COLONIA INCOGNITA: THE FORMATION OF CHINATOWN, NEW YORK CITY, 1850-1890

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ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: Colonia Incognita: The Formation of Chinatown, New York City, 1850-1890

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The genesis of ethnic areas in cities is attributed to the process of residential concentration. For the Chinese experience in New York, however, the emergence of Chinatown occurred through the concentration of institutions. A rapid influx of Chinese into this northern industrial city followed by an occupational specialization in laundries -- the coterminous place of work and residence -- resulted in their widespread distribution. This spatial pattern prevented a residential concentration of the Chinese, who possessed a great cultural variance from the indigenous population. The migrational objective of returning to China with their accumulated earnings gave rise to the sojourning nature of Chinese migrants and its attendant detached status of migration without wives or families. These conditions generated a desire among the migrants to preserve their cultural identity, incurring a heavy reliance on things Chinese. In response, Chinatown had formed by 1880. Initially, a concentration of service and social institutions which fulfilled the socio-cultural needs of the dispersed Chinese population, Chinatown eventually became the basis for Chinese residential concentration.

DEDICATION

To my parents, wife, and children

for their love, faith, and sacrifices.

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CHAPTER I

FORMATION OF ETHNIC AREAS IN NORTHERN INDUSTRIAL CITIES

Statement of Purpose

In the study of American urbanization, the emergence of ethnic areas is recognized as a significant component of the northern industrial city.[1] Recent work has explored the origins of black and European immigrant neighborhoods; conceptually, however, such efforts fail to account for the genesis of Chinese areas in many of the same cities. Unlike other ethnic enclaves formed by residential concentration, Chinatowns apparently emerged through the concentration of institutions. This premise is evaluated by studying the formation of Chinatown in New York city.

Conceptual Framework

No formal theory exists for the formation of ethnic areas in the American industrial city. Fundamental to an understanding of ethnic area formation, however, is the distinction between cause and process. Although closely related, causes are not processes: the reasons for why are not the ways in which ethnic areas form. Racism and the occupational orientation of residence, the causes for black and European immigrant areas, differ from residential concentration, their common process of formation.

Apparently, Chinatown resulted from a different process and cause. Because of socio-cultural needs, Chinatown emerged through a process of institutional concentration. The underlying goal of this study is to suggest that ethnic area formation can occur through not one, but two processes (institutional as well as residential concentration), and for socio-cultural needs, a reason which has not been considered as a major cause.

The Black Experience

Prior to the emergence of the ghetto in northern cities, blacks were usually found interspersed among whites. They lived either in a pattern of residential integration or in small segregated clusters, which were widely scattered throughout the city. The dispersed residential pattern of blacks resulted primarily from their occupations. Working as domestic and personal servants for wealthy whites, blacks either lived with their employers or clustered along nearby streets and alleys, which permitted a short pedestrian journey to work.[2] Blacks were also employed as unskilled labor. With very low pay and long hours of work, they were forced to find cheap accommodations on the city's periphery or in the oldest run-down sections. The great migration of blacks to northern cities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries altered this pattern.

Dramatic increases in the numbers of highly visible blacks created job and housing competition with whites. Introduced first as strike-breakers

and later as an increasing proportion of the unskilled and semi-skilled urban labor force, blacks sharply intensified job rivalry.[3] The great gains in black population within northern cities, occurring concurrently with the acceleration of European immigration, generated a drastic demand for housing, further heightened by the suspension of building construction during World War I.[4] White racism towards blacks was the consequence of such competition for jobs and housing.

The residential segregation of blacks within northern industrial cities was a significant expression of this white racism. In the face of a mounting housing need, blacks sought residences outside areas of black settlement. Formerly, as blacks encroached on white residential areas, whites moved away. But, due to the housing shortage, whites remained and opposed the influx of blacks.[5] Motivated by personal gain and vested interests, realtors helped to establish black residential areas. Black realtors internally promoted the ghetto, while externally, white realtors confined the blacks.[6]

After World War I, the black population of northern industrial cities became increasingly concentrated in areas of established black residences.[7] According to Allan H. Spear:

> By 1920, 35 percent of Chicago's Negroes lived in census tracts that were over 75 per cent Negro. Only 7.4 per cent lived in neighborhoods less than 5 per cent Negro - a sharp reduction from 32.7 per cent in 1910. Half of the Negro population now lived in predominantly Negro census tracts, and 90 per cent lived in tracts that were at least 10 per cent Negro. In short, the majority of Chicago's Negroes now lived in black enclaves; the "scattered" portion of the Negro population had almost disappeared.[8]

The success of the white society in reducing the degree of residential contact is evidenced by the emergence of the black ghetto. Historians have argued that the emerging ghetto produced cohesion among blacks, leading to a separate group life.[9] A black institutional infra-structure later developed through a set of social, economic, and political institutions catering specifically to blacks. Such institutional development attracted more blacks, as did a chain migration of family, relatives, and friends, both of which contributed to the aggregation of existing black areas. In sum, white racism caused the formation of black ghettos through a residential intensification of existing black enclaves and the subsequent development of black institutions.

The European Immigrant Experience

The formation of European immigrant areas occurred in northern cities during a period of great immigration and industrialization. Between 1880 and 1920 more than twenty-two million people arrived, equivalent to two-thirds of the total immigration to America from 1820 to 1920. Unlike many earlier immigrants, these later arrivals had little industrial training or experience. Consequently, most immigrants found work in northern industrializing cities as unskilled laborers.

The central area of the city attracted the immigrants because it was the largest and most diverse source of unskilled employment opportunities. Prior to the rise of the industrial city, immigrants had been located on the periphery and/or throughout the city. Encroachment upon central residential

quarters by commercial activity provided housing for immigrants. David Ward has noted:

> The settlement of newly arrived immigrants on the margins of the central business district has for long been closely associated with the blighting effects of commercial encroachment into adjacent residential districts. Once abandoned by their original populations, central residential districts were most frequently adopted by low-income immigrants.[10]

The subsequent abandonment of central housing by original residents was also facilitated by developments in intra-urban transportation, which permitted the middle-class a greater separation between the place of work and place of residence. Job uncertainty, long hours of work, and low wages necessarily restricted ethnic groups to central locations. Most groups had to live around or within walking distance because they had neither the time nor money to spend in commuting to and from work.[11]

As newcomers, the immigrants' unfamiliarity with language, new innovations and technology sometimes generated a system for the management of unskilled immigrant labor among various ethnic groups. Such a system was the Italian padrone. Its language capability and knowledge of labor practices effectively organized immigrant labor. The padrone also encouraged an ethnic division of labor by furnishing, at times, the entire work force for a particular firm, occupation, or industry.[12] This favored the concentration of immigrants in their own areas. Concentration would then attract more of their own kind, since they would be more likely to

obtain work from or through their own compatriots. Further congregation of the group was promoted by the provision of tenement housing owned and operated by padrone type organizations.[13] Although not always promoted by a formal system such as the padrone, the ethnic division of labor was widespread and a force for residential concentration.

Reinforcing this tendency to cluster for occupational purposes was the inclination of an ethnic group's members to band together for social and protective reasons. As a large number of an ethnic group concentrated in a particular area, social, economic, and political institutions developed to serve their needs. The aggregation of institutions then furthered the additional concentration of more immigrants belonging to the same group. Much of the subsequent concentration of immigrants into their own groups resulted from their links to friends and relatives who followed. John and Leatrice McDonald have defined this movement as chain migration, one, "in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodations and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants."[14]

Thus, the formation of European immigrant neighborhoods occurred through a residential concentration based upon the occupational orientation of residences and the attendant development of ethnic support institutions.

The Chinese Experience

There are no studies which deal with the formation of a Chinatown as an ethnic area in the northern industrial city. The history of this group in America as well as a personal knowledge of the Chinese, however, suggest that neither the black nor the European immigrant experiences can explain Chinatown's evolution. Racism did not confine the Chinese to a specific area in the city, as it did with blacks. Violent and overt discrimination against Chinese was generally limited to the West and/or occurred prior to the appearance of substantial numbers of Chinese on the east coast.[15] Moreover, if Chinese were predominantly engaged in laundry work and lived in or near their laundries, which had a ubiquitous distribution, then the occupational orientation of residences, which clustered European immigrants would not have concentrated the Chinese, but rather dispersed them.

Chinatown is today not only a residential area, but also a focal point providing services and supplies to all the Chinese in the city and its environs. The residential function of Chinatown, which includes a substantial proportion of the Chinese population, is a recent development of the past fifteen years.[16] These facts suggest that Chinatown may have started as a service center. The underlying rationale is based on the relationship between the dispersed distribution of the Chinese, due to the preponderance of Chinese working and living in laundries, and their great cultural differences from the population at large.

The distinct Chinese cultural variation from the west favored an inclination of the Chinese to rely on their own goods, especially in their dietary habits. Since early Chinese had no intention of staying in America this reliance upon things Chinese was intensified by the lack of assimilation. This is confirmed by the overwhelming number of male Chinese, many with wives and family awaiting their return (see Table 1).[17] Due to their widespread distribution in laundries, Chinese would have been unable to reside together like most ethnic groups. The resulting solitary existence of Chinese without benefit of families increased the necessity to satisfy their social and cultural needs. It would seem the essence of the problem lies in institutional needs.

With respect to institutions, the black experience witnessed the development of institutions later in the formation of the ghetto; while in the case of European immigrants, it was evidently concurrent and in situ. The acculturation of immigrants in America was facilitated by the transitional influence of establishing familiar institutions from the motherland. Blacks, however, were not foreign born. The majority of this group had been born and raised in America. A duplication of white institutions had resulted after the white refusal to accept blacks as equals.

Hypothesis

If the majority of Chinese were engaged in laundry work and lived in or near their laundries, since laundries were generally ubiquitous, then the

TABLE 1

CHINESE POPULATION (1850-1890)

Year	Total	Male		Female	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1850	758	756	99	2	-
1860	35,565	33,781	95	1,784	5
1870	63,254	58,688	93	4,566	7
1880	105,465	100,686	96	4,779	4
1890	107,488	103,620	96	3,868	4

Source: U.S. Census Data; Dobie, Charles C., San Francisco's Chinatown, London, New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936, p. 32.

Chinese would have a dispersed distribution. This intensified the need of the Chinese for their own institutions. Attendant to the development of this dispersed Chinese distribution would be a nodal clustering of Chinese institutions in response to the socio-cultural needs of the widespread dispersion of Chinese.

Methodology

The formation of the Chinatown in New York city provides an opportunity to test this hypothesis. This Chinatown was chosen because it has traditionally been the largest one on the east coast and is located within a northern industrial city. The study period (1850-1890) begins when Chinese were first recognized and recorded as permanent residents of the city and ends when the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, the quintessence of Chinese institutions in New York city, was granted a state charter. Study beyond this point concerns itself with growth and development rather than the formational phase of New York's Chinatown.

Manuscripts for several federal and a state census of population provide the basic residential and occupational data. Supplementing this information are city and business directories, contemporary newspapers and periodicals, county incorporation records, and histories of New York city and the Chinese in America.

The essential problem of data has been one of survival. Unfortunately, an extensive search indicates that manuscripts for the New York State

Census of Population for 1865 and 1875 appear to no longer exist. No state census was taken for 1885, and only the published federal census for 1890 could be used, since its manuscripts were destroyed by fire. Special note should be made concerning the two enumerations for New York city during 1870. The first enumeration was used because of its evident accuracy since the second enumeration was made not for demographic but political reasons.[18]

Distributional patterns and occupational trends of the Chinese are derived from the census manuscripts. This involves the systematic and complete review of the manuscripts for name, sex, conjugal status, location, occupation, and country of birth. The main problem was that actual residences of individuals could not be located until 1880, for the earlier federal census did not list addresses and many Chinese were not recorded in city directories. In addition, maps did not exist for the locational criteria set forth by the manuscripts. Manuscripts for 1850, 1860, and 1870 gave the location of people by ward and the election district within each ward. The New York Board of Elections retained only descriptions of election districts from 1870 on. Therefore, boundary descriptions of election districts from newspapers were used. Business directories indicate the numbers of Chinese laundries and their locations. Cross reference of census manuscripts with business directories determined the relationship between the place of work and the place of residence. The institutional

attraction of Chinatown for the Chinese is disclosed by newspapers and various contemporary sources.

Footnotes - Chapter I

1. Ethnic area - In this study, an ethnic area refers to the territory occupied either predominantly or exclusively by an ethnic group, it may also be the area of highest concentration for the ethnic group. An ethnic area is sometimes referred to as an ethnic: enclave, colony, cluster, community, quarter, ghetto, and frequently, the area occupied by an ethnic group is denoted either by the prefix, "Little", or the suffix "town" to the country name of the ethnic group, e.g., Little Italy, Germantown.

