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Making Race, Making Place: Racialization of Space and People in San Francisco's Chinatown, 1860-1906

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Racialization of Space and People in San Francisco's Chinatown, 1860-1906

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Abstract

Since the 1990s, geographers have been increasingly interested in the intersections between the construction of space and the construction of racial categories, or the *racialization of space*. In particular, geographers have examined how the racialization of space and the racialization of groups are co-constructed. Chinatowns throughout the globe have been a focus of geographers who are interested in looking at these intersecting processes. Previous studies have examined the racialization of Chinatowns both across space and across time, ranging from 19th century Vancouver to contemporary Singapore. In this regard, the racialization of San Francisco's Chinatown from 1860-1906 has been largely unexamined. Using archival methods and discourse analysis, this thesis examines the co-construction of Chinese as a racial category and Chinatown as a place in San Francisco from 1860-1906. From these analyses, the themes of disease and vice emerged as the most salient, after which an iterative cycle of racialization-spatialization was ultimately identified. This supports the assertion by previous scholars of the critical role of space and place in the construction of racial hierarchies and racial identities.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

How does the social construction of race enroll space and place? In turn, how are places and spatial relations constructed to reinforce and maintain notions of racialized others? These questions form the basis of my investigation of the material and discursive constructions of Chinatown and Chinese residents in late nineteenth century San Francisco. I begin by reviewing relevant scholarship on race geographies, then provide a description of the historical setting examined here and my methods of data collection and analysis. I then provide deeper investigation of these processes through discourse analysis, centering my focus on issues of *contagion and disease* and *vice*. Lastly, I propose some areas for future work that would continue to illuminate these ongoing social/spatial challenges.

Since geography's critical turn starting in the 1970s, scholars have acknowledged the mutually constitutive relationship between society and space (also known as the *socio-spatial dialectic*), but the discipline rarely applied this approach to race. This began to change in the 1990s and early 2000s when geographers, such as Koybashi and Peake (1993), Anderson (1987), Woods (2017), Wilson (2000), and Gilmore (2002), all either called for or enacted approaches that focused on space and place in both the creation and maintenance of racial categories and inequities. Since then, scholars have examined the connections between race and space in numerous socio-spatial contexts, including environmental injustice (Pulido, 1996; Pellow & Park, 2013), the creation and perception of cultural landscapes (Schein, 2006; Inwood & Martin, 2008; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2020), place-making and identity (Inwood & Yarbrough, 2010), and carceral spaces and criminalization (Shabazz, 2015; McKittrick, 2011; Gilmore, 2007) through a racialization lens, that is, an examination of how racial categories come to be constructed and maintained (Omi & Winant, 2014).

Although geographers of race and racialization are by no means unified in their approaches or ideological positions, most studies either acknowledge or support several key racial-spatial processes. One of the most critical is the recursive spatialization of race and the racialization of space. Racialized groups are confined to select spaces based on the negative racialized traits assigned to them (using space to enforce racial inequality). These spaces are then themselves constructed as racialized and deviant, with the traits of racialized groups filtering representations of the space to only emphasize the areas' *otherness* and threat to white communities. These representations are then used to create what Nelson (2008) terms *racial knowledge* or validation of pre-established racialized traits as well new stereotypes. This "knowledge" is then used to justify the further spatial marginalization of communities through both intensification of spatial management (confinement, removal, policing) and increased surveillance practices (police patrols, welfare benefits monitoring, public health surveys, and even social science studies) which in turn generate further racial knowledge. The cycle operates very much like that of the socio-spatial dialectic, with race making space and space in turn making race.

Additionally, critical race geographers have emphasized the need to both historize racialization within specific historic times and places, and also explore how these processes continue to influence contemporary processes. In response, historical geographers have taken on the task of both examining historically contingent discourses and material processes of race and space, and observing how these discourses continue to affect the racialization processes of today. Scholars have analyzed the racialization of space in terms of the origin of racial-spatial constructions, such as "the ghetto" and its application to racialized places (Haynes & Hutchison, 2008; Nelson, 2008), the creation of landscapes and architecture from racialized practices

(Schein, 2006; Shabazz, 2015), or even the racialization of entire regions and its effect on their socio-spatial orders (Woods, 2017; Wilson, 2002; Baldwin et.al, 2011).

One the first scholars to engage in this task was Anderson (1991) in her examination of Vancouver's Chinatown. In her study, she observed the simultaneous discursive and material construction of Vancouver's Chinatown alongside the construction of the Chinese racial category in Vancouver, British Columbia, and even Canada more broadly. Anderson believed that similar processes may have been enacted with other Chinatowns and urged other scholars to perform their own analyses on other Chinatowns, located in different counties and regions. Following Anderson, numerous studies have been conducted analyzing other Chinatowns through the racialization of space lens, within Canada, (Dunae et al 2011), in the United States, (Tchen, 2001; Wilson, 2015) in Europe, (Ealham, 2005; Auerbach, 2009) and Asia (Ang, 2018). However, one Chinatown remains underexamined through the racialization of space lens, despite its historical importance and extensive documentation: San Francisco's Chinatown during 1860-1900.

Prior historical geographic work does exist on San Francisco's Chinatown but this scholarship either examines historical periods outside of nineteenth century or provides only a narrow examination of the racialization processes during that period. Risse (2012) and Craddock (2000) both provide extensive coverage of the racialization of Chinatown and Chinese San Franciscans with respect to disease but only examine race-space connections to a small extent. Similarly, several scholars have covered the role of Chinatown's space in the racialization of Chinese Americans in San Francisco but focus on the post-1905 period and on the tourist-oriented version of Chinatown created thereafter (Berglund, 2005; Rast, 2007). Only Shah (2001) focusses on the Chinatown of the 1800s, with explicit focus on both disease and non-

disease related discourses of racialization but still – from my perspective – pays insufficient attention to space.

Beginning as Little China in the 1850s, San Francisco's Chinatown would become one of the largest Chinatowns in California and one of the most prominent in discourses involving Chinese immigrants in the United States (Shah, 2001). Unfortunately, the area would also become a focal point of the anti-Chinese movement in San Francisco, throughout California, and even across the United States, with descriptions of its places and people cited in numerous anti-Chinese ordinances, bills and acts (Shah, 2001). The area also became a powerful source of racial "knowledge" for anti-Chinese writers, advocates, and officials (Shah, 2001). Representations of Chinatown became utilized as sources of "evidence" to confirm the negative views already held by the anti-Chinese movement. Although San Francisco's Chinatown as a racialized space was both constructed with and used to promote numerous racialized traits of Chinese residents, I have chosen to focus on two examples for my thesis: the construction of Chinese Americans/Chinatown as a disease threat and the construction of Chinese Americans/Chinatown as a moral threat.

Chapter 2: The Origins of the Modern Racial-Spatial Paradigm

The intersections of race and space have been extensively explored by geographers with many focusing on racialized landscapes, urban racialization, carceral landscapes, the intersections of health and racialization, and how race has factored into broader urban political-economic processes. However, works utilizing a critical race or critical geographic approach did not appear until the 1990s. As has been observed in works like Kobayashi and Peake (2000) and Gilmore (2002), earlier studies of race either affirmed racial differences through the use of environmental determinism or simply observed residential patterns and styles. These approaches treated race as an uncomplicated category (rather than a complex set of power relations) and failed to challenge racial inequality, thereby contributing to systemic scientific racism and cultural racism, with both assuming that the segregation of certain groups into spaces was in some way "natural" or "voluntary" (Alderman & Modlin, 2014; Kobayashi & Peake, 2000).

This began to change as geographers started to engage more with the works of critical race scholars and as critical race scholars took on geography. In particular, geographers engaged with the work of Omi and Winant (2014) and their notion of *racialization*, the idea that race is socially constructed through the attribution of racial qualities to a group, the stigmatization thereof, and then their confinement to spaces in the social and spatial hierarchy. Spatializing this work, geographers have created the idea of the racialization of space and spatialization of race. The racialization of space is both the ascription of racial qualities to space and the ascription of perceived qualities of said space to racialized groups. The spatialization of race on the other hand is the use of space to construct and control racialized populations through segregation, policing and spatial control. Furthermore, both of these processes feed into one another with the racialization of space producing the spatialization of race and vice versa. Geographers have also

argued that this racialization of space also helps to reinforce the racialization of peoples through naturalizing the social status of racialized groups (Alderman & Modlin, 2014; Kobayashi and Peake 2000).

Expanding the Framework: Building on the Racialization of Space Paradigm.

Geographers have applied the racialization of space framework in several different ways depending on their disciplinary interests and theoretical approaches. Many geographers have focused on the analysis of the racialization of landscapes in the way that "Racial processes take place and racial categories get made, in part, through cultural landscapes." (Schein, 2006, p .6). Scholars have investigated the way landscapes have created and been created by racialization through landscapes of tourism and leisure (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2020; Durrheim & Dixon, 2001), housing and residential property (Nelson, 2008; Douyard, 2014), and schools and educational institutions (Inwood & Martin, 2008). This approach is particularly popular among historical geographers who have used the analysis of landscapes to observe racialization processes in both the past and present (Alderman & Modlin, 2014).

Furthermore, geographers have also used the idea of imaginative geography (originally articulated by Said (1979), or the "representations of space that are entangled with relations of power" (Gregory, 1995, p. 448). Geographers have particularly focused on the ways in which representations of space have been utilized to *otherize* and devalue the spaces occupied by racialized groups. Al-Natour (2015) and Linke (2014) describe how the construction of majority-Muslim and majority-Black areas as hostile, crime-filled ghettos, has served the dual purpose of normalizing the poverty of racialized populations and labeling the areas as potential of sources of harm or danger to white communities.

Additionally, geographers and social scientists more generally have used the idea of imaginative geography to observe how conceptualizations of racialized spaces are created and persist overtime. Haynes and Hutchison (2008) discuss how the term "ghetto" and its imagined characteristics came to be labelled onto racialized concentrations of Black people, and how these ideas were produced by the policies of racial segregation and discrimination across American cities. Most relevant for this study, Anderson (1991) and Dunae et al. (2001) have observed the co-creation of the Chinese racial category and the idea of Chinatowns; in particular, both pieces observe how discourses around Chinatowns and their residents simultaneously produced a *perceived* distance between whites and Chinese, as well as *material* socio-spatial barriers to residential occupation and employment. Additionally, Anderson (1991) and Dunae et al. (2001) as well as Craddock (2000) demonstrate how the negative construction of Chinatowns as morally impure and materially filthy allowed the universal portrayal of whites and areas outside them as pure and clean.

Carceral Racialized Geography

The racialization of space frequently occurs alongside the racialization of policing. Scholars such as Bass (2001) have posited that urban racialized spaces have come to be viewed as requiring their own policing regimes, with police brutality and violation of civil liberties becoming normalized practice within these spaces. Gregory's (2006) concept of the *space of exception*, or the idea that within certain spaces, the limits placed on government action by law become suspended when dealing with populations who are deemed lawless or existential threats, has often been invoked in this literature. Although it was originally theorized to apply to spaces outside the continental US, in which law often does not formally apply, several authors have observed spaces in the US that operate as *de facto* rather than *de jure* spaces of exception.

Authors such as Singh (2014), Gerstle and King (2020) as well as Balto (2019) have observed that the regular violation of civil rights by law enforcement becomes accepted in certain spaces, particular in racialized spaces such as Indian reservations, public housing complexes, and "urban ghettos."

Geographers have also observed how racialization often occurs in tandem with criminalization. Adopting the notion of the *carceral* from Foucault (1975), many geographers (e.g., Moran, 2018) have argued that spaces can come to socially and physically resemble that of prisons to varying degrees, thereby facilitating the further criminalization and social control of marginalized groups. More specifically, Bonds (2019) and Shabazz (2015) have argued that racialized spaces are also often criminalized through specific carceral mechanisms, such as "architectures of confinement", residential segregation, and social control of movement through policing and surveillance.

Gender, Space, and Race

Geographers have also explored how space has been used to construct and regulate white, middle-class femininity. Deutsch (2000) and Domosh (1998) both identify the role that divisions of public and private space played in the construction of white femininity in the late nineteenth century. During this period, the proper place that white, middle-class women were supposed to inhabit was almost always considered to be in the home or domestic-related spaces (such as shopping centers) with few exceptions. The presence of women in nondomestic-related spaces was considered immoral and corrupting, especially for those having contact with any men, but particularly *racialized* men. Scholars have also identified how these same rules also promoted the general separation of women and men in space. Furthermore, Hickey (1998), Heap (2008) and Donovan (2010) have also observed how spatial rules were used to crack down on spaces

which enabled violations, particularly spaces considered to be inherently sinful, such as bars and dance halls. Additionally, geographers and historians have identified an explicit racialized component to spaces that facilitated women's contact with men, finding that they received especially high amounts of regulation and scrutiny (Domosh,1998; Hickey, 1998).

