

UCLA

UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

La Fiesta de Los Angeles: Race, Ethnicity, and History on Parade in Los Angeles, 1894-1903

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9vh216bm>

Author

Shuen, Rachel

Publication Date

2014

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

La Fiesta de Los Angeles: Race, Ethnicity, and History on Parade in Los Angeles, 1894-1903

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts
in Asian American Studies

by

Rachel Grace Shuen

2014

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

La Fiesta de Los Angeles: Race, Ethnicity, and History on Parade in Los Angeles, 1894-1903

by

Rachel Grace Shuen

Master of Arts in Asian American Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor Valerie Matsumoto, Chair

This project uses La Fiesta de Los Angeles, a multiethnic parade, as an entry point into understanding ethnic and race relations in Los Angeles, California from 1894-1903. Expanding upon historical research and theoretical frameworks that explore the intersectionalities of race, gender, class, and nationality within La Fiesta de Los Angeles, this project investigates how the development of a racialized Los Angeles in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries offers important historical perspectives for the United States. It focuses on the Chinese community in Los Angeles and their participation in the parade and endeavors to recognize their exercise of agency, however limited. Photographs and postcards of La Fiesta are used to glean clues about the development of the Chinese American community and how they sought to present themselves. In La Fiesta, the Chinese used their culture as capital to combat prejudice and create business opportunities. In appealing to American Orientalist imagination, the Chinese were able to craft their own representation in a way that increased their popularity (even if temporarily) in American society and staked a claim to a sense of belonging in Los Angeles.

This thesis of Rachel Grace Shuen is approved.

Robert Chao Romero

David K. Yoo

Valerie J. Matsumoto, Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2014

Table of Contents

List of Figures.....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
Introduction.....	1
Methodology and Literature Review	8
History of the Chinese in Los Angeles	12
History of La Fiesta de Los Angeles.....	22
Chinese Involvement in La Fiesta.....	30
Conclusion	54
Bibliography	56

List of Figures

Figure 1. View of parade spectators in the 1895 La Fiesta	2
Figure 2. Spectators observing the Chinese dragon in the 1901 La Fiesta.....	2
Figure 3. Map of Chinatown, Los Angeles, circa 1890	15
Figure 4 Postcards depicting a view of La Fiesta parade and spectators on Main Street, 1909	24
Figure 5. Temecula Indians representing Aztec Indians in the 1896 La Fiesta	27
Figure 6. Spanish caballeros portrayed by Mexican Americans, ca. 1901	28
Figure 7. Postcard by M. Reider commemorating La Fiesta, 1903	32
Figure 8. Chinese men waiting by their float for La Fiesta, 1901	32
Figure 9. Artist’s drawing of the Chinese procession in La Fiesta, 1894.....	39
Figure 10. Right-side view of Chinese float in La Fiesta, 1895	40
Figure 11. Left-side view of Chinese float in La Fiesta, 1895	40
Figure 12. Chinese merchant float in the 1897 Fiesta	41
Figure 13. 100-foot-long Golden Dragon carried by Chinese men during the La Fiesta de Los Angeles parade, May 1901	49
Figure 14. A Chinese man poses next to a Fiesta dragon, 1900	50
Figure 15. Chinese family out to see La Fiesta Parade, undated	52

Acknowledgements

This project would not have been possible without the support and encouragement of my committee chair, advisor, and mentor, Professor Valerie Matsumoto. I sincerely thank her for her tireless efforts in reading my drafts, giving me constructive feedback, and for providing me with much needed guidance about the direction of my work. The insight and wisdom she imparted about the trials and tribulations of doing historical research taught me how to be a better writer, researcher, and thinker. I am honored to have been able to work with such a renowned scholar who has been a great advocate of my project.

My committee members, Robert Chao Romero and David K. Yoo, also offered incredible comments that helped elevate this project. I am very grateful for their suggestions and comprehensive advice.

I would also like to thank the Institute of American Cultures (IAC) and the Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles for their generous support of my work through the IAC Research Grant, 2013-2014.