2. Drake, St. Clair and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City, Vol. 1, New York and Evanston: Harper & Row, 1962, revised and enlarged edition, originally published in 1945, p. 176. Meir, August and Elliott Rudwick, From Plantation to Ghetto, New York: Hill & Wang, 1970, revised edition, originally published in 1966, p. 215. Rose, Harold M., Social Processes in the City: Race and Urban Residential Choice, Commission on College Geography, Resource Paper #6, Association of American Geographers, 1969, p. 7. Spear, Allan, H., Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto 1890-1920, Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1967, p. 11. Taeuber, Karl L. and Alma F. Taeuber, Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, Second printing 1966, originally published in 1965, p. 23.

3. Spear, Allan H., op. cit., p. 8. Weaver, Robert Clifton, The Negro Ghetto, New York: Russell & Russell, 1967, originally published in 1948, p. 29.

4. Frazier, E. Franklin, The Negro in the United States, revised edition, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957, originally published in 1949, p. 191. Groh, George W., The Black Migration: The Journey to Urban America, New York: Weybright & Talley, 1972, p. 50. Spear, Allan H., op. cit., p. 140.

5. Drake, St. Clair and Horace R. Cayton, op. cit., p. 178. Groh, George W., op. cit., p. 54. Meir, August and Elliott Rudwick, op. cit., p. 217.

6. Tenements made possible the provision of housing for poor blacks and immigrants living in the central part of the industrial city, where land values were highest. Realtors and owners sub-divided houses

and raised cheap structures in vacant lots, alleys, and rear yards. Profit was also maximized by reducing or foregoing the maintenance, services and repairs for these houses. Many tenants had to take in boarders in order to pay the rent. Osofsky, Gilbert, Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto, New York & Evanston: Harper & Row, 1968, originally published in 1963, p. 95. Ottley, Roi and William J. Weatherby (eds.) The Negro in New York: An Informal Social History, 1626-1940, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969, p. 236. Long, Herman H. and Charles S. Johnson, "The Role of Real Estate Organizations" in Bracy, John H., Jr., Meir, August., Rudwick, Elliott (eds.) The Rise of the Ghetto, Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1971, pp. 125-136.

7. Frazier, E. Franklin, op. cit., p. 257. Osofsky, Gilbert, op. cit., p. 10. Spear, Allan H., op. cit., p. 26.

8. Spear, Allan H., op. cit., p. 142.

9. Bracey, John H., August Meir, Elliott Rudwick (eds.) op. cit., p. 3.

10. Ward, David, "The Emergence of Central Immigrant Ghettoes in American Cities: 1840-1920," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 58 (1968), pp. 343-359.

11. Ward, David, Cities and Immigrants: A Geography of Change in Nineteenth-Century America, New York, London, Toronto: Oxford University Press, Second printing 1972, originally published in 1971, p. 108.

12. Ibid., p. 107.

13. Nelli, Humbert S., "The Italian Padrone System in the United States," Labor History, Vol. 5 (1964), pp. 153-169. Italians in Chicago 1880-1930: A Study in Ethnic Mobility, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 56. Saloutos, Theodore, The Greeks in the United States, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964, p. 48.

14. MacDonald, John S. and Leatrice D. MacDonald, "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. 42, (1964), pp. 82-97.

15. Hill, Herbert, "Anti-Oriental Agitation and the Rise of Working-Class Racism," in Transaction Social Science and Modern Society, Vol. 10, Number 2 (Jan./Feb. 1973), pp. 43-54. Wei Min She Labor Committee, Chinese Working People in America: A Pictorial History, San Francisco, Calif.: United Front Press, 1974, p. 23.

16. Chin, Rocky "New York Chinatown Today: Community in Crisis," in Tachiki, Amy (et al) (eds.) Roots: An Asian American Reader, UCLA Asian American Studies Center, California: 1971, pp. 282-295. Prial, Frank J., "Little Italy Grows Restive as Chinatown Grows," The New York Times, Friday, April 26, 1974, p. 33, col. 5. Wu, Robin "New York's Chinatown: An Overview," Bridge Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 1 July/August 1971, pp. 13-15.

17. The New York Times, December 17, 1870, p. 2, col. 1. A second enumeration usually implies a greater degree of accuracy than the first. This is not the case for the second enumeration taken for New York county (Manhattan) in December of 1870. The above cited newspaper explains why a review of the census manuscripts for the second enumeration indicates that it was done in a very expedious and summary fashion. In turn, this explains why the published census of population of 1870, Vol. 1, Table 2, p. 52 only records 12 Chinese. A count from the manuscripts of the first enumeration for 1870 reveal 87 Chinese. It is apparent that the first enumeration was done carefully. For these reasons, the figure of 87 will be used instead of 12.

CHAPTER II

MOVEMENT OF CHINESE TO AND WITHIN NORTH AMERICA

Introduction

The migration of Chinese to New York city occurred in two geographical movements: the migration of Chinese to California and their subsequent spread to the east coast. The geographical origin and objectives of this migration strongly influenced the emergence of Chinatown. The singularity of geographic origin was responsible for a transplanted system of social organization prevalent in most Chinese settlements throughout the United States. At the same time, the migrational objective was to earn money to bring back to China. This non-permanent nature of Chinese migration gave rise to a detached status, which characterized the almost all-male Chinese population in the United States. Moreover, it is this detached status that influenced the pattern of Chinese urban settlement in the east.

Geographic Origin: Kwangtung Province

Traditionally, overseas migrations originated from one part of China, the region formed by the provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien. Their orientation to the sea distinguished them as a major maritime district, and led to a dominant pattern of oceanic migration. Accordingly, when prompted and

attracted by significant events in the mid-nineteenth century, the region recurred as a major source of overseas migration; people from Fukien went to Latin America, while Chinese migrants to America came overwhelmingly from Kwangtung.

The locational and topographical features of the Kwangtung/Fukien region encouraged its maritime activities. Kwangtung is located on the southern coast of China, while Fukien comprises the southeast coast. This is a region generally marked by steep slopes, rocky terrain, and a small percentage of flat land. High population densities made farming quite intensive. Nautical activities were facilitated by numerous natural harbors along a lengthy coastline generously endowed with timber for shipbuilding. Under these favorable circumstances, the ports of both provinces acquired a reputation for maritime commerce and fishing.

The region occupied a strategic location at the nautical gateway between China and the rest of Asia. Since earliest antiquity, the physical geography of China has protected and enabled her to remain secluded from the rest of the world. Massive mountain ranges in the west, and nearly a thousand miles of desert in the north insured security and privacy on land; vast oceans in the east and to the south completed the sanctuary of China.[1] For centuries, these physical barriers minimized China's external relations. Western access to China was gained either by land, the arduous Imperial Silk Road in northern China or through the South China Sea to Kwangtung and its adjoining province Fukien (see Map 1).

Map I CHINA: SOUTH AND SOUTHEASTERN COASTAL PROVINCES

Source: Drawn by Author.

Of the two provinces, Kwangtung had definite advantages over Fukien in maritime endeavors and migrational matters. Kwangtung had the first and longest relationship with European nations. Such intercourse occurred through Kwangtung's great port of Canton which was the focal point of not only the province, but the entire region. Located 90 miles inland from the South China Sea, Canton lies at the confluence of three major rivers of the interior. Consequently, the port became one of the principal commercial centers of China and the largest city in southern China.

Foreign influence and trade made the people around Canton quite susceptible to overseas migration, a proneness reinforced by Canton's exclusive exposure to the West. Early contacts in the eighteenth century resulted in the closing of all Chinese ports to Westerners with the exception of Canton.[2] China sought to control western influence by restricting access to her borders. For nearly a century, only Canton maintained trade with the West under the administration and control of the Chinese merchant trade guild, known as the Cohong.[3]

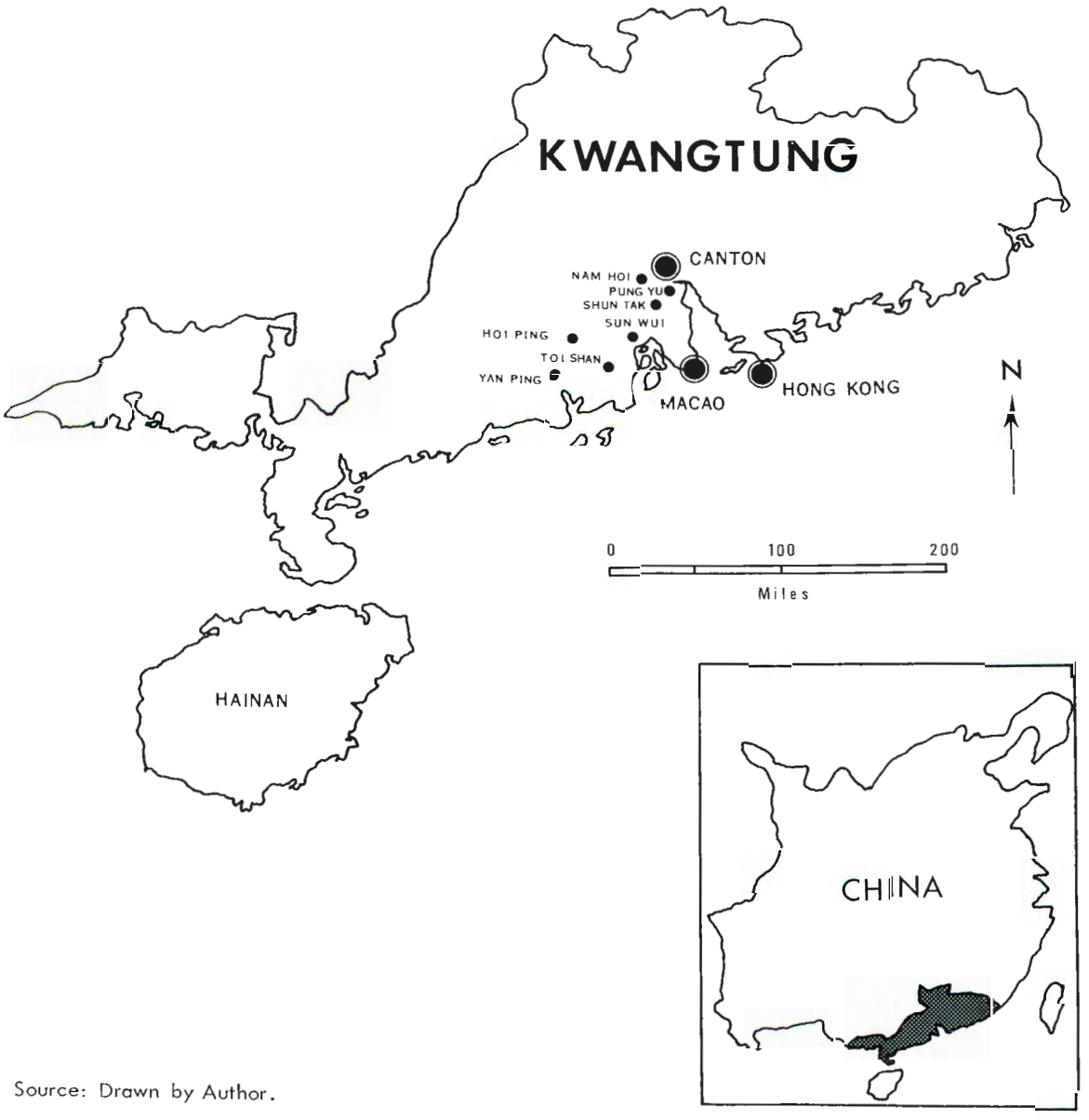
In the mid-nineteenth century, other ports developed in Kwangtung. When China lost the Opium War (1837-1842) to Great Britain, additional ports were opened to foreign trade. The provisions of the Treaty of Nanking (1842) ceded to the British the island of Hong Kong.[4] Later, in 1849, the Portuguese declared the independence of the port of Macao. The three international ports of Canton, Macao, and Hong Kong formed the

nucleus for overseas migration, foreign trade, and external influence. It was from the environs of this nucleus that the Chinese migration to America emanated.

Chinese migrants to America originated from only seven of Kwangtung's seventy-two districts.[5] These districts are located in the central part of the province around the port of Canton. The three districts of Shun Tak, Nam Hoi, and Pung Yu are collectively known as Sam Yup (Three Districts), and the four districts of Toishan, Hoi Ping, Yan Ping, and Sun Wui are jointly referred to as Sze Yup (Four Districts). However, it is rather remarkable that one district alone, Toishan, accounts for approximately half the total number of migrants from the seven districts (see Map 2).[6] In short, this means that half the Chinese in the United States originated from a place equivalent to the size of a county, the remaining half were from the surrounding counties.