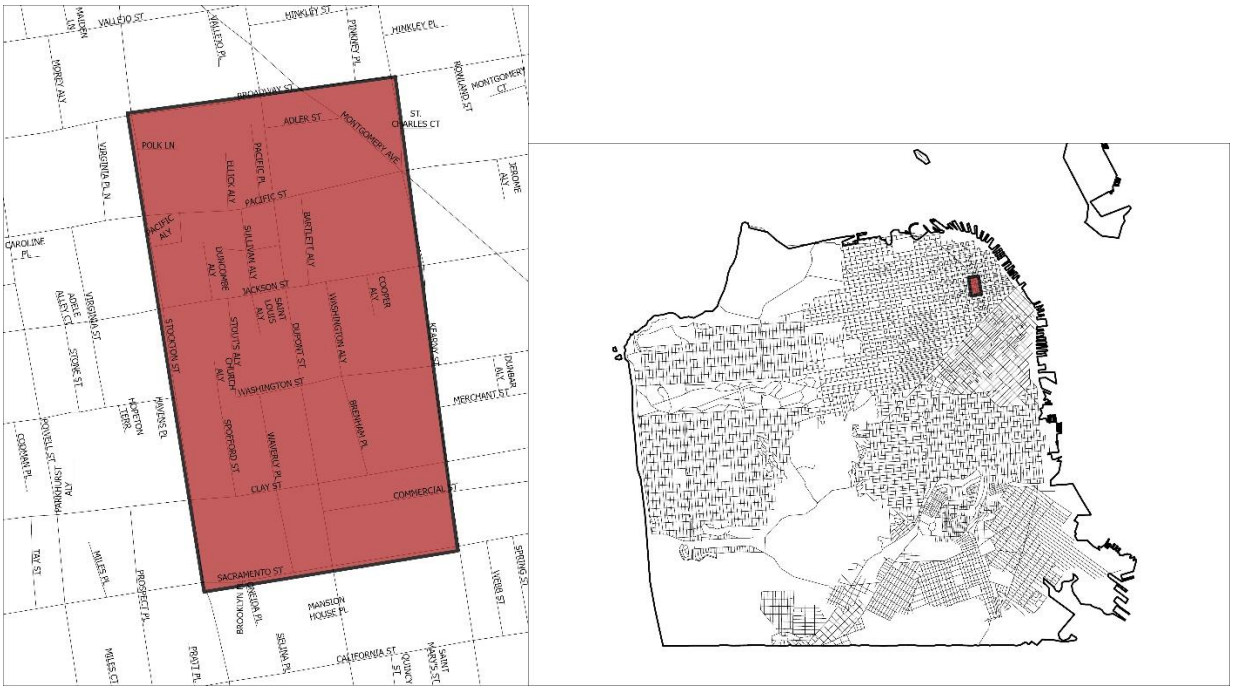
Geographers have examined how space simultaneously constructs and regulates the femininity of women of color as well, particularity sex workers of color. Razack (1998) has argued that the development of racialized spaces of prostitution allowed for white middle-class men to express their sexual desires, while placing the cause of the moral transgression with racialized sex workers and the spaces they inhabited. Likewise, Howell (2004) and Blair (2018) explore how the racialized suppression of sex work in Hong Kong and Chicago was explicitly spatialized through the control over where and how certain groups were allowed to solicit and perform sex work**.**

Racialization and Disease

Several scholars have observed the role of public health and disease rhetoric in justifying the spatial containment and exclusion of racialized groups. Deacon (1996) and Goldberg (1993) both observe the role of labeling of Black South Africans as dirty and diseased in the establishment and maintenance of separate residential areas for whites and blacks under Apartheid. Likewise, Roberts (2009) observes that the association of tuberculosis in Black communities in Baltimore was produced by Jim Crow segregation and, in turn, further justified its existence. Additionally, scholars have observed how the racialization of disease in turn led to the racialization of medical spaces. Lux (2010) shows how the construction of Indigenous Canadians as a public health threat led to their banning from Canadian hospitals, and Shah (2001), observed a similar process in San Francisco's Chinatown. Finally, scholars have noted

the how the separate medical spaces created for racialized populations frequently functioned to confine rather than heal. Both Risse (2015) and Mawani (2003) noted the use of unique medical spaces for white and Chinese leprosy victims with the former being offered treatment while the latter were placed in confining spaces like leper colonies or houses of pestilence.

Background on San Francisco's Chinatown



Figures 1.a and 1.b. A map of Chinatown and a map of San Francisco with Chinatown highlighted. Maps created using ArcGIS. Boundary and street layers from Logan et al. (2011).

Driven by a combination of declining circumstances at home and a desire to make better lives for themselves and their families, Chinese immigrants began to arrive in states such as California during the 1850s (Almaguer, 2008; Brooks, 2009). One of the main ports of entry for those arriving on the west coast was the city of San Francisco, where a small settlement of mostly merchants and shop owners began to form. Although "Little China," as it came to be called, was already viewed with some suspicion, it was mostly ignored by white San Franciscans (Shah, 2001). This began to change in the 1860s and 1870s as the Chinese population of the city

grew by over 10,000 (see Table 1), driven by both increases in anti-Chinese violence in rural California and a general increase in Chinese immigration to the country (Almaguer, 2008; Shah, 2001. White landlords increasingly refused to rent to Chinese residents outside of an area bounded by San Francisco's Stockton, Kearny, California, and Sacramento Streets, an area of only of a few blocks; it was soon labeled *Chinatown* by white San Franciscans (see Figures 1.a and 1.b) (Brooks, 2009; Risse, 2012; Shah, 2001). When Chinese residents did succeed in renting outside Chinatown, they often returned to it upon facing white harassment and violence. In comparison to the predominantly *petit bourgeoisie* Chinese migrants that had preceded them, the new wave of migrants was composed overwhelmingly of workers, creating tension with the city's heavily unionized white working class and causing Chinese residents to only be able to afford poor quality housing (Almaguer, 2008). Further, the vice economy involving prostitution, gambling, and opium that formed around (predominantly single-male) workers also provoked moral disgust among white San Franciscans, despite the fact the city already had a thriving vice industry prior to the arrival of Chinese migrants (Shah, 2001).

Table 1. Timeline of events in the formation of Chinatown

Year	**Events**
1848	-First Chinese immigrants arrive in San Francisco
1854	- A small settlement composed of 2,000 Chinese immigrants is first described in San Francisco. - San Francisco policy of forcing Chinese women (assumed to be prostitutes) off of major streets begins - San Francisco Board of Health established.
1864	-The Transcontinental Railroad is completed, leaving thousands of Chinese workers unemployed; many of them come to San Francisco seeking work.
1867	- The Anti-Coolie association is formed.
1870	- Chinese Population of San Francisco is recorded at 12,000. - Cubic Air Ordinance passed San Francisco Board of Supervisors requiring all dwellings to have 500 square feet per person; the law is nearly universally enforced solely against Chinatown residents. - Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association is officially formed.

1875	-An ordinance is passed by The San Francisco Board of Supervisors making it a misdemeanor to visit or keep an opium den.
1876	- The California Senate passes its own version of the Cubic Air Ordinance - A smallpox outbreak occurs in San Francisco; the death toll is 1,646.
1877	-Anti-Chinese Labor unions form the Workingmen's Party of California.
1879	-The Chinatown Squad is formed to combat vice and corruption in Chinatown.
1880	- Chinese population of San Francisco is recorded at 22,000. - Chinatown is declared a nuisance by the San Francisco Board of Public Health - Another smallpox outbreak occurs in San Francisco.
1881	- California bans the keeping of opium dens and the usage of the drug inside them. - A de facto policy of banning Chinese residents from medical facilitates in San Francisco is made de jure after a ruling by the San Francisco Board of Health.
1882	-The Page Act is passed requiring all Chinese women entering the United States to prove they are not sex workers prior to entry. The substantial amount of evidence required to be cleared keep most Chinese women from immigrating.
1890	-Chinese population of San Francisco is recorded at 26,000.
1904	-Sanitary renewal of Chinatown begins.
1906	-An earthquake destroys much of San Francisco's built environment, including Chinatown.

During the 1870s, an organized anti-Chinese movement formed in San Francisco (both localized and in California more broadly) composed of white labor unions, police departments, business owners, and municipal officials (Almaguer, 2008). These groups succeeded in pushing numerous laws targeting Chinese San Franciscans, with many attempting to weaken the economic position of Chinese laborers and businesses in response to perceived competition. Chinatown's elite, composed of merchants, business owners, and other wealthy individuals, formed the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association to push back against the anti-Chinese laws in city and state (Shah, 2001). Although the organization was able to get many discriminatory laws and ordinances thrown out in court, it could not stop the ultimate goal of anti-Chinese groups: the enactment of heavy restrictions on Chinese immigration. The 1874 Page Act effectively banned the entry of Chinese women into the state, and was soon followed by the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, which banned the entry of all Chinese immigrants into the

country with the exception of merchants (Shah, 2001). In the same period local politicians succeeded in passing numerous ordinances criminalizing various aspects of the daily lives of Chinese immigrants in San Francisco. Discriminatory usage of local criminal and public health laws, such as housing regulations and over policing, combined with the passage of explicitly anti-Chinese laws at the state level (that had previously been struck down locally) combined to create a generally hostile atmosphere for most Chinese immigrants residing in California in the mid- to late-nineteenth century (Shah, 2001).

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, combined with the successful passage of numerous laws and ordinances criminalizing and surveilling Chinatown, caused the slow departure of many Chinese immigrants from San Francisco (Shah, 2001). After reaching a population of 26,000 in 1890, the neighborhood's population declined by over 10,000, being recorded as a mere 15,000 in 1900 (Figure 1). The true death blow to the area's previous cultural and social structure came in the form of two disasters that ravaged San Francisco, the first of which was the 1902 plague outbreak (Shah, 2001). Blamed largely on Chinese residents by the San Francisco Board of Health, anti-Chinese officials used the authority granted to them by the disaster to remake the district. Health officials ordered many of the structures that had defined the neighborhood's landscape destroyed, including its basements and many other impromptu structures Chinese immigrants had added to their dwellings (Shah, 2001). This extreme use of spatial management, combined with the destruction of numerous homes in the name of plague prevention, displaced hundreds and increased the already high degree of surveillance of Chinese spaces. Second, the San Francisco earthquake of 1906 destroyed much of the neighborhood, displacing even more of the community, destroying many of the structures that had shaped whites' geographic imagination of the area. By 1920, the population of the district hovered at a mere 7,000, mostly

composed of merchants and their families, in sharp contrast to the class of single male laborers and female domestic and sex workers that had once constituted the area (Shah, 2001).

A Note on Language

As the period of time I am examining is the late 19th century/early 20 century, much the terminology utilized in the primary may be puzzling to readers. I have presented a list of definitions for a number of terms below. Additionally, I want to emphasize that for my personal reference to the Chinese American of population of San Francisco, I have kept the usage of authors' language mostly intact for the sake of analysis and historical accuracy.

Vocabulary

Terms related to Chinese Americans:	**Description**
Celestial	Slur used during the 19th century to refer to Chinese people. Likely originates from the common European name for China: Celestial empire
Mongolian	Slur used to refer to the racial grouping that would become "Asian" in the 19th century. Predominantly in reference to Chinese Americans in San Francisco
Coolie	Slur used in reference to Chinese American working-class immigrants. Usually used in reference to the idea that Chinese American workers were enslaved or indentured
Asiatic	Slur used by whites to refer to immigrants from Asia
Chinamen/Chinawomen	A slur for Chinese Americans

Chinatown, Chinese Quarter	Terms used broadly to refer to the area bounded by San Francisco's Stockton, Kearny, California, and Sacramento Streets in which most Chinese-San Franciscans resided
Miscellaneous	
Vice	Used to refer to crimes associated with the enactment or propagation of immoral activity such as gambling, prostitution and drugs
Sources	(Locklear, 1960) (Donovan, 2010) (Shah 2001)

Table 2. Vocabulary

A Note on Internationalism

It should be noted that none of the discourses that emerged in San Francisco around Chinatown/Chineseness emerged in a vacuum. Writers' ideas of what were created in a context in which the Chinatowns existed in multiple cities and countries, with ideas around one Chinatown frequently influencing others. Additionally, racial ideas around Chineseness in San Francisco were likely developed off preexisting ideas of it created through international contacts (such as the association of Chinese citizens with opium originating in part from the opium wars). However, due to the scope of the study, I have chosen to focus specifically on local manifestations of these discourses and the policies they created.

Chapter 3: Data and Methodology

In this thesis I use critical discourse analysis to identify racialized themes in primary sources, as well as secondary sources for observing the material effects of said discourses on the spaces of San Francisco's Chinatown and its residents during the period of 1860-1905. Originating with the work of Foucault (1970), discourse analysis examines how social meanings emerge through language expressed in texts, speech, and other forms of communication (Foucault, 1970). Discourse analysis is especially concerned with how knowledge is produced and how this in turn shapes social orders. For this project, I will be specifically employing the theoretical positions of *critical discourse analysis*. As articulated by Fairclough (2013), critical discourse analysis (CDA) deviates from other approaches in discourse analysis in two primary aspects. First, proponents of CDA believe there exists a dialectical relationship between social structures and discourses. In simpler terms, CDA affirms that discourses are simultaneously constructive of social structures (the family, the state, capital, etc.) *and* created by them. As such, rather than simply analyzing the discourses that constructed immigrants as a distinct race in San Francisco's Chinatown, I will also be examining the social structures that produced them.

To collect my data for this critical discourse analysis I assembled primary documents for the period of study of 1860-1906 by searching databases of source archival materials, specifically Google Books and HathiTrust, and the Online Archive of California (OAC). The search terms utilized for acquisition of sources were the following: *Chinatowns in California*; *San Francisco and Chinatown*; *Chinese and San Francisco*; *San Francisco government reports*; *San Francisco municipal report*s; *Chinese and California*; and *San Francisco public health reports*. Additionally, several searches were performed for materials cited in secondary literature such as Shah (2001) and Craddock (1999). Materials were then reviewed for explicit mentions of

San Francisco's Chinatown and its residents. These materials were narrowed down to those that specifically discussed San Francisco's Chinatown and then crossed referenced with secondary materials, with those without citations eliminated. Additionally, all materials not in English were excluded due to the writer's lack of knowledge of Cantonese. Then, further materials were eliminated to only include white socially privileged males, with attempts to represent those in government, civil society and religious organizations. For my selections, I attempted to represent a broad range of the anti-Chinese movement in California by including the writings of ministers, public health officials and physicians, labor groups, politicians, journalists, and law enforcement officers, as well as different types of texts including congressional testimony, popular press books, political pamphlets, municipal reports, and first-person accounts. All of these voices were selected for their potential to either influence or implement policy making, including journalists who created accounts and reinforced perceptions of Chinatown as a "dirty" space and public health officials who responded to these reports with their own investigations and responses. Of the materials initially selected, this narrowed available materials to the 12 that were included in the study. A summary can be found in Table 3.

Table 3. Primary Sources

Source	Source Type	Date	Author(s)/Organizations
Lights and Shades in San Francisco	First Person Journalistic account	1876	B.E Lloyd Journalist
The Chinese in America	Popular press book	1877	Otis Gibson: Protestant pastor/missionary
Chinese Immigration: The Social, Moral and Political Effect of Chinese Immigration.	Congressional Testimony	1877	Charles Haymond California State Senator
The Chinese in California: Description of Chinese Life in San Francisco, Their Habits, Morals and Manners	Popular press book	1880	G.B Densmore Occupation: Writer

Chinatown Declared a Nuisance	Political Pamphlet	1880	Working Men's Party of California White Working Class anti-Chinese party
Opium-Smoking in America and China: A Study of its Prevalence, and Effects, Immediate and Remote, on the Individual and the Nation	Medical Study	1882	Harry Hubell Kane Occupation: Physician
Mysteries and Miseries of America's Great Cities, Embracing New York, Washington City, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, and New Orleans	First person account	1883	James Buel Journalist
The Chinese at home and abroad: together with the Report of the Special Committee of the Board of Supervisors of San Francisco on the condition of the Chinese quarter of that city	Political report/Political Testimony	1885	Willard B Farwell and San Francisco Board of Supervisors Member of the Board of Supervisors/ Municipal government
Horrors of the Mongolian Settlement, San Francisco, Cal: An Enslaved and Degraded Race of Paupers, Opium-eaters and Lepers	First person account	1886	Walter Raymond Journalist
Lights and shadows of Chinatown	First person account	1896	Walter William Bode Journalist
Meat vs. rice; American Manhood against Asiatic coolieism, which shall survive	Political Pamphlet	1902	American Federation of Labor Prominent American labor organization
A short story about Chinatown	Tour guide	1903	San Francisco Tourist Agency

After these documents were acquired, *coding*, or the organization of qualitative data into themes and trends, was utilized (Hay & Cope, 2021). The documents were hand coded for themes with text of interest highlighted using Adobe PDF Reader. For the first round, documents were read in their entirety, with codes emerging from the texts, and highlighted text placed in

them. The preliminary themes that emerged from the first round of reading and analysis included:

- *Race and Space*
- *Association of Racialized Group with Disease*
- *Gender and Race*
- *Separation of Racialized Area from Rest of City*
- *Out of Place*
- *Surveillance/Secrecy*
- *Portrayal of Racialized Group/Space as Underdeveloped/Primitive*.

