

A CHINESE COMPLEX IN BOSTON

by 4589

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A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

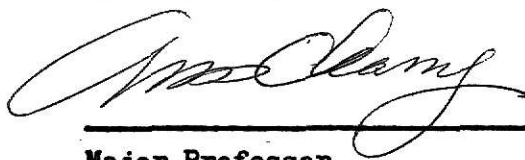
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I. ACKNOWLEDGMENT	1
II. INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	2
a. Foreword	2
b. The Pioneer Chinese in U.S.A.	3
c. Chinatowns in U.S.A.	10
d. The Growth of Boston's Chinatown	18
III. ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT - SOCIAL	25
a. Special Problems Involved	25
b. Housing Problems	27
c. Recreation Problems	31
d. The Trend of Cultural Identity	36
IV. ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT - PHYSICAL	40
The New Development in Boston Area	40
V. CONTEXTUAL POTENTIALITY AND DESIGN CONCEPTS	45
a. New Significance of a Possible Chinese Complex in Boston	45
b. Site Analysis and Planning	48
c. Circulation Systems	50
d. Structural Systems	52
e. Mechanical Systems	55
VI. PROJECT CONTENT.	57
VII. GRAPHIC PRESENTATION	62
VIII. CONCLUSION	76
IX. BIBLIOGRAPHY	77

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I. ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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II. INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

a. FOREWORD

The history of Chinese people in the United States to seek their economic and family betterment is almost a hundred years in length. Despite the native customs, native languages, and revered traditions tenaciously they held to in their own communities, some of these communities in the big cities later developed into a non-Chinese communities because of natural growth and intermingling of people in these big cities. The impossibility of total cultural isolation was clearly shown long ago.

Communities that managed to stay Chinese in outlook so called Chinatowns, have passed through a number of changes during the past hundred years. They have been in fact fluctuating between the status of being colorful landmarks or mere Chinese supply stations. At the end, to incorporate these Chinese communities into the complex pattern of modern city planning is quite an architectural problem. To be optimistic, however, the fact that these communities do have their colorful cultural background is significant. This intangible element of differentiation is a cultural asset, a small but interesting cultural ingredient that adds a certain juicy flavor to our mechanistic modern life.

This project, A CHINESE COMPLEX IN BOSTON, therefore, is going to be dealt with as a renewal project taking into consideration of this particular colorful background the content of which nevertheless will be fused with modern spirit and expressed thru the means of modern technology.

b. THE PIONEER CHINESE IN U.S.A.

In the 1840's, when the first Chinese had already set sail for the shore or the "Mountain of Gold," San Francisco, he knew that if was caught, his head would be severed from his body by one stroke of the executioner's axe. Emigration was a crime.

As if a death sentence was not enough, other deterrents faced the would-be emigrant. Confucian teaching- the foundation of Chinese culture-placed filial piety at the top of the list of virtues. For a son to leave his ancestral home and aged parents for any protracted length of time was unfilial behavior, a cardinal sin.

It took rare courage, grim determination, and a venturesome spirit for these men to circumvent the law, to buck society, and to leave home and loved ones for unknown destination in the hopes of bettering their fortunes. Strange though it may seem, only Toishan, a tiny district of Kwangtung in southern China, responded to the news of the discovery of gold in California. The news had filtered down the eastern coast of China by the ships that put into port, but it made no impact elsewhere. Family ties were too strong, the risks too great. The people were resigned to toil and deprivation. It remained for the Toishanese and those in the immediate vicinity to take that first step in motion a steady stream of emigration.

Taishan is one of 98 districts in the province of Kwangtung. It is situated at 22°15' latitude and 112°45' logitude and is near the major cities of Canton, which lies to her northeast while Hong Kong lies to her southeast. In this semi-tropical zone, the climate is hot and humid most of

the year. It is ideal for agricultural purposes, which gives the district its name Taishan which literally meaning "Terrace Mountain". A glance at a topographical map of Kwangtung shows that Taishan rises like a mountain island to a height of 800 to 1,000 feet while the surrounding regions drop like a cliff to sea level. Whichever you choose, the place is mountainous, rocky, and almost barren. Her agricultural output can feed her population for only four months out of a year. The Taishanese were forced to look for nonagricultural means of subsistence. But China was an agrarian society sustenance came only from land. There was little industry to speak of and human labor was too plentiful and much too cheap to exchange for a decent livelihood.¹

Many Taishanese turned to trade, acting as middlemen between buyer and sellers. And as salemen and merchants, they traveled to the big cities and coastal ports, where they came into frequent contact with white man and huge sailing vessels with their cargoes of goods.

Proximity and contact made the Taishanese more reactive to the news about the discovery of gold in California in 1845. So the first Taishanese bought passage and set sail for California shores. Obviously the first arrivals were not disappointed. The news spread rapidly and the clamor to go to the Mountain of Gold began.

In spite of remaining with their poor soil made poorer by the natural calamities of floods and typhoons and depleted after centuries of intensive cultivation, Taishan immigrants in this country established themselves. One reliable estimates shows 60 percent of the Chinese population in this country being Taisnanese.

By 1851, because merchant ships put into Canton with exaggerated tales of the gold in California, there were 25,000 Chinese in California, as miners.²

In 1850, the new state legislature, casting about for a source of revenue, passed a Foreign Miners' License Law imposing \$20.00 per month on all foreign miners, the law had the effect of depopulating the miners' camps. By the time the legislators realized that the tax was a mistake and repealed it a year later, many Chinese miners had quit the hills and swarmed into San Francisco. Quick to grasp at the excellent opportunities for making money in the city, the Chinese took to carpentry, washing and ironing, and operating restaurants and hotels. At the same time, gold mining was another story. The furious pace of mining activity had died down. The surface gold was pretty much worked over. Below the ground it was more difficult to get at, and a day's labor yielded less and less. More and more Chinese were moving into the city.

In 1864 the chairman of the Six Companies received a call for workers from an entirely new line of work - railroad construction. At that time The Union Pacific and Central Pacific were commissioned to build the railroad. An immediate cry went for men, for boys, for any pair of hands that could do the work. Labor was made more scarce by men diverted to battle in the Civil War. Of the thousands sent into the hills during 1863 to 1864, only two in the five reported for work, and of these all but a few quit as soon as they had earned enough to pay stage fare to Virginia City, where new discoveries in mineral wealth excited the adventurers' hopes for a windfall fortune. The shortage of labor was very serious. The situation was desperate. Charles

Corcker, one of the Big Four partners of the Central Pacific in charge of construction, thought of Chinese. Fifty Chinese were hired and tried, the results were more than satisfactory.³

Corcker came to rely on and place his trust completely in Chinese labors. At one time, over 10,000 Chinese were employed on the Central Pacific.⁴

When work on the railroad slackened, some Chinese turned to manufacturing, as goods imported from the East were expensive. One day, a farmer sent into town for some temporary farm hands, he tried some Chinese. And found that those Chinese were quite satisfactory. By word of mouth the news spread, and Chinese were in great demand as agricultural workers. According to Carey McWilliams, Chinese made up one-tenth of the farm labor supply in 1870. In 1880, they constituted one-third. By 1884, half of the farm workers in California were Chinese.⁵

For their contribution to the early development of the West, the Chinese deserved recognition and gratitude. By 1870, there were 63,000 Chinese in the United States, 99 percent of whom were on the West coast. Every tenth person in California in 1860 was Chinese. Their large numbers, their physical differences, the retention of their national dress, the custom of wearing their hair in pigtails, their habits and traditions, so incomprehensible to the Occidental mind made them a target easy to spot.⁶

When employment with the railroad ceased, the Chinese sought work in the mines, on the farms, in land reclamation, in domestic service, and in the

cigar and woolen factories. These were jobs white are generally scorned. Out of necessity, they worked hand-to hand and accepted low wages for mere survival.

Whereas most Chinese had gone straight to San Francisco upon their arrival in the United States, they now began to disperse. Some had already gone north to work on the Northern Pacific and Canadian Pacific Railroads. Others sought work in the silver and coal mines of Nevada, Oregon, Wyoming, and Colorado. They of course confronted difficulties everywhere. Neither the state, nor the federal government provided much protection. But they had no recourse since it was illegal to roam abroad from their native land which naturally denied them of their right to return. Consequently, Chinese immigration had been reduced to a trickle. The following table of historical statistics of the United States during the period of 1879-1924 put out by the U.S. Census Bureau shows the abrupt halt of immigration then.

While the number of Chinese entering the country was drastically reduced, their concentration in the Far West was also diluted. The Chinese began to disperse and move eastward. Some went to Boston, New York, Chicago, and Denver. They took up unobtrusive occupations - mainly opening and operating laundries. Their lot was at its low ebb.

In the end, immigration was left to the poorer classes - the ones who had little to lose, the ones who had no choice but to risk the chance the immigration authorities willed. They were, however, men and courage, of endurance, and perhaps of intelligence. They pitched themselves against a seemingly impenetrable wall of uncertainty.

Immigration from China, 1880-1924⁷

Year	No. Entering U.S.	Year	No. Entering U.S.
1880	5,802	1903	2,209
1881	11,890	1904	4,309
1882	39,579	1905	2,166
1883	8,031	1906	1,544
1884	279	1907	961
1885	22	1908	1,397
1886	40	1909	1,943
1887	10	1910	1,968
1888	26	1911	1,460
1889	118	1912	1,765
1890	1,716	1913	2,105
1891	2,836	1914	2,502
1892	-	1915	2,660
1893	472	1916	2,460
1894	1,170	1917	2,237
1895	539	1918	1,795
1896	1,441	1919	1,964
1897	3,363	1920	2,330
1898	2,071	1921	4,009
1899	1,660	1922	4,406
1900	1,247	1923	4,986
1901	2,459	1924	6,992
1902	1,649		

The backbone of one's courage, perhaps, is one's confidence in his cultural background. A Chinese immigrant, literate or otherwise, did know his native civilization dating back thousands of years whose philosophies and literature reflected the wisdom and maturity applicable even in his time. He certainly admires the unsurpassed beauty of Chinese porcelain, silks, and paintings which had been unknown to American people until the later years.

The Chinese in this country were sensible enough. They indeed were eager to put their best foot forward, although at first this is to no avail.

Eventually the Americans in general had gained a fondness for the Chinese people thru their acquaintance with Chinese silks, carving, lacquers, chinaware, and other objects of arts which the merchants brought back with them to this new nation. Respect for an ancient civilization on the part of American public played an important part in establishing the self-confidence and well being for Chinese people in this land.

FOOTNOTES

1. Betty Lee Sung, "Mountain for Gold", The Macmillan Company, New York, 1967, p. 14.
2. Ibid. p. 22.
3. Edwin L. Sabin, "Building the Pacific Railway", J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1919.
4. Ibid.
5. Carey McWilliams, "California, The Great Exception", Current Books Inc., New York, 1949, p. 152.
6. Betty Lee Sung, "Mountain for Gold", The Macmillan Company, New York, 1967, p. 42.
7. U.S. Census Bureau, Historical Statistics of the United States, 1879-1954.

c. CHINATOWNS IN U.S.A.

That immigrants of all nationalities should tend to live together in their respective communities, holding tenaciously to even the vestiges of their old customs, to their native languages, and to their revered traditions, is quite expectable and natural. Strangers in a strange land are bound to be handicapped at the beginning. These freshly arrived people in a new land nostalgically sought refuge and comfort among their already somewhat-established compatriots. Often they developed organizations to meet fundamental communal needs.

Chinatowns developed first from the immigration of peoples seeking economic and social betterment. A Chinatown is a center of social and business activity within a non-Chinese community. Most Chinatowns are situated near a railway station because the early Chinese wished to be readily accessible to relatives and friends. In New York and San Francisco, however, they are situated near the docks thus convenient for debarking immigrants. Since the place has no independent economic structure, the prosperity of a Chinatown depends much on the prosperity of the city.

In 1940, Professor Rose Hum Lee had found 28 cities with areas worthy of the name Chinatown. By 1955, in a survey of Chinese churches for the National Council of Churches, conducted by Dr. Peter Sih, only 16 cities had their Chinatowns remained. Professor Lee had found that if a city's total Chinese population falls below 360, or if the total population of the city is fewer than 50,000, the city can scarcely support a Chinatown indefinitely. Professor Lee points out that many once-flourishing Chinatowns of the West

have all but disappeared. She cited as examples the Chinatowns of Butte in Montana, Boise in Idaho, Rock Springs in Wyoming, and Denver in Colorado. These Chinatowns were founded by the miners and railroad workers back in the pioneer days of the West. When jobs in these industries gave out, the Chinese moved away.

Most Chinatown are distinct enclaves and generally from found in the run-down slum districts of cities. In slum clearance plans, civic improvement projects, or expansion of private enterprise, the areas once staked out as Chinatowns are invaded or taken over all together. Chinatowns shrink, are overshadowed, or suffer demise.

Another reason that causes the shrinkage of Chinatown is as soon as a Chinese has improved his economic status sufficiently or can accept a position superior to any that Chinatown can offer, he usually leaves and settles in a better residential portion of town.

Yet not every Chinatown is receding; some are expanding, with many indications of progress. Boston is a notable example. Its Chinatown may have been a shabby low-rent district previously occupied by various ethnic groups, but the district was taken over about 1890 by the Chinese. For more than sixty years since then the Chinese residents have maintained attractive restaurants and art shops in this area. The district is considered thoroughly respectable and desirable, patronized by both Chinese and non-Chinese. It is, somewhat too congested for its populace. While increasing the population from 200 in 1890 to 3,590 in 1960, the Chinese however the same time maintained an enviable record for good citizenship.¹

San Francisco's Chinatown became a city within a city and sufficient unto itself. It is doubtless the oldest and the largest Chinese settlement in the United States, with a history of more than one hundred years. Thus like other immigrants who came to the United States during the nineteenth century, the Chinese established in San Francisco about 1850 a racial quarter not only for self-protection but also for companionship. An invisible moat seemed to cut the Chinese off from the mainstream of American life just beyond the borders. From birth to death, a Chinese found his needs met within the enclave of an area 20 blocks square. He lived a way of life as his parent remembered it back in the villages in Kwangtung Province in general and in Taishan District in particular.

San Francisco's Chinatown boasts a 64-bed hospital, manned and staffed almost entirely by Chinese doctors and nurses. Founded in 1923, Tung Wah Hospital employs the latest in medical techniques and discoveries, but at the same time it will not scoff at certain herbal medicines that have been used with effective results for centuries in China. The hospital is especially popular with the Chinese who must be hospitalized because it serves Chinese meals. Those who are accustomed to their native fare find it especially difficult to adapt to a strange diet at a time when their appetites are on wane and must be coaxed.