Introduction

On April 10, 1894, the city of Los Angeles, California, hosted its first La Fiesta de Los Angeles. This festival was a unique urban ritual: part urban pageant, part spectacle.¹ La Fiesta was a processional parade that lasted for several days, passing through the major streets of downtown Los Angeles. Float after float of Chinese, Native Americans, Spanish caballeros, prosperity floats, the Fire Department, and the Fiesta's Queen and court comprised the parade, reflecting the diversity of the city. There were also daily events such as Floral Day, Military Day, and Children's Day. People jostled one another for spots on the streets and peered from windows of buildings lining the streets of the procession, all trying to witness the excitement. An 1899 novel, *A Business Venture in Los Angeles, or, a Christian Optimist*, described La Fiesta:

The mixture of races and nationalities taking part therein gave a flavor of originality to the whole, rendering it entirely distinct from ordinary processions, so that, from first to last, the interest was sustained, especially with those to whom the sight was a novel one.... [It was] produced in such magnificence and with so much attention to detail, as not only to be beautiful to the eye, but valuable as object-lessons to young and old.²

As "object-lessons," the floats and performances were meant to visually convey a linear notion of racial progress in Los Angeles' history, upholding Anglo-American hegemony. La Fiesta de Los Angeles, a lavish celebration, represented a desire to shape Los Angeles' future and made a statement about ethnicity and race in Los Angeles at the turn of the twentieth-century.

¹ William Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of its Mexican Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004): 50.

² Louise Doissy, *A Business Venture in Los Angeles: Or, a Christian Optimist*. (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company, 1899): 194-195. Though little is known about the author, this creative nonfiction novel was actually published under the pseudonym, Z.Z. This novel, whose title suggests economic boosterism and Christian liberalism, tells the story of two sisters who own a small shop in downtown Los Angeles and are preparing for La Fiesta de Los Angeles, as it is an opportunity for more business.



Figure 1. View of parade spectators in the 1895 La Fiesta. Source: California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento.



Figure 2. Spectators observing the Chinese dragon in the 1901 La Fiesta. In front of the dragon, a parade marcher is carrying an orb to lead the dragon. To the left of the dragon, a parade marcher carries a stool that will be used as a resting spot for the dragon's head when it sits. Photograph taken by Charles C. Pierce. Source: California Historical Society Collection, 1860-1960, University of Southern California Digital Library.

While La Fiesta had multiethnic participation, this paper focuses on the Chinese community's appearances in La Fiesta. The Chinese community in Los Angeles made an unforgettable performance in the first Fiesta, leaving such a deep impression on spectators and event organizers that the Chinese floats were one of its greatest attractions over the years. The Chinese floats in the parade were described as "the most gorgeous affair ever seen on an American street, on any occasion."³ The crowds were thrilled to see "the glitter of weapons...the sheen of robes from the finest of silk, and the sparkle of jewelry from real gems."⁴ The Chinese had the opportunity to control their representation in La Fiesta and were able to change popular attitudes towards themselves.

La Fiesta was founded by the Merchants Association of Los Angeles as a means of promoting local commerce. Due to the opening of markets as a result of increased railroad connections, the Los Angeles market had to be made attractive in order to compete with goods produced elsewhere. Increased efforts were made to promote the city as a center of commerce as well as a tourist attraction.⁵ Guidebook authors, novelists, and real estate agents romanticized Los Angeles as an appealing, leisurely place.⁶ Influenced by other urban celebrations such as Mardi Gras in New Orleans and Pasadena's Tournament of Roses, the Merchants Association invented La Fiesta de Los Angeles as a way to advertise the city, the city's merchants, and the city's goods. The *Los Angeles Times* wrote of La Fiesta: "it is time for the merchants to cut loose and start a new era of prosperity upon a broader plane. Los Angeles is a new world formed with

³Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913* (New York: The Knickerboxer Press, 1913), 135, as cited in Christina Wielus Mead, "Las Fiestas de Los Angeles: A Survey of the Yearly Celebrations, 1894-1898," *The Quarterly: Historical Society of Southern California*, Vol. 31 No. 1/2 (March and June 1949): 72.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Natalia Molina, *Fit to be Citizens?: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California, 2006), 18.