These were then narrowed down to several key categories:

- *Immoral Spaces*
- *Racialized Bodies in White Spaces*
- *Racialization of Gender Roles*
- *Criminality, and Chaos*

Documents were then re-coded using a series of key words for each of the themes above, a number of codes being added and discarded along the way. Ultimately, the following themes were chosen:

- *Moral Contamination*
- *Physical Contamination*

A number of sub-themes under these were identified:

- *Ascription of Negative Moral and Physical Attributes onto Chinatown*

- *, Construction of Specific Racialized Spaces, Notions of Unreformability,*
- *Essentialization of Chinese Space as Deviant and Destructive,*
- *Fears of White Bodies In Chinese Spaces And Chinese Bodies In White Spaces*.

My process of iterative coding and re-coding resulted in high confidence that I had reached *saturation* in my themes and had legitimately identified the most prevalent ideas of the time period.

For the analysis of social structures and historical forces influencing the discourses around Chinatown, research using numerous secondary and archival sources was conducted. All archival sources were either obtained from HathiTrust or the University of California Riverside Digital Newspapers Collection.

Chapter 4: Dirty Place, Dirty People: The Ascription of Disease onto Chinatown and Chinese Places

One of the primary ways Chinatown was stigmatized was through the ascription of disease onto it. Taking place at several scales, this labeling involved the portrayal of Chinatown as a whole, undifferentiated space, with places and bodies all serving as potential sources of disease. The source of Chinatown's disease was rarely depicted as resulting from specific social conditions. Instead, the neighborhood and its people were shown as inherently sources of sickness and ill-health. These notions were used to justify both the extreme surveillance and spatial reform measures inflicted on the neighborhood by municipal authorities and the multiple attempts by Anti-Chinese politicians to have Chinatown demolished and have all Chinese residents expelled from the city.

The Myth of Chinese Control

Perhaps the first misconception held by reformers was that the density of Chinatown was by choice, more specifically that Chinese-immigrants had a high tolerance – or even extreme affection – for dense and cramped spaces (Shah, 2001). First, although Chinese residents did alter their environments to better suit their personal and cultural needs, these desires where heavily limited by the fact that most Chinatown residents did not own their homes; in fact, most rented from white landlords (Risse, 2012). These landlords took advantage of San Francisco's racially segregated housing market to provide extremely sub-standard housing at high cost (Risse, 2012). Moreover, many of these were absentee landlords, frequently letting housing decay while collecting high rents from Chinese tenants who had nowhere else to go (Risse, 2012). Landlords also often justified their neglect of housing through racial means, arguing that Chinese people "deserved to live in such conditions" (Risse, 2012, p. 25).

With no assistance from landlords in maintaining their residences, Chinatown's upkeep relied entirely on the incomes of its tenants (Risse, 2012). Unfortunately, the high rents charged by landlords and the low wages paid to Chinese workers (combined with remittances workers needed to send back home) meant that little money was left for repairs. Many Chinese workers operated under a form of contract labor, in which a patron would pay for their journey across the Pacific Ocean in exchange for going into debt and providing regular payments once they arrived (Risse, 2012; Shah, 2001). Additionally, to the young, unmarried men of Chinatown, sanitation and upkeep of their dwellings likely remained a low priority both due to a lack of resources and a lack of interest as, like many migrants to the city, they left their families at home and their purpose was primarily to send funds home for a period and then return (Risse, 2012).

Chinatown's population growth, without a corresponding increase in dwelling units, also contributed heavily to the density and filth of the area (Risse, 2012). As mining and railroad employment dried up and many white majority towns grew increasingly hostile to a Chinese presence, many more rural Chinese workers chose to migrate to Chinatowns in either San Francisco or Los Angeles (Risse, 2012). From 1870 to 1890 the population of Chinatown more than doubled, increasing from just 12,000 in 1870 to 26,000 by 1890 (Fig. 1).

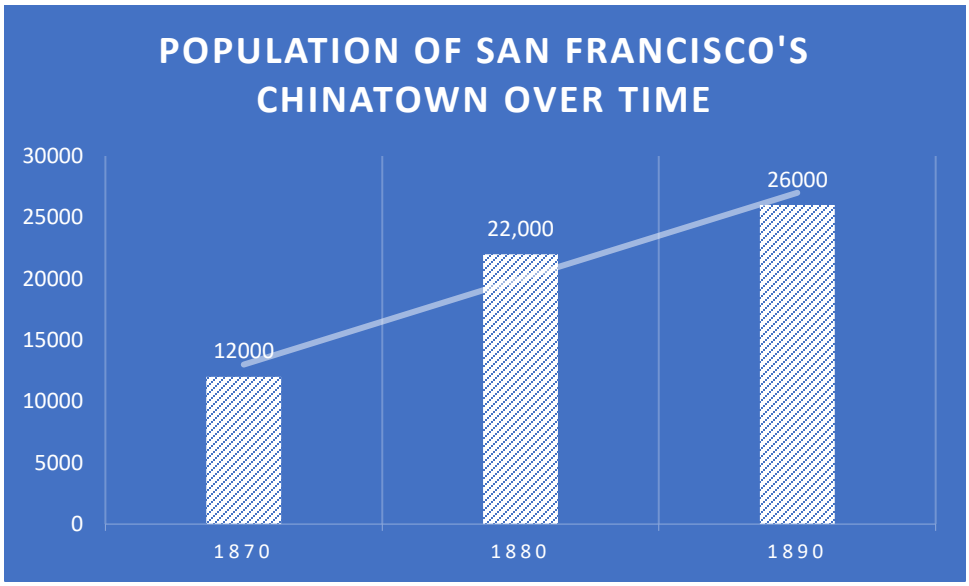


Figure 2. Population of Chinatown from 1870 to 1890. Population estimates from Shah (2001).

The number of landlords willing to rent to Chinese tenants, however, did not increase and therefore rents grew in Chinatown and more renters competed for fewer homes (Risse, 2012). As a result, many Chinese locals chose to sublet part of their residence in order to afford rising rents, which further increased the area's density (Risse, 2012). Moreover, landlords used this narrower rental market to force tenants into leases that placed more and more onus on them, making them risk eviction in the case of a public health citation and providing even less incentive for the landlord to provide upkeep (Risse, 2012).

The Myth and Reality of Disease in Chinatown

Although Chinatown was by no means a place conducive to good health by modern standards, its actual incidence of illness is more similar to other neighborhoods of the city than admitted by reformers. Chinese mortality was certainly high but it was exaggerated by health department reports consistently showing Chinese residents making up a larger proportion of deaths compared to their overall population in the city, though never the majority of deaths in the city. However, not only did these statistics not account for Chinatown's poverty but officials

frequently compared it to the general mortality statistics for all whites rather than the more comparable working-class neighborhoods of South of Market and Barbary Coast (Craddock, 2000; Risse, 2012). Additionally, Chinatown's mortality at its highest only made up 9% of the city's total deaths, hardly the looming disease threat portrayed by reformers (Craddock, 2000). Little evidence exists that the specific diseases government officials attributed primarily to the Chinese population (smallpox, syphilis, and leprosy) were really very prevalent (Craddock, 2000). Counts of smallpox deaths during the multiple epidemics that occurred in the city show rates among Chinese residents relatively similar to that of other working-class areas of the city, accounting for only 60 of the city's total 16,000 cases during the smallpox epidemic of 1876 (Craddock, 2000). Similarly, an investigation into the presence of leprosy and syphilis in Chinatown found little to no evidence of higher presence of those diseases compared to the rest of the city (Craddock, 2000).

Overall, despite little evidence that Chinatown contributed more to the city's public health issues than any other area of the city, the discursive construction of its people and spaces as a looming medical threat became a critical part of the anti-Chinese movement. Associating hygiene with whiteness during this period was drastically increasing, with whiteness becoming more broadly tied to morality, purity, and even citizenship. As such, by labeling Chinese spaces and bodies impure, not only were they stigmatized and devalued, they were placed outside of the nation. Additionally, anti-Chinese officials used Chinese spatial practices to amplify biological differences between Chinese people and whites, both inherited and acquired.

Space

Chinese spaces in writings of this time period were frequently framed as dirty, filthy and diseased. Of particular focus was the physical state of Chinatown, disease was said to run

"…through their slimy alleys, and bubbles to the surface from their disease-breeding basements" (Raymond, 1886, p. 59). In a similar vein, a report by the Workingmen's Party of California (WPC) mentions Chinese space as overflowing with liquid from toilets and as containing concentrations of filth: "In the rear of the hallway is a long brick walk covered with foul water dripping down from closets [toilets] in the upper stories. At the front is also a large vault, the receptacle of the filth of four stories above (Workingmen's Party, p. 1)." Haymond (1877) proposed that Chinese space was so filthy that the only way to remove the refuse would be to destroy Chinatown: "Their place of domicile is filthy in the extreme, and to a degree that cleansing is impossible except by the absolute destruction of the dwellings they occupy." (p. 33).

Many writers also focused on the smellscape of Chinatown making sure to mention its repugnancy. Buel compared Chinese spaces to horse stables, but claimed that they were even worse: "Those who would see for themselves must be first prepared to encounter odors so rank and pungent as to render the Augean stables sweetly scented by comparison" (Buel, 1883, p. 270). Lloyd, in his first-person account, claims that not only were the odors of Chinatown nauseating but possibly harmful "we had waded through slops that when disturbed by our foot-steps gave off a deadly odor." (1876, p. 263). Densmore (1880) assailed his audience with accounts of Chinatown's specific scent but specifically sourced the cause as Chinese practices: "The moment you cross the borders of Chinatown you experience a peculiar, strange smell — a sort of combination of opium mixed with tobacco, fish and vegetables, but unlike anything else. You cannot get used to it." (Densmore, 1880, p. 23).

Beyond just gestures toward the sanitary conditions, Chinatown was also frequently constructed as containing and even *producing* diseases and pathogens. Raymond (1886) describes Chinatown's basements as "disease breeding, (p. 54)" and the report of the WPC

(1880) includes a description of a Chinese domicile as containing both sick people and sick animals. The report states, “On the other side, the rooms appeared to be filled with sick Chinamen, and ranged around the walls are chicken-coops, filled with what appeared to be sick chickens.” (p. 4). Chinatown was also often used as shorthand for diseased space, with disease seeming to emanate from its very existence, rather from any individual conditions or nuisance. A doctor testifying before the Special committee (1877) claimed that a boy caught syphilis from Jackson Street “I know that is so. I have seen boys eight and ten years old with diseases they told me they contracted on Jackson Street.” (p. 14)**.**

Blame and Scorn: Holding Chinese Residents Responsible for Chinatown

Chinatown’s stigmatization as filthy was not unique to the period as the spaces of many immigrant and racialized groups were referred to with the same descriptors during the period. However, compared to framings of others groups, Chinatown’s poor sanitation was not attributed to a culture of poverty or lack of economic opportunity. Instead, these conditions were attributed to traits inherent to Chinese culture, or more insidiously to the “Chinese race.” In this way, the descriptions of the poor conditions of the Chinatown stigmatized the area and those within it and was used to racialize all Chinese-Americans as dirty and diseased; in turn, the attribution of these conditions to inborn traits made the later punitive and authoritarian responses of the San Francisco government seem reasonable and acceptable.

One of the main factors thought to contribute to Chinatown’s filth and disease was its density, which, as mentioned above, emerged from racial segregation of the city’s housing market and the low wages paid to Chinese workers. Anti-Chinese writers instead thought it was the nature of Chinese culture or racial traits to create dense settlements (despite the fact that many sparse settlements in China existed at the time). Cultural determinist explanations appear

in a number of works. For example, Lloyd (1876) asserted that it was simply the Chinese way of life to subdivide rooms and live in overcrowded spaces:

> Thus by degrees do they gradually increase their domain silently and peacefully, without any cause for blame other than the habits and style of life, that is simply the outgrowth of their strange civilization, and for the evil or good of which they as individuals are not responsible. (Lloyd, 1876, p. 237)

Notably, Lloyd, further stated that the dirtiness of Chinatown was not due to individual choice but rather cultural conditioning, furthering the idea that Chinese behavior could not be changed and therefore did not warrant aid or reform.

For example, reformers frequently employed animal comparisons to point to the intrinsic causes of the density of Chinatown. Buel (1883) partially blamed the diseased conditions of Chinatown on its residents' supposedly animalistic habits. He wrote, "Their habits are in some respects like hibernating rattle-snakes, while in others they are identical with wallowing hogs." (p. 270). The comparison of lifestyles of Chinatown's residents to that of animals did not end with Buel. The San Francisco Board of Supervisors (1877) compared Chinese lifestyles to those of rats, "that the habits and mode of life among the Chinese here are not much above those of the rats of the water front" (p. 23). Haymond compared Chinese residents to insects, identifying Chinatown as a hive:

> The Chinese herd together in one spot, whether in city or village, until they transform the vicinage [vicinity] into a perfect hive there they live packed together, a hundred living in a space that would be insufficient for an average American family. (p. 33)

Although Hammond's comment makes this more explicit, all the animals above exist in either dark damp areas (rats, rattle snakes), exist in tight compact areas with animals contained in a small space (rats, insects), or are perceived as unclean or unsanitary (pigs, rats). This again builds on the notion that the Chinese habits are inborn and immutable, while also further dehumanizing them through comparisons to mostly pestilent animals and vermin.

The state of Chinatown was further used to speculate on the perceived biological differences between Chinese residents and whites, while also presaging the view of the bodies as diseased and dangerous (discussed in the following section). First, the fact that the conditions of Chinatown, had not wiped out its population caused writers to speculate that Chinese San Franciscans possessed some sort of biological difference which gave them a natural resistance to disease. The San Francisco Board of Supervisors (1885), for example, ascribed some immunity of the Chinese to bad air,

> Proof against the baneful effects of the carbonic acid gas generated by this human defiance of chemical laws, and proof against all the zymotic poisons that would be fatal to a people of any other race in an hour of such surroundings and such conditions (p .25).