Inextricably bound to geographical locality was the social organization of Kwangtung. Since the overwhelming majority of Chinese came from this province, the adaptive and modified social organization of Chinese in America strongly reflected that of Kwangtung. This commonality of geographical origin and its consequent similarities in social organization permitted the rapid consolidation and cohesive unity of Chinese settlements in America. An understanding of the social structure of the Chinese in America then begins with its foundations in the social organization of Kwangtung.

Map 2 KWANGTUNG PROVINCE



Source: Drawn by Author.

The social organization of Kwangtung can be expressed by its kin, territorial, and secret associations. Professor Stanford M. Lyman, eminent authority on Chinese-Americans, describes the importance of these associations.

> China at the time of emigration was a society organized into numerous kin, territorial, and secret associations. The limitations the Chinese government placed upon itself indirectly encouraged the establishment of these associations, especially in those cities and towns to which one time villagers had migrated. The associations regulated the social, commercial, and charitable aspects of community life. They formed the basis for craft and labor guilds, provided a common voice and defense, and represented their members in relations with government officials and other associations. Finally, the conflicts that divided the associations also isolated them from the larger aspects of Chinese society and from foreigners. In all these respects the social organization of China was transplanted overseas.[7]

Kin or clan associations are based on a monolineage organization of Chinese villages and hamlets. Generally, villages are inhabited by members of one clan. When a village is composed of more than one clan, distinct sections in the village appear. Depending on clan population, this would determine the size of whole village complexes. In this way, certain clans were associated with specific areas. In the overseas situation, clan associations may be organized by people of the same surname, territory, and dialect; or, it might include people of the same surname regardless of territory and dialect. An organization based on territory and attendant

dialect, without regard to surname is the territorial association.[8]

The territorial or speech association (hui kuan) is organized by the region of origin and its associated dialect. Kinship itself was insufficient to provide the social solidarity necessary in Chinese urban life. These territorial associations, representing various people of different clans from the same region speaking a similar dialect, fulfilled this need for mutual aid and benefit.[9] The broader base of the same region rather than smaller areas dominated by a clan offered a more substantial means for social organization. As Lyman observed:

> Language and place of origin proved more expedient for persons from smaller lineages since an hui kuan could combine the members of several clans into one powerful unit. Moreover, language-based groups were a natural formation because the spoken dialects of Chinese divided the Chinese from one another and encouraged the formation of separate speech communities. Place of origin and language tended to coalesce so that speech and territorial associations were usually, at least at the time of their first establishment, coterminous. Language and place of origin took on ecological significance in the organization of the Chinese city so that it came to resemble an assemblage of 'Chinatowns', each representative of the local district and native language of its inhabitants.[10]

In addition to clan and territorial associations, secret societies also originated in China. There are several notions as to why secret societies emerged. According to Maurice Freedman, secret societies formed because of inter-lineage feuds or from unified hostility against state or local officials by persons of different clans, places of origin, and

linguistic ties.[11] Lyman's view, on a large scale, includes the feuds and struggles between landlord and tenant, rich and poor, intruding outsiders, and finally, those rebels opposed to the constraints dictated by clan or territorial associations. Furthermore, he considers secret societies as an extra-kin organization which recruited the less desirable elements of the society, such as criminals and outcasts. Because of the vast and diverse nature in membership background, secret societies were formed on a bond of brotherhood to a common cause.[12] This required a renunciation of family, friends, and foes. Not surprising is that much of the vice (gambling, robbery, and prostitution) came under the control of secret societies.[13]

Chinese migrants enculturated under this traditional system of social organization inherently duplicated one or all forms of Chinese associations in an alien country. These associations provided the means for nearly all the socio-cultural affiliations of overseas Chinese. Consequently, the unique singularity of geographical origin in Kwangtung province insured the rapid replication and reliance on such organizations by the Chinese in America.

The Objective of Migration

The initial movement of substantial numbers of Chinese to the United States during the mid-nineteenth century, was not an immigration in the true sense of the word. More accurately, it was a labor migration. The

distinction is one of intent. Immigration usually refers to the movement of people for the purpose of changing permanent residence, and implies that families move together or soon follow to join those who had migrated earlier. Unlike many immigrants, the Chinese had no desire to make their move permanent.[14] Young Chinese men seeking economic relief came without wives or families (supporting them with financial remittances) and fully intended to return home upon earning and saving a sufficient amount of money which would enable them to live comfortably in China. The basis of this labor migration rests on periodic economic stress in China. During adverse times, overseas migration was predominantly from the Kwangtung/Fukien region. The foundation of this migrational propensity begins with the causes that induced migration from China.

The primary cause directly responsible for the Chinese migration to the United States has been attributed to the Taiping Rebellion (1848-1865). It should be noted that this uprising was the culmination of a number of forces which by themselves could have promoted, especially in southern China, the initial movement of the peasantry to the coast and then overseas. But, it was the immediate and dramatic effects of war that tended to define sharply and hasten the process.

As the mid-nineteenth century approached, conditions in China were conducive to rebellion. The domestic tranquility of the eighteenth century, along with an increased food supply through the cultivation of more land and the use of new crops, especially earlier-ripening varieties of rice from

southeast Asia, helped to create a rapid growth in population.[15] By the late 1840's, however, the demographic situation reflected the Malthusian principle: food supply lagged behind population increase.

In addition to population pressure and the ever present threat of famine was the burden of taxation. After the loss of the Opium War, the Manchu regime imposed heavy taxation on the people in order to pay the massive war indemnity to Great Britain.[16] Compounding these problems was a growing ineffectiveness of the government; and under the pressure of mounting problems and self-seeking officials, administrative control rapidly deteriorated.[17] As administrative control decreased, disorders increased. Banditry, riots, and minor outbreaks became prevalent.

Discontent and disorder became most widespread in the southern provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. John Fairbank, noted Sinologist, provided this explanation for these outbreaks.

> Imperial control of this region was diminished by two factors - first, it was the part of China conquered last and least dominated by the Ch'ing dynasty, farthest from Peking and garrisoned by Manchu bannermen only at Canton. Second, it included the Canton region, which had been longest subjected to the disturbing influences of foreign trade and Western contact, culminating in the opium traffic and war with Britain.[18]

In 1843, the Taiping Rebellion erupted in Kwangsi, the province adjoining Kwangtung. Under the leadership of Hung Hsiu Chuan, a native of Kwangtung, chaos spread throughout central and southern China. Within

Kwangtung alone, seventy-five thousand people were executed during the summer of 1855.[19] Aside from the numbers killed in this almost successful rebellion, the devastation of homes, crops, and irrigation works with the resulting ruin, poverty, and famine accounted for an enormous cost in life. Trafically, these effects of the Taiping Rebellion became worse than the conditions that produced it, and gave rise to migration from southern China. The impelling effects of this internal strife, commencing in 1848, lasted seventeen years.

Contemporaneous with the Taiping Rebellion and lasting for the same period of time, a number of external forces drew migrants from southern China. Initially, the majority of Chinese attracted to America came for gold, which was discovered in California during 1848. Under the conditions of the gold rush, the scarcity of labor in California's frontier communities became quite acute. Chinese began to journey to California in response to this tremendous demand for labor. The more reliable opportunities for labor soon replaced the precarious nature of gold mining. In this manner, the Chinese hoped to achieve their basic economic objectives.[20]

Oceanic transportation companies also promoted the Chinese migration to California. Their ships carried the news of gold and circulated literature and information expounding the opportunities of California.[21] In addition to transporting passengers, these companies furnished necessary supplies from Honolulu and Hong Kong because they could be obtained quicker from these places than the east coast of the United States. Many ships came to

the treaty ports of the Opium War, especially those of southern China. Even prior to the first treaty between America and China (1844), commercial intercourse existed between the two countries.[22] The treaty, however, established trade and movement on a formal and regular basis. Thus, commercial contacts, which were well formed by 1848, greatly facilitated the Chinese migration.

Equally important as a system of physical transport were the financial means and arrangements which enabled poor Chinese migrants to venture to America. A credit-ticket system formed the basic means by which most early Chinese migrated to California. The passage fare advanced on credit was to be repaid to the credit-broker after the migrant arrived and secured work. Subsequent confusion of the credit-ticket arrangement with the contract or indentured labor system was expediently employed to the detriment of Chinese during the anti-Chinese movement in America. The contract or indentured labor system, also referred to as the "coolie trade", was characterized as a form of human slavery. The signed contract was based on a long length of servitude at very low wages. Coolies had no choice as to who they could work for and the contract was available to the highest bidder. The majority of Chinese in America, however, came by way of the ticket-credit system.[23] During the three decades of unrestricted Chinese migration to America prior to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, over 300,000 Chinese arrived in California through the port of San Francisco.[24]

Regardless of the means and arrangements by which Chinese journeyed to America, they came to satisfy their migrational objective of accumulating earnings and returning to China. For this reason, Chinese men came without wives or families, the roots of assimilation. In the absence of the intent for acculturating permanently, what the Chinese needed was an existence that permitted them to earn money, while maintaining their cultural identity and social order. Any changes that did occur were directed at furthering their goal of returning home with money. The significance of this migrational objective was the reliance of migrants on Chinese service and social institutions during their sojourn in America.

Migration to the East Coast

The trans-continental movement of Chinese started from a concentration in California, advanced through a Rocky Mountain dispersion, and resulted in eastern contact. A California concentration occurred because of the initial entry and activity of Chinese in the goldfields. The migration from California to the east coast began directly with a locational shift in mining activity and indirectly by the Chinese move into urban occupations in the West. Frequent anti-Chinese behavior associated with urban occupational competition between Chinese and Whites prompted the movement of Chinese to the east coast, primarily through the linkage previously established by eastern entrepreneurs seeking a labor source for their

enterprises.

Chinese migrants arrived principally at San Francisco, the major entrepot of the California goldfields. The first Chinese in San Francisco were merchants, who came prior to the discovery of gold to carry on the China trade. With the city's rapid expansion during the gold rush, these merchants began operating wholesale and retail stores for both Chinese migrants and the general public.[25] The majority of Chinese lived and worked in the goldfields, although they were small in number and scattered throughout the mining camps. The scattered pattern of Chinese in the goldfields began to change in 1951. In that year, Kong Chow, the first mutual aid and benevolent association, was organized.[26] It was a territorial association for the entire geographical region of Kwangtung, from which the majority of Chinese migrated. Besides furnishing food, shelter, and tools for the newly arrived Chinese, this organization coordinated transportation to and arranged for work in the mines. Such negotiations had a consolidating effect on Chinese settlement within the goldfields. Concentration was also promoted by the propensity of Chinese from particular districts in Kwangtung to live and work together in California. Such similar geographical origins in Kwangtung usually designated kinship. Chinese also came together as workers for Chinese mining companies or as joint cooperative ventures.[27]

The dimensions of this pattern of concentration at the goldfields increased. In 1851, there were approximately 2,700 Chinese in California;

at the end of 1852, there were over 21,000 Chinese in the state. By 1860, 98 per cent of all Chinese in America were residing in California, the majority engaged as miners (see Table 2).[28] As the number of migrants increased, Chinese continued to concentrate into their own camps, which heightened their visibility to white miners. According to Stephen Williams:

> The Chinese worked in the mines, and those who worked in groups of three or four, attracted comparatively little attention from white miners. On the other hand, the many Chinese companies of miners, varying in size from fifty to five hundred men, were the object of continual attention from the miners and the mining communities.[29]

Such visibility resulted in anti-Chinese sentiment and created the general basis for this hostility. The adverse attitude towards Chinese that pervaded the United States prior to their arrival was a consequence of decades of unfavorable reports on the Chinese by American traders, diplomats, and missionaries.[30] Moreover, anti-Chinese activity was firmly rooted in California's history of racial friction. Although initially a minority, the number of whites rapidly multiplied, and they eventually succeeded in suppressing the Spaniards, Mexicans, and Indians. Elmer Sandmeyer pointed out another important aspect of this prejudice:

> When gold was discovered prospectors came from every part of the world. An unusually large number came from the Latin American countries, from northern Mexico to Chile. Opposition to these groups developed because previous experience made them superior producers, because of racial

TABLE 2

CHINESE POPULATION

Year	San Francisco		California		United States
	Number	Percent of State	Number	Percent of Country	
1860	2,719	8%	34,935	98%	35,565
1870	12,030	24%	49,310	78%	63,254
1880	21,745	29%	75,132	71%	105,465
1890	25,833	36%	72,472	67%	107,438
1900	13,954	30%	45,753	58%	89,863

Source: Compiled by Henry Tom from: Lyman, Stanford M., "Strangers in the City," Tachiki, Amy, et al (eds.), Roots, The Regents of the University of California, 1971, p. 166; Various Censuses of Population.