Chinatown in San Francisco remains the most picturesque quarter for tourists, who, though they may be able to purchase a Chinese idol in some joss house, no longer see anything mysterious or horrible. Grant Avenue, the main street of Chinatown, is one of the busy San Francisco thoroughfares. Even though their opportunities were limited, Chinese residents are

trying to expand, since the twenty square blocks are insufficient to house all the Chinese in the city. Though there are now newly built high rising apartments in Chinatown proper and though many Chinese have moved out to live among the middle-class whites, population pressure in Chinatown has not been much reduced. In fact, so far Chinese still choose to live in a crowded area dedicated to shops, restaurants, and institutions. To remedy the situation, there are a number of Chinese developments situated not far from Chinatown which cater to Chinese residents. Traditionally restaurants and gift shops form the focus point in a Chinatown; a few of them are owned and operated by Japanese or Koreans. Besides, there are grocery stores selling American and Chinese foods produced locally or imported from Hong Kong or Formosa. Some of these stores also handle wholesale goods, shipping large consignments to other Chinatowns.

The second largest Chinese settlement in the United States is in New York. The real beginning of New York Chinatown, however, came between 1872 and 1882. Some Chinese settled on Doyers Street, then gradually spread to Pell, Mott, Bayard, and Canal Street, and to Chatham Square. By 1887 the community had 800 to 1,000 Chinese. Like others in the United States, the early New York Chinatown was composed chiefly of men. They wore pigtaails and their native garb, until, becoming somewhat westernized, they had their queues cut off.²

The New York's Chinatown is not only a mecca for tourist but also a "home" for many Chinese. There on the holidays and Sundays Chinese from the city and from the suburbs having a good meal, meeting friends, visiting

their relatives, and have a few rounds of mah-jongg or receiving letters from Hong Kong or Taiwan. Chinatown is also a supply depot for many Chinese families.

Part of New York's Chinatown is composed of buildings more than fifty years old. Sooner or later some of these will have to be razed and rebuilt. Very few residential structures have been added since a five-story apartment at 37 Mott Street was erected in 1925. The Chinese Merchant's Association Building erected in 1952 was the first multistory commercial project. Most of the real estates are owned by Chinese, who do not believe in selling away their property. The turnover of property ownership is very slow.

Usually there is only one Chinatown in a city, but Honolulu has two and Los Angeles three or four. No doubt the Los Angeles Chinese communities are expanding; from a population of 2,500 in 1930, it has grown to 8,000 in 1950 and 15,000 in 1962, and it is still growing. Since the whole population of the city of Los Angeles is increasing, the Chinese population will no doubt proportionately increase. In fact more than half the 20,000 Chinese in Southern California live in Los Angeles City and County.³

But elsewhere Chinatowns are rapidly receding. As the Chinese gradually disperse among the white population, the usefulness of even the more important Chinatowns is doubtful. The tourist attraction may in fact induce many Chinese shops to get together and keep the name of Chinatown.

The native-born Chinese is familiar with the American way of living. He has no language problem. He knows that if he is out of work he can collect unemployment insurance. If he is sick or injured, he can collect

disability subsidy. If he should die, Social Security will help his widow and children. His personal relations are more apt to be with non-Chinese people and outside the sphere of any Chinatown organization he belongs to, socially, culturally, for his business or just for recreational purposes.

The student group and a great number of the recent arrivals come from different parts of China. They have no kinship or geographical ties with the more homogeneous groups from southern China or specially Taishan. Their command of the English language and their education enables them to fit quickly into American society. They more or less disdain identification with the Chinatown Chinese, who are less intellectual if not less cultural.

Family circles now provide the companionship and warmth formerly sought in Chinatown. Financial improvement and more knowledge of English enable the Chinese to seek entertainment elsewhere. Cars, once an unknown luxury among Chinese families, are now commonplace. Spacious houses and suburban dwellings make possible entertainment in the homes. Diversion can be found outside of Chinatowns.

Segregation is no longer a factor in the perpetuation of Chinatowns. The social climate and general attitude toward the Chinese have changed so rapidly in recent years that the Chinese actually encounter little or no discrimination in their choice of a place to live. In fact, only a small percentage of the Chinese in the United States live in Chinatowns, and the old-time residents have practically all moved away.

Strange as it may seem, not all children in Chinatown have an appetite for Chinese food. Hot dogs and hamburgers are many times preferred to

Chinese won-ton or chow-mein. Children's and men's clothes are practically all western, whereas women are still accustomed to the Chinese style of dress, both rich in appearance and reasonable in price. In gift shops it is difficult to stock genuine Chinese souvenirs because of shortage of supply. Instead, many items come from Japan, Southeastern Asia, or even from Mexico. Indeed, Chinatown as such is changing speedily toward westernization.

Chinatowns have been a colorful landmark on the American scene. City authorities have always used it as a tourist attraction to create curiosity and make Chinatowns seem more exciting, a great many stories have been fabricated about these places. Even today, the tendency is to associate all Chinese in the United States with Chinatowns and to presume that whatever occurs in Chinatown may be taken to apply to all the Chinese in the United States at large. In actuality, only a small percentage of the Chinese now could be directly associated with Chinatowns. Most have successfully found their niches in the larger American society.

By population and by area, the larger Chinatowns have expanded. They have been swelled by the increased numbers of immigrants within the past two decades. They are now quite different from the old ones. A new Chinatown, it seems will be characterized more as loosely knit ethnic neighborhoods with an artfully contrived Oriental atmosphere mainly for the sake of the tourist trade. Behind this facade, however, the true content of a new Chinatown will be found in the sense of identity they import to the modern Chinese populace living beyond as well as within its borders. In essence, they as well as a new Chinatown that stands for them should be one

part of an American life. A New Chinatown should not and could not be an isolated entity. One may find the idea of a new Chinatown representative of the modernism of Chinese populace best expressed in a new Chinese complex in the cultural city of Boston.

FOOTNOTES

1. S. W. Kung, "Chinese in American Life", University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1962. p. 199.
2. Ibid., pp. 203-204.
3. Ibid., pp. 205-206.

d. THE GROWTH OF BOSTON'S
CHINATOWN

The original inhabitants between 1835 and 1850 were middle-income native Americans. Records of the Quincy School (at Harvard and Tyler streets), begin to show a preponderance of Irish names about 1858. It seems likely that the advent of the railway and the industrial growth around the borders of the area had combined by the 1850's to lower rents and land values sufficiently to open the neighborhood to immigrant Irish settlement.

The Irish remained the major occupants until the 1880's. The tenements were 30 or 40 years older than when the Irish first came, and the physical character of the neighborhood had continued to decline. This meant not only less pleasant, but cheaper living. The Irish began to move out to more attractive neighborhoods, now made more accessible by horse carts and the first electric cars in addition to the railways.

The Irish were superseded in this area by Central and Southern Europeans, part of the later wave of nineteenth century immigration whose arrival followed on the intensified invasion by industry and the railway yards. They never spread over the entire neighborhood, and were apparently there only briefly, since by 1900 it became predominantly Syrian. Central and Southern Europeans are now important groups in the western and southern portions of the South End, to which many of them moved from the present Chinatown. The Syrians are now, after 50 years' residence, in the final stages of moving out as increased income and easier acceptance by American

community have made moving possible. They have been replaced by Chinese except in the southernmost part of the neighborhood, along the north side of the railway tracks.

By 1890, a Chinese community had been established on Oxford Street and the corresponding block on Harrison Avenue, in the northern part of the area. According to the reasoning by Chinese themselves, their first settlements in most cities tend to be near the railway station as their first point of entry into a strange place where the language and ethnic barriers restricted their range and encouraged them to keep in close contact with transport to friends and relatives in other cities. As a general principle, American Chinatowns are closely oriented to transport terminals.

Some of the older residents of Chinatown suggest that the first Chinese to come to Boston were runaway crews from ships in the harbor, but this does not seem as likely a source as California. Chinese immigration into California began in force about 1852, and averaged nearly 30,000 a year through the 1860's. Their labor was important in the building of the trans-continental railways, but with the completion of the Central Pacific in 1869, Chinese migration from California to east coast cities began. The total Chinese population in California continued to fall until currently New York's Chinatown is only slightly smaller than San Francisco's.

The appearance of the first Chinese in Boston was delayed as late as 1869 or 1870, and was apparently in no way connected with Boston's earlier prominence in the China trade. The Canton system under which foreign trade with China operated from its large-scale inception in the eighteenth century until the Treaty of Nanking in 1842 between China and Great Britain kept the

foreigners on the outer margins of the empire and reduced to a minimum contact between foreign traders and the Chinese people. The handful of Chinese who entered California in the 1830's and 1840's were the accidental flotsam of trans-Pacific trade. Emigration to the United States did not begin on a significant scale until about 1850, after China's traditional barriers against the barbarians had been repeatedly breached by the military victories of and concession to the Westerners. By that time Boston had largely lost its prominence in the China trade, and California had become the logical point of entry for Chinese immigration.

The subsequent movement of Chinese from California to east coast cities as a result of anti-Chinese prejudice was slow in gathering force, especially since a good many Chinese, employed as railway laborers, made the move overland. New York's first Chinese arrived by ship from San Francisco in 1852, although this single immigration was not joined by others until 1862 and there were not enough Chinese in New York to open a purely Chinese establishment until 1878. The first chance arrivals, and the earlier star of group immigration than in Boston were due to New York's position as the terminus of the sea route from California, a cheaper and easier highway to the east. Boston's Chinese population seems to have arrived almost entirely overland.

According to old residents and to newspaper references and police records, on this basis, the population of Chinatown in Boston was about 200 in 1890, 500 in 1900, 900 in 1910, 1,000 in 1920, 1,200 in 1930, 1,300 in 1940, 1,600 in 1950, and 3,590 in 1960.¹

Chinese settlement in Boston spread between 1905 and 1925 to the traffic artery of Kneeland Street. Until about 1940, the boundary between Chinese and Syrian occupancy remained along Kneeland.

Nearly every new immigrant group in American cities has for at least a generation tended to stick together in one area of the city by choice and usually also because, livelihood tends to center around particular national skills or trades which are most profitably carried on in the same area. In such a situation, it is natural that Boston's Chinatown should have become a distinct and close-knit community with special functions as a central place for all the Chinese in New England, who are excluded from most aspects of the general American community.

Boston's Chinese, like most permanent Chinese residents of the United States, are almost entirely Cantonese, from the coastal margins of Kwangtung province, most of them from Taishan.

Despite its lack of property, Boston's Chinatown like other American Chinatowns, has the lowest crime rate of any other area in the city. Juvenile delinquency is almost unheard of in Chinatown where parental authority is absolute.

Earlier it was said that the Chinese lived there because no one else would, but in 1941 they found themselves living on potentially very valuable property. Their area was just behind Washington Street (with its theater district) and convenient to the center of the city or Back Bay, an ideal location for restaurants. The war gave Chinatown a further boost as part of the general acceleration of economic activity, and since 1942 nearly a dozen

new restaurants have been built or remodeled, complete with modern architecture and neon signs to attract the non-Chinese patronage, replacing or overshadowing the former dingy eating places beside the old Elevated.²

When the community spread as far as Kneeland Street, the Chinese remodeled the first or second floors of the tenements to house restaurants, grocery stores, or trading companies, and used only the upper stories for living space. On the south side of Kneeland Street, where since about 1942 the Chinese have increasingly replaced the Syrians (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Expanding Chinatown, 1890-1951.

Right now, Boston Chinatown extends into three urban renewal project areas: the Central Business District, the South Cove, and the South End. The Chinese business area is a part of downtown Boston-- north of Kneeland Street, around Beach and Oxford Streets. It is characterized largely by Chinese restaurants, although the garment industry, which employs many Chinese, is also located in the same vicinity. The larger portion of the Chinese residential area is in the South Cove - south of Kneeland Street

between Hudson and Tyler Streets and around Johnny Court. Many Chinese also reside in the South End in the new housing development at Castle Square and in existing housing as far as Massachusetts Avenue. But the South End is not in a strict sense a part of Chinatown because it has many other ethnic groups.

This description of Chinatown indicates that there is a slight southward shift (to the South End) in the location of the community within the City. There are several reasons for this change. A few years ago Chinatown was considerably diminished in size through the construction of two highways: the Southeast Expressway and the Massachusetts Turnpike. Simultaneously, the new Castle Square housing development was being constructed in the northern portion of the South End. Understandably, therefore, the Chinese displaced through highway construction moved back to the Chinatown area - or as close to it as they could get - as soon as the Castle Square housing was completed. As a result of these circumstances Chinatown extended somewhat into the South End.³

It is recognized that with reference to the sub-area bounded North by Kneeland Street, East by Tyler Street, South by Oak Street and West by Harrison Avenue, some portion is now owned and used by units of the Tufts New England Medical Center, including Posner Hall and the Tufts Medical and Dental Schools, and adjacent parking areas, which portions are to continue in Medical Center use.

The boundary of this project, is shown on Plate No. 3.

FOOTNOTES

1. Murphy, Rhoads, "Boston's Chinatown", *Economic Geography*, 28 July 1952, p. 248.
2. Ibid., p. 251.
3. Pawlowski, Marlene, "Development Site for the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association", Boston Redevelopment Authority, Boston, Massachusetts, p. 1.

III. ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT - SOCIAL

a. SPECIAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED

Boston's Chinatown is a seductive, painted lady until you get up close, and it is only then that you see the cracks in her makeup. It is too old to stand for new needs, new reality and new spirit.

First, there is the problem of the increasing of population in Chinatown area. In 1968, Mrs. Jane Jones, coordinator for community affairs at Tufts-New England, prepared a children and youth project survey, the bulk of which applies today. "Between July 1, 1966 and June 30, 1967, there were 697 new immigrants from Hong Kong. Many of these came as family units with young children. Immigration is expected to continue at this level or an increased rate over the next few years, and Chinatown could double in the next five years."

Secondly, the language barrier is another problem. All of the immigrant families have serious language difficulty. Since most of the fathers have an educational equivalent of the eighth grade or less, they most often go to work in restaurants. They suffer cultural shock and there are numerous adjustment problems.

Thirdly, the Chinese still handle their own problems by a closely-knit family situation, often without consulting others for the overall context with its surrounding.

The increasing of population, the language barrier and the shame of shareing the problems with others, is making this conservative community troublesome for a long time. Until recently, they find that the problems are getting too serious. The leaders of the Chinese community, on December 7, 1969, held an open hearing with ten ranking city officals to air their grievances with Boston's city government.

The session focused on five areas of concern:

- * Problems of housing and physical environment.
- * Problems of aged Chinese citizens.
- * Problems of youth, recreation, and education.
- * Problems of physical safety and police protection.
- * Problems of preserving Chinese cultural identity.