Llyod, on the other hand, hinted at Chinese immunity accumulated from the buildup of filth in Chinatown,

> But strange to say, there is no more sickness among the Chinese, who live year after year in their close quarters and accumulating filth, than among the whites, who by every precaution recommended by science endeavor to ward off disease. (Llyod, 1876, p. 239)

Instead of using this immunity as proof of the healthy constitution and life styles of Chinatown and its citizens (as had been done with white San Francisco), reformers and anti-Chinese activists used this as evidence that Chinese bodies were simultaneously diseased yet somehow immune to unsanitary surroundings, or, alternatively, that Chinatown secretly contained many ill people hidden in its depths, unreported by its residents. This latter view is presented though use of the “hidden leper trope” a story present in multiple first-person accounts of Chinatown in which the explorer encounters a Chinese person suffering from leprosy deep in the tunnels rumored to be present in Chinatown (Buel, 1883; Lloyd, 1876; Raymond, 1886). Additionally, a number of San Francisco’s health officials wrote in that the residents of Chinatown were either lying or hiding sick residents due to lack of respect for American authorities (SFBS 1870/71;

SFBS,1874-75; SFBS,1881-82.). This distrust was particularly intense with regard to Chinese doctors. Chinese medical practices were largely viewed as either illegitimate or actively harmful to public health (SFBS, 1874-75; Risse, 2012). As such, Chinatown's relatively average health statistics compared to the rest of the city could be ignored, and its overregulation and stigmatization could continue (Risse, 2012). This discourse of secrecy was in turn employed to argue for further segregation of the Chinese population generally and the boycott of Chinese businesses more specifically (Risse, 2012).

Chinese Bodies

The discourse that Chinese bodies were simultaneously filled with contagion, yet were immune to its most devastating effects appeared in a number of forms. Writers such as Haymond (1877) assured readers that the majority of Chinese carried smallpox but (somehow) immune to its worst effects "Small pox is domesticated among them by inoculation and they are rarely free from the disease." (p. 35). This notion likely originates from the fact that many Chinese immigrants had actually undergone inoculation for the disease while still in China. However, many of the methods used there were known to produce side effects, the most common of which was visible scars. These scars were often mistaken for active smallpox by observers in the United States, due to the visual similarity between the scars and the disease (Risse, 2012). The notion that Chinese bodies inherently contained certain diseases was not restricted to smallpox. The report of Workingmen's Party of California's Committee of The Anti-Chinese Council reported that a number of diseases were inherent to the Chinese race:

> The American people are as yet free from such a terrible disease as leprosy - a disease inherent with the Chinese race; and whereas, in accordance with all medical science, constitutional and hereditary or inherent disorders, such as leprosy, lupus, syphilis. (1880, p. 14)

Through these discourses, the authors succeed in labeling Chinese San Franciscans as being inherently diseased and yet not presenting the normal visible signs of disease, contradictory notions that accumulated iteratively to further justify the exclusion of all Chinese people and the neglect of Chinatown.

Evidence of this contradiction is also seen in the variations of the discourse employed when discussing spaces and situations where whites and Chinese people were most likely to interact. In discussions of sex work in Chinatown for example, Chinese sex workers were not only implied to produce the majority of syphilis in the city's white population but also supposedly produced more virulent versions of the disease. Testimony in Haymond (1877) from a physician asserted both of these claims:

> When these persons come to me I ask them where they got the disease, and they generally tell me that they have been with China women. They think diseases contracted from China women are harder to cure than those contracted elsewhere, so they tell me as a matter of self-protection. I am satisfied, from my experience, that nearly all the boys in town, who have venereal disease, contracted it in Chinatown. (Haymond, 1877, p. 27)

As in discussions of the Chinese more generally, Chinese sex workers were also considered to be inherently afflicted with disease, and more specifically, syphilis. Testimony in Hammond again: "Their lewd women induce, by the cheapness of their offers, thousands of boys and young men to enter their dens, very many of whom are inoculated with venereal diseases of the worst type." (Haymond, 1877, p. 25). This particular quote hints at the intersections of disease and vice that will be explored further, below.

The notion that Chinese bodies were inherently a potential source of infection was also bolstered by the connection of Chinese bodies to the perceived filth, overcrowding, and other environmental conditions of Chinatown as a *place*. Servants and laundrymen were particular

targets of this discourse as they were more likely to have employment outside of Chinatown. In the report of the WPC (1880) the authors claimed that both washmen and servants carried with them filth and germs generated by Chinatown's conditions and their operation outside of Chinatown risked the health of white families.

> Upon this large area of raw material, in such dens of filth and disease, in this terrible stench, infectious germs are deposited, which propagate infectious and contagious disorders through inhalation and handling. The 'germ' theory of disease is now an acknowledged fact in the science of medicine… the propagation of these germs of disease and the introduction of them into the fold of private families is, besides this infection through merchandise, greatly assisted through the Chinese wash-houses and Chinese servants of such private families. (WPC,1880, p. 13)

Likewise, a pamphlet published by American Federation of Labor (1903) stated that,

> It is from such pest holes that the Asiatic cooks and servants who are employed in our homes come. Cleanly though they may be in appearance while acting in the capacity of domestic servants, they are nevertheless born and reared in these habits of life. The facility with which they put on the habits of decency when they become cooks and servants simply adds to the testimony to their ability to adapt themselves to circumstances when it is to their interest to do so. But the instinct of the race remains unchanged, and when the Chinese servant leaves employment in an American household he joyfully hastens back to his slum and his burrow, to the grateful luxury of his normal surroundings — vice, filth and an atmosphere of horror. (American Federation of Labor, 1903, p. 22).

Thus, authors framed Chinese employment in white domestic spaces as a threat to white people's health. Taking it further, some observers even considered Chinese-made products to be risky potential vectors of disease to unsuspecting white customers. Meares (1881) wrote in 1881 San Francisco Municipal Report that,

> As ordinary laborers; manufacturing (as I have seen) clothing, slippers, etc., in the very house and in the very room in which a Chinaman was dying in the advanced stage of this disease; in short, coming in contact with our people generally as no other class of our inhabitants, they are a constant source of danger to the health and prosperity of the entire community. (Meares,1881, pp. 254-255)

Although each is attributed with a different etiology – one spatial, one hereditary – both discursive strains propagate the idea that no matter the apparent cleanliness or nobility of Chinese employees, they were a potential source of dangerous contagion. As such, they could not be reformed but only controlled or removed and their contact with whites minimized or eliminated. Additionally, during San Francisco's multiple pandemics, health officials used these discourses of invisible disease, embodied infection, and spatial contagion to overregulate Chinatown, restricting the civil liberties of its residents and destroying many areas of the neighborhood.

Discursive Effects

The effects of the stigmatization of Chinatown and its residents as diseased came in three primary forms. Firstly, there was the harsh spatial regulation of Chinatown, including the frequent criminalization of its residents. Secondly, the public health department employed numerous authoritarian measures that enacted strict controls over Chinese spaces and created an intense surveillance regime, during the multiple disease epidemics in the city. Finally, the labelling of Chinese-Americans as *sources* of disease would result in them being denied medical care, both in the form of exclusion from municipal health institutions, and regulations that denied them the ability to the create their own.

One of the earliest attempts to regulate Chinatown's spatialized deviance was the Cubic Air Ordinance passed in 1870 (Craddock, 2000; Risse, 2012). The ordinance required 500 cubic feet for every person living in a residency and applied a fine of between $10 and $500 and a possible three months of prison time to both tenants and landlords who violated it (although it used much more against the former) (Craddock, 2000). Although in theory it applied to all of the city's neighborhoods, in practice it was only ever enforced in Chinatown. Between 1870 and

1880, thousands of Chinese San Franciscans were arrested under the ordinance and, although it was briefly declared unconstitutional in 1873, the state-wide passage of a similar law later allowed for prosecution under similar measures (Craddock, 2000). Additionally, the records of Chinese arrests under the Cubic Air Ordinance, along with the visual descriptions of dirty Chinese space, made stereotypes which were previously based on rumor and personal anecdotes into "scientific" assessments. This evidence would later be used in attempts to remove Chinatown from the city, with the statistics produced proving that the Chinese were unable to change in response to the city's laws and were therefore unassimilable. Besides the Cubic Air Ordinance, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors also used a mix of ordinances targeting everything from sewer maintenance to trash pile-up as ways to regulate Chinatown (Craddock, 2000; Risse, 2012). These intensified in 1900, when, after receiving an increase in its budget, the Board of Health expanded the number of its health officers in Chinatown and with them the number of infractions recorded; by the end of the year, they had condemned over 28 residencies with an additional 38 labeled as "nuisances" to be condemned if they did not meet certain standards (Risse, 2012).

Additionally, multiple attempts were made to specifically target and confine both Chinese spaces and bodies to Chinatown. However, these attempts encountered much more legal resistance from the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA – a group who operated on behalf of both Chinatown's merchant classes as well as diplomatic officers from China). From the 1870s onward, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors passed numerous regulations targeting Chinese laundry businesses on the grounds that Chinese laundries were potential vectors of disease, as well as competition with white-owned laundries (Shah, 2001). Similar to the Cubic Air Ordinance, these ordinances were in theory applied to all laundries in

the city but in practice only applied to Chinese laundries. In 1885, when a new set of safety and health regulations had just been passed, police performed mass arrests of Chinese laundrymen on the grounds that they had violated the new ordinances (Shah, 2001). One these men, Yick Wo, would decide to challenge these ordinances in court with legal assistance from the CCBA. After passing through the state courts, the case ended up in the US Supreme Court, where the judges sided with Wo on the grounds that the new ordinances were meant to prevent competition (Shah, 2001). Similar ordinances meant to ban Chinese employment in factories, as servants and other industries, were all declared unconstitutional.

The Plagues

The effects of the discourses of disease on Chinatown and its people had its greatest effect during the multiple plague outbreaks occurring in San Francisco during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Firstly, working under the impression of the inherent disease-breeding and filthy nature of the people and place of Chinatown, public health officials had every home in Chinatown fumigated during both the 1876 and the 1887 smallpox epidemics, regardless of whether a case had been reported near a residence (Shah, 2001). These policies did not engender sympathy among Chinatown's population, who largely refused to cooperate with officials during the outbreaks (Shah, 2001). Comparing this behavior with the relative cooperation of white ethnic groups (despite their much gentler treatment by the SFBH) during the same outbreaks, public health officials used this distrust to further affirm the negligence (at best) and deliberate malice (at worst) of the Chinese population in handling their ill community members (Shah, 2001). Putative Chinese concealment of smallpox patients was directly cited as the cause of the 1888 outbreak and used to again paint Chinatown as an inherent medical threat (Shah, 2001). Additionally, this discourse of concealment was used to further increase the power of the city's

Board of Health, including the power of condemnation of specific residences and the forced removal of smallpox victims from homes (Craddock, 2000).

Although the smallpox outbreaks in the city already allowed for a drastic increase in the power of the San Francisco Board of Health, it was during the 1901 plague outbreak when the most draconian measures would be deployed on Chinatown. After the discovery that a man had likely died of plague while in Chinatown, the Board of Health ordered the entire section of the city sealed off (Craddock, 2000). Notably, before the section was formally sealed, all whites were ordered to leave the neighborhoods, operating under the belief that Chinese bodies and spaces in particular were potential disease sources (Craddock, 2000; Shah, 2001). However, after large protests by Chinese merchants, laborers, and the CCBA[1], the Board of Health agreed to lift the quarantine but only if The Six Companies agreed to cooperate with a mass inspection and fumigation of the district. Not wanting to suffer economically, The CCBA (and more broadly, the merchant elite of the area) took the deal (Craddock, 2000; Shah, 2001). Once again operating on the assumption of inherent Chinese dirtiness and embodiment of disease, the health department went on to fumigate the entire district with highly toxic disinfectants exposing thousands to carcinogens and in the process, some homes were condemned (Craddock, 2000; Shah, 2001). Further, deep-seated distrust of Chinese medicine led the Board to require that every Chinese death be certified by a white physician (Craddock, 2000).

When plague cases re-appeared in 1902, the city once again imposed restrictions on Chinese mobility, this time demanding that all Chinese residents receive vaccination before

leaving the city. Although the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) initially agreed to this proposal, mass protests by Chinese middle- and working-class residents quickly persuaded them to fight against the measure (Shah, 2001). Attempts to forcefully vaccinate Chinese residents also failed spectacularly after a mass campaign of civil disobedience in the area made it impossible. Afterwards, the travel ban was struck down following a law suit by The CCBA, with many Chinese mobility restrictions now impossible to enforce (Shah, 2001). The plague measures finally ended when the CCBA agreed to cooperate in a sanitary remaking of Chinatown. Despite not getting their most extreme demands met, the Plague crisis nevertheless enabled the San Francisco Board of Health to massively increase the amount of regulation and surveillance enacted in Chinatown. The area was divided into 6 sanitary districts, each under the constant surveillance of a (white) health inspector. Hundreds of buildings in the district were condemned with many more having individual structures removed or remade to be more compliant with municipal health regulations (Shah, 2001). A directory of every resident of Chinatown was compiled using data gathered by inspectors, and health departments of other cities were informed if a resident was planning on traveling there. Chinatown had effectively been disarmed as a plague threat in the view of the city government, although its residents would always be eyed with suspicion as potential disease carriers (Shah, 2001).

Medical Apartheid

Perhaps most insidiously, the discourses of embodied illness and inherent filth were used to systematically deny Chinese patients access to the city's medical institutions and forbid them from constructing their own facilities within the city. Until the 1920s, Chinese people were consistently refused admittance to the city's hospitals, with officials claiming that allowing any Chinese patients in would be a disease risk (Shah, 2001). Even when challenged in court, the city

upheld its conviction that medical segregation was necessary for the safety of white patients (Shah, 2001). However, despite not approving of Chinese admittance to city hospitals, the city also consistently forbade the construction of hospitals in Chinatown, shooting down attempts in both 1864 and 1870 by religious ministries and The CCBA respectively under the grounds that the hospital would constitute a disease threat (Shah, 2001). Even when the companies offered to build a hospital outside the city, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors vetoed their proposal due to the fact the facility would utilize Chinese medical practices, constituting a nuisance in their eyes (Shah, 2001).