> prejudice, and because they carried a large portion of their earnings out of the country.[31]

In deed and in law, whites working in the goldfields viciously abused the Chinese. Violent uprisings, including murder, expelled them from the mining camps. Few whites were ever brought to justice.[32] Discriminatory legislation accompanied this physical persecution. The most infamous law, California's Foreign Miner's Tax, was employed to dismiss Chinese from the mines. First enacted in 1850, it was adopted and translated into the Chinese language in 1853. Foreign miners had to pay for the privileges of mining. Significantly, the Chinese paid half the tax collected in the first four years and 98 per cent of the revenues for the remaining sixteen years of its enforcement.[33]

Anti-Chinese agitation induced many Chinese to leave the mines, although some elected to stay. Those that remained re-worked abandoned or poor diggings, while others engaged in washing, cooking and storekeeping in and around the camps. Later, when mining corporations were formed, many Chinese returned to the mines as laborers for these large companies.[34]

During the decade of the 1860's Chinese began a gradual movement from the original California nucleus to the neighboring Rocky Mountain states. Various strikes in Idaho, Montana, Oregon, and even British Columbia attracted the Chinese. The building of the trans-continental railroad was another impetus, with over 10,000 Chinese engaged as laborers between 1865 and 1869.[35] As a result, the number of Chinese in the far western

states markedly rose, while California's proportion of the total Chinese population declined to 78 per cent (see Table 2). Significantly, this dispersion extended the range of the Chinese toward the larger cities of the east (see Table 3).

Simultaneous with their dispersion from California, the percentage of Chinese living in cities increased from 8 percent to 29 percent (see Table 4). This urbanizing trend resulted from a diversification of Chinese occupations into urban manufacturing and services, particularly in San Francisco. In the 1860's, manufacturing flourished in San Francisco because of a shortage of goods during the Civil War, the difficulty of transport from the east, and high maritime insurance rates.[36] The tremendous demand for cheap unskilled labor in manufacturing tasks was fulfilled by the Chinese. As B. Schrieke pointed out:

> Driven from the mines, the Chinese found employment as common labourers; as domestics; in the manufacture of cigars, boots, shoes, woolen goods, clothing, bags, oakum, soap and candles. They worked as storekeepers, hotel-keepers, laundrymen, carpenters, cabinet-makers, upholsterers, carvers, restaurant cooks, and so on. They were to be found in lumber, paper, and powder mills, in tanneries, rope-walks, lead-works and tin shops. There was scarcely a trade in which they did not engage.[37]

During the early 1850's, many Chinese had found work as laborers instead of mining. A general scarcity of women on the frontier and the refusal of whites to do "women's work" allowed the Chinese to find jobs

TABLE 3

CHINESE POPULATION BY REGIONS AND SELECTED STATES
(1850-1890)

	1850		1860		1870		1880		1890	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
United States	758	100	35,565	100	63,254	100	105,465	100	107,488	100
California	660	87	34,935	98	49,310	78	75,132	71	72,472	67
Regions:										
West	662	87	35,361	99	62,419	99	101,601	96	98,326	91
North Central	5	1	15	-	10	-	813	1	2,351	2
South	42	6	43	-	667	1	1,450	1	703	-
Northeast	49	6	146	-	158	-	1,601	2	6,108	6
New York	34	4	77	-	29	-	909	1	2,935	3

Source: Various Censuses of Population

TABLE 4

URBAN POPULATION GROWTH

Year	Chinese Population	Chinese Urban Population	Percent Chinese Urban Population	Percent U.S. Urban Population	
1860	35,565	2,719		20	
1870	63,254	18,068	29	26	
1880	105,465	35,794	34	28	
1890	107,488	67,503	63	35	
1900	89,863	65,092	72	40	
1910	71,531	54,331	76	46	
1920	61,639	50,008	81	51	
1930	74,954	65,778	88	56	
1940	77,504	70,226	91	57	
1950	117,629	109,434	93	64	
1960	198,958	190,870	96	70	*
1970	382,795	369,729	97	74	*

*Includes Alaska and Hawaii, all other figures refer to contiguous United States.

Note: Prior to 1950, a number of large densely settled places were not included as urban because they were not incorporated.

Source: Compiled by Henry Tom from: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States 1971, p. 17, G.P.O., Washington, D.C. 1971; Ward, David, Cities and Immigrants, New York: Oxford University Press, p. 6; Various Censuses of Population.

of washing and cooking. A few Chinese had realized the potential opportunities for labor and stayed in San Francisco to establish themselves in such work. It has been estimated by by 1852 there were approximately 3,000 Chinese in San Francisco working as laundrymen, cooks, grocers, and butchers.[38] In 1866, half the owners of cigar factories were Chinese.[39] By 1870, one out of every four Chinese in California lived in San Francisco (see Table 2). Sixty-four percent of all laundrymen and woolen workers, and 92 percent of all cigar makers were Chinese.[40] This predominance of Chinese labor resulted in shifting the anti-Chinese agitation from the gold-fields to the labor markets associated with urban manufacturing and services in San Francisco.

A predominance of Chinese labor in San Francisco's manufacturing sector revived anti-Chinese behavior. Inflamed by the sand-lot oratory of Denis Kearney, the zenith of this action occurred in the west during the 1870's. In the early part of this decade, the general depression in the United States and financial collapse of many western agricultural and mining interests generated labor problems. The trans-continental railroad permitted the west to be flooded by eastern goods and workers. Completion of this major overland link had also released a huge labor force. At a time when work was scarce, Chinese labor thrived and soon suffered the consequences. Harsh treatment and violence forced the Chinese to look east.

With the exception of seamen engaged in the China trade, relatively few Chinese lived in or ever had any exposure to the east coast prior to

1870 (see Table 3). The conspicuous absence of Chinese in the east resulted from the inertia of the west as the initial region of Chinese work and settlement, the deficiency of overland transport links between the east and the west coast, Chinese unfamiliarity with the east, and the lack of demand for Chinese labor.

Recognizing the Chinese labor potential, a few eastern employers began importing Chinese laborers in 1870. Calvin T. Sampson contracted the first group from San Francisco to work in his shoe factory at North Adams, Massachusetts in June.[41] Strikes by the Knights of St. Crispin forced Sampson to seek an alternate labor source. After unsuccessful attempts to recruit white labor, Sampson resorted to the Chinese. Seventy-five Chinese laborers came to North Adams via the recently completed trans-continental railroad. The apparent success of the North Adams experiment demonstrated that it was feasible and profitable to employ Chinese. Three months later, Captain James B. Hervey, following the precedent and advice of Sampson, introduced a gang of Chinese laborers into his laundry at Belleville, New Jersey.[42] These favorable outcomes further influenced the appearance of Chinese at Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania two years later. Here, Chinese laborers worked in the Beaver Falls Cutlery Company.[43]

Some white workingmen interpreted the presence of Chinese laborers in the east as an economic threat.[44] Chinese labor was not cheap; for example, both Sampson and Hervey made original investments of $10,000

each for contracting and transporting their group of Chinese workers.[45] Such sizeable initial expenditures apparently discouraged the widespread importation of Chinese labor. Moreover, the depression of 1873 provided employers with an abundant surplus of white labor.[46]

Significantly, Chinese labor gangs in the east did not work in large cities. Aware of the possible danger from very large populations of white workers, the Chinese contracting company refused to send any group of Chinese laborers to large eastern cities.[47] Furthermore, Chinese laborers would not venture east unless in a group that had protection. Also, many Chinese did not want to leave the familiar life in the west for the unknown east. Correspondence and returning Chinese laborers from the east must have relieved this uncertainty because by 1880 the increase of Chinese in the east was dramatic (see Table 3).[48] It was during the 1870s that anti-Chinese feelings ran high in the west, which undoubtedly gave further impetus for a Chinese movement to the east. Although the eastern view towards Chinese changed from sympathy to resentment, it was prejudicial rather than discriminatory. Initial contact between Chinese and the easterners was path-finding, paving the way for a more substantial influx of Chinese from California, which helped to inspire Chinatowns in the east.

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CHAPTER III

THE FORMATION OF CHINATOWN, NEW YORK CITY

Introduction

The emergence of Chinatown may be viewed as a geographic response to successive changes in the composition of the Chinese population within New York city. Undoubtedly, the crucial change occurred with the rapid influx of substantial numbers of Chinese from California, however, prior to the arrival of Chinese from California, a Chinese population already existed in New York. Although relatively small in number and occupationally different, the settlement pattern of this initial group of Chinese was instrumental in the evolution of Chinatown. Such changes in the occupations and number of Chinese functionally divide the evolution of Chinatown into two stages. The pre-formational stage, defined by a residential dispersion and convergence of the initial Chinese population, determined indirectly, the location of Chinatown. The subsequent establishment of Chinatown occurred through the institutional concentration of Chinese businesses and services in the formational stage.

Pre-formational Stage (1850-1875)

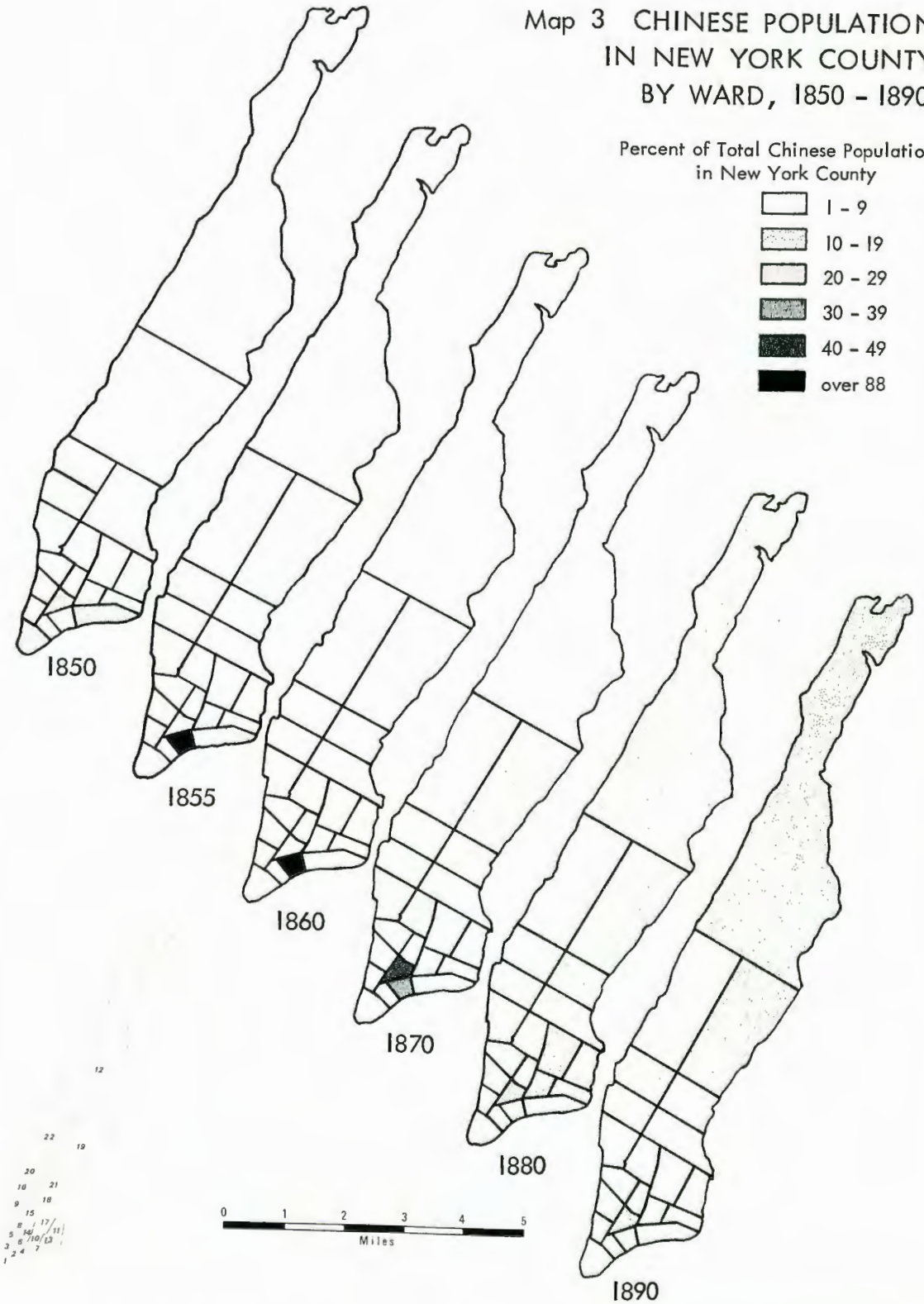
During the first half of the nineteenth century, intermittent visitations characterized the early contacts of Chinese with New York city. The first known Chinese visitor to New York was Pung-hua Wing Chong, later known

as John Jacob Astor's "mandarin".[1] In 1807, an embargo on American foreign shipping had been established. Astor, a New York merchant, overcame the restriction by gaining presidential permission on grounds of international comity for returning a stranded, but very prominent mandarin home to China. Actually, this mandarin - Pung-hua Wing Chong - was quite an ordinary man, but there was nothing ordinary about the profit of $200,000, made by this voyage.[2]

Other Chinese visitors to New York city have been noted. In 1809, a Chinese equestrian was employed as a stage performer; nine years later, Wong Arce of Canton came to work for a merchant.[3] One notion of China-town's origin involved the burning of the Chinese junk, Ki-Ying, anchored in New York harbor during 1840.[4] Supposedly, the Chinese seamen and a dog jumped from the ship and swam to shore. This seems hardly the case. The Ki-Ying did not stop in New York until September, 1847 and no fire was reported. It continued on to Providence, Rhode Island in November and finally reached London in March of 1848.[5] Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, occasional visits exemplified the transient nature of Chinese contact with New York city.