These problems will be discussed in the later sections.

b. HOUSING PROBLEMS

The Boston Redevelopment Authority conducted a diagnostic survey of families and individuals for the South Cove Area. This diagnostic report of social and economic characteristics of this residential population is based on interviews of 410 households that will be relocated. Ninety-eight percent of this population is comprised of two groups: Chinese and White. In this survey the population covered includes 234 Chinese households and 57 percent of the caseload. It is possible from this report to know what are the problems of housing in Chinatown area.

In the 234 Chinese households, there are 100 individuals that house only 43% and 18% have six or more persons. So a large proportion of residents in Chinatown live alone, this results in a high demand for one-bedroom accommodations. The Chinese population is characterized by a high percentage of male heads of family and male individuals. Due to the greater number and relatively younger age of Chinese families, there are 104 families with children, so, the Chinese families are considerably large.

The level of education attained by Chinese heads of household is considerably lower: 67% did not go beyond the equivalent of eighth grade, 18% have completed high school or above. Religion for the Chinese is more likely to be practiced as an ancestral worship or cultural philosophy rather than as an institutional affiliation.

Employment patterns favor the Chinese population: 91% of the Chinese heads of family and 62% of the individuals are employed on a full-time

basis. Notable are the low percentages of unemployment and retirement among the Chinese, particularly for heads of family. Of the fourteen Chinese female heads of household, nine are employed, four are retired, and one receives insurance payments. The Chinese group tends to be more self-sustaining. The majority (85%) of the Chinese male heads of household are employed in service occupation; only 12% have white-collar occupations. Only a small percentage of households interviewed receive Public Welfare support, which is primarily in the form of Old Age Assistance. It should be noted that the Chinese people are particularly disinclined to accept Welfare support and special efforts were taken to encourage the few who are receiving OAA to accept this help.

Because of the combined and crowded living accommodations of many Chinese individuals, nearly, 30% of the Chinese households pay less than \$40 rental per month, including heat and utilities. Less than 20% households pay a monthly rental of \$100 or more. Net housing costs for twenty-six homeowners range from 0 to more than \$100 per month, but the majority pay less than \$50 per month. The cost of homeownership on approximately one-third of the instances recorded is partially covered by rental income from tenants.

Many of the residents surveyed are living in units having particular liabilities which may or may not place the unit in the substandard category. Such negative features which were observable to the survey interviews were recorded and percentages are noted below:

Characteristics of Housing Prior to Relocation

	Percentage of Households
No central heating	58%
No automatic hot water	42%
Incomplete bathroom facilities	20%
Overcrowded accommodations	23%
Evidence of vermin	8%
Own no furniture	12%
In standard condition	30%
In substandard condition	70%

From the survey, more than half of the Chinese households prefer to relocate within the South Cove area. There also a sizable number of Chinese residents who indicated a preference for the South End, many of whom desire accommodations in the Castle Square Housing Development.

Preferred Location

	Number of Households	
South Cove	153	65%
South End	56	24%
Other parts of Boston	7	3%
Suburbans or beyond	8	4%
No preference	10	4%
Total number of households	234	100%

In Chinatown 49% of the households surveyed require one-bedroom accommodations in rehousing. There are, however, at least forty households, that will require accommodations of four or more bedrooms.

In brief, among the Chinese population, few heads of households in Chinatown were educated in this country and most did not go beyond the equivalent of eighth grade; religion is experienced as a cultural philosophy rather than an institutional affiliation; and organizational membership often is implicit rather than formalized in the family clan associations and Chinese Benevolent Association. Ninety-one percent of the male heads of family and sixty-two percent of the male individuals are employed on a fulltime basis, primarily in service occupations. Incomes are moderate to low and only a very low percentage are supplemented by Public Welfare or pension support. Few Chinese households reported any medical problems; however, it is estimated that 14% of the Chinese households are in need of social service referrals.

The vast majority of surveyed residents are tenants living in poor housing for low rental rates. Sixty-five percent of the Chinese prefer to relocate within the South Cove area; however, many desire accommodations in the Castle Square Housing Development in the South End. Most of the households surveyed prefer private rental accommodations.

c. RECREATION PROBLEMS

The recreation problem in this area, not only the Chinatown area, but also the whole South Cove area, had been variously defined as: imaginary; the lack of play space for the children of Chinatown; the impending loss of Tyler Street (Chinese) "Y" - or how to save the "Y"; the lack of recreation facilities to serve the growing institutions of the area; the lack of a specific proposal for facilities and programs to be housed in a new community recreation center; and the lack of a proposal to fit the wide range of recreation needs of the many diverse groups constituting the South Cove community.

So the Boston Redevelopment Authority had made a very careful study of the recreation problem and prepared a "Proposals for Recreation Facilities in the South Cove", in March 1967. In this proposal, it is very clearly indicated many times that the special needs of recreation facilities in the Chinatown area. Such as, "because of the special needs of Chinese an additional recreation facility should be provided for them if possible. It could contain a gymnasium, some sports rooms, game and social rooms, special-classrooms, a playground, and a tot lot", on Page 4. And "numerous groups and organizations from all over the South Cove, but especially from Chinatown, have indicated needs for recreation facilities", on Page 17.

From the Boston Redevelopment Authority's Proposal, we can easily find out that how urge the recreation facilities are been needed by the Chinatown. Personal, the time when I was in Boston I walked down to the Chinatown area, the only outside playground is located at the corner of

Hudson and Beach Streets, it is a place for basketball and volleyball, at that time I saw a lots of people were playing vollyball, as I showed on Picture 1. The only indoor recreation facility is the Chinese Youth Center down on the Tyler Street (see picture 2). Inside there are a few table tennis tables, and a very small library.

The recreation problems in the Chinatown area, are not only the problems of lack of facilities, but also the problems for the different age groups. The population whose recreation needs must be satisfied can be divided into four groups: pre-school-age children, elementary school-age children, teenage children and adults, and the elderly.

The recreation needs of pre-school children can be satisfied by appropriately located nursery schools and tot lots as well as their home environments. Agencies which will have programs and facilities oriented to elementary school-age children. The greatest recreation need in this area is for the age group constituting teenage children and adults. The type of facilities used most by them are those for active sports.

But for those aged Chinese the problem will not so easy to them. In former years, the aged returned to China to retire or to die. They left the country when they were in ill health or could work no longer. Back in their home villages, they were cared for by their families or relatives. According to Chinese custom, they were treated with dignity and respect.

The political change in China has cut off the traditional solution for aged or infirmed Chinese. He is forced to remain even when he can no longer



Picture 1.



Picture 2.

work and when he needs care. The three-to-one ratio of elderly men to women means that in all probability, these men are single or alone, without a family and without a home.

From the Diagnostic Report prepared by Boston Redevelopment Authority, in the Chinatown area 45% of the Chinese individuals are 60 years old or over, and 28% of the individuals are between the age of 40 to 59. For Chinese family heads there 10% at the age of 60 or over, and 50% of the Chinese family heads are between the age of 40 to 59. From this information, we can find out that alot of aged Chinese are living in the Chinatown area. And this percentage has been increasing steadily.

The problem is especially acute at present because it is a relatively new one, and there is no precedent or experience to go by. Most of the men in this upper age bracket were self-employed and do not have Social Security benefits or pensions. There are too many for the traditional Chinese organizations such as the family association to take care of. Of course the old men can usually find a bed in the association headquarters, and they can grab a meal from relatives who own restaurants. Many must depend upon meager welfare checks for subsistence, and this is a life enormously below their pride and dignity. Worse yet is the loneliness that comes from lack of family life and the absence of respect and care, which the aged Chinese in China are customarily accorded.

A very successful attempt to deal with the old-age problem is the Golden Age Club in New York. The men came in to read the Chinese periodicals, or they just sat around dozing off or talking to one another.

Activities offered by the club are the study of English, cooking, art, woodwork, drama, and discussion group. There were recordings of Chinese operas and songs. A library served those who could read above the commotion. A public health nurse visits the club every Tuesday, and counseling service is offered by the staff members. Trips are organized to the parks and beaches. As Mr. Louis H. Chu, the director, said, "For the non-Chinese, the club is merely a place to get away from home. For the Chinese, the club is home."

The design of this complex, therefore, shall provide green area, outdoor sitting and walking areas, a community recreation center, and a club for the aged Chinese in order to solve the recreation problems of the aged in particular and of course for the public in general.

d. THE TREND OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

America, is a melting pot of different cultures because of mixing of peoples. What has happened to Chinese culture in this melting pot? First of all we have to know what has happened to those Chinese who live in this country.

C. C. Wu, in a doctoral dissertation entitled "Chinatowns," states: "Native-born Chinese are Americanized to such an extent that Chinese from China are just as strange in their eyes as the Africans are in the eyes of the American Negro..... Of course the influence of the old culture is never entirely absent even with the native-born. But the force of it is getting weaker and weaker. The younger Chinese are drifting away gradually from the Chinese cultural influence and adopting the American traditions and customs. If the old world traits are a barrier to the assimilation of Chinese they no longer function effectively in the case of the native-born."¹

The term "assimilation," in referring to the Chinese, according to Dr. Wu is not as applicable as "acculturation". Assimilation means that the immigrant group not only loses the modes of behavior previously acquired in another society and gradually takes on the ways of the new society. In other words, assimilation is a three-way process: letting go of the old, taking on the new, and being fully accepted into the dominant society.

Acculturation is more restricted in meaning. It is a process of accommodation to the cultural norms of the new society. It does not mean

giving up entirely the behavior and attitudes of one's own ethnic group and substituting for these American mannerisms and American ways of thinking.

In Chinese-American lingo, the native-borns are derisively labeled "jook-sing", meaning the hollow part of a bamboo pole. In other words, they are empty of the cultural traditions of China. In retort, China-borns are labeled "jook-kock," literally, a bamboo joint which is stiff, impervious, and unadaptable.

Taking the Chinese in the United States as a group, the ratio of foreign-born to native-born has shifted from a preponderance of foreign-borns (90% in 1900) to a clear majority of native-borns (61% in 1960).² The increasing number of native-borns means that a large proportion of Chinese fall within the converted or emerged stages of acculturation. According to the 1960 census, one out of every ten Chinese under five years of age and one out of every three is under nineteen. Immigrants arriving in this country before their teens are soon like native-borns in every respect.

Speech is an important index of acculturation. That their principal medium of communication today is English indicates that the Chinese have made rapid strides toward Americanization. Twenty-five years ago, a native-born who could not converse in Chinese found himself at a distinct disadvantage because he had to deal with his own people. There was no place outside of the Chinese community for him. At the same time, a China-born could reside in this country for twenty or thirty years without feeling an actual need for learning more than a few perfunctory words in English. His needs were satisfied within his own group.

However, because acculturation is proceeding so rapidly, the Chinese language, like Chinese dress, religion, and leisure-time activities, is being discarded by the Chinese-Americans. Though a child's first words may be in Chinese and though he may know no other languages until school age, he immediately discards his original tongue upon entering school.

Retention of the mother language means the written as well as the spoken works. Presently, there are eleven Chinese language newspapers in the United States. The faithful readers of Chinese newspapers are still those of the first generation. The native-born Chinese does not depend upon Chinese newspapers for news. English is easier for him to read and scan. So, the Chinese language newspaper, like the Chinese language school and customs and habits, is traveling down the same road.

It seems that the Chinese in the United States will keep a warm spot in their hearts for their ancestor's native land. This should not be confused with disloyalty or lack of patriotism to the land of his birth. For to the degree economic and social opportunities are accorded them, majority of young Chinese-Americans are joining the mainstream of American life. One part of which happens to be the great ability to assimilate the cream of all cultures including that of Chinese arts and philosophy.

FOOTNOTES

1. C. C. Wu, "Chinatowns, A Study of Symbiosis and Assimilation", unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1928, p. 284.
2. Sung, Betty Lee, "Mountain for Gold", Macmillan Company. New York, 1967, p. 269.

IV. ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT - PHYSICAL

THE NEW DEVELOPMENT IN BOSTON AREA

The Boston area has been divided into several different urban renewal districts by the Boston Redevelopment Authority, such as Central Business District, West End, Downtown North, Government Center, Water Front, Back Bay, South Cove, South End, New York Streets, Prudential Center and etc. The Chinatown business area is located in the Central Business District itself and Chinese residential neighborhoods are mostly centered in the South Cove area. A brief introduction of what will be happening in these two urban renewal districts in the year of 1975 and a brief review concerning the surroundings of Chinatown shall be helpful for understanding the project. All of these areas involved will be indicated on Plate No. 2.

Central Business District

The Central Business District is the key element which generates the renewal movement of downtown Boston. The plan for the CBD will allow for the addition of a significant amount of new development in the downtown area without any disruption of business. The plan places emphasis on maintaining and improving downtown Boston as a lively and interesting place for pedestrians. It envisions a broad new mall along Washington Street and Summer Street which will be connected with the South Station by a dramatic second level pedestrian bridge spanning the heavy traffic of Dewey Square. Wider sidewalks and open space will be provided in the development sites. Interference with pedestrian traffic by heavy trucking is reduced by the introduction of underground service tunnels.

The plan for new development in the CBD provides for two main pedestrian routes: Washington Street from the New England Medical Center and Summer Street from South Station to Park Street. Each of these streets is the scene of intense activity and is crowded with shoppers, persons employed in the downtown area, and visiting tourists. They are thus natural locations for strong commercial development.

The pedestrian mall extends from Water Street to a new street south of the Bedford-West Streets. Winter Street and Temple Place will be closed to vehicles. This area will provide new retail frontage by the rise of a mid-block passage from Bromfield to West Street located above a truck service tunnel.

New entertainment commercial and residential facilities are planned for Washington Street between Stuart and Boylston Streets which may make this area a new cultural center for downtown Boston.

The following projects have been planned and have the great influence to the Chinatown area.

1. Washington Street and the Mall: Washington Street, from the entertainment district through the retail core to the Government Center, is Boston's "Main Street." The revitalization of Washington Street is highlighted by a totally new environment for the pedestrian. A mall, attractively landscaped and complete with kiosks and benches, and adaptable to colorful special events, will transform the major retail portion of Washington Street into an excitingly different shopping area.

2. **The Entertainment District and Park Square:** A new public square in the heart of the district, will be surrounded by theaters, clubs, restaurants and related commercial activities. A hotel, apartments and/or offices at upper levels, with sweeping views of the Common, will provide additional attractiveness to the area. Park Square provides the physical link between the downtown and the Back Bay commercial centers. An extension of Charles Street through Park Square will result in developing a better traffic pattern and will allow for new development sites overlooking the Common and the Public Garden.
3. **South Station - Summer Street:** The plan is to create a major commercial-transportation complex in the South Station and to connect this with the retail and office districts by means of a second-level walkway tied to the new commercial development along Summer Street.
4. **South Station:** The South Station area is the most accessible point in the regional core for a wide variety of transportation modes. It is situated at the juncture of the Central Artery and Massachusetts Turnpike and is close to the retail and office centers of Boston.