As such, Chinese Americans in San Francisco seeking care were left with few options. They could choose to report to the city 'pest house' (a medical institution common during the nineteenth century, used to separate disease victims from the broader society) that did allow Chinese admittance, but this facility was meant to contain disease rather than treat it, frequently killing more people than it saved (Risse, 2012). Instead, many opted to pursue informal treatment, either setting up informal hospitals or buying folk cures from local Chinese physicians, or more often, self-isolating in small separate rooms, commonly called "tranquility chambers" by the San Francisco press (Risse, 2012). However, even these attempts at community-oriented medicine were condemned by the city for potentially breeding disease, and they (along with several makeshift hospitals), were frequently demolished by the city (Risse, 2012). Moreover, practicing Chinese physicians were refused licenses on the grounds that their medicine was 'unscientific' and their death reports were ignored by city officials (Risse, 2012).

This lack of healthcare access likely contributed to Chinatown's high rate of death from respiratory diseases, especially tuberculosis (Risse, 2012). Although these diseases were responsible for the majority of deaths in Chinatown, they curiously never attracted much public

health attention. This is likely because they were not considered threatening to whites and therefore did not warrant a response, and because Chinese lives were so devalued that their afflictions were unimportant (Craddock, 2000).

Conclusion

The ascription of disease onto Chinese bodies and spaces both naturalized the poor health of Chinese San Franciscans and justified the surveillance and extreme spatial control measures inflicted on the neighborhood and its people. Through the discursive construction of Chinese San Franciscans as dirty and diseased, their exclusion from healthcare facilities and white neighborhoods became rationalized. However, this was not enough for anti-Chinese writers who feared that any interracial contact would result in the infusion of Chinese maladies into whites. In turn, *all* Chinese spaces became constructed as a potential source of contagion, justifying its overregulation and surveillance by municipal authorities. The violations of these regulations were then observed and tabulated, solidifying the production of the racial "knowledge" of Chineseness as inherently diseased and dangerous (Nelson, 2008). This in turn justified the increasingly extreme spatial management measures taken in the name of "public health," that resulted in the destruction of many of Chinatown's spaces and the displacement of many of its people.

Chapter 5: Gambling Halls, Houses of Ill Fame and Opium Dens: Placing Vice in Chinatown, Keeping Whites Pure

Background: Making the Den of Vice

The use of vice and vice spaces to stigmatize Chinatown played several roles in the broader anti-Chinese movement in San Francisco. First, the inscription of vice participation and practice onto Chinatown served to justify greater surveillance and policing at the local level and exclusion at the level of state and country. Similar to that of disease, accounts of vice in Chinatown served to further justify the notions that both the place and Chinese residents more broadly were unreformable. In particular, by portraying participation in and use of vice as an essential trait of Chinese San Franciscans and, by extension, Chinatown, anti-Chinese writers justified the goals of their movement in San Francisco, making expulsion and exclusion seem reasonable to the general public and politicians.

Second, discourses around vice were used to paint Chinatown and Chinese Americans as threats to white moral norms, especially the moral purity of white women. Additionally, vice spaces existing in Chinatown were understood as having a special ability to corrupt whites, with many vice spaces thought to have been created specifically to appeal to, and even *tempt* whites. Once in these spaces, whites were also thought to be exposed to areas where the social barriers that defined San Franciscan society were broken down, horrifying moral reformers.

This stigmatization also helped contribute to the creation of a unified white identity in San Francisco. The forms of discourse in San Francisco around Chinese people in the city was likely partly influenced by the composition of the anti-Chinese movement, which included Irish and – to a lesser extent – Jewish immigrants. In this way, all white immorality became linked in

some way to Chinatown, further justifying their exclusion and allowing the whites of San Francisco to maintain their group conception as morally pure. To paraphrase Kobayashi and Peake (2000), as negative social phenomena became *placed* through association with racialized Others, those phenomena were in turn made *out of place* in white communities (Kobayashi & Peake, 2000).

Vice in Chinatown: Myth and Reality

The actual presence of vice in Chinatown is even more difficult to determine from archival evidence than that of disease The social organization of vice operations in Chinatown both makes accurate numbers extremely difficult to find and the available reports and data inherently biased. Reports by those such as the San Francisco Board of Supervisors and testimony before the California Senate Committee on Chinese Immigration paint vice as present in nearly all parts of the district, with opium dens, houses of prostitution, and gambling houses located on every street (Shah, 2001). Nearly all of these estimates, however, were based on mere anecdotes of police officers, religious authorities, and medical officials. For example, households without a male presence were often automatically assumed to be houses of prostitution (Shah, 2001). Likewise, arrest records cannot assist much with assessing the actual presence of Chinese vice. Police disproportionately targeted Chinese San Franciscans, but also received bribes for non-enforcement of these laws and general protection, especially from owners of vice operations and adjacent organizations (Light, 1974; Shumsky & Springer, 1981).

Despite the scarcity of reliable sources, several scholars have asserted that Chinatown did contain a disproportionate amount of vice activity compared to the rest of the city, but, as with disease, the authors acknowledge that the presence and importance of vice in Chinatown was far less than narratives propagated by anti-Chinese officials such as doctors and police officers

(Light, 1977; Mark, 1975; Shah, 2001; Shumsky, 1986; Shumsky & Springer, 1981). Overall, scholars have identified three primary factors contributing to the concentration of vice in Chinatown: the high proportion of single men, the inclusion of Chinatown in the broader red-light district of San Francisco; and the advantages Chinatown had as a district for white vice seekers.

First, vice and vice spaces in Chinatown provided its working classes with opportunities to meet their social and material needs (Light, 1977; Shumsky & Springer, 1981). With a lack of families and nearly no domestic space, Chinese laborers often struggled to make social connections. More traditional *third spaces* such as tea rooms, restaurants, and theaters did exist in Chinatown, but these were expensive to access and therefore were mostly only available to those in the upper and middle classes (Shah, 2001). On the other hand, vice spaces – specifically, gambling halls and opium dens – often cost little to enter and provided both relaxation and companionship for a low price. Involvement in vice enterprises also led to potential opportunities for social and economic advancement (Mark, 1975; Risse, 2012; Shah, 2001). Run frequently by *tongs* consisting of members of Chinatown's working class, the vice industry provided opportunity for increases in economic and social standing in a place where few existed for those outside of the upper classes (Mark, 1975; Risse, 2012; Shah, 2001).

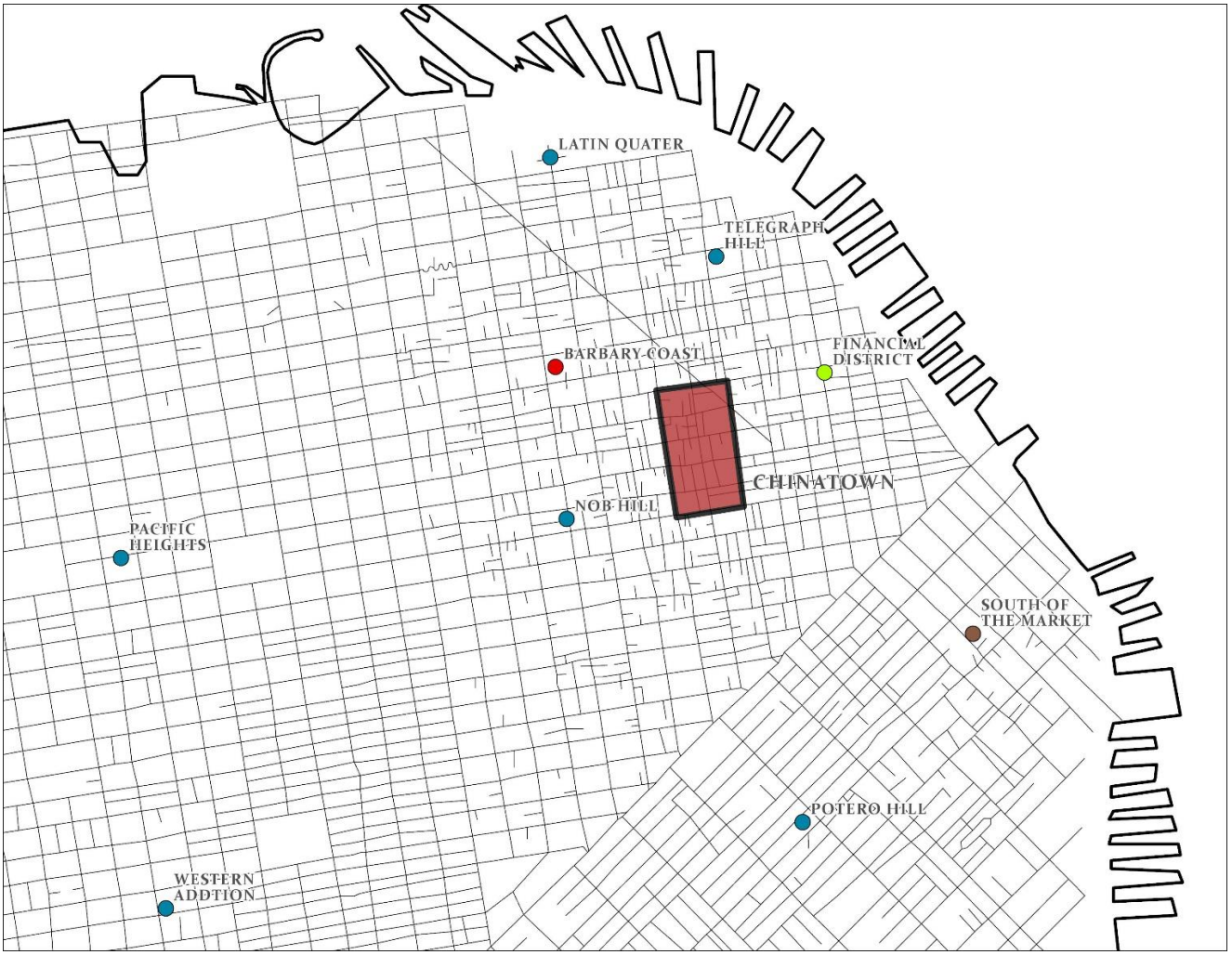


Figure 3. A map of Chinatown and surrounding neighborhoods. Majority white residential neighborhoods are marked with blue dots; the South of Market industrial district is marked with a brown dot; the financial district is marked with a green dot and Chinatown and Barbary Coast (the other primary vice district) are marked with a red dot and rectangle respectively. Map created using ArcGIS. Boundary and street layers from Logan et al. (2011).

Chinatown was also located in a prime location for vice activity (Shumsky, 1986; Shumsky & Springer, 1981). It was positioned between the city's central businesses district to the south and wealthier residential districts to the north, making it an ideal location for middle-class white men to stop on their journeys to and from work (Light, 1974; Shumsky & Springer, 1981). Additionally, Chinatown was located in the city's informal red-light district, meaning that at least early in the history of the district, law enforcement generally tolerated the presence of

vice activity. However, the district's red-light status would not protect it indefinitely: the tolerance of vice in Chinatown decreased as anti-Chinese attitudes increased (Shah, 2001).

Finally, the very social and spatial segregation from the rest of San Francisco made Chinatown an appealing place for whites to visit vice establishments. Some flocked to Chinese vice spaces specifically because of their perceived difference, as has been noted by scholars documenting white men's interest in Chinese sex workers (Light, 1974; Shumsky & Springer, 1981). Whites' lack of shared social ties with Chinese residents afforded them the ability to frequent Chinatown with relative anonymity. Over time, vice operators of Chinatown developed several tactics in response to repression by San Francisco police, such as barricaded doors and multiple escape routes in the case of a raid, further protecting the identity of white customers. Moreover, although the discursive and political othering of Chinatown fueled whites' fear of it, this also provoked a simultaneous fascination – and fetishization – of Chinatown among whites.

Constructing Chinese Vice

Much as discourses created by writers around disease painted Chinese residents and Chinatown itself as inherently containing or producing disease, we see the equivalent process with vice. To begin, discourses around vice in Chinatown positioned participation in vice as near universal among Chinese San Franciscans and vice spaces as omnipresent in Chinatown. For example, sources frequently implied or stated that Chinatown contained most or all of the city's gambling halls, opium dens, and houses of prostitution. However, the extent and nature of this association was framed differently depending on what institution the person belonged to and the position they held within the anti-Chinese movement. Those involved with policing and regulating Chinatown often stated that nearly all Chinese San Franciscans participated in and/or benefited from vice in Chinatown. For example, when asked as a part of his testimony before the

California Senate Committee on Chinese Immigration what proportion of Chinese San Franciscans were involved in vice, police officer Supple answered, “About the whole of them” (Haymond, 1877, p. 135). Similar sentiments were expressed by others who testified to the senate committee (Haymond, 1877).

Observations about Chinese vice also contained several sub-discourses, suggesting an inherent, inborn disposition among Chinese Americans towards specific vices. Both Densmore (1880) and Haymond (1877) claimed gambling addiction to be near universal among Chinese residents. Opium was also supposed to a be vice inherent or highly prevalent among Chinese immigrants. Medical authorities, such as Kane (1882), placed the percentage of Chinese use of opium at 35 per cent; on the other hand, writers writing for a more general audience, such as Densmore, Lloyd, and the anti-Chinese Board of Supervisors, claimed that opium use was nearly universal among Chinese Americans (Densmore, 1880; Lloyd, 1876; Farwell, 1885,).

Besides the description of Chinese use of vices, officials also accused Chinese elites (particularly members of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA)) of profiting from the vice trades. Testifying before the California Senate Committee on Chinese Immigration, San Francisco Police Department (SFPD) officer Wong Ben, stated that the CCBA was perpetuating the vice trade and named multiple company members involved: “They keep gambling-houses and houses of prostitution… An Geo belongs to the See-yup Company; Wong Woon to the Sam-yup Company” (Haymond, 1877, p. 165). Officers also claimed that Chinese merchants and religious leaders were involved in sex trafficking. F.L Gordon, a former owner of a Chinese newspaper, claimed that “there are many leading Chinamen here who have shares in Chinese houses of prostitution. Among them are Ah Fook, who has charge of the joss house at the head of St. Louis Alley” (Haymond, 1877, p. 149).

Missionaries who held more reform-oriented attitudes suggested there was a Chinese disposition towards vice but maintained that it did not affect the whole population. In reference to vice, Reverend Speer proposed that, as a group, Chinese residents contained "an abundance of the vilest classes(p.230)", but also emphasized that they constituted only a subsection of the community and implied that the negative impacts of vice primarily affected fellow Chinese residents. Speer stated that those perpetuating vice in Chinatown "prey upon the unfortunate, the unwary, or the wanton of their countrymen" (1856, as cited in Gibson, 1877, p. 230). Some more liberal ministers even implied that vice in the city was not a problem primarily caused by Chinese residents. For example, Reverend Gibson, a Christian missionary who did charitable work and attempted to convert Chinese residents, reminded those fighting vice in Chinatown that "they are not vices and sins peculiar to them" (Gibson, 1877, p. 356). The statement that vice was not solely perpetuated by Chinese people – though not completely de-racializing vice – was far more progressive than the majority of Gibson's white contemporaries. However, reformists like Gibson were less influential on those in power in San Francisco than those who aligned with the anti-Chinese movement, as will be seen later with a response to these discourses by law enforcement and legislators.

