San Francisco": 196

Postcard "The Singing Children": 200

Child holding first flag of the

Chinese Republic: 202

Chinese children playing tug of war: 204



TABLE ONE: 24

Admittance Rates for Chinese Child Immigrants at the Port of San Francisco, 1880–1920

TABLE TWO: 47

Chinese Children in San Francisco Age Sixteen and Under

TABLE THREE: 48

Chinese Children in San Francisco Age Sixteen and under by Gender and Place of Birth

TABLE FOUR : 50

Most Common Domestic Arrangements in San Francisco's Chinatown, 1860–1920

TABLE FIVE: 53

Number of Children of Two-Parent Chinese Families, 1870–1920

TABLE SIX: 70

Deaths of Chinese Children Residing in San Francisco by Sex, 1870–1918

TABLE SEVEN: 70

Deaths of Chinese Children Residing in San Francisco by Age, 1870–1918

TABLE EIGHT: 81

Occupations of Chinese Children in San Francisco, 1860–1920



INTRODUCTION

CONSTRUCTING CHILDHOOD IN EARLY CHINATOWN IMAGE VERSUS REALITY

When one imagines San Francisco's nineteenth-century Chinatown, Chinese children do not usually figure prominently in the picture. Scholars of Chinese American history have focused primarily on the story of male Chinese immigrants; only within the last two decades have significant studies examining the stories of Chinese American females emerged. Chinese children appear only sporadically in the histories. Yet an examination of the historical record reveals important evidence of the existence of Chinese children in America and offers scattered glimpses into their daily lives. The narrow designation of San Francisco's early Chinatown (1850–1920) as a "bachelor society," or more recently as a "split-household" community, ignores the variety of family structures and the small but significant presence of Chinese children. It is important to recognize the presence of children in early Chinatown, not only because it changes the way we conceptualize Chinese American history, but also because the presence of these children and the formation of families impacted the larger controversy surrounding the Chinese in America. This book challenges prevailing scholarly notions of early Chinatown by positioning Chinese children and their families at the center of efforts to combat American anti-Chinese policies. My research reveals the heretofore untold story of child life in early Chinatown while also unraveling the various myths surrounding Chinese American childhood.

I have defined two major objectives for this work. First, I will examine how various groups constructed contrasting images of childhood and family life in Chinatown that significantly influenced the debate over Chinese immigration and the future of the Chinese American community. Second, and

most importantly, I will recover the voices and experiences of Chinese American children in early Chinatown and reveal their efforts to circumvent policies of exclusion and segregation in American society. I am most concerned here with reconstructing the lived experience of Chinese children in America by examining their immigration experiences and exploring their daily lives at home, at work, at school, and in the missions and court system.

The persistence and dominance of the bachelor-society paradigm has contributed to the difficulty of recovering the voices and experiences of children in early Chinatown. The success of anti-Chinese propaganda in painting the Chinese in America as a bachelor society in the mid- to late nineteenth century reinforced a social hierarchy that placed Chinese American children at a severe disadvantage. Facing obstacles of immigration exclusion, cultural dislocation, child labor, segregated schooling, and crime and violence in Chinatown, Chinese American children struggled for recognition in a society that increasingly resented their presence. Nineteenth-century anti-Chinese propaganda denied the existence of normative family life as a way of illustrating the deviant culture of San Francisco's Chinatown and contrasting the lifestyle of Chinese immigrants with a middle-class domestic ideal.2 The perception of a "familyless" Chinese community has pervaded the historical scholarship even into the modern era and has rendered the presence of children in early Chinatown largely invisible. In recent years, the designation of early Chinatown as a split-household community has attempted to move scholars beyond the narrow definition of a bachelor society to examine the unique nature of family life in early Chinatown. The split-household model considers the structural dynamics of Chinese families separated by the Pacific Ocean. In split-household families, men migrated to America while their wives remained in China to raise the children and contribute to the husband's family economy.3

The designation of San Francisco's early Chinatown as a split-household community, however, remains problematic in its failure to acknowledge the family life that did exist in Chinatown during this period of Chinese American history. Children in general remained relatively rare in San Francisco compared to similar-sized American cities. As late as 1910, only 19 percent of San Francisco's population was age fourteen and under. This was significantly lower than the 32 percent of children age fourteen and under in the total U.S. population. Decades of anti-Chinese hostility and harsh immigration laws hindered, but did not completely prohibit, the immigration of Chinese children and the growth of Chinese American families in California.

2: Introduction