The redevelopment of the South Station would include a five thousand-car parking structure with direct ramps to the Turnpike, Central Artery, and local streets. The rail way terminal for

commuter trains and proposed Washington-New York-Boston high-speed rapid transit stations will serve the Harvard-Ashmont and South Shore lines.

The South Station project also includes the commuter and inter-city bus terminal, heliport, hotel, trade center and office, and public concourse with shops. It will definitely help to facilitate the function of our new Chinese Complex.

5. Stadium: The Boston Redevelopment Authority has introduced legislation calling for a construction of a 50,000-seat stadium near South Station.

South Cove

In the course of the planning studies that were initiated in the next few years, it became apparent that South Cove was a distinct area, not oriented to retail and financial centers of the city that made up the Central Business District but with its own life, function, and vitality. The strength of the South Cove existed in two stable neighborhoods, Bay Village and Chinatown; the important and expanding Tufts New England Medical Center; and a flourishing entertainment district.

Thus, the goals of the whole South Cove project were to build upon these foundations and in particular to:

1. Preserve and expand the residential communities and to increase the total housing available in the area:
2. Provide for orderly expansion of the Medical Center and other institutions in the area:
3. Further the vitality to the entertainment district.

At this moment the development of the following projects seems to be significant.

1. Over 270 units of locally sponsored cooperative housing in Chinatown have been designed. But according to the "Population Study, South Cove Project 1965/1975" prepared by the Boston Redevelopment Authority, February 1968, the residential population will be 2,405, in 1975. These 270 units will house only 60% of the Chinatown area's population in 1975. In my Chinatown project, I shall propose a housing project of 450 units in the same location.
2. Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority is constructing a new Forest Hills rapid transit line in a subway through the south cove with, for the first time, a station within the South Cove. The South Cove section of the new line will be constructed in the Spring of 1970, in coordination with the urban renewal schedule. This of course is another major asset to our Chinese complex.
3. Tufts-New England Medical Center is preparing plans for a net expansion of 2.9 acres. The project has been designed by the Architects Collaborative. This project reflects the most comprehensive design thinking in contemporary medical architecture design.
4. Don Bosco Technical High School is preparing plans for a net expansion of $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres.

V. CONTEXTUAL POTENTIALITY AND DESIGN CONCEPTS

a. NEW SIGNIFICANCE OF A POSSIBLE CHINESE COMPLEX IN BOSTON

In the field of transportation technology has made the cultural boundary among different cultures disappeared. Nowadays, jet plane, may take you to Tokyo, Paris, Berlin or even Moscow within a matter of hours. Then, while you were in a totally different circumstance every few days or so, you will find that the difference between one city to another is very limited. It is rather easy for us to adapt ourselves to the ways of living each city has to offer. What does this mean? It means that soon cultural difference is going to be totally eliminated. Cultural universality consisting of all nice particulars of all cultures is the way it will be in the future.

From the view point of architectural design, the characteristics differentiation of architecture in this world are created and conditioned by the difference in geographical situations, cultural backgrounds, and construction materials and methods. The form of a Chinese palace's curvature roof is mainly the result of a timber structural system. The design of a curved roof perhaps was accepted after it was discovered that it is impossible to get rid of deflection and that deflection had to be deliberately tolerated since it is the major material available in China. Wood for China is as natural as stones for Greece. Consequently the kind of stability of the Parthenon is simply different from that of the light structure of Temple of Heaven in Peking.

Communication on the development of new techniques to utilize new building methods and materials among technicians is so universal now that all informations are ushered by the increasing and changing population of the world society. This means that the visual language of architecture is going to be an international one. This is well exemplified by the new architecture in the big cities such as New York, Paris, Tokyo, Bangkok, etc. They all play the same game with similar techniques and material which free them from being trapped into any particular traditional style on one hand and allow them to suggest a meaningful amount of some cultural trait on the other.

A Chinatown in this country has been a special center for social and business activity within a metropoliton community. It came into being as a result of immigration of Chinese peoples seeking only economic betterment who first were thinking of staying in this country only temporarily and planned to go back to their hometowns with their saving. Non-permanent residence thinking, in fact, is what made it seemed justifiable not to be assimilated into the main stream of America way of life. Nowadays the aged immigrants have realized that it is both impossible and unwise for them to go back to their homeland. They feel that to take his Chinatown as the only place to live in this country for his family was wrong. They now do prefer to make a change to adapt themselves to the immediate surrounding. This is particularly true for the second generation, American born Chinese who are educated in American school and are conditioned by American culture. They are simply Americanized. A situation like this no doubt leads to the big problem of a real generation gap among the Chinese populace. When a

second generation Chinese grows up, as a rule, he or she usually want to move out from the parents' home which is the symbol of ancient conservatism. This means that the future function of a Chinatown, if it is going to be acceptable to the second generation at all, is going to be quite different from that of the past.

Right now, the combination of restaurants, grocery stores, and the oriental antique shops in a Chinatown is the "oversea homeland" of the aged Chinese. To the new immigrants, Chinatown is the first station where they can stay for a while to familiarize themselves with the outside circumstances. To the young native born the old Chinatown is only good for groceries shopping. To bring young and active American Chinese back to salvage whatever is desirable of their cultural heritage and turn it into one part of a ever-renewed American culture is one of the purpose of this project. The old days of a tight and closed community in an open society are gone forever. The new Chinatown will be characterized by a more loosely integrated ethnic neighborhoods.

The cultural identity of Chinatown in the most part should be mute and intangible. The most important expression for cultural identity in this complex lies not in what the buildings look like, but in what is going to happen inside and around this building complex.

b. SITE ANALYSIS AND PLANNING

As we know, the rate of population growth is increasing. At present rates the world's population shall almost treble during the next fifty years. There can hardly be any doubt that the world is going to face gigantic problems of urbanization. This problem is fundamentally a question of urban structure itself, and its capacity to evolve new and creative forms in response to the fantastic population pressures and new patterns of physical growth. Horizontal development may help, but vertical development obviously is going to be more important in our answer. This of course is the basic technique employed to develop the whole complex. We shall not limit our daily activity on street level.

The green area is another problem in the future community. It is a very important element, since it is not only the playground for children, but also the place for relaxation of adults. In this complex, it is obvious that it is desirable not only to provide a green area on the ground as much as possible, but also to provide a roof garden areas. The green area on the ground is also the transitional space between the space for living and the space for working in the whole complex.

Between the green areas on the ground, spaces are divided into two functional categories, space for the housing complex and space for all the daily works, one being of introvert quality while the other extrovert.

Roof garden areas are going to be a very important elements in the design. It is not only the open space up on the roof, but is meant to be

the three dimensional extension of the green area from the ground. The development of helicopters will make the steady transportation in the air be a very common practice. This situation will enlarge the importance of the air view for buildings. The roof is going to be a place to show off. In this design, I am also going to put the cultural center and the theater right above the roof garden area to emphasize the importance of airy quality of the roof. This arrangement will also satisfy the individual identities for these two buildings in the whole complex.

In the business complex, there are three plazas on different levels. Three transitional plazas act as another extension of the green area, and serve as an element to link with the different elements in the business complex.

This complex provides almost the combination of all different requirements for man's living. The reason for relating these different functional elements is to provide everything in this centralized complex not only for the sake of saving time for the consumers but also to provide a lot of unique involvement in the whole Boston area. This complex possibly could be called "a city within a city". The continuity of vertical and horizontal spaces in the complex becomes a very important factor in the design whose outstanding tower, office space and hotel combined and super-imposed, dominates over the whole composition. The tower thus is not only a gate to the new Chinatown and its vicinity, but also a landmark for great Boston.

c. CIRCULATION SYSTEMS

The separation of pedestrian, car and service systems is the goal for the circulation design. The ground level is the only level at which those three systems meet. After that pedestrian will move up to different areas through escalators, elevators and staircases. As for the car, they will go down to the parking area through the car ramp. For the service, the trucks will park on the ground level; all the merchandise will go up to the place it is designated to go and go down to the warehouse through the help of service elevators in the elevatorcores when necessary.

The horizontal movement for the pedestrian will not be mechanized. To allow the pedestrians to feel free, to walk at ease and to enjoy every thing leisurely in the complex is one part of the design.

The present street pattern showed on Plate No. 3, will not be effective enough to serve the new complex. It may be changed as showed on Plate No. 8.

The new South Station project is located on the east and only three blocks away from Chinatown. This new project will include a parking garage for five thousand cars, a rail way terminal, rapid transit stations, commuter and intercity bus terminal, and a heliport. A new pedestrian mall system has been proposed to connect the South Station and Central Business District shopping area. There will be a new Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority rapid transit station on Washington Street in the South Cove area. Presently, there is another MBTA station at the corner of Essex Street and Washington Street, it is only one block away from the New Chinese Complex. See Plate No. 4.

All of these traffic nodes will be the main resources to provide tourists for the Chinese Complex. A proposed pedestrian mall system to link the Chinese Complex with these traffic nodes and the CBD shopping area will show on Plate No. 4. This pedestrian mall will tie the Chinese complex with the CBD area and the great Boston area in general.

d. STRUCTURAL SYSTEMS

The structural concept in this complex consists of two different systems. The reinforced concrete two-way grid system, "waffle-slab", is to be used in the garage levels and the lower part of the complex. Structural steel frame is to be used for the tower construction.

A 30' x 30' modular system is to be used in this complex, functionally good for the design of a garage. See Plate No. 12.

It is obvious that concrete in the waffle-slab offers total design efficiency. It is widely employed for garages, stores, restaurants, and public halls as part of residential high-rise building both with or without the use of a hung ceiling.

For buildings of over 40 stories the use of structural steel frame with high-strength steel for the tower offers many advantages. This is an important consideration. All beam deflections are instantaneous, and there is no plastic flow over an extended period of time. The lesser weight often produces a marked reduction in foundation costs.

The open web joist floor system will be used in the tower. Open web steel joists are lightweight steel trusses fabricated for use in buildings with relatively light loads to carry floor and roof loads between the supporting members - beams, girders, or bearing walls. The floor itself is to be a thin concrete slab, 2 to 3 inches thick, except wherever it is needed to serve as a lateral integrating element between shear walls and

elevator-core walls which are deliberately provided for resisting for wind load. The joist will vary in depth from 8 inches by 2 inches increment.

In this tower design, the floor used with open web joists is a concrete slabs $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick poured over a corrugated steel deck. The spandrel beams are foreproofed with concrete on the exterior face and concrete slab on top. A hung ceiling serves as fireproofing for the beams and joists. Details are showed on Plate No. 10.

Wind loads will vary from 15 to 45 psf over the exterior surface of the building. For seismic loads, the system is chosen to sustain a lateral force on any horizontal plane equal to an advisable fraction of the weight of the structure and load above the plane. The resistant force for the lateral loads will be provided by projecting outward the elevator cores at both sides as much as possible in the lower part of the tower. Up in the hotel levels, the resistant force will be provided for mainly by the right hand side elevator cores, which extends up to the top of the building, and shear walls above the left hand side elevator-core. All the design of elevator cores and shear walls will be suggested on the plan and also on the section of the tower.

A flexible construction joint will be provided for between the connection of the tower and the other part of the complex. The details of expansion joints for the other parts of the complex probably is to be taken care of by resting intermediate slabs on catilevers extending from two sides of the flexible gap.

The elevation shall be designed for adoption of precast concrete architectural panels.

e. MECHANICAL SYSTEMS

The American Society of Heating and Ventilating Engineers in 1929 defined comfort air conditioning as "The process of treating so as to control simultaneously its temperature, humidity, cleanliness and distribution." The same definition applies today, but there have been certain refinements as the art has progressed.

Comfort air conditioning, or climate control, means the maintenance of those atmospheric factors affecting comfort. To keep this complex in comfort air conditioning or climate control two important factors should be considered. In the first place is the choosing of air conditioning systems. Secondly, is the zoning problem.

In this complex, the all-water system with fan-coil type room terminals will be used. In this system, there will be one or two water circuits. The cooling medium will be supplied from a remote source and circulated through the coils in the fan-coil terminal, which is located in each conditioned space. Circuits may be either 2-pipe, 3-pipe or 4-pipe distribution. In this complex, 4-pipe distribution system will be used, for the reason of safety and easy control for each room. In this system, two separate piping circuits are used - one for hot and one for chilled water. The modified fan coil unit has a double or split coil. One coil circuit heats only and the other cools only. Ventilation is obtained through different methods. For the guest rooms, and small office space an opening in the wall will be provided. For larger spaces such as hotel lobby, restaurants, shopping

center, and etc., air handling units with ducted air distribution will be provided to permit zoning of each large space.

The lower part of the complex, will be zoned as follows based upon the varying space occupancy and the solar orientation.

1. The recreation center and cultural center.
2. The retail shops.
3. Restaurants.
4. Shopping center and theater.

For these zones, each will have its own system and a mechanical space will be provided in the basement. The cooling towers will be placed on the top of the elevator-cores.

The tower, will be divided into four pressure zones.

1. The first twenty office floors will be served by the mechanical space in the basement.
2. The upper 15 office floors and the lower 15 hotel floors will be served by a mechanical space provided midway between these floors.
3. The upper twenty floors for the hotel guest-rooms will be served by a mechanical space on top of the tower.

The cooling tower of this building will be placed on the top of the tower. A diagrammatic drawing of the system and some details are shown on Plate No. 12.

VI. PROJECT CONTENT

(CAPABILITY)

The content of this project have been decided upon the following needs.

1. Past: Problems inherited from the past that need to be solved.
Accommodation for the aged Chinese is an outstanding one.
2. Present: The present landmark quality of a Chinatown.
3. Future: A new look that expresses the new spirit of Chinese citizen of the nation as one part of American heritage.

According to the urban renewal districts in which Chinatown is being involved, the designer will try to separate the problem into two parts.

Part I. The Chinese Complex Residential Area in South Cove, Boston.

A. Housing Complex with 450 Units

1. Single Bedroom Apartment	49%	220 units
2. Two Bedrooms Apartments	15%	70 units
3. Three Bedrooms Apartments	19%	85 units
4. Four Bedrooms Apartments	12%	55 units
5. Five Bedrooms Apartments	5%	20 units
6. Nursing Center		
7. Shopping Area in the First Two Floors		

B. The Chinese Christian Church

1. Chapel
2. Parsonage
3. Children's Center
4. Aged Chinese Club
5. Language Teaching Classrooms

C. Community Recreational Center

1. Swimming Pool
2. Gym.
3. Sports Rooms
4. Games and Social Rooms
5. Special Classrooms

6. Coffee Shops - Snack Bar
7. An Out Door Play Area for Adults and Teenage
8. Tot Lot

D. Parking Garage for Residential Area

E. Public Plaza

A common functional element to link with Part II.,
Chinese Complex in Central Business District.