'A cesspool of vice': Placing Deviance as Inherent in Chinese Space

Writings of the time also reflected a corresponding imaginative geography of Chinatown. The image of Chinatown created by these observers contained not only an abundance of vice spaces in the city (opium dens, gambling halls, and houses of prostitution) but also suggested that elements of the vice trade existed in nearly every space of Chinatown. Spaces normally reserved for domestic or business use in the rest of the city were portrayed as melding with vice spaces, often thought to contain areas to smoke opium or play a quick game of *tan* (the primary

gambling game played in Chinatown). This idea was used to assert the ubiquity of vice use among Chinese San Franciscans and further stigmatize the neighborhood.

First, it was frequently stated that Chinatown contained most or all of the city's vice spaces. In various ways, observers claimed that Chinatown contained most of San Francisco's houses of prostitution, gambling houses, and opium dens: Lloyd argued that Chinatown contained all three; Raymond stated that no opium dens existed outside of Chinatown; and Densmore claimed that Chinatown contained most of San Francisco's houses of prostitution (Lloyd, 1876; Densmore, 1880; Raymond, 1886). At a deeper level, writers used this imagined image of Chinatown to further stigmatize the Chinese as a "race" that was inherently prone to vice and, in turn, portray white San Francisco as naturally repulsed by vice and free of it. Lloyd maintained that "most" of San Francisco's population (that is, whites) deplored the concentration of vice in Chinatown, and its continuing existence was only due to political apathy:

> Why the fathers and mothers of San Francisco continue to dwell where their children are forced to live under such evil influences, is strange. It was better for them to quit San Francisco entirely, if it is impossible to stay this tide of vice...even in "wicked Chicago," or New York — would be difficult to find cities notorious for fostering such germs of social disease—*a cesspool of vice so offensive and so disastrous to morality*, as the few blocks in Chinatown, where are congregated these infamous creatures. (emphasis added, Lloyd, 1876, p. 258)

Critical to Lloyd's narrative is the idea that Chinatown contains an exceptional of amount of vice activity even compared to cities popularly thought of as immoral by the west coast elite such as "wicked Chicago." In particular the idea that Chinatown was a "cesspool" of vice signals to the reader that Chinatown itself is not a neighborhood that happens to have vice but one that is defined by the very existence of vice.

This conception of Chinatown as a place whose very existence was predicated on vice activity was also reflected in writers' descriptions of Chinatown's landscape and architecture.

For example, Lloyd depicts Chinatown as containing numerous underground tunnels allowing easy escape in the case of vice raids:

> From each gambling-room there are numerous secret passages leading to other buildings and the street, and at the first sound of alarm given by the sentinel guarding the outer door, the room is vacated, and when the officers arrive there is nothing visible about the premises to indicate that a game had been [held]. (Lloyd, 1876, p. 256)

In supposing that these tunnels extended throughout Chinatown, authors suggested that all nearly spaces in Chinatown were some ways connected to the vice trade. Reflective of this idea of dispersed vice across Chinatown, authors also claimed nearly every space in Chinatown contained an area set apart for vice activity, implying the universal immorality of Chinese Americans and expanding the spatial stigmatization of Chinatown into domestic and commercial spaces. For example, many authors maintained that Chinese restaurants and tea rooms contained opium smoking areas, characterizing opium as a central part of Chinese-American life. In 1883, for example, Buel's first-person account included, "A small opium room leads off from the dining hall." (Buel, 1883, p. 310). A few years later, Gibson wrote, "In every Chinese restaurant of any pretensions is a raised platform or dais under a can of opium, provided with pipe and pillow for the use of opium smokers." (Gibson, 1887, p. 72). And Raymond commented that: "Not a cafe, nor restaurant, nor pleasure-house in the quarter, but has its couch, its mats, its pillow, together with pipe and pot of paste and lamp. It is all there, at your service." (Raymond, 1886, p.16).

Chinese laundries were imagined as a potential space for vice activity as well, perhaps because they were spaces where contact with whites occurred. Kane (1881**,** p. 18) found that opium smoking in the back of Chinese laundries was common, especially among whites: "A few Americans smoke in the back rooms of Chinese laundries, while others, providing themselves

with a full outfit smoke together in private rooms." (p. 8). In depicting commercial spaces as engaged in vice, these discourses amplified the stigmatization of these spaces and, in turn, justified their expanded policing and regulation.

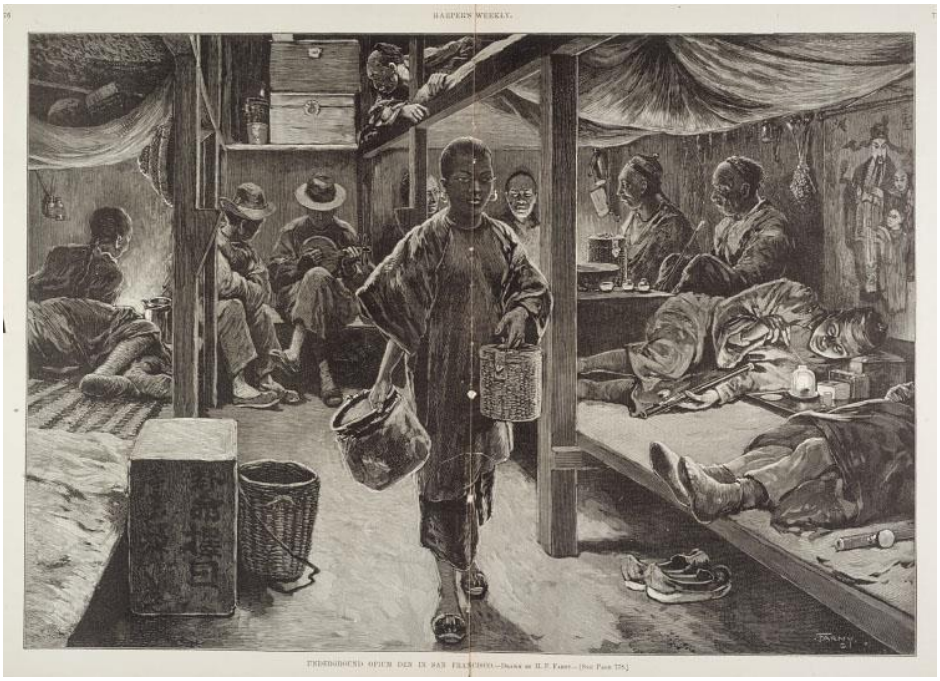


Figure 4. A caricature of an opium den in Harper's Weekly (Farny, 1888).

Not to be constrained to public and commercial spaces, writers also maintained that vice occurred in Chinatown's domestic spaces, which seemingly constituted a violation of the separation between public and private spaces that was so crucial in Victorian culture (Domosh, 1998). Lloyd (1876) painted what he described as a typical scene in a Chinese boarding house of men smoking and gambling after a long day of work: "Of an evening, the occupants of one of these small rooms, gather about a common table in the center, whereon burns a primitive oil taper, and indulge in a social game of chance, or light their opium and tobacco pipes." (p. 238). Likewise, Officer O'Neil, a police officer testifying to California Senate's Special Committee on Chinese Immigration stated that all Chinese houses contained opium dens: "They have places to smoke opium in almost every house" (quoted in Haymond, 1877, p. 182). Similar scenes are

described by Buel (1883) and Raymond (1877), while Kane (1882) stated that opium smoking in domestic spaces occurred even among the upper classes, providing an example of a merchant-class opium scenario:

> The wealthier smokers, here and in the East, do not visit these joints, but have rooms fitted up in Oriental style, where a few friends meet to enjoy the pleasures of the pipe. Unlike other forms of the opium habit, that by smoking finds a special inducement in companionship, especially if the companions are congenial. (p. 43)

Perhaps most horrifying to anti-Chinese writers were observations of vice occurring in the same space as Chinese children. Farwell (1885) states that these situations were frequent, especially concerning prostitution:

> We have shown that the painted harlots of the slums and alleys, the women who are bought and sold to the slavery of prostitution, are surrounded by children in some instances, and intermingle freely with the border class of family life where other children abound. We have shown that to all outward intents and purposes prostitution such as this, and with these surroundings, is a recognized feature of the economy. (p. 59)

Thus, in identifying vice in domestic and work spaces, observers at the time inscribed their notions of what constituted "vice" not just onto Chinatown, but also framed vice as a defining force that ordered its economic, social, and spatial organization.

Evidence of Chinatown's supposed vice was not limited to sights and sounds: commentary on olfactory assaults provided further demonstration of the degradation of the place (Craddock, 1999). Similarly to the smellscapes indicative of disease mentioned above, the smells generated by vice practices were often described as being inescapable in Chinatown, implying that they existed as a constant presence alongside the scents of Chinese food and refuse. Revisiting Densmore's description of smells as immediately noticeable upon entering the district, it not only suggested spaces of disease, but also vice, and indicated the dividing line between Chinatown and the rest of the city: "The moment you cross the borders of Chinatown, you

experience a peculiar, strange smell — a sort of combination of opium mixed with tobacco, fish, and vegetables." (Densmore, 1880, p. 23). Likewise, Durkee, the fire marshal for San Francisco, implied that the smell of opium was pervasive wherever Chinese occupation occurred: "The whites cannot stand their dirt and the fumes of opium, and are compelled to leave their vicinity." (Raymond, 1877, p. 34). In an era in which 'miasmas' were still considered to carry the risk of infection; the presence of bad odors was interpreted as broadly indicative of moral and physical decrepitude.

Spaces of Contamination: Chinese Social and Physical Contagion in Chinatown

The association of vice with Chinatown meant the causes of San Francisco's broader problems could be assigned solely to Chinatown, allowing the city to maintain its imaginative geography as a beacon of white purity. However, the fact that vice was purposefully *emplaced (*made to belong in or to) onto Chinatown and ascribed to Chinese residents did not mean that whites were incapable of vice in the eyes of San Francisco's elites. Instead, vice spaces became feared for their potential to threaten the purity of white women and men and to risk transmitting practices and pathologies (both mental and physical) to whites. As I show below, some authors accused Chinese residents of attempting to lure whites into vice, motivated by profits and perversion.

First, discourses asserting that Chinese San Franciscans deliberately attempted to seduce whites on the street to come into vice spaces was particularly intense around Chinese sex workers. Multiple accounts mention Chinese prostitutes attempting to solicit whites, particularly on the street. The publication by the Workingmen's Party of California (WPC), called *Chinatown declared a nuisance* implied that Chinese women seduced white boys into houses of prostitution: "These lewd women induce boys of all ages to enter, where he who enters is lost" (WPC, 1880.

p. 15). Even after they were forced off main streets and into alleys following police crackdowns, Chinese sex workers supposedly lured whites through windows and see-through slots. Gibson, for example, recounts an example of a sex worker being pushed off the street but told: “You may invite as many people as you please through your window.” (Gibson, 1877, p. 155-156). Likewise, Officer James R. Rogers testified before the Special Committee to Investigate Chinatown that Chinese prostitutes were specifically instructed to tempt customers into houses of prostitution: “They are held as prostitutes, and are obliged by what they call their mother, the head woman or boss of the institution, to stand at the windows and doors and solicit prostitution” (Raymond, 1885, p. 124). It was not enough for Chinese women to be forced off of main streets: any interaction they had with “public” space was considered to be a violation of the socio-spatial norms of the city.

As with the images of Chinatown created by accounts of general vice in Chinatown, writing that focused on the idea that vice in Chinatown was a social threat to white morality created its own imaginative geography. Crucially, authors often ascribed an intention to expose whites to contagion through implying vice spaces that existed in Chinatown were designed specifically to facilitate whites’ participation in vice. Densmore for example, states that many opium dens existed exclusively for whites, and white children were offered free opium in attempt to get them addicted: “There are opium dens reserved especially for whites, and not always in the Chinese quarter… Boys are sometimes enticed into such places, and made drunk free of charge.” (Densmore, 1880, p. 100). Likewise, with houses of prostitution, many were assumed to appeal primarily to whites, but some writers went further, asserting that these houses were spatially and economically constructed to appeal to white men. Lloyd, for example, noted that the cramped dampness that defined Chinatown was absent in houses of prostitution targeted to whites:

> There are a few houses, however, designed for the patronage of white men exclusively, that are furnished with some elegance. Rich drapery of gorgeous colors falls in graceful folds from the arch of chamber alcoves; the carpets are soft and pretty, the furniture quite costly, and the air is fragrant with delicate oriental perfumes. (Lloyd, 1876, p. 257)

Writers such as Gibson even asserted that these spaces charged lower prices to white customers, stating,

> Some of these dens are said to be devoted to the accommodation of white visitors, and others more exclusively for Chinese patrons; and strange to say, the whites are accommodated at cheaper rates than the Chinese (Gibson, 1877, p. 155-156)

Implicit in the construction of Chinatown as a space of temptation and sin is that it simultaneously reflected both white morality and white desires. The self-conception of white San Francisco as a morally pure and upright was challenged by accounts of white men and boys engaging in vice activity. As such, the idea that Chinese vice spaces purposely drew whites in allowed for the denial of white complicity in the vice trade. Chinatown and Chinese residents thus became scapegoats for all white moral failings.

The Vice Triangle – Gambling, Prostitutes, Opium

Another way in which Chinese vice-spaces were constructed as threats was through their supposed ability to draw whites into lives of addiction. For whites specifically, prevailing thought was that addiction to one vice would soon result in the picking up of another. Perceptions were thus that Chinatown's vice spaces did not just purposely lure in whites for occasional pleasures, but sucked them into a moral downspin, in which all inhibition was abandoned, and addiction and compulsion took the place of morality.