The federal census first recorded the presence of Chinese at New York in 1850. It indicated the residence of 20 Chinese in six wards at the southern portion of Manhattan island (see Map 3). Judging by ward location, the Chinese distribution was oriented towards the dock areas. This orientation seems reasonable since all the Chinese men were mariners. The number

Map 3 CHINESE POPULATION IN NEW YORK COUNTY BY WARD, 1850 - 1890



Note: After 1850, Ward 16 was divided into Wards 16 and 20; Ward 18 into Wards 18 and 21; Ward 19 into Wards 19 and 22.

Source: U.S. Federal Population Census Schedules (1850, 1860, 1870, 1880)
New York State Census Schedules: 1855
U.S. Federal Population Census: 1890

of Chinese living in each dwelling and the spatial arrangement of these houses by their order of visitation during the census indicated no definite focal point of concentration (see Table 5).

The China trade accounts for the presence of these Chinese inhabitants in 1850. After the Revolutionary War, the colonial system in which New York and other ports operated successfully, was disrupted. Due to the American victory, Yankee vessels were barred from trade in the British West Indies. A proposed substitute was trade with China. On February 22, 1784, the Empress of China left New York for the Orient.[6] Sailing east around the Cape of Good Hope and through the China Sea, she reached Macao on August 23, 1874.[7] Her return to New York yielded a profit of $30,000 and thereby initiated the China trade.[8] Although by the beginning of the nineteenth century other ports equalled New York's volume of China trade, New York remained the leader since the vessels from the other ports would dispose of their China cargoes in New York for the higher prices.[9] Ships engaged in trade with China occasionally employed Chinese seamen. At times, some of the Chinese seamen would live in New York. These itinerant settlers would reside in small groups generally dispersed along and behind the great waterfront strip on South street.[10] It was the main artery of Manhattan's waterfront and ran parallel along the water's edge from the Battery at the very tip of lower Manhatten up to Walnut street, and traversed wards one, two, four, and seven.

TABLE 5

1850 CENSUS DATA FOR CHINESE IN NEW YORK CITY

Chinese	Occupation	Ward	Number	Percent	Ward	House Number in order of visitation	Number
19 (male)	Seamen	1	5	25	1	381	3
1 (female)	Housewife	2	1	5	1	403	2
20 Total		4	2	10	2	135	1
		5	2	10	4	515	2
		6	4	20	5	730	2
		7	6	30	6	187	4
			20	100	7	1,074	6
							20

Source: 1850 Census of Population Schedules

By 1855, the Chinese resident population increased to 33. The 6 ward distribution of Chinese at the lower end of Manhattan in 1850 was reduced to just three wards (see Map 3). The orientation of distribution still appears to be towards the waterfront. Although Chinese remain principally mariners, a diversification in occupations is evident from the appearance of cigar makers and peddlers, and boardinghouse keepers (see Table 6).

A convergence in residential pattern is explained by the presence of three Chinese boardinghouses. They are all located in one ward and housed over 60 percent of the total Chinese population. Although such places primarily served Chinese seamen, they also boarded Chinese cigar makers and peddlers. Chinese boarding-houses provided the Chinese with the cultural amenities of newspapers, periodicals, books, groceries and other goods.[11] Acting as focal points, these boarding-houses attracted Chinese to ward four, which contained 88 percent of the total number of Chinese in the city (see Table 6). Underlying this trend of convergence through the attraction of the boarding-house is the premise that a basic desire for people of the same culture living in a foreign country to associate with one another. In addition to the advantages of food and language, mutual aid and understanding for their particular customs, needs, and problems were also important in congregating people of the same culture.

The occupational structure of the Chinese at this time was also conducive to a convergence in residential location. To the Chinese seamen, the semi-permanent residence at a Chinese boarding-house near the docks,

TABLE 6

1855 CENSUS DATA FOR CHINESE IN NEW YORK CITY

Chinese	Occupation	Ward	Ward Total	Percent of Total Chinese Population	Ward	Election District	E.D. Total	Percent of Total Chinese Population	Ward	Election District	House No. in order of Visitation	House Total
16	Seamen	3	3	9	3	4	3	9.5	3	4	301	3
9	Peddlers	4	29	88	4	1	5	15.0	4	1	80	5
3	Cigarmakers	7	1	3	4	2	11	33.0	4	2	50	11 (BH
			33	100								
3	Boardinghouse keepers				4	3	10	30.0	4	3	109	1
1	Tea Store				4	5	3	9.5	4	3	202	3 (BH
1	Clerk				7	5	1		4	3	222	6 (BH
							33	100.00	4	5	22	2
									4	5	70	1
									7	5	69	1
												33

33 Total (All male)

*BH = Chinese Boardinghouse

Source: 1855 New York State Census of Population Schedules

suited his profession. A Chinese tea store employing a Chinese clerk seems quite appropriate with New York's prominence in the China trade. The presence of Chinese cigar makers and peddlers, (who sold the cigars made by their countrymen) however, is not so obvious.[12] Together they had a common experience, that is, they left China as coolies and were shipped to Cuba and Peru.[13] Somehow, they managed to escape or survive the inhuman servitude of the coolie trade that began in 1847.[14] The appearance of Chinese cigar makers in New York initially resulted from the extensive and steady stream of shipping between New York and Havana, Cuba.[15] It is probably here that these Chinese learned how to roll cigars, since tobacco and cigars were an economic mainstay of the island. Chinese cigar peddlers, originally coolies on the Chincha Islands off the coast of Peru, had to make their way across the Isthmus of Panama to the shipping lanes of Cuba in order to reach New York. Because of the direction in shipping routes, it seems unlikely that Chinese cigar makers and peddlers, or even seamen in New York initially migrated from California. Prior to the California gold rush, the traditional route to and from China was made around the Cape of Good Hope. Even after the discovery of gold, the ships that circled Cape Horn and stopped in California on the way to China returned from China by way of the Cape of Good Hope.[16] Also, Chinese were not prominent in cigar making on the west coast until the early 1870's.[17] Cigar making as a home industry enabled those Chinese involved to live at a Chinese boarding-house, which in turn was close to the waterfront and

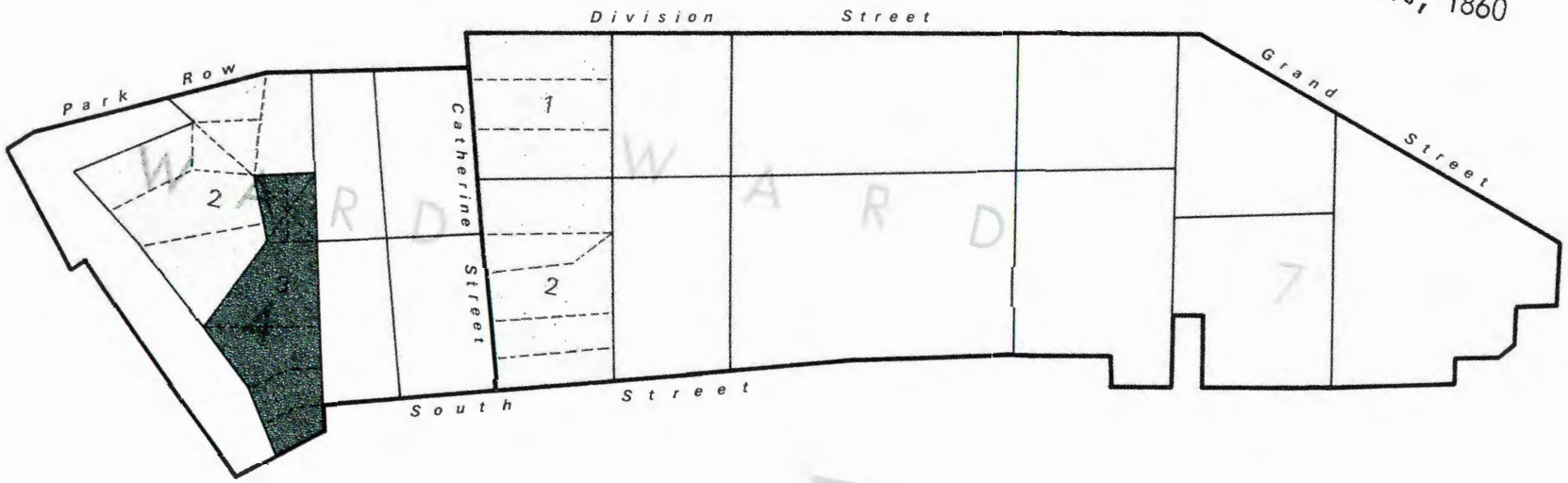
warehouses of tobacco from Cuba.

The degree of residential convergence continued in 1860. The 3 ward distribution of Chinese for 1855 has been reduced to just wards four and seven, with ward four accounting for 92 percent of the total Chinese population of 38 (see Map 3 and Table 7). Within ward four, the Chinese population is found in only two election districts. The second election district has 34 percent, while the third election district contains 58 percent. (see Map 4, Table 7). Within the second election district, house number 47 in order of visitation during the census is a Chinese boarding-house with other Chinese residences being at houses 45, 50, 52, 53, and 59 in order of house visitation (see Table 7). This sequence suggests the Chinese boarding-house to be the nucleus of a Chinese residential cluster. A somewhat similar clustered pattern is repeated in the third election district. In short, ward four contains almost all the Chinese in the city and has two Chinese residential clusters, each one focused upon a Chinese boarding-house.

The waterfront is still the important locational force. This is confirmed by the two principal clusters of Chinese close to South street and the fact that 31 of the total 38 Chinese in New York were seamen. In addition to them, there are two Chinese boarding-house keepers, one cigar maker, and four Chinese with no occupations (see Table 7).

By 1870, the distributional pattern for the total Chinese population of 87 revealed that movement had occurred in a northwesterly direction. Ward four, previously containing 92 percent of the total number of Chinese in 1860,

Map 4 CHINESE POPULATION IN NEW YORK COUNTY BY ELECTION DISTRICTS, 1860



Ward Boundary
Election District Boundary
Streets
2 Election District

Percent of Total Chinese Population in New York County
1 - 10
11 - 20
21 - 30
31 - 40
41 - 50
51 - 60

Source: Federal Population Census Schedules: 1860

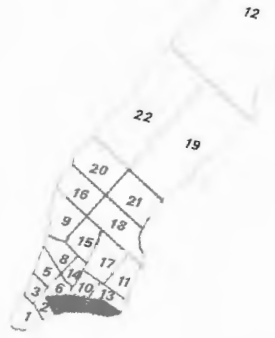


TABLE 7

1860 CENSUS DATA FOR CHINESE IN NEW YORK CITY

Chinese	Occupation	Ward	Ward Total	Percent of Total Chinese Population	Ward	Election District	E.D. Total	Percent of Total Chinese Population	Ward	Election District	House No. in order of Visitation	House Total
31	Seamen	4	35	92	4	2	13	34	4	2	45	1
4	None	7	3	8	4	3	22	58	4	2	47	5 (BH)
2	Boardinghouse keepers				7	1	2	5	4	2	50	4
1	Cigarmaker				7	2	1	3	4	2	52	1
			38	100			38	100	4	2	53	1
38 Total (all male)									4	2	59	1
									4	2	70	17 (BH)
									4	3	77	1
									4	3	114	1
									4	3	298	3
									7	1	38	2
									7	2	8	1
												38

* BH = Chinese Boardinghouse

Source: 1860 Census of Population Schedules

retained only 31 percent. The adjacent ward six contained 44 percent of the total. The remaining 25 percent of the Chinese were distributed among several wards north of ward six (see Maps 3 and 5, Table 8). In ward four, the cluster of 19 Chinese in the fifth election district reflected the earlier pattern, since it was the same area as in 1860 (see Table 8). Within ward six, a Chinese boarding-house housed 20 Chinese. The location of 18 other Chinese in its immediate vicinity again points to the nodal attraction of the Chinese boarding-house (see Table 8). As in 1860, seamen predominated in these clusters, along with the re-appearance of cigar makers and peddlers.