Part II. The Chinese Complex in Central Business District

A. Public Plaza to link with that of Part I.

B. Underground Parking Garage

C. Tourist Center With Hotel Facility

1. Hotel with 500 Guest Rooms

a. Reception Area

Entrance

Lobby

Registration

b. Management

c. Service Area

Cocktail Lounge

Gifts Shop

Tailor

Flower Shop

General Apparel

Exhibition

Airline Office

Travel Bureau

Loan Office

d. Guest Rooms

Conventional Single Rm.	15%	75 Rms
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Conventional Double Rm.	30%	150 Rms
-------------------------	-----	---------

Combination Double with Couch	5%	25 Rms
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Conventional Twin	20%	100 Rms
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Studio Twin	10%	50 Rms
-------------	-----	--------

Combination Twin	13%	65 Rms
------------------	-----	--------

Conventional Double - Double	5%	25 Rms
------------------------------	----	--------

Sample Room	2%	10 Rms
-------------	----	--------

2. Night Clubs

3. Dining and Kitchen

a. Chinese Style

b. Western Style

4. Exclusive Souvenir Shops

D. Asia Exchange Building

1. Bank

2. Loan Office

3. Travel Bureau

4. Post Office

5. Rentable Space

E. Shopping Areas

1. Retail Shops

a. Books

b. News Papers and Imported Magazines

c. Jewelry

- d. Gifts
- e. Music
- f. Furniture and Home Furnishing
- g. Toy
- h. Sporting Goods
- i. Camera
- j. Photography
- k. Pharmacy
- l. Drug Store
- m. Cafeterial
- n. Candy
- o. Coffee Shop
- p. Men's Apparel
- q. Women's Apparel
- r. Teen Wear
- s. Children's Apparel
- t. Bridal Wear
- u. Shoes
- v. Barber Shop
- w. Beauty Shop
- 2. Super Market
- 3. Department Store
 - a. Men's Clothing
 - b. Women's Fashion Shop
 - c. Boy's Wear
 - d. Children's Wear
 - e. Sportswear
 - f. Blouses
 - g. Neckwear
 - h. Lingerie
 - i. Shoes
 - j. Gloves
 - k. Hosiery
 - l. Millinery
 - m. Drugs
 - n. Jewelry
 - o. Cameras
 - p. Luggage
 - q. Silverwear
 - r. Furniture
 - s. Lamps and Shades
 - t. Housewears
 - u. Radio and Television
 - v. Records
 - w. China and Glassware
 - x. Groceries
- 4. Specialty Shops

F. Chinese Cultural Center

1. Display Rooms
2. Studios
3. Library
4. Convention Hall
5. Office
6. Meeting Room
7. Lounge
8. Shops
9. Lecture Rooms

VII. GRAPHIC PRESENTATION

PLATE NO.

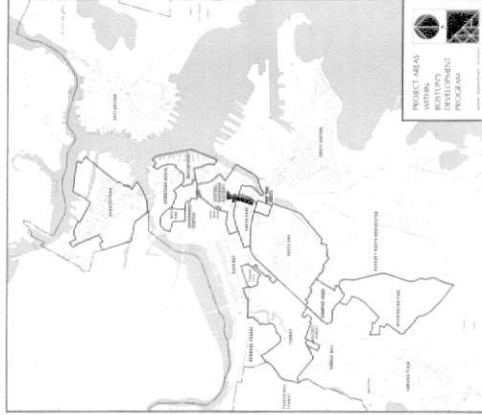
1. Title Sheet
2. Visual Analysis, Boston
3. Existing Site Analysis
4. Illustrative Site Plan
5. Site Plan and Section
6. Plan and Section
7. Garage Level Plan
8. Ground Level Plan
9. Tower Plans
10. Plan and Wall Sections
11. Boston 1975
12. Mechanical Systems and Structural Frame Plan
13. Restaurant

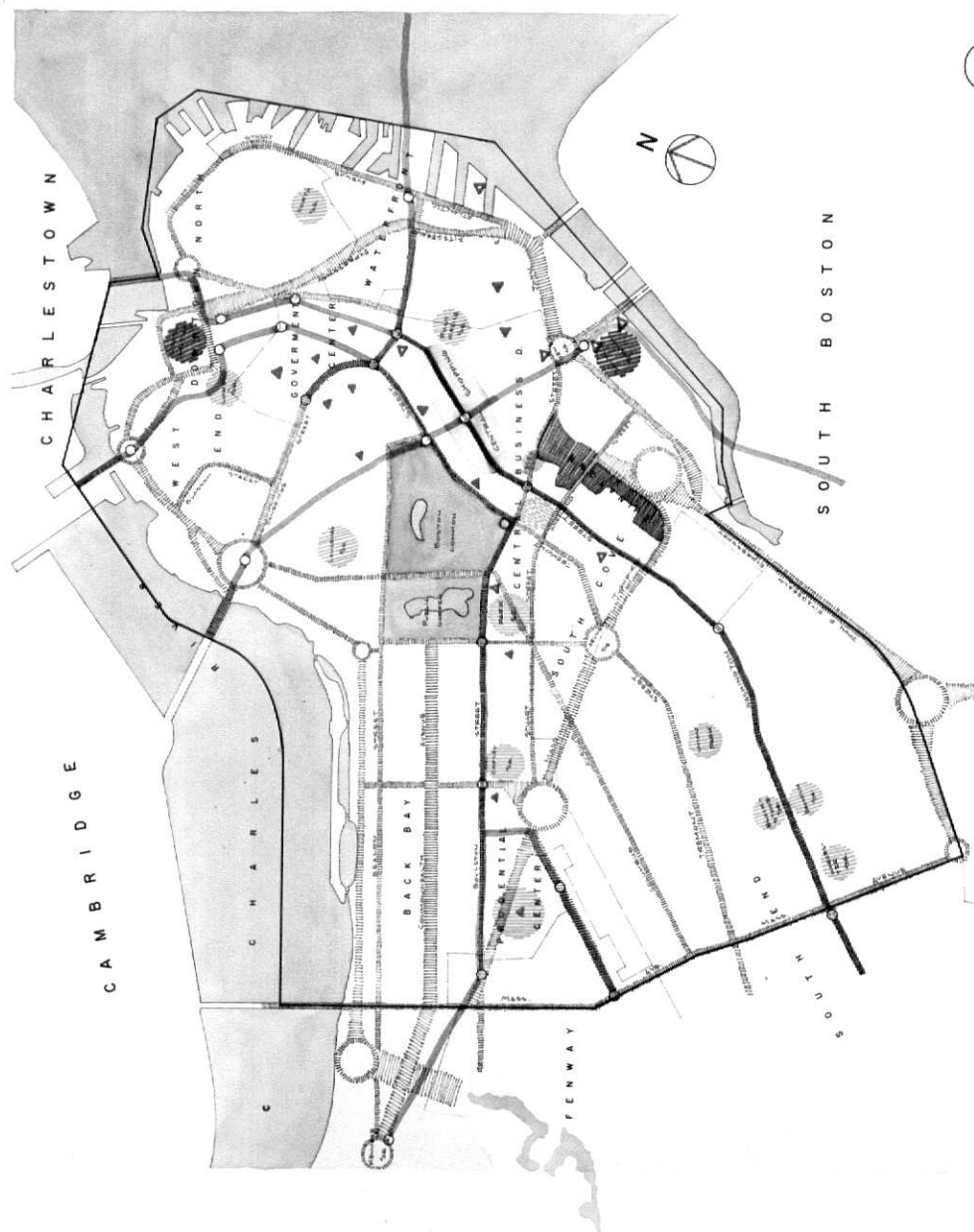
A CHINESE COMPLEX IN BOSTON

A MASTER'S THESIS

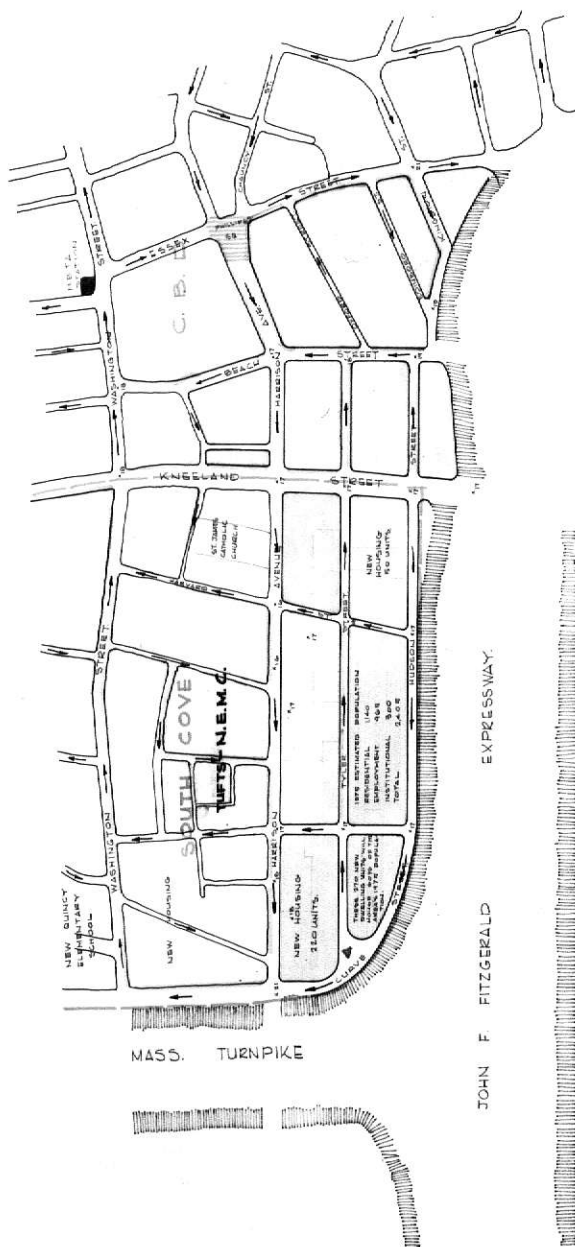
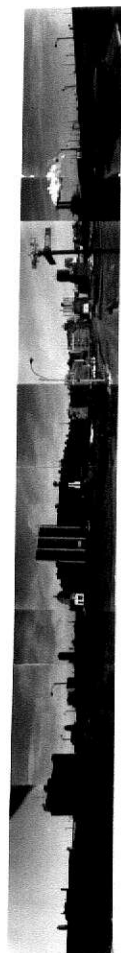
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE
COLLEGE OF ARCHITECTURE AND DESIGN
KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
SPRING 1970