For discourses around men, no one vice was purported to serve as the gateway to immorality. Prostitution, gambling and opium were all variously depicted as the primary trigger,

depending on the contexts and narratives. Police officers Roger and Wong of San Francisco both appeared to state the cause to be gambling, or maybe prostitution, although they are not explicit about a particular order: “Young boys come here and spend all their money in gambling houses and houses of prostitution.” (Haymond, 1877, p. 165). By contrast, another observer saw a clearer progression: “That is the first step in the direction of gambling. Boys frequently visit the Chinese houses of prostitution.” (Haymond, 1877, p. 127). Farwell, on the other hand, implies gambling and opium use both led to the other: “The twin vices of gambling in its most defiant form… they have succeeded in so spreading these vitiating evils as to have added thousands of proselytes to the practice of these vices from our own blood and race” (Farwell, 1885, p. 38). By contrast yet again, Kane (likely due to his perspective as a white physician specializing in addiction) was firm in his assertion that opium use served was the first step in the white descent into vice. He believed that opium was the primary cause, and, “No one can question the fascination of a vice, the strength of a habit that will lead people into such degradation for the gratification of the abnormal appetite. No one can question the certainty of moral ruin.” (Kane, 1882. p. 2). And he later implied that opium was easily accessible:

> Many habitual smokers when starting on a tour of acting, gambling, or selling goods, feel so certain that the implements and drug can be obtained at every place in which they stop that they take neither pipe nor opium with them. (Kane, 1882. p. 71)

Whites’ interactions with Chinese vice spaces could never be considered merely experimentation but rather inherently drove them into spirals of addiction. However, the potential of adopting a vice-driven lifestyle was but one concern about white people’s presence in Chinatown; the concern about the social relationships they were thought to cultivate there had the same if not more impact on how the images of Chinese vice space were constructed.

Creating Bad Morals, Boundary Crossing in Vice Spaces

Perhaps even more repugnant to writers was the idea that social and physical contagions were transmitted from Chinese residents to whites in these spaces. In writings of the time, vice spaces were characterized by diluted social boundaries, resulting in all involved becoming morally contaminated, both through contact with those lower in the social hierarchy and through the sharing of space between unmarried men and women. In opium dens, beggars were said to smoke opium in the same rooms as a banker, unmarried women and men engaged in sexual activity, and Chinese men and white men shared the same pipe (Shah, 2001). Both the illicit contact between whites and contact between whites and Chinese people in vice spaces were said to corrupt whites morally or, worse in contemporary observers' view, cause whites to acquire the physical and social pathologies of the Chinese participants.

Vice Spaces as Intersectional Sites of Norm-Busting

Though vice spaces were predominantly located in stigmatized districts such as Chinatown, the demand and interest in vice traversed social-spatial boundaries. Everyone from working class men, to upper class white women, to Chinese laborers, to Chinese merchants, all journeyed into the same vice spaces to smoke opium, engage in fornication, and gamble. In turn, these violations of the socio-spatial norms provoked immense anxieties among white middle class writers, particularly about the potential moral and physical corruption of those deemed pure (white women and men of the middle classes) by those deemed impure (the working classes and Chinese men and women). I examine several of these intersectional sites in the following paragraphs.

i. Crossing Class and Gender Boundaries: Contact Between Whites in Vice Spaces

The social relations cultivated between different whites in opium dens were thought to make all involved morally damaged, both due to the effects of the drug and by breaking social-spatial norms. First, the social atmosphere of opium dens combined with the supposed inhibition-releasing properties of the drug were depicted as promoting fornication and sinful relationships between white men and women. Writers describe finding unrelated men and women sprawled out on the floor (fully or half naked) to be a common sight upon entering a den, with previous sexual contact often implied. For example, Lloyd describes: "Opium dens, where heathen Chinese and God-forsaken women and men are sprawled in miscellaneous confusion." (Lloyd, 1876, p. 80**)**. Kane even goes as far as to imply that multiple white men and women may have been engaged in sexual contact, writing, "upon these bunks were stretched transversely, in parties of two or three, some twelve men and women - Americans engaged in cooking and smoking opium" (Kane, 1882. p. 7). Such contacts between middle class and working-class whites in dens were thought to drive both men and women to criminality. Kane worried that the social relations formed in the dens led many middle-class women and men, in particular, to criminal activity. He wrote,

> In this country many honest and respectable young men and women have been led to try the pipe, and, forming the habit, have continued its use, and been corrupted by association with low companions, who led them so far as even to commit crimes. (Kane**,** 1882, p. 135)

Note here that the problem was not just the use of opium that led to this criminality but the association of "respectable" young men and women with "low companions" suggesting that inter-class contacts in dens led to the adoption of crime. Farwell revealed a similar sentiment but also stressed the criminalizing effect of the drug on children: "by reason of their presence among us (the Chinese) ... the laboring classes deprived of work and impoverished, their children

graduated in the school of "Hoodlumism" (Farwell, 1885, p. 42)**.** Even without direct contact with Chinese residents, merely being present in Chinatown – particularly its opium dens – was enough to corrupt whites and result in adopted traits culturally coded to the Chinese, like criminality.

ii. Crossing Racial Boundaries: Social Contact in Chinese Vice Spaces

Worse, for observers at the time, than the breaking down of intra-white class and gender barriers was the fact that the opium dens were also depicted as breaking down racial boundaries, creating direct social contacts between white and Chinese San Franciscans. These fears were most evident in depictions of interactions of white males with both Chinese men and women, and of white women's interactions with Chinese men.

Many of the fears surrounding white men in Chinese vice spaces focused on transmitting physical afflictions; this stands in contrast to discourses around white women, which focused more on social ailments. The most prominent in this discourse was the potential for the transference of syphilis and other sexually transmitted diseases from Chinese women to white men. Health officer Meares attributed most white cases of syphilis as caused by white men's contact with Chinese sex workers, also explicitly placing the contact as occurring *in* Chinatown. In an exchange with one of members of the California Senate Committee on Chinese Immigration, Meares stated:

> Q.-It has been stated that these Chinese houses of prostitution are open to small boys, and that a great many have been diseased. Do you know anything about that?
>
> A-I have seen boys eight and ten years old with diseases they told me they contracted on Jackson Street. It is astonishing how soon they commence indulging in that passion. Some of the worst cases of syphilis I have ever seen in my life occur in children not more than ten or twelve years old. (Haymond, 1877, p. 167)

In claiming that boys acquired syphilis specifically from Chinese houses of prostitution and Chinese sex workers, writers, like Haymond, explicitly constructed white contact with not only Chinese *people* but also Chinese *spaces* as a disease threat.

The threat these spaces posed was further amplified by writers' assertions that the afflictions acquired within them could be further transmitted to the homes of those infected. An anonymous author writing on behalf of the Workingmen's Party of California goes even further, claiming that white visitation of Chinese houses of prostitution resulted in the infusion of syphilis into white men and, more broadly, the entire white race through its rumored hereditary transmission:

> From thence, from houses of prostitution, grows and steadily infuses itself slowly but surely an incurable and hereditary curse, ultimately destroying whole nations through the instrumentality of Chinese prostitutes, who, in diseasing our young men, implant into them the germs of leprosy and other loathsome, constitutional and hereditary disorders, which will be handed down, through our present and past laxity concerning the enforcement of hygienic laws, to our children and children's children. (Workingmen's Party of California, 1880, p. 12)

Through the implication that syphilis acquired in Chinatown by whites was possibly hereditary, writers amplified the risk of white contact with Chinese sex workers from being solely a threat to individual men who partook in such activities, to a threat to entire families and even future generations. These discourses further justified the discriminatory policing Chinese houses of prostitution received.

Fears about the transmission of the diseases associated with Chinese residents to whites was not limited to intimate sexual contact, nor was it strictly emplaced in houses of "ill-fame." In particular, writers portrayed opium dens as creating intimate contacts between Chinese and white men which risked the latter's infection. Kane, for example, states that the sharing of pipes spread

syphilis to white men: “The danger of contracting that loathsome disease, syphilis, from the pipe-stem that has passed from mouth to mouth a hundred times a day for months and years...” (Kane, 1882. p. 78). Likewise, the Workingmen’s’ Party of California compared the handling of opium pipes to physical contact, maintaining that leprosy (a disease thought to exclusively originate with Chinese immigrants) could be spread through the sharing of pipes:

> There it is from whence leprosy, this inherent factor, this inbred disease of Chinese, is infused into our healthy race by the using, the sucking of opium - pipes, which have been handled by those already afflicted. (WPC, 1880, p. 12)

Thus, fears about both opium dens and houses of prostitution centered around the intimate physical contacts they created between white men and Chinese men and women. It was through these contacts that Chinese afflictions were thought to be transferred into white bodies, such as syphilis and leprosy. These perceived risks further justified the segregation of Chinese residents from white residents and eventually the targeting the vice institutions, especially those thought to facilitate interracial contacts.

iii. The Fallen Women: White Women and Miscegenation in Chinatown

I have given white women their own subsection here as their presence in Chinese vice spaces was extremely anxiety-provoking for white observers. This fear and disgust may originate from the fact that white women’s presence in spaces like opium dens not only violated spatial norms around race but also those around gender. In the nineteenth century, cities such as San Francisco, unrelated men and women sharing space in public was still considered taboo, though it was undoubtedly more rigorously enforced in middle-class circles. Men were considered morally corrupting to women merely through sharing spaces in close proximity, and this was even more acute with men of color. Additionally, opium’s rumored ability to remove one’s

inhibitions amplified fears that white women would be "ruined." If white men could partially acquire the social afflictions and pathologies of Chinese residents through physical and social contact, white *women* were thought to be even more susceptible. In particular, fears around loss of purity, honor, and the embodiment of the ideal woman threatened the entire white community's self-anointed role as 'civilizers' of the West.

Several writers focused on opium's purported ability to decrease the sexual inhibitions of white women and promote promiscuity. Kane, although stating that opium increases the sexual appetites of both women and men, declared the increase in libido to be particularly potent in women: "This increase of sexual appetite is most marked in women. Indeed, the laws against opium-smoking that have been enacted and enforced in this country had their inception in a knowledge of the fact." (Kane, 1880, p. 131). Although discourses around the supposedly heightened effects of opium on women mostly revolved around its ability to lead to fornication between whites, several writers suggested that opium was also conducive to miscegenation. While several of the authors above imply the possibility of sex across racial boundaries, a few are more explicit. James Rogers, for example, reports several incidents of police finding Chinese men and white women sleeping together upon a raid on a den:

> The Department of Police, in enforcing the law concerning this matter, have found white women and Chinamen side by side under the effects of this drug - a humiliating sight to anyone who has anything left of manhood. (Haymond, 1887, p. 217)

However, the contribution of opium and opium dens to miscegenation was not portrayed as simply a momentary lapse in judgment, nor was the phenomenon considered to be spatially contained. Instead, a few writers speculated that opium use sent white women into a spiral of increasing Chinese contact and Chinese-coded behaviors, ending with their permanent

transplantation into Chinatown. For example, Farwell asserted that opium addiction led many women to reside in Chinatown and take up prostitution. He stated,

> Many, if not most of them, confirmed victims to the opium habit in one form or another, they present pictures of pallid wretchedness hard to parallel in any community where total depravity rules supreme, and their sex sinks to the lowest point of human degradation. (Farwell, 1885, p. 15)

More horrifying to his intended audience, no doubt, was his claim that most of these women were primarily serving Chinese clientele and, more generally, had adopted a Chinese-like mode of life:

> Their habitations seem to have been taken up in the Chinese quarter solely for this purpose, and their mode of life seems to be modeled after that of the Mongolian, to a larger extent than after the manners and customs of the race to which they belong. (Farwell, 1885, p. 15)

In this way, opium dens became a white's women first step in her downfall, to loss of moral virtue and eventually adopting a way of life "modeled after that of the Mongolian". Deutsch (2000) describes similar anxieties in her description of the view of white women in Boston's Chinatown in the same time period:

> While the white men risked their nationality and race in such associations, the white women risked their respectability: "white women, young girls in some instances, who frequent Chinatown and live among and with the Chinamen, came in for a fright which should be a warning to them in the future. Some were found lounging about the dingy dens of the half-civilized and semi-opium-drunk Chinamen. (Deutsch, 2000, p. 89)

The opium den came to be a space that represented all that white-men feared about potential contact between white women and Chinese men.

Discursive Effects

The response to the placing of vice in Chinatown fell into three primary areas, in line with the themes presented: general attempts to suppress Chinese vice; laws meant to limit white presence

in Chinatown; and white exposure to Chinese people and places more generally. Broadly, the perception that Chinatown bred vice and that vice was universally present in the area led to a disproportionate and brutal policing in the form of the Chinatown Squad. Established in 1878 after a massive increase in law enforcement funding in San Francisco, the Chinatown Squad was created to root out vice in the area (Raspa, 2020). Reflecting the perceptions in and of Chinatown, the squad often used illegal tactics meant to respond to the supposed ferocity and scale of Chinese vice crimes (Raspa, 2020). These arrests were conducted without warrants, giving no warning before entering a residency, and while not wearing official uniforms (Raspa, 2020). Ironically the squad also developed strong ties to the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, leading to frequent accusations of selective enforcement and more general corruption (Raspa, 2020).

Regarding the criminalization of vices, opium dealing and prostitution appear to have received the heaviest suppression. Largely due to its association with Chinese-ness, opium became one of the first drugs to be formally prohibited in San Francisco, California and eventually the entire United States (Mark, 1975; Morgan, 1978). The first law regulating opium affecting Chinatown was passed in 1878 and specifically targeted both users and den-owners, with the former facing a fine and the latter facing imprisonment (Mark, 1975; Morgan, 1978). California passed its own version of the law in 1881, marking the first time in the state's history that drug use or sale was prohibited statewide (Mark, 1975). Notable here is that both laws were initially spatially demarcated, only prohibiting said actions in an opium den. This is likely reflective of the attitudes demonstrated that opium dens themselves were a social harm (because of their positioning as intersectional sites of gender, race, and class boundary-crossing), beyond simply the drug and addiction they were associated with. The state law was followed up with

federal law in 1909, making it the first drug in United States history to receive a ban (Mark, 1975).

Gambling in Chinatown was also sanctioned, but its prohibition has received less scholarly attention than either opium or prostitution. Some evidence that gambling houses were targeted does exist (Paulès, 2017). For example, the game of tan was banned in 1872, and listed as a separate offense in the California criminal code, but whether the actual offense was punished more severely than games more closely associated with white gambling houses (such as lotteries) could not be determined (Paulès, 2017). As such, the extent and methods used in cracking down on gambling could not be determined.