Unlike earlier years, a proportion of the Chinese resided outside the main clusters, apparently because of differences in occupations. A group of domestic servants, waiters, and a cook lived throughout the six wards north of ward six, where people could afford to pay for such services. Presumably, as indicated by a location apart from the main body of Chinese in the city, a handful of Chinese (doctor, druggist, female housekeeper, two men) in ward fifteen were also serving a higher class clientele.

According to the 1870 population census manuscripts, Chinese did not occupy the present location of Chinatown within ward six. Chinese were residing, however, in the adjacent area (fifth election district of the sixth ward, see Map 5). Although these manuscripts did not list addresses, they recorded the presence of a single Chinese boarding-house in this fifth election district of the sixth ward. During the previous year, a newspaper

TABLE 8

1870 CENSUS DATA FOR CHINESE IN NEW YORK CITY

Chinese	Occupation	Ward	Ward Total	Percent of Total Chinese Population	Ward	Election District	E.D. Total	Percent of Total Chinese Population	Ward	Election District	House No. in order of Visitation	House Total
76	Cigarmakers	4	27	31	4	4	1	1	4	4	92	1
17	Seamen	6	38	44	4	5	19	22	4	5	12	7
0	Servants	14	2	2	4	6	6	7	4	5	14	8
4	Candy peddlers	15	6	7	4	7	1	1	4	5	15	4
8	Cigar peddlers	17	2	2	6	5	38	44	4	6	65	1
2	Waiters	19	4	5	14	6	2	2	4	6	66	1
2	None	20	5	6	15	6	6	7	4	6	70	3
1	Housekeeper	21	3	3	17	11	2	2	4	6	215	1
			87	100								
1	Druggist				19	6	1	1	4	7	121	1
1	Doctor				19	7	2	2	6	5	12	1
1	Hotel Cook				19	20	1	1	6	5	13	2
1	Clerk				20	11	1	1	6	5	14	5

TABLE 8 (CONT'D)

1870 CENSUS DATA FOR CHINESE IN NEW YORK CITY

Chinese	Occupation	Ward	Percent of Ward Total	Total Chinese Population	Ward	Election District	E.D. Total	Percent of Total Chinese Population	Ward	Election District	House No. in order of Visitation	House Total
1	Laborer				20	12	1	1	6	5	42	1
1	Fruit Dealer				20	13	3	4	6	5	47	3
					21	17	1	1	6	5	50	3
					21	19	1	1	6	5	53	20 (BH)
							87	99	6	5	60	1
									6	5	168	2
									14	6	135	2
									15	6	159	6
									17	11	55	2
									19	6	173	1
									19	7	60	1
									19	7	124	1
87	Total (85 males, 2 females)											

TABLE 8 (CONT'D)

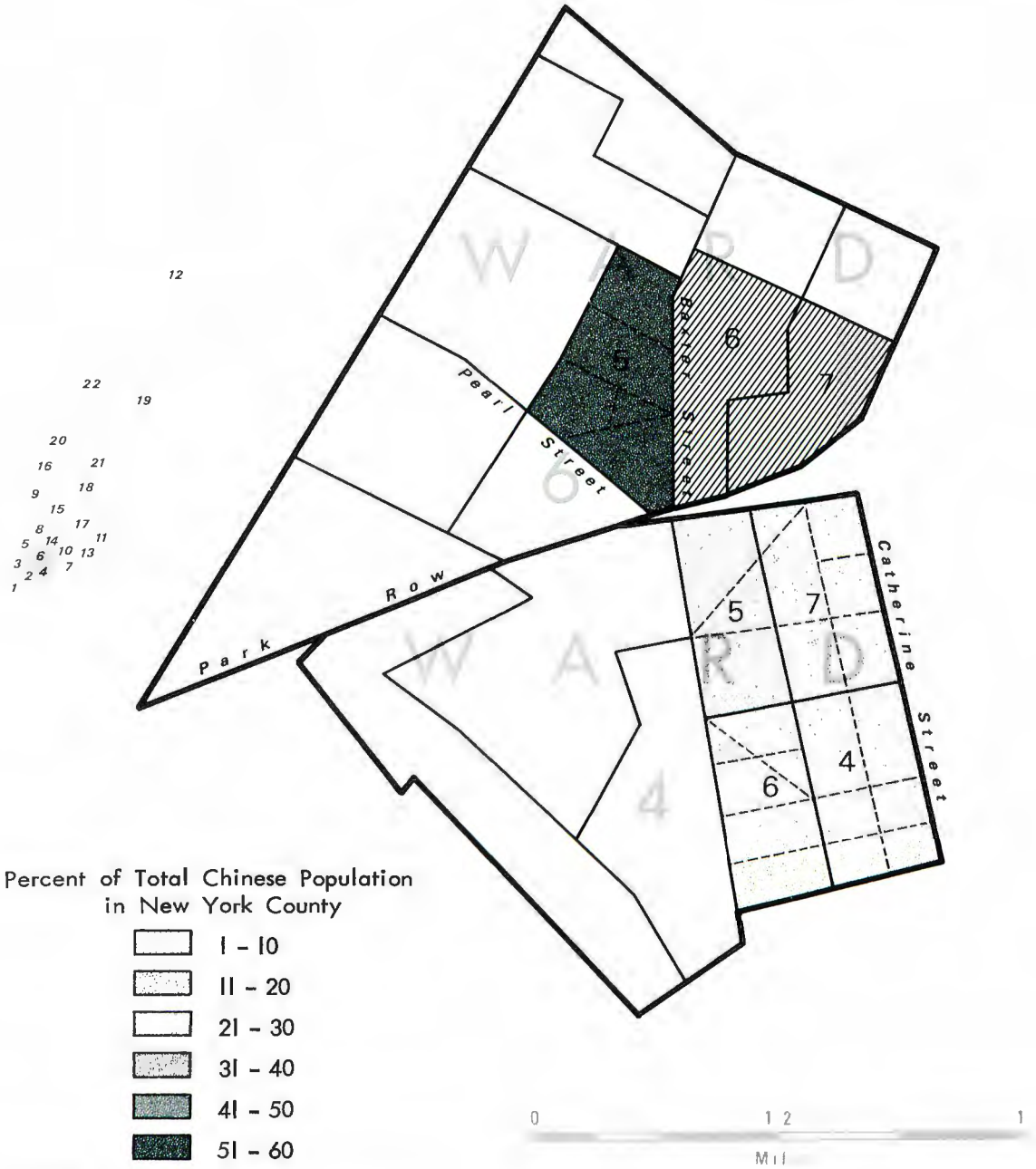
1870 CENSUS DATA FOR CHINESE IN NEW YORK CITY

Chinese	Occupation	Ward	Ward Total	Percent of Total Chinese Population	Ward	Election District	E.D. Total	Percent of Total Chinese Population	Ward	Election District	House No. in order of Visitation	House Total
									19	20	(Work house)	1
									20	11	96	1
									20	12	61	1
									20	13	108	3
									21	17	137	1
									21	19	469	1
									21	20	206	1

*BH = Chinese Boardinghouse

Source: 1870 Census of Population Schedules

Map 5 CHINESE POPULATION IN NEW YORK COUNTY BY ELECTION DISTRICTS, 1870



Source: Federal Population Census Schedules: 1870

article referred to a Chinese boarding-house in this area at 14 Baxter street.[19] Probably both the boarding-houses mentioned were one and the same. If so, this boarding-house explains the next door location to a building at 12 Baxter street in 1873, which housed a Chinese mutual aid society and temple.[20] At the same time and for the identical reason of proximity, the presence of a Chinese boarding-house and mutual aid society on Mott street, the main street of Chinatown located two short blocks from Baxter street, reflected the Chinese institutions existing in the area adjoining the future site of Chinatown. Furthermore, the boarding-house at 13 Mott street was kept by Jon Assing.[21] He had appeared in the 1870 census manuscripts as a mariner living in the Baxter street area.[22] Such evidence suggests that the location of Chinatown's site was determined indirectly by its attachment to the previously existing residential cluster of Chinese.

Formational Stage (1875-1890)

The pre-formational stage of Chinese settlement around Chinese boarding-houses changed with rapid and substantial increases in the number of Chinese and the accompanying occupational shift to laundry work. The New York State Census of 1875 reported 157 Chinese in the city, while the count of Chinese from the 1880 Federal Population Census Schedules is 587. Therefore, the initial influx of Chinese occurred between 1875 and 1880. Information derived from letters and the news carried by Chinese returning

to China helped to influence a highly favorable impression of the East because of opportunities in laundry work.[23] The raging anti-Chinese campaigns in the West during the 1870's also promoted Chinese migration east.[24] Another impetus for migration was the price war between the Central Pacific Railroad and Pacific Mail Steam-ship Company, the outcome of which lowered the fare from California to New York from $60.00 to $35.00.[25] Moreover, increases in the number of Chinese was indicated by a small group of farmers that came from China in 1878. They bought land in what is now the Bronx for the purpose of raising vegetables for the Chinese of the city.[26] In the same year and for the first time, under the general heading for laundries in Wilson's Business Directory of New York, 55 laundries were listed under the specific sub-heading of "Chinese Laundries".[27] By 1880, 75 percent of the city's Chinese engaged in laundry work (see Table 11). Because of these changes in numbers and occupation, the Chinese boarding-house, which had assumed institutional functions during the pre-formational stage, could no longer adequately fulfill the needs of the Chinese population. Such changes significantly envoked an institutional response in the number and functions of Chinese institutions.

Significantly, changes in institutional functions began at the locations of the Chinese mutual aid society and boarding-house at 13 and 34 Mott street.[28] A Chinese grocery store was found at 13 Mott street in 1878.[29] The transformation of the Chinese institutions at 34 Mott street appears to