BY LIH-YEH KUO
MAJOR PROF. : AMOS I. CHANG





VISUAL ANALYSIS, BOSTON 2

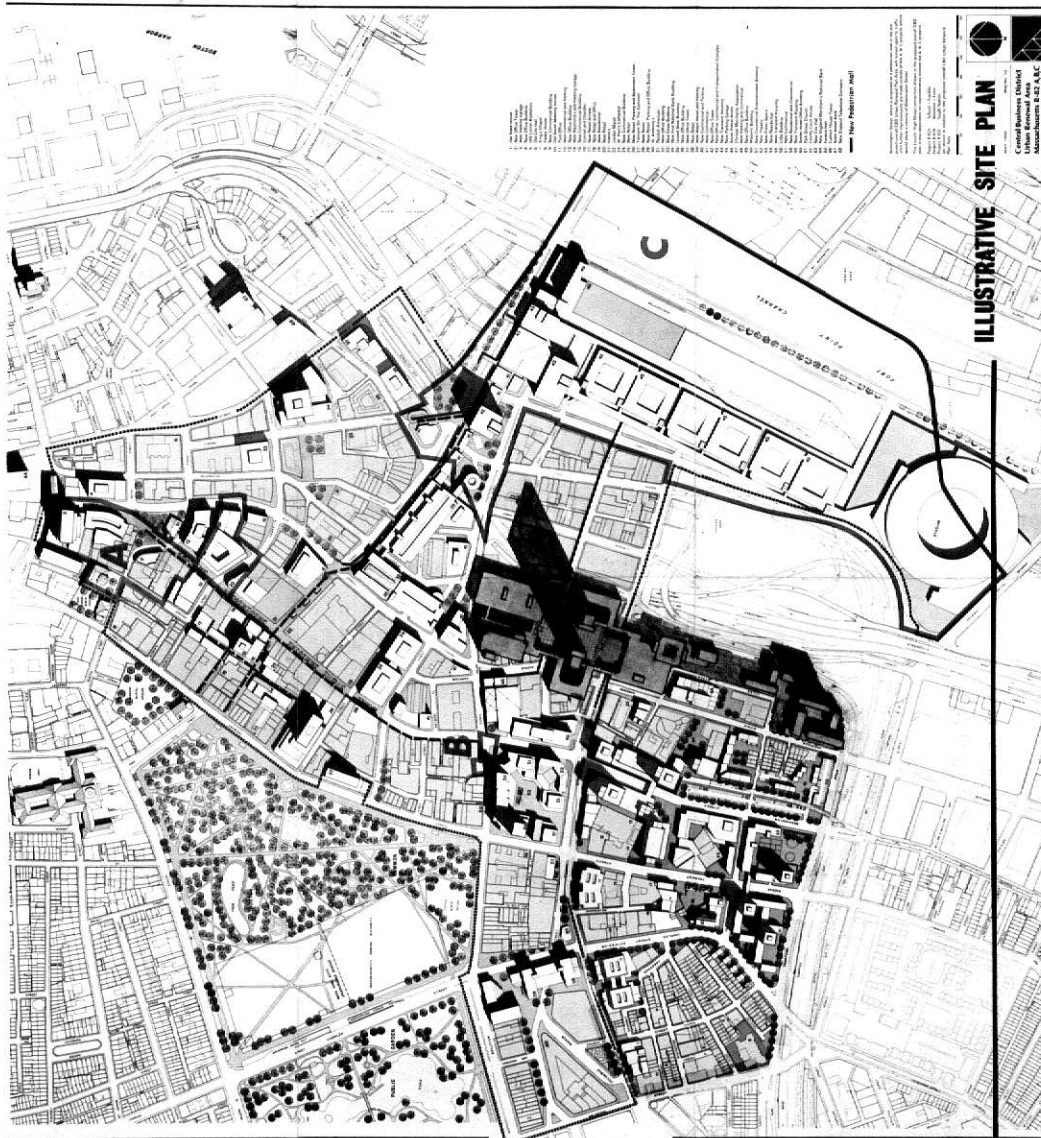


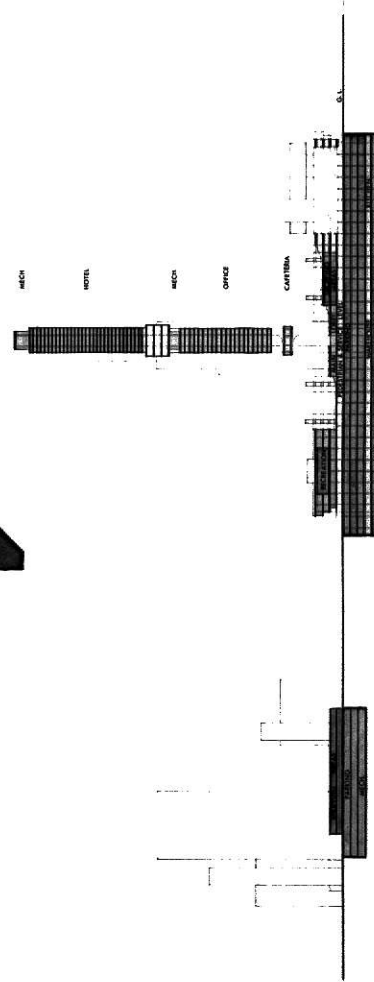
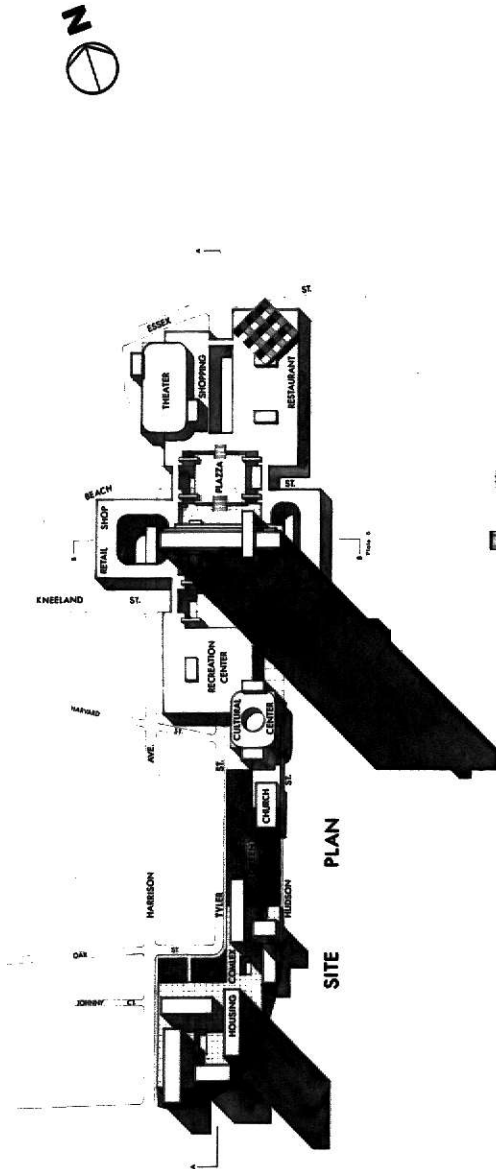
**SOUTH
STATION**

N



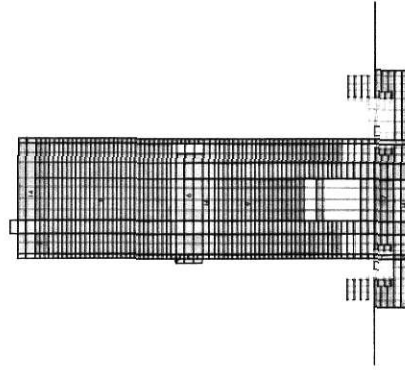
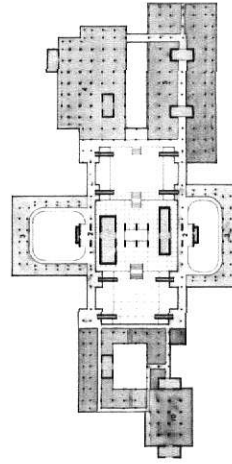
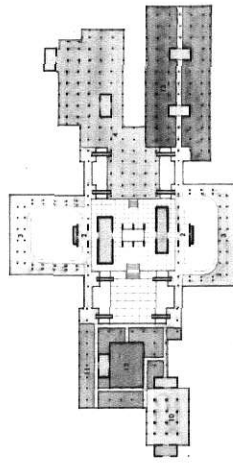
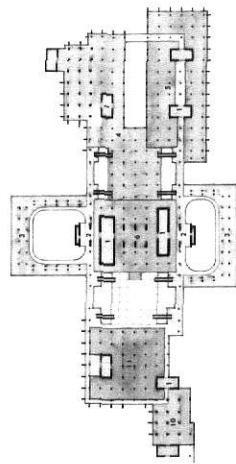
EXISTING SITE ANALYSIS 3





SITE PLAN & SECTION 5

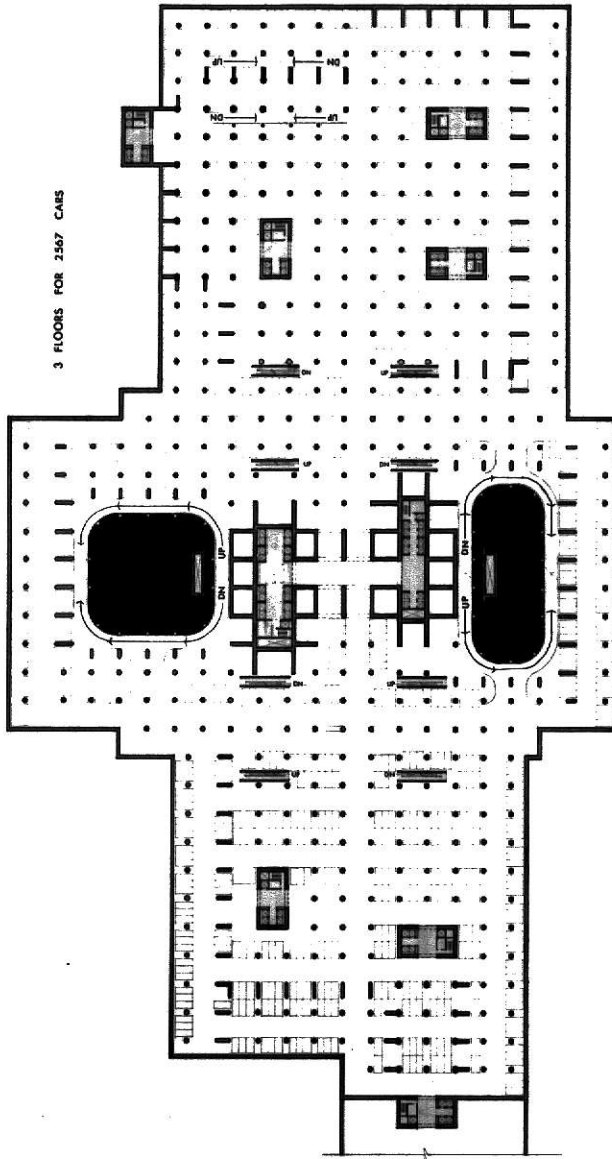
SCALE
1" = 100'-0"



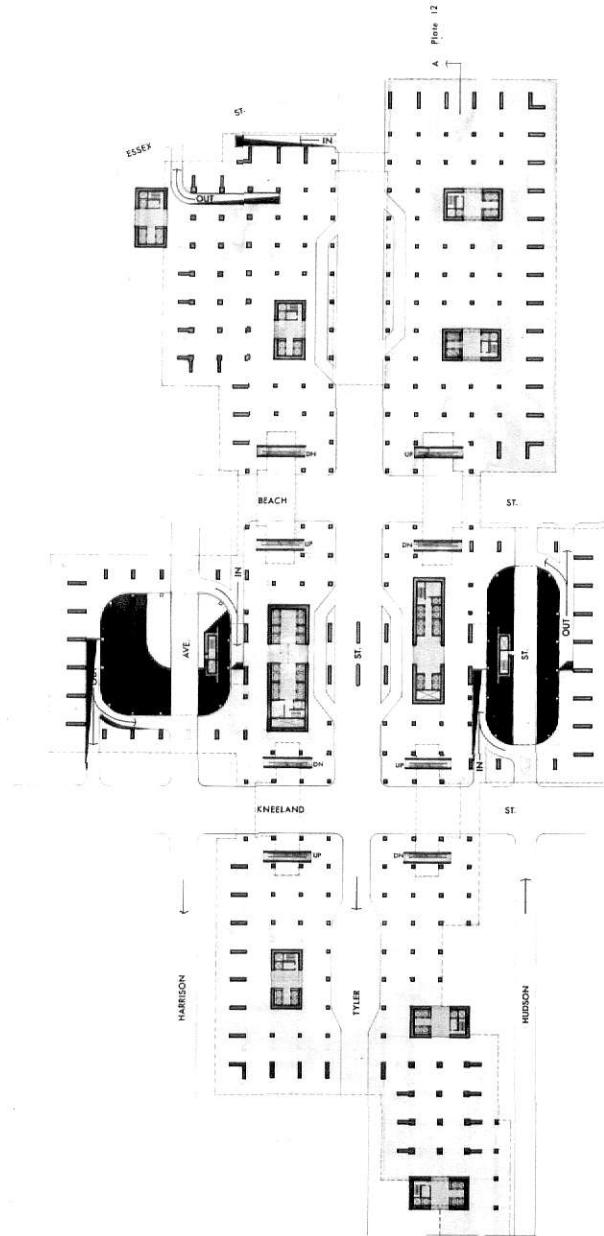
- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|-----|-------------------|
| 1.1 | SERVICE CORE | 6.1 | HOTEL GUEST ROOMS |
| 2.1 | PUBLIC CIRCULATION | 6.2 | OFFICE SPACE |
| 3.1 | RETAIL GROUP | 1.5 | CULTURAL CENTER |
| 4.1 | SHOPPING CENTER | 1.6 | RECREATION SPACE |
| 5.1 | RESTAURANT | 1.7 | GYM |
| 6.1 | MAIN LOBBY & HOTEL LOBBY | 1.8 | RECREATED SPACE |
| 7.1 | PARKING GARAGE | 1.9 | MECH. |

PLANS & SECTION 6

SCALE
1"=100'-0"



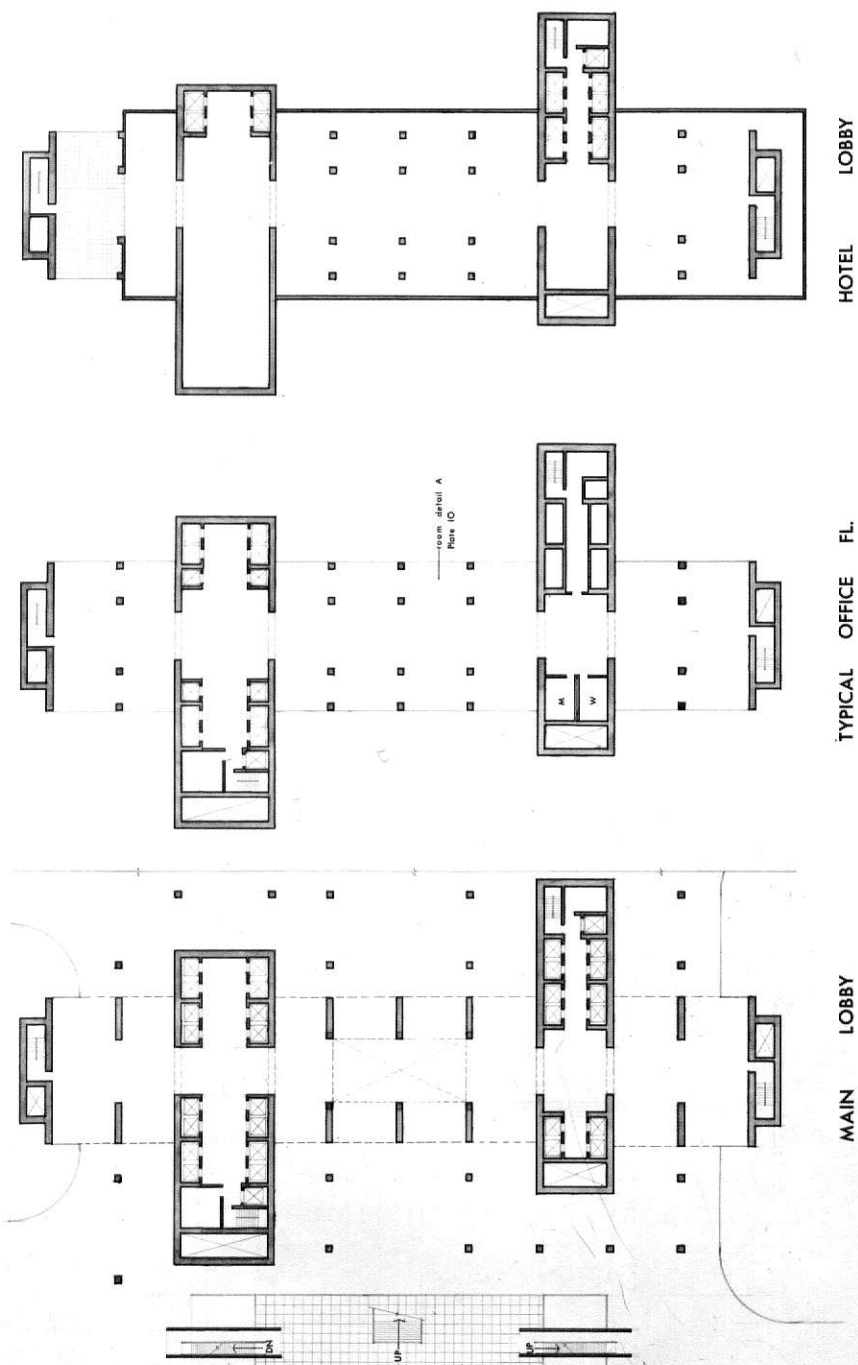
GARAGE PLAN 7 SCALE 1" = 30'-0"



SCALE
1"=30'-0"