Furthering Segregation

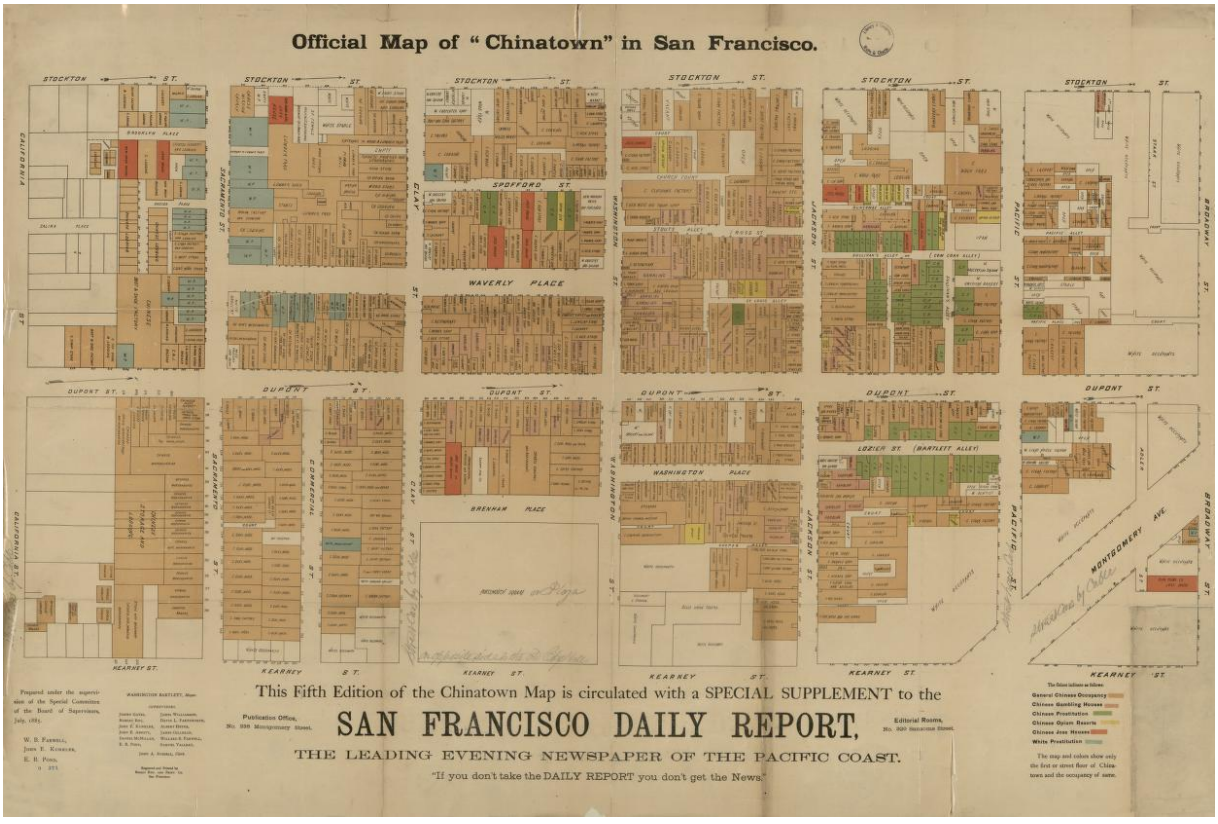


Figure 5. Official map of "Chinatown" in San Francisco, 1885. Locations of presumed Chinese houses of prostitution marked in green (Farwell et.al, 1885).

The strategic use of space for social control at this time can be interpreted through efforts to specifically minimize white contact with Chinese vice operations. Although most of these efforts appear to have focused on prostitution, a few affected opium dens as well. First, Chinese sex workers received much more repression and regulation from the San Francisco Police Department than white prostitutes (Shah, 2001). Although fear of their corrupting influence initially led to the enactment of proposals meant to banish Chinese women outside the city, the unconstitutionality of such laws led to the passing of a more moderate proposal: Chinese women were formally banned from soliciting on the street or residing in houses of prostitution adjacent to it (Shah, 2001). These regulations were primarily enforced in areas like Dupont Street, where white middle-class men frequently walked to and from work and might conceivably be "lured" into vice with Chinese women. In practice, this law banned single Chinese women from living in any area close to the street and made it so that walking along it could risk arrest. The effects of these laws can be seen in the 1885 map of Chinatown (Fig. 5.), which shows Chinese houses of prostitution located in alleys, while white prostitution continued to operate openly. Effectively, this meant *all* Chinese women were forced out of public spaces (Shah, 2001).

The SFPD's approach to opium also appears to have contained a similar focus of preventing whites from accessing Chinatown's vice spaces (Fisher, 2014). But unlike the response to prostitution, these actions appear to have been taken more informally by the SFPD rather than explicitly written into law. Multiple newspaper articles published in the 1890s indicate that the SFPD targeted opium dens where whites were present especially harshly. One article quoted the chief of police as saying, in response to the city's supposedly unsolvable opium problem, that the police's approach was to "to keep them from opening places where whites might resort to smoke" (San Francisco Caller, 1895, p. 14). Additionally, studies of anti-

opium movements in other states indicate that minimizing white usage of opium and presence in dens quickly became a focus of law enforcement in Los Angeles (Rosino, 2021), in other western states, such as Nevada and New Mexico (Ahmad, 2011), as well in the east in New York City (Rosino, 2021).

Conclusion

The ascription of vice onto Chinatown played a key role in the larger racialization of the space. Through meticulous documentation of incidences of the participation in and propagation of vice by Chinese San Franciscans, prejudices that previously existed only as stereotypes became considered “facts.” This, combined with the construction of Chinese vice spaces as a moral danger to whites, created a regime of draconian policing and regulation in which all Chinese residents became treated as criminals and all Chinese spaces as potential vice dens.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This thesis used the racialization-of-space/spatialization-of-race framework to analyze the manner in which Chinatown as a concept and the Chinese racial category were co-created in 1860-1905 in San Francisco. Using repeated coding and re-coding of archival documents, numerous themes were ultimately narrowed down into two central discourses: those around Chinatown and Chinese residents of San Francisco as a source of disease and those focusing on the presence of vice and immorality. Using these patterns as a base, a repeated cycle of containment, stigmatization, surveillance, punishment, and further containment was ultimately identified; Chinese immigrants and Chinatown came be to racialized as embodiments of vice and public health problems in the city and ultimately perceived as an active threat to the supposed purity of the rest of the city. To put it more simply, Chinatown and Chinese residents were successfully positioned as being separate from the general citizenry and place of San Francisco, or as many writers put it at the time, "a city within a city."

An iterative cycle of racialization-spatialization was ultimately identified through discourse analysis. First, both processes originated from Chinese confinement to Chinatown on the basis on negative Chinese stereotypes. This confinement, combined with generalized racial discrimination, created the conditions that led to the spread of disease and the production of 'vice' in Chinatown and among Chinese immigrants, although not nearly to the degree it was later depicted by white writers. Traits such as "diseased" and "immoral" were ascribed to Chinatown and Chinese residents, ultimately coming to be viewed as intrinsic racial characteristics. This in turn allowed the problems of disease and vice to be emplaced in – or caused by – San Francisco's Chinatown district, separate from the city's (primarily white) majority, and therefore justified the exceptional regulation and surveillance of Chinese residents.

Additionally, the surveillance and regulation of Chinatown produced records which were utilized to confirm the stereotype of Chinese residents as diseased and immoral. Regulations established by municipal authorities applied exclusively to Chinatown, which generated meticulous records of the violations that were incurred, in turn further justifying the need for containment and regulation. With disease, the Cubic Air Ordinance, public health inspections, and other regulations provided material evidence of the perception of the space as dirty and disease ridden, vindicating future regulation that produced more data leading to the same conclusion. For vice, disproportionate policing, municipal inspections, and the targeting of opium dens produced much of the same effect. The idea of Chinese San Franciscans as disease-ridden and immoral began as abstractions, but regulation entrenched these notions and made them materially "provable."

Limitations

My study had two primary limitations, centering on source type and source format. First, early on in the study (with a few exceptions), I decided not to utilize any newspaper sources, largely due to time constraints, as examining newspaper would have been extremely time consuming. However, newspaper sources could have vastly expanded the scope of my study, by going beyond materials read by elites and more educated members of San Franciscan society to those that would have been read by the white working class. Additionally, I also made the difficult decision early on in the project to not utilize Chinese language sources. I have no proficiency with Cantonese (the primary language in which documents produced by Chinese San Franciscans exist), so many primary documents were simply unavailable to me and (to my knowledge) no easily accessible translations exist. Even if accessible translations did exist, I would have no way to assess their accuracy.

Another limitation of my study was the use of only those materials that had been previously digitized. As I do not reside in the vicinity of San Francisco nor any university that houses collections related to San Francisco's Chinatown, I chose to utilize only materials available online for the study. Although I was able to access most of the key primary documents mentioned in secondary sources, this nevertheless limited the range of sources available to me. I personally would have loved to have been able to travel to an institution housing physical collections but for the timeline of the project (a total of less than 12 months) it simply was not practical.

Finally, several planned sections for the thesis had to be dropped due to a lack of time or supporting evidence. Late in the project, I was forced to abandon sections on discourses of criminality and cheapness due to a lack available sources. Sections on religion and primitivism, on the other hand, had to be abandoned due to a lack of supporting evidence in my available sources. Finally, sections on gender and interracial spaces were both folded into other topics as the former topic was too broad and latter too narrow to form fully complete sections.

Potential future research directions

There are several ways future research could expand on the findings presented above. First, future studies could examine the role of space in the racialization of other groups in San Francisco. Although Chinese residents in San Francisco by far received the most attention (and animosity) from the city's municipal government and nativist groups, Chinese immigrants were far from the only racialized group, and Chinatown was far from the only racialized place. Latinx, Japanese, and later Black residents, were all racialized and spatially confined at varying points in city's history (Almaguer, 2008). Japanese immigrants and Japantown are of particular interest; in anti-Chinese texts, the behaviors of Japanese immigrants and spatial condition of Japantown

were described much more positively than their Chinese counterparts but later experienced similar immigration restrictions (Almaguer, 2008) and, of course, wholesale internment and dispossession during WWII. Additionally, it would be interesting to the see the process of racialization of Black residents of the city's Filmore and Hunters Point areas, as both later became the center of anti-racist uprising during the 1960's and are still contested spaces of displacement and extraction through the modern tools of evictions and gentrification (Maharawal & McElroy, 2018).

Furthermore, future studies could focus on different Chinatowns across the US during the same time period, 1860-1903. Chinatowns across this period and beyond it have existed in a variety of places and geographies. A compelling future research project would be one that compares the differences in discourses around Chinatown at various scales. For example, a project could compare two Chinatowns within a state, comparing the discourses present in two cities, such as Sacramento and San Francisco. Another project could compare Chinatowns in two separate regions, such as one located in the western United States, the other in the eastern United States, for example New York's and Oakland's Chinatowns. Finally, the discourses around Chinatowns in two different countries could be compared, examining how national discourses and social structures produced different discourses and material consequences.

Additionally, future research could also examine how discourses around different Chinatowns contributed to one another. Numerous other Chinatowns were mentioned in the primary documents I examined. These included both those in different areas of California, such as Sacramento and Los Angeles, and those in the east such as New York and Boston, and those outside the US, such as Vancouver, in Canada. Future research could consider how the idea of the Chinatown was constructed across borders, by examining how discourses on Chinatown in

one country influenced how others were perceived and responded to. Discourse analysis is perfect for this type of examination as it allows for analysis of both representations of race and space and the effect these representations have on the material experiences of people and physical construction of space.

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Appendix

Organizations and People

The San Francisco Municipal Government and Authorities

During the period of study (1860-1906), the majority of political power in San Francisco was the San Francisco Board of Supervisors (the equivalent of a city council form of government) and the mayor. It was through this body that laws in the city (referred to as *ordinances*) were passed with the mayor having ultimate veto power (Risse, 2012). Under it were a variety of municipal departments, the most important of which for this study being the San Francisco Board of Health and the San Francisco Police Department (Risse, 2012). Although in 1860 both of these organizations started out fairly weak with limited powers and small staffs, by 1905 they have the power to remake entire neighborhoods and have staff numbering in the hundreds. This massive increase in power over time can be at least partially attributed to fears around Chinatown (Shah, 2001). Leaders in both organizations repeatedly justified additional funds and powers through the lens of the Chinese threat (Shah, 2001). Additionally, these organizations would play similar roles in the anti-Chinese movements with members of both using their occupational expertise to support anti-Chinese measures (Shah, 2001).

Labor Unions and Labor Parties

A key faction of what would become the anti-Chinese coalition in California was that of white labor. Driven by fears of Chinese suppressing white wages and replacing white workers, white unions frequently supported the anti-Chinese measures passed by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors and later pushed for immigration restrictions (Shah, 2001). These forces would eventually coalesce around groups such as the Anti-Coolie Association (ACA) and the

Workingmen's Party of California (WPC) and successfully push for anti-Chinese measures both locally and federally (Shah, 2001; Almaguer, 2008). Although these organizations had largely collapsed after the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the view of the Chinese as a group which harmed working conditions for white workers continued well into the 1900s (Shah, 2001; Almaguer, 2008).

Religious Institutions and Missionaries

By far, the group of white San Franciscans which was the most sympathetic to Chinese residents was that of protestant churches and missionaries (Shah, 2001). Despite seeing the Chinese as inferior to whites much of the time, ministers and reverends were also far more likely than other whites to see the solution to "the Chinese problem" as reform rather than expulsion or exclusion (Shah, 2001). Ministers, such as reverend William Gibson and George Speer, sought to uplift the Chinese through conversion to Christianity, English classes and other forms of forms welfare meant to both assist and Americanize Chinese immigrants (Shah, 2001). Chinese women were thought of as particularly important to the moral reform of Chinese San Franciscans, as the lack of "respectable women" in Chinatown was assumed to be one the largest obstacles to Americanization and proselytization to Christianity (Shah, 2001). With this goal in mind, churches attempted to reform both Chinese sex workers and the wives of Chinese merchants with mixed results (Shah, 2001).

Chinese Groups and Institutions

Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association

Formed in 1870 in response to increases in anti-Chinese attitudes out of several Chinese merchant companies, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association acted as the de facto

government of Chinatown (Risse, 2012). It provided much of the welfare services, in place of the racially hostile San Francisco government. Additionally, CCBA also frequently advocated for civil rights of Chinatowns residents, providing legal assistance in case of arrest and getting several anti-Chinese ordinances struck down in court (Shah, 2001). However, the tendency of the CCBA to make concessions that harmed the working class of Chinatown in negotiations and co-operation with the draconian policing and public health measures of the SFPD and SFBOH led to Chinese laborers to form their own organizations (Risse, 2012; Shah 2001). A common form these took were fraternity organizations known as tongs. Most tongs merely functioned as mutual aid organizations, providing welfare similar to the CCBA, but some also engaged in criminal enterprises, specifically those related to the vice industry (Risse, 2012). This caused frequent conflicts with CCBA, who sought to improve the neighborhood image in the eyes of whites by collaborating with SFPD crackdowns on vice in the district (Shah, 2001).