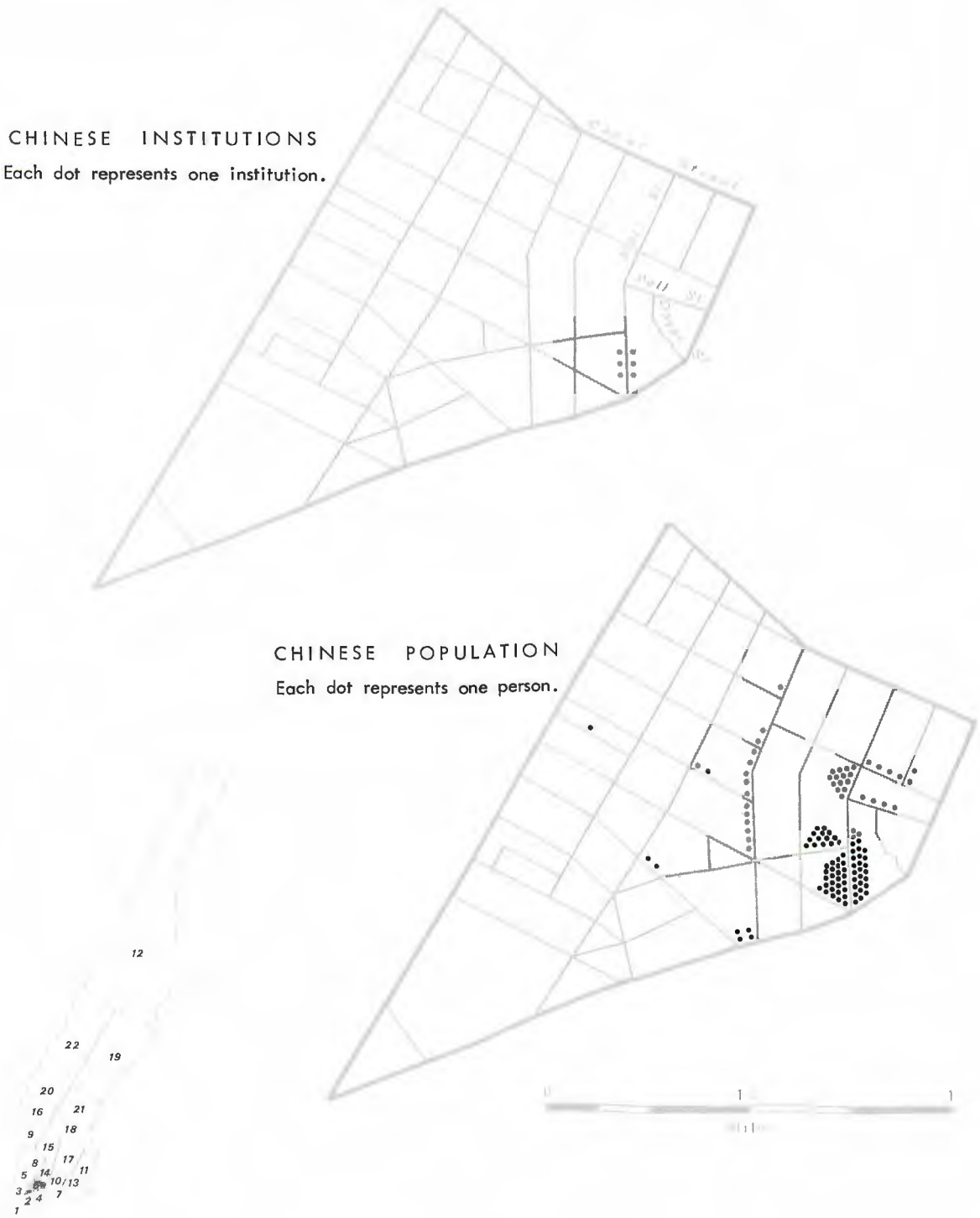
TABLE 9

1880 CENSUS DATA FOR CHINESE IN NEW YORK CITY

Ward	Ward Total	Percent of Total Chinese Population
1	5	1
2	-	-
3	6	1
4	30	5
5	1	.1
6	117	20
7	28	5
8	12	2
9	19	3
10	62	11
11	20	3
12	13	2
13	8	1
14	21	3
15	13	2
16	9	2
17	61	10
18	22	4
19	62	10
20	18	3
21	33	6
22	26	4
23	1	1
24	-	-
	587 Total	100

Source: 1880 Census of Population Schedules

Map 6 CHINESE INSTITUTIONS AND POPULATION IN WARD 6 OF NEW YORK COUNTY, 1880



Source: Federal Population Census Schedules, 1880
Wilson's Business Directory of New York, 1880

TABLE 10

TYPES OF CHINESE SERVICE INSTITUTIONS IN NEW YORK CITY (1880)

Barber shop
Boardinghouse
Cigar Store
Doctor
Druggist
Grocery
Interpreter
Opium Store
Tailor Shop
Tea Store

Source: 1880 Census of Population Schedules

TABLE 11

CHINESE OCCUPATIONS IN NEW YORK CITY (1880)

Laundrymen	444
Cigarmakers	50
Cooks	25
Mariners	9
Storekeepers	9
Grocers	6
Clerks	6
Boardinghouse keepers	5
Teastores	4
Servants	4
Porters	3
Students	3
Barbershop	3
Idle	3
Doctor	2
Opium Dealers	2
Interpreters	1
Candy Factory	1
Druggist	1
Tailor	1
Messenger	1
Prisoner	1
Patent	1
Laborer	1
Peddler	1
	587

Source: 1880 Census of Population Schedules

have been gradual. Initially a mutual aid society in 1873, it was known as a gambling house three years later.[31] By 1879, it was referred to as "the grocery-store department of the boarding-house."[32] This quote not only suggests the plurality of functions available at the location of an institution, but also the accommodation to an increasing number and occupational shift of the Chinese population.[33] In 1879, the number of Chinese was large enough to warrant the establishment of a Chinese mission on Mott street.[34] The significance of even a few Chinese institutions and changes in their functions was the formation of a nucleus around which the concentration of additional institutions could occur.

In 1880, the form and function of Chinatown had become distinguishable. Ward six, which included Chinatown and its environs, contained 117 Chinese (see Map 3 and Table 9). The majority of these people were associated with the six stores located along Mott street, which provided ten different functions for the Chinese (see Map 6 and Table 10).[35] The threshold and range of these institutions went beyond self-sufficiency for the Chinese in the immediate vicinity. Relatively speaking, a small number of people existed in relation to this large number of institutions, which specialized in Chinese goods and services. The disparity is resolved by the explanation that Chinatown was serving the rest of the 470 Chinese residing outside of Chinatown, of which 444 were laundrymen (see Table 11).

Laundry work had been an earlier part of the Chinese experience in America. The Chinese had dominated this occupation in California following

the gold rush. Because of the lack of women on the western frontier, the refusal of most white men to perform this work, and the expulsion of the Chinese from mining, the Chinese were induced to specialize in laundry work. Based on this western exposure in laundry and other trades, Chinese laborers were imported to the east. The initial recruitment of 68 laborers to work in the Passaic Steam Laundry at Belleville, New Jersey in 1870 had a lsting effect.[36] News of the possibilities and success of Chinese performing this kind of work close to a major eastern city spread back to California and China, thus, a Chinese laundry rush to the east began.

The laundry business offered many practical advantages to the Chinese. A small amount of capital, approximately a hundred dollars, was enough to open a laundry.[37] It was a self-employing business, which also provided employment opportunities for other Chinese. Since their presence was tolerated in this occupation, labor competition was diminished. Harsh treatment encountered in the West surely impressed upon the Chinese that it was unwise to compete with white workingmen. The possibilities of housing competition and friction with the population at large were minimized by a coterminous location of work and residence in the laundry. A cross reference between the names of Chinese listed in the 1880 census manuscripts as laundrymen and the names of Chinese operating laundries from the business directory reveals that over 55 percent of the Chinese engaged in laundry work lived in or near their laundries (see Map 7).[38] Such a practice would decrease living expenses and transportation costs, both in

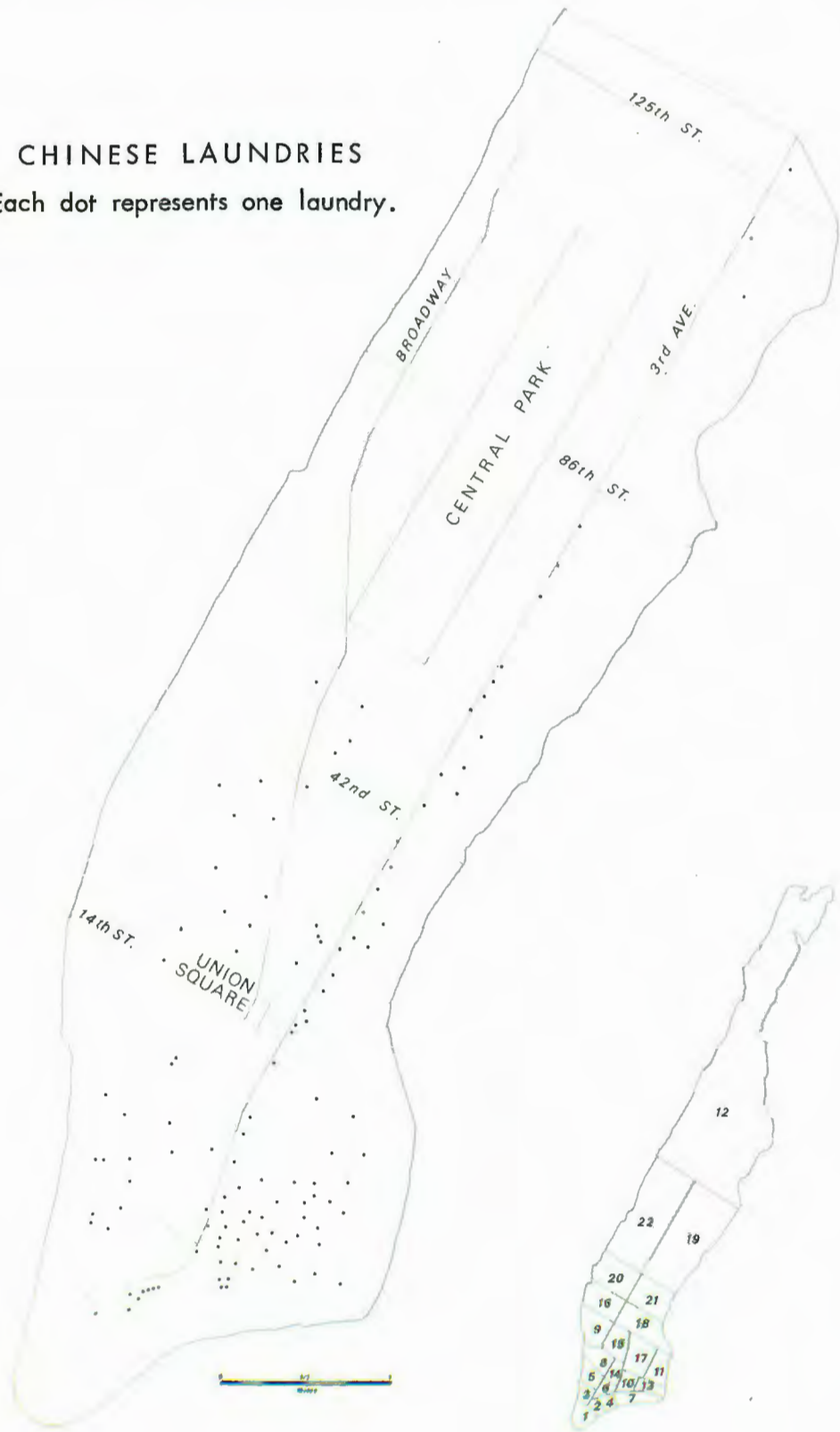
Map 7 CHINESE POPULATION AND LAUNDRIES IN NEW YORK COUNTY, 1880

CHINESE POPULATION

Each dot represents one person.

CHINESE LAUNDRIES

Each dot represents one laundry.



Source: Federal Population Census Schedules, 1880
Wilson's Business Directory of New York, 1880

terms of time and money. Chinese laundrymen could adapt their laundry as the place of residence because of their detached status.

A detached status meant that whether married or single, Chinese men came to America without wives or families. The state of detachment, prevalent during this stage, stemmed from the migrational objective of most Chinese to return to China with a sufficient amount of money that would allow at least a comfortable living. This status is evident by the conspicuous absence of any Chinese women. Only two of the 444 Chinese laundrymen had wives living with them.[39] Furthermore, every one of the total 24 marriages among the Chinese were interracial (see Table 12). The percentage of Chinese that inter-married with white women in this formational stage was much lower than in the prior stage. In part, the higher percentage of inter-racial marriages during the pre-formational stage was due to small numbers, and those that did marry probably intended to settle permanently in America (see Table 13). Possibly, these marriages may have been the reason for including the Chinese in the census, since most of the Chinese men at that time were engaged in the itinerant occupation of seamen. The cause for the quasi-permanence of Chinese mariners in this stage is difficult to distinguish from their itinerant profession or their intent to return to China. In terms of spatial expression, the small number of married Chinese mariners also had lived in boarding-houses or in their vicinity and did not alter the general pattern of Chinese distribution.

TABLE 12

CHINESE MARRIAGES IN NEW YORK CITY (1880)

Occupation	Number
Cigarmakers	8
Cooks	7
Porters	2
Laundrymen	2
Sailors	2
Candy Factory	1
Tea Merchant	1
Cigar Store	1

TABLE 13

MARITAL STATUS OF CHINESE IN NEW YORK CITY

Year	Number	Percent of Total Chinese Population
1850	2	10
1855	10	30
1860	13	34
1870	16	18
1880	24	4

Source: Various Censuses of Population Schedules

As detached males, the Chinese men in a laundry could all sleep there without problems of space and privacy for a family. The retention of families and wives in China helped to curtail the expenses of their transportation and support in America. Above all, a congruence in the place of work and residence greatly reduced the possibility of Chinese living in Chinatown and making it a residential concentration for most Chinese. At the same time, the inherent distribution of laundries with Chinese living in or near them would disperse the Chinese population outside of ward six, which contained Chinatown.