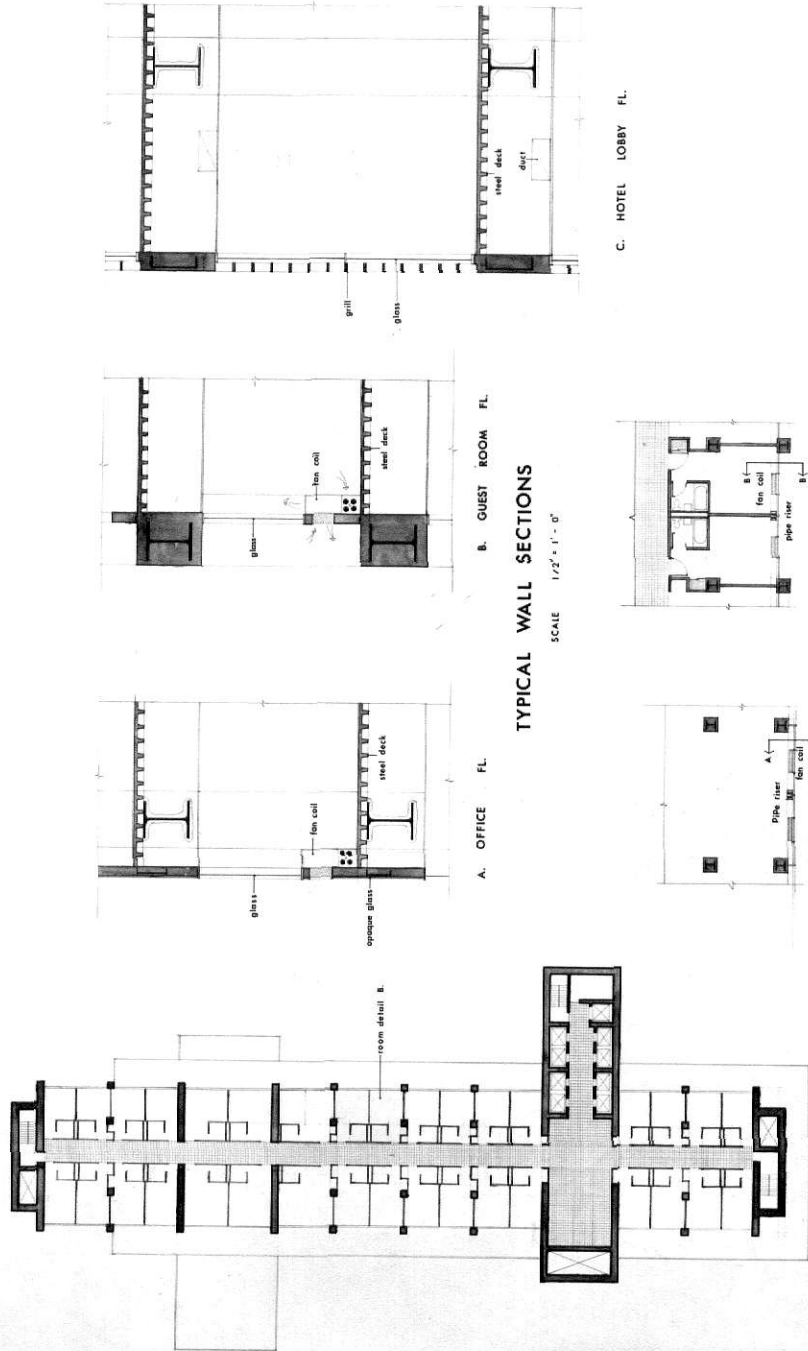
8

GROUND LEVEL PLAN

SCALE
1/8" = 1'-0"

9

TOWER PLANS



TYPICAL GUEST ROOMS

SCALE 1/16" = 1'-0"

A. TYPICAL OFFICE BAY

ROOM

SCALE 1/8" = 1'-0"

B. TYPICAL GUEST ROOM

DETAIL

SCALE 1/8" = 1'-0"

TYPICAL WALL SECTIONS

SCALE 1/2" = 1'-0"

C. HOTEL LOBBY FL.

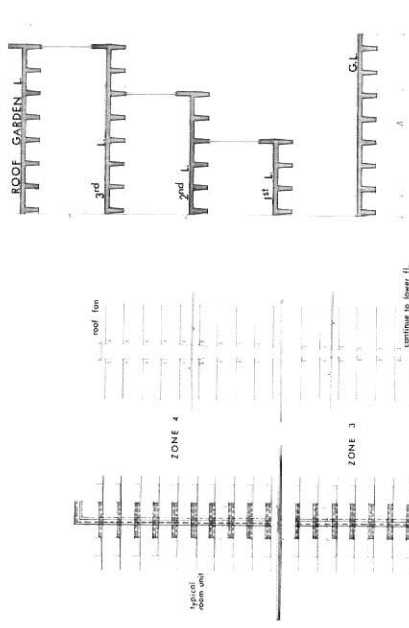
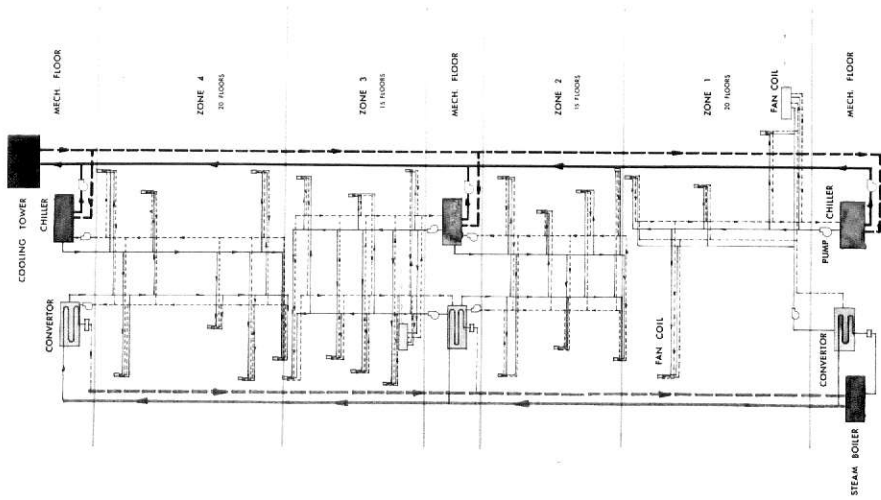
TOWER PLANS & WALL SECTIONS

10

SCALE AS NOTED

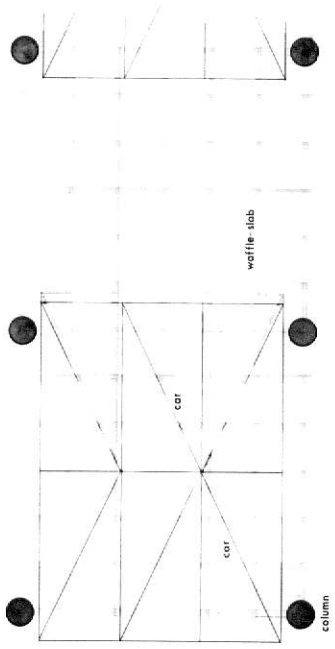


BOSTON 1975 11



TYPICAL TOILET EXHAUST DUCT RISER

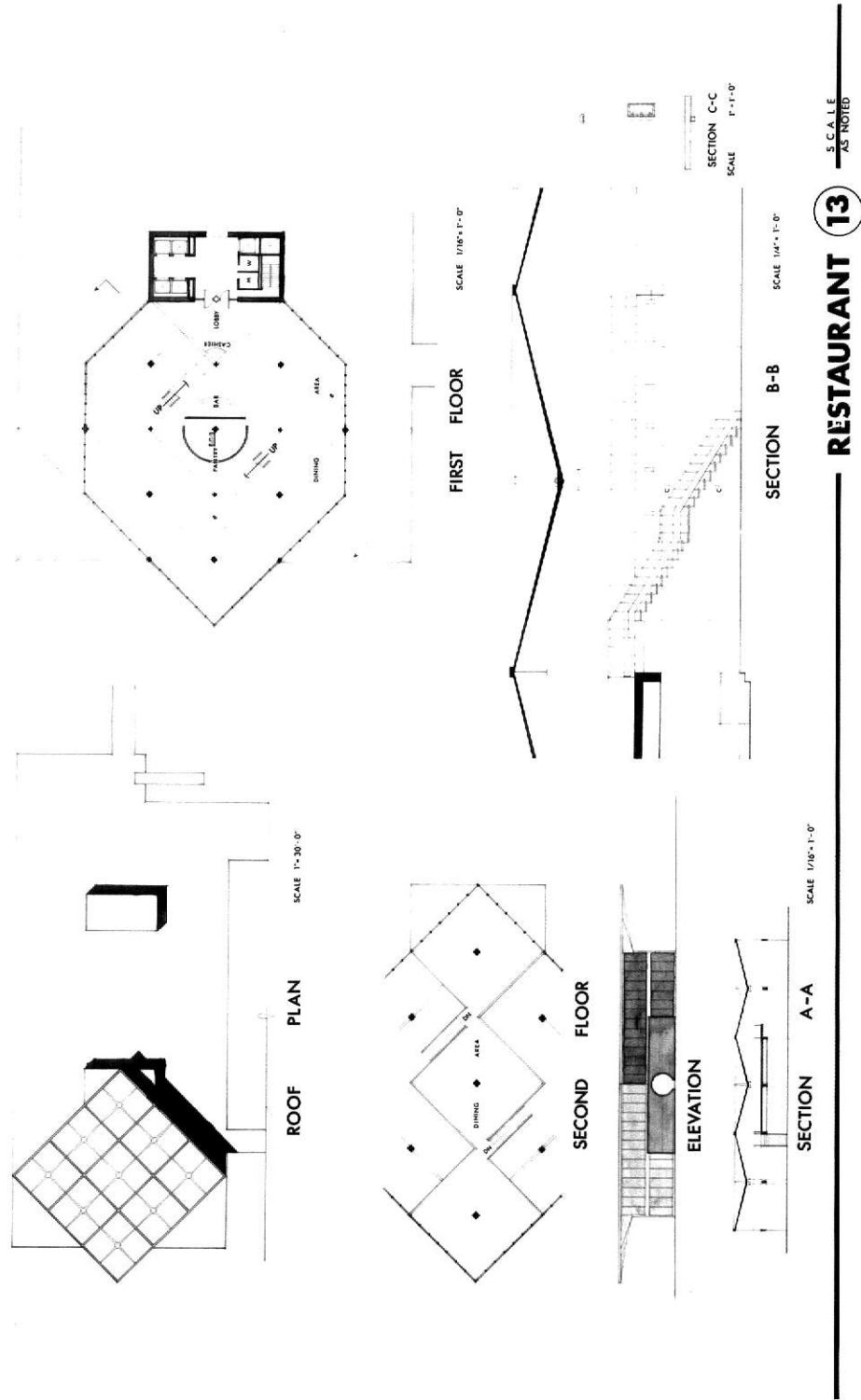
WALL SECTION A - A
SCALE 1/8" = 1'-0"

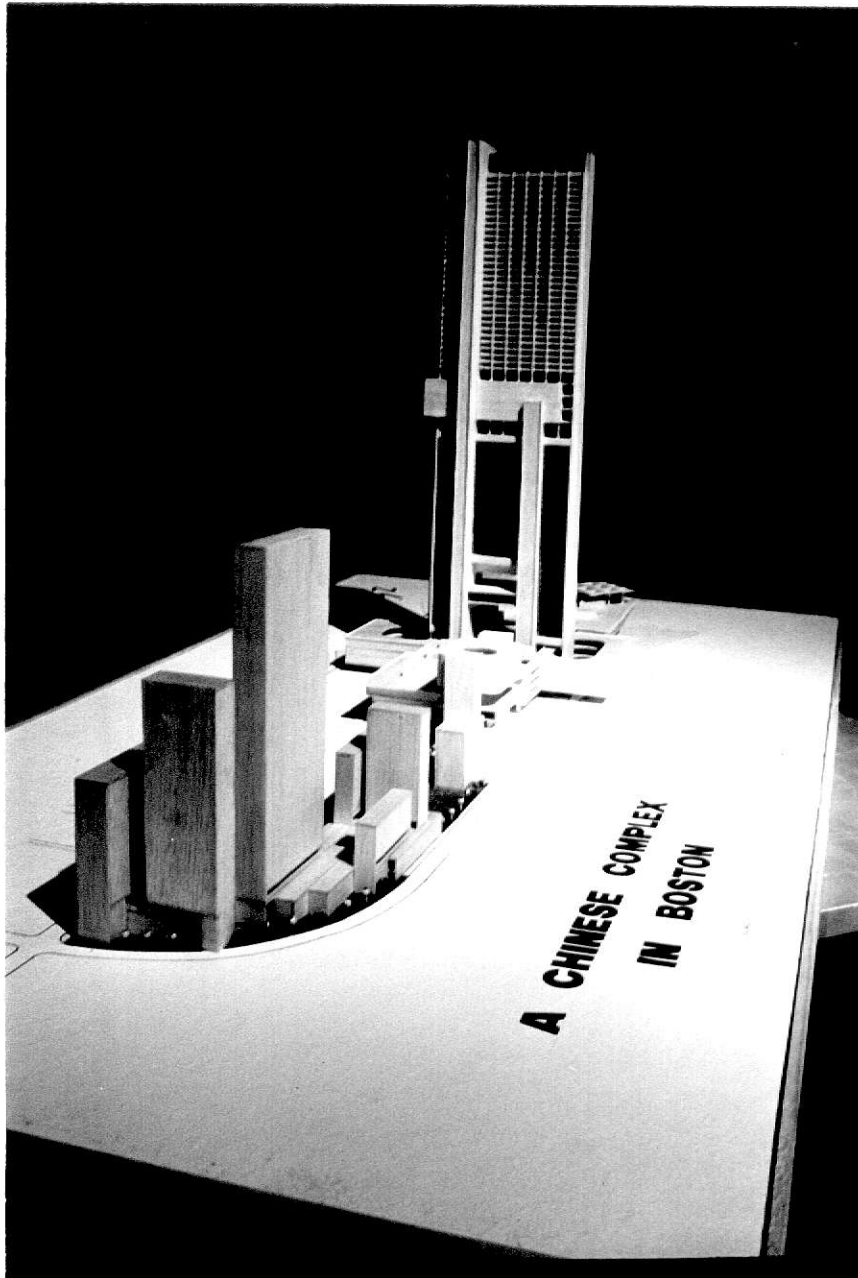


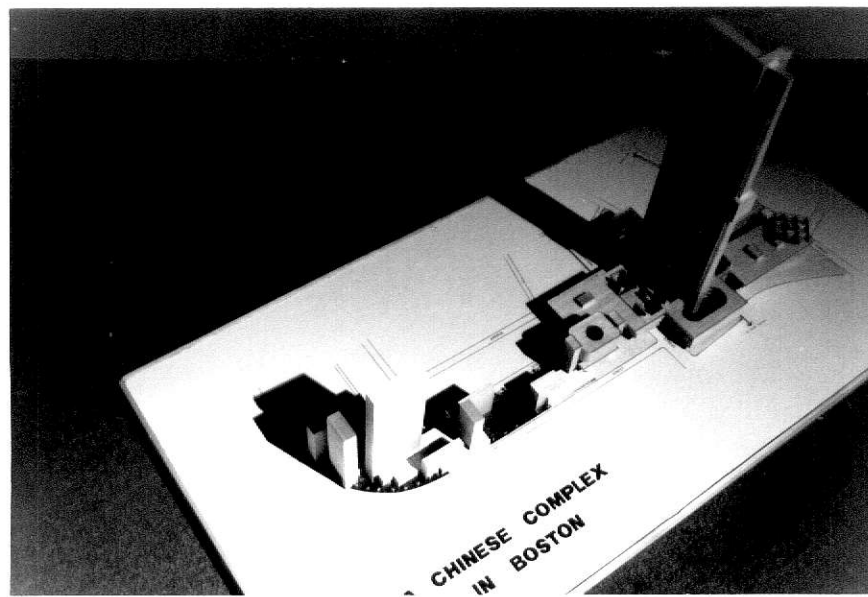
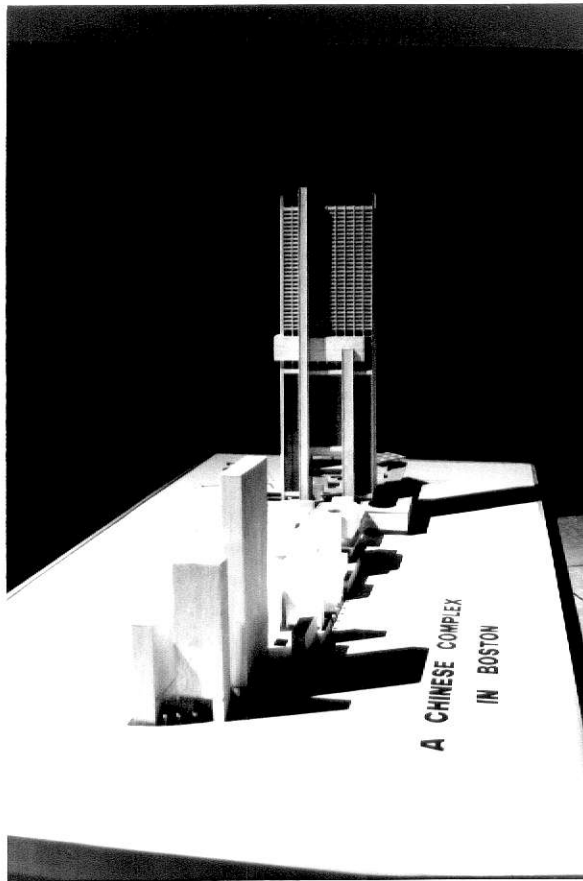
Waffle-slab & parking plan
SCALE 1/4" = 1'-0"

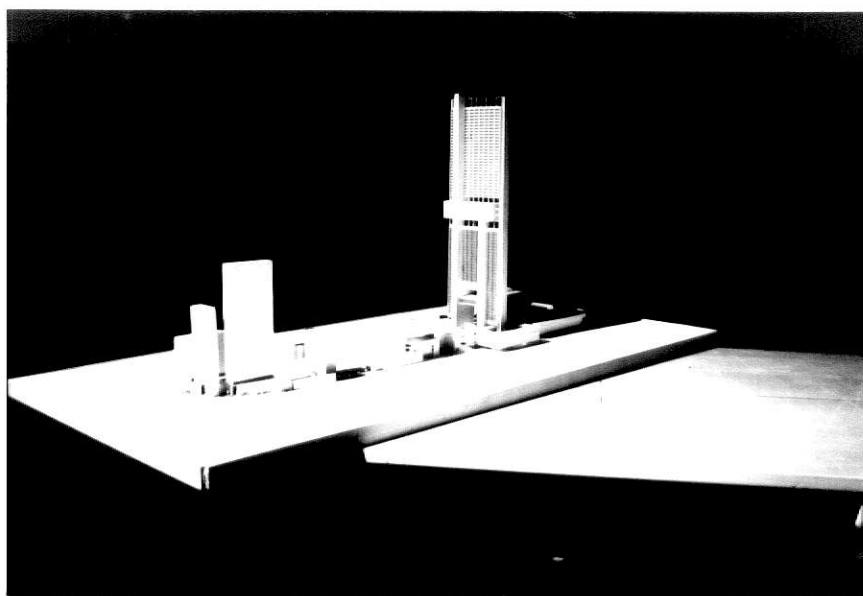
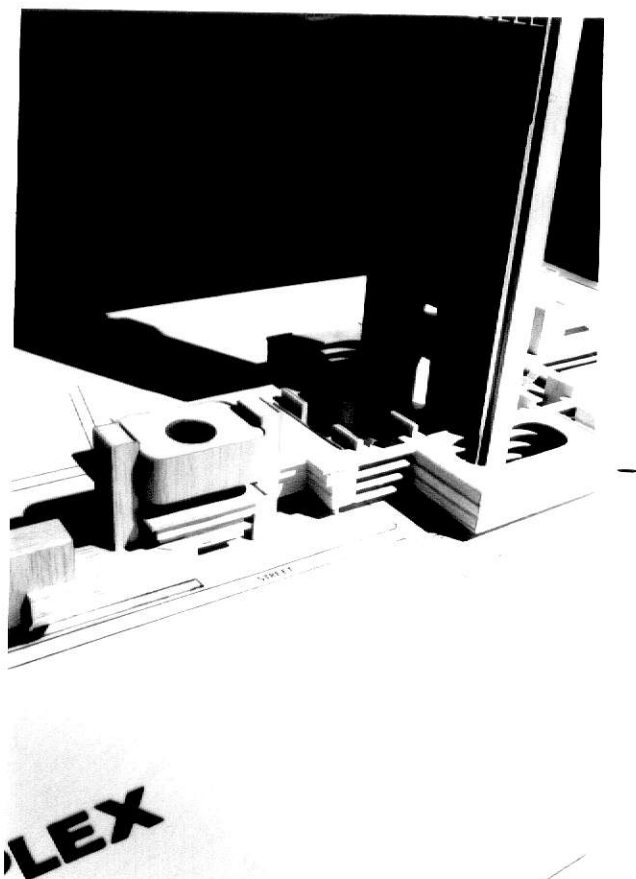
MECHANICAL SYSTEM 12

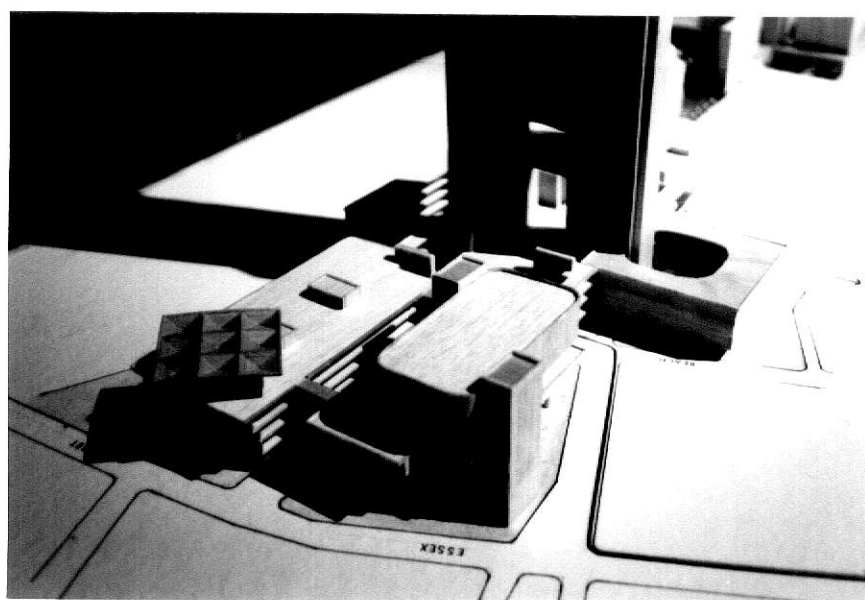
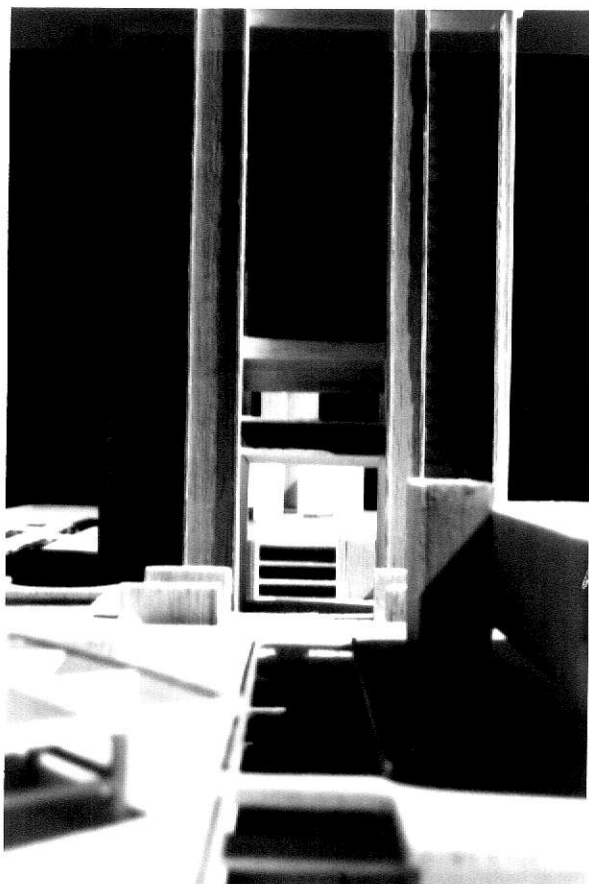
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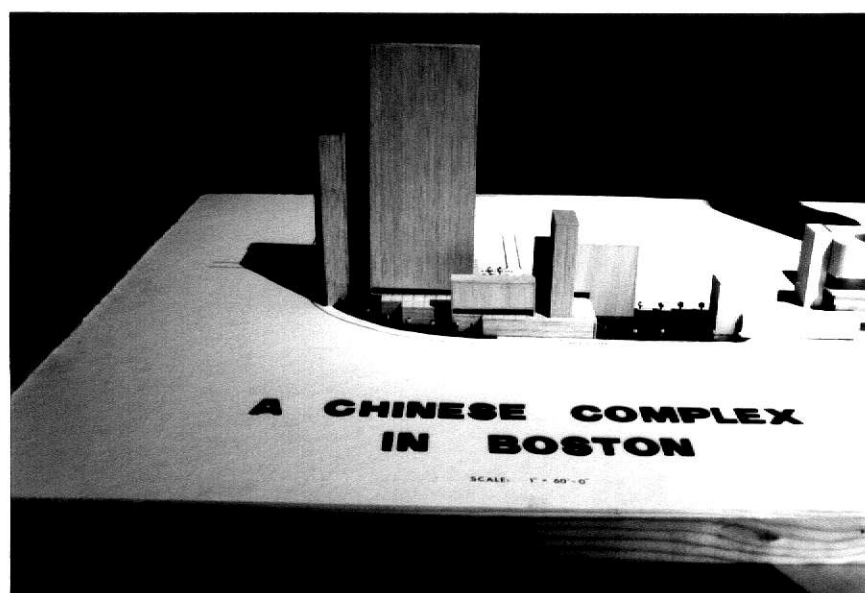
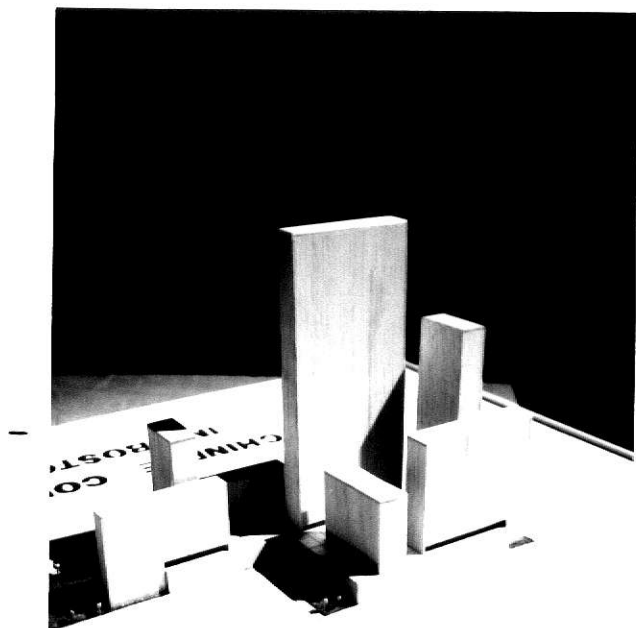












VIII. CONCLUSION

Through the studies of its historical background, present surrounding, and the future needs for the Chinese community in Boston, we arrive at the conclusion that this community is not only a living neighborhood for Chinese who live and work in the immediate neighborhood, but also a center to server as a colorful landmark in the Boston area for tourist trade and international understanding. For this reason, the designer tries to utilize his understanding of the cultural background, the present as well as the future situations in this area according to his judgement and imagination and to search for a pleasant solution for the design of a new complex of this colorful community in Boston, Massachusetts, as it is shown and suggested in the graphic presentation of this thesis.

In the spring of 1975, guns will be booming in Boston Harbor. The President of the United States, the Queen of England, the Governor of Massachusetts, the Mayor of Boston, will all be present to open Freedom '75 not too far away from the site of this new Chinese Building Complex.

It will be a big day for Boston then. It is my hope that my idea of this modern Chinese complex is not only going to be part of the Boston Central Business District project, but also an American version of a Chinese Pavilion in the '75 World Fair. It should then be a part of the joy of the whole world in peace.

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A CHINESE COMPLEX IN BOSTON

by

LIH-YEH KUO

B. S., Tunghai University, Republic of China, 1966

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE

College of Architecture

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1970

For almost a hundred years, Chinese people in the United States gathered together in their own communities, held firmly to their native customs and their revered traditions in their own communities in the big U.S. cities.

The process of modern acculturation has caused the change of the characteristics of these Chinatowns from mere Chinese communities to colorful landmarks for tourists and supply stations for the Chinese at large. The fact that these communities do have their unique cultural background is an intangible asset of the great American civilization.

Through the studies of the historical backgrounds, present surrounding, and the future needs for the Chinese community in Boston, we may arrive at the conclusion that the realization of a new community intermingled with other cultures is not only possible but also desirable for the sake of tourist trade, cultural exchange and international understanding. The inspiration of an exotic past coupled with the imagination of a hopeful future for American Chinese may be instrumental for the acceptable design of a new complex of this pleasant community in Boston, Massachusetts.