The migrational objective of most Chinese laundrymen insured the emergence and existence of Chinatown. In order to preserve their way of life during their sojourn in America, the Chinese developed a great need and reliance on Chinese commercial and socio-cultural services. The absence of family reinforced by the isolation of a dispersed distribution in laundries intensified physical needs to include socio-cultural requirements. The vastly different food habits of the Chinese were satisfied by imported dry and preserved goods found only in Chinatown's grocery stores, which also provided much of the laundry supplies needed. A journey to Chinatown might also include visits to the Chinese pharmacy, barber, and tailor. While at the grocery store, the laundryman could attend to his postal matters, gather news, or meet with some friends.[40] For other affairs which might require advice, aid in business, or any serious circumstances, Chinese sought out their society or social organization in Chinatown. As a

system of control among the Chinese, the social organizations of Chinatown were significant. Since most of the Chinese in America came from Kwangtung province, the rise of their associations and organizations was expeditious and effective.

As early as 1873, there were two mutual aid societies in New York's Chinatown.[41] The one located on Mott street was the Poolon Kun Cee. Its purpose was to provide mutual aid to members and to help new Chinese that came to the city as strangers. Foremost, this society was dedicated to the traditional custom of returning the bones of Chinese dead back to China.[42] In 1880, Lung Gee Tong, the Chinese Freemasons, was organized and consisted primarily of laundrymen.[43] Although the year of inception is not apparent, a Chinese Cigar Makers Union was active in 1884.[44] Shortly thereafter, the Chinese Benevolent Association, the pinnacle of Chinese organizations, appeared and was incorporated in 1890.[45] These Chinese social organizations were important because they established, maintained, and regulated order among the Chinese. Any matter concerning Chinese became proper jurisdiction for the organizations.

One transaction, usually run under the auspices of a society or association, was the Chinese "wui system" of banking and credit. The "wui" (or money pool) originated in China.[46] In order for this system to operate in America, institutions were necessary. The society or organization provided "wui" participants through their membership and monitored the integrity of those involved. The "wui" was a simple but effective means

for saving or borrowing money in Chinatown. If a hundred dollars were needed, a person would propose or join a "wui" made up of say nine other people. Each one would contribute $10.00 into the money pool. The one forming the money pool would then be able to take the $100.00 for his immediate use. But for the next, say nine months, he could not borrow money from that particular "wui" and must repay $90.00 on a monthly basis of $10.00. In the second month, all ten members of the "wui" would come together to put up their $10.00 each, anyone wanting the use of the $100.00 makes a bid. The one making the highest bid got to use the $100.00 less the bid he made. Those that did not get to use the $100.00 divided up the bid as interest. This continues for the total of ten months, during which everyone has had the chance to use $100.00 or save $100.00 plus interest. The "wui" is guaranteed under an association or society, and all money is held by that organization until the allotted time is up. It is probable that many of the laundries opened in New York were financed through the "wui".[47] Significantly, this financial system provided and insured another linkage between the laundrymen and their social organizations in Chinatown. Disputes and other civil matters concerning Chinese were mediated and subject to the arbitration of Chinatown's social organizations. In these respects, Chinatown became a colony unto itself.

By 1890, Chinatown was a well known and recognized fact. The Chinese population of New York during the 1880-1890 decade tripled to 1,970 Chinese (see Map 3 and Table 14). Ward six still maintained the highest concentration

TABLE 14

1890 CENSUS DATA FOR CHINESE IN NEW YORK CITY

Ward	Ward Total	% Total Chinese Population
1	24	1
2	3	.2
3	12	1
4	53	3
5	20	1
6	348	18
7	67	3
8	44	2
9	60	3
10	98	5
11	52	3
12	265	13
13	53	3
14	39	2
15	63	3
16	75	4
17	111	6
18	49	2
19	196	10
20	80	4
21	80	4
22	115	6
23	45	2
24	18	1

Source: 1890 Census of Population (published)

of Chinese, 18 percent of the total number of Chinese. The rest of the Chinese population were distributed outside of ward six. It appears that the majority of Chinese remained in laundry work. Based on the number of Chinese laundries, 819, almost 70 percent of the total number of laundries in New York, a conservative estimate of two Chinese to a laundry would yield a figure of 1638 (see Table 15). Such a figure would adequately approvimate the 1622 Chinese living outside of ward six.

Furthermore, Chinatown's function as an institutional center of Chinese goods and services for the Chinese laundrymen is firmly established by Wong Chin Foo, a contemporary writer of the time, who noted the number of such institutions. He arrived in New York during 1877 and was editor in 1883 of the first Chinese newspaper.[48] In an article written in 1888, he mentioned the existence of over thirty Chinese grocery stores in New York, most of which were located on Mott street in Chinatown. All these stores depended entirely on the support of Chinese laundrymen.[49] Several writers of the 1890's also refer to Chinatown as the focal point for the Chinese population in New York and its environs. Helen Clark, an early writer of the Chinese noted:

> . . . Chinese from all parts of New York and Brooklyn, and from Long Island, New Jersey and Connecticut towns, flock to Chinatown to visit their friends and do business. Since the American Sunday does not permit laundry work on that day, the laundrymen seize upon it as a general recreation day, and go to Chinatown by hundreds. This, therefore, is the great business day of that region, and all stores are open and every employee is constantly occupied.[50]

TABLE 15

GROWTH OF CHINESE LAUNDRIES IN NEW YORK CITY

Year	Total Number of Laundries	Number of Chinese Laundries	Percentage Chinese Laundries
1875	171	1	.01
1876	206	5	.02
1877	246	26	11
1878	350	56	16
1879	270	43	16
1880	497	123	25
1881	483	283	59
1882	464	170	37
1883	347	180	52
1884	387	99	26
1885	419	143	34
1886	439	118	27
1887	492	173	35
1888	941	607	65
1889	1006	640	64
1890	1191	819	69

Source: Compiled by Henry Tom from: Wilson's Business Directory of New York City, New York: The Trow City Directory Company, Vols. 28-43, 1875-1890.

In conclusion, the formation of Chinatown progressed through a spatial sequence incorporated within two stages of evolution. In the first stage, an initial residential distribution revealed Chinese seamen living generally dispersed within an area adjoining the waterfront, reflecting a residential linkage to their occupation. Subsequently, in the same stage, there was a convergence of Chinese seamen and cigar makers in and around Chinese boarding-houses, which permitted an occupational orientation of residence and also provided cultural amenities to the Chinese. During the second stage of evolution, a concentration of Chinese business and institutions occurred around a nucleus that began as an extension of the residential cluster adjacent to Chinatown. The underlying causes for this were the rapid influx of substantial numbers of Chinese migrants that came to New York to engage in laundry work. For these same reasons, the Chinese boarding-house could no longer function adequately as the institutional outlet for the Chinese. Primarily, Chinatown served the majority of Chinese, who were in laundry work. For economic and protective reasons, the laundry was the place of both work and residence. Since the distribution of laundries is ubiquitous, this resulted in a dispersed distribution of Chinese. The Chinese migrational objective of returning to China maintained their great cultural variance, which made the Chinese dependent on their own goods. This detached status, reinforced by an isolated distribution prevented the social grouping experienced by most ethnic groups. Therefore, the emergence of Chinatown was a concentrated institutional response to the

socio-cultural needs of the sojourning Chinese laundrymen and consequently became the focal point for the Chinese in the city and its region.

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CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND PROSPECTS

Unlike the formation of other ethnic areas in northern industrial cities during the nineteenth century, New York's Chinatown formed through institutional concentration. This process indicated that residential concentration, as in the black and European immigrant experiences, was not the sole process of ethnic area formation. For European immigrant groups, socio-cultural need was secondary to racism and an occupational orientation of residences, the causes that produced their ethnic areas. In the Chinese experience, however, socio-cultural need was the primary cause for the institutional concentration which formed Chinatown. These conclusions imply a number of considerations when studying the causes and processes responsible for ethnic area formation.

Implicitly, the a priori assumption has been: the specific causes and processes which form an ethnic area are ultimately derived from an integration of the inherent nature of the population group under study and its total urban milieu. As this integration varies with time, space and scale, the causes and processes of ethnic area formation differ accordingly. Such variations can occur between and within the causes and processes themselves. The resultant integration, selectively defines the primary cause and process responsible for the formation of a particular ethnic area.

Variation in causes explains why Chinatown could not have formed because of racism or an occupational orientation of residence, the primary causes for the formation of black and European immigrant areas. In effect, both these causes were indirect agents in the emergence of Chinatown. Racism towards the Chinese was prevalent in the West and provided part of the impetus for the Chinese trans-continental migration east. An occupational orientation of residence dispersed the Chinese and prevented any residential group concentration.

The Chinese occupational orientation of residence existed at the highest level, Chinese lived where they worked. Despite this dispersed pattern, institutional concentration occurred to satisfy the strong socio-cultural needs of the Chinese. Furthermore, the notion of an occupational orientation of residence also reveals the internal dichotomous variation that can occur within a cause of ethnic area formation.

The difference in the processes of ethnic area formation elucidate why Chinatown did not form through a process of residential concentration. Although the causes responsible for the formation of black and European areas differed, each cause innately permitted a direct residential concentration of the population group. Spatially, racism operates in two ways to concentrate people residentially. First, it can be an external force confining people; secondly, racism can be an internal force that draws people together voluntarily as a social and protective response. In the Chinese experience, racism functioned geographically in two ways that dispersed the group. First,

it was an external force that expelled; secondly, racism was an internal force by which they voluntarily scattered for their own protection. Because of other advantages, it is unlikely that the Chinese engaged in laundry work just for a dispersed distribution, however, it was certainly in their favor to do so and reduced the high visibility of Chinese. As has been mentioned, the Chinese occupational orientation of residence directly dispersed the group and prevented residential concentration. Yet, the institutional concentration that formed Chinatown did occur. In this respect, institutional concentration would be an indirect process for the formation of an ethnic area. This suggests that the causes and processes of ethnic area formation can operate directly or indirectly and vary among and within themselves according to the resulting integration between the nature of the group and its total environment, along with the elements of time, space and scale.

There are a number of implications for future investigation which can be drawn. Foremost, the genesis of Chinatown has shown that an ethnic area need not emerge through a residential concentration. A numerical majority of the ethnic population is not required to define an ethnic area. During the study period, the majority population of the Chinese always resided outside of Chinatown. It did, however, always have the highest concentration of Chinese per unit area. This consideration is significant in a numerical classification of ethnic areas. Furthermore, any quantitative taxonomy for ethnic areas should include a consideration for racial visibility. It appears that the Chinese, a highly visible group, required

less numbers to distinguish its ethnic area. Any ethnic group having the same racial stock as the majority population would tend to need relatively more numbers.

The emergence of Chinatown, an institutional concentration, resulted from the socio-cultural needs of the Chinese. A worthy problem for study then is the variance in institutional needs among various ethnic groups. In great part, social and cultural organizations were responsible for the rapid rise of Chinatown. Since these societies and associations were transplanted from the mother-land and based on geographic location, it may be a useful insight for studying the social organization of other ethnic groups. Another approach to studying other ethnic groups might be through their financial systems; the Chinese "wui" system was an important means for establishing Chinese laundries. The formation of Chinatown has also indicated two separate and distinct sub-groups for the Chinese in New York during the study period. The Chinese from Kwangtung province were also differentiated by their internal districts and even villages.

Intra-group differentiation is important because of possible variations in occupations, residences, and migrational objectives. The Chinese sojourner's goal of returning to China gave him a detached status, which allowed him greater mobility and stricter occupational orientation of residence than otherwise possible. A residential Chinatown may have eventually developed, but, the Chinese sojourners were the catalytic agents that permitted the rapid formation of Chinatown. The presence of sub-groups

can be revealed by a diversified division of occupations. A careful consideration should also be given to the exact nature of occupation and its spatial distribution. Furthermore, an occupational orientation of residence, to be a meaningful criterion in an ethnic group's spatial distribution, must also consider the ethnic division of labor. A Chinese occupational orientation of residence can only determine Chinese spatial distribution if the majority of Chinese engage in laundry work. An interesting point is the regional differences in racial prejudice and discrimination of Chinese between the east and west coast. The application of this notion and its change through time may have significant implications for other racial groups. A serious deficiency occurs in the lack of literature that expose the internal point of view for the ethnic group. This is quite a problem in the study of the New York Chinese during the initial period because records and information failed to survive because of poor preservation. Although Chinatowns form very distinct areas in major American cities, the widespread global distribution and prevalence of Chinatowns make them a characteristic feature for twenty-two million overseas Chinese. The further study of similar phenomena in America and overseas constitutes a significant contribution to understanding the adjustments of migrants and immigrants that form distinct ethnic areas in the urban places of the world.

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