⁶ Ibid.

higher motives, broader principles, and greater ambitions. The Chicago of the West—the ambitious, prosperous city of the western Hemisphere.”⁷ The boosterism of La Fiesta led to a period of prosperity, growth and development in Los Angeles.

Founded in 1781 as one of two original Spanish pueblos in California, Los Angeles was granted status as a city by the Mexican government in 1835.⁸ It is a city with Native American, Spanish, and Mexican historical roots, and remained racially and ethnically diverse despite its incorporation into the United States after the Mexican-American War (1846-1848) under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.⁹ The city of Los Angeles underwent a major transformation from 1850 to 1950 not only in terms of its geographic space and landscape, but also in terms of its population. The completion of the Santa Fe Railroad in 1885 was another contributor to the growth of Los Angeles. The Southern Pacific Railroad and the Santa Fe Railroad were in competition to have the lowest prices; as a result, the prices dropped so low that travel by railroad was accessible for anyone who wished to go out West.¹⁰ The influx of residents and tourists led to an economic boom and a real estate boom from 1886 to 1887, creating hotels, residential neighborhoods, and shopping and business districts.¹¹ Though Los Angeles’ population was mostly comprised of Anglo Americans, Mexicans, and Mexican Americans in the 1890s, Asians and other ethnic minority groups found ways to live in the city despite continuing segregation, discrimination, and ethnic tensions. The floats in La Fiesta’s parades

⁷ *Los Angeles Times*, April 8, 1894, as quoted in Isabel C. Wielus, “Las Fiestas de Los Angeles: A Survey of the Yearly Celebrations, 1894-1898,” M.A. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1946, p. 24.

⁸ Portia Lee and Jeffrey Samudio, *Images of America: Los Angeles, California*, (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2001), 7.

⁹ See Richard Griswold del Castillo, “Manifest Destiny: The Mexican-American War and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo,” *Southwestern Journal of Law and Trade in the Americas* 5, No. 31 (1998): 31. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is a peace treaty that ended the Mexican-American War. It ceded half of Mexico’s national territory to the United States.

¹⁰ Molina, *Fit to be Citizens*, 18; Cory Stargel, and Sarah Stargel, *Early Downtown Los Angeles*, (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2009): 7.

¹¹ Stargel, *Early Downtown Los Angeles*, 7.

were meant to showcase the ethnic diversity of the city. La Fiesta’s planners boasted that “not many cities could produce representatives of four of the five human races—Caucasians, Mongolians, Africans, and red men from the residents of its immediate locality.”¹²

Thus, La Fiesta de Los Angeles was about race and ethnicity. The ethnic diversity showcased by the Fiesta provided an opportunity for Anglo Americans to take notice of the racial and ethnic distinctions between themselves and the different groups on parade. Not all viewed this positively. Newspapers such as the *Porcupine* and *East Side News* criticized La Fiesta for being un-American and unpatriotic because of its incorporation of ethnic and racial cultures other than Anglo Americans.¹³ The *California Voice* newspaper reported disapprovingly: “The heathen Chinees, Indians and Mexican are appealed to join in the parade with their heathen, savage and semi-barbarous costumes, implements of war, etc., all of which are far from elevating in their character.”¹⁴ The experiences of people of color in Los Angeles demonstrate how immigrants and indigenous peoples were racialized in relation to one another. Racial stigmas persisted, and as a result, helped to institutionalize racial hierarchy as well as municipal legislation that targeted specific racial groups.

What can analyzing La Fiesta tell us about race relations, racial attitudes, and the ethnic and racial climate in Los Angeles at the end of the nineteenth-century? This project uses La Fiesta de Los Angeles as an entry point into understanding ethnic and race relations in Los Angeles, California from 1894-1903. It explores the treatment of the Chinese community through its inclusion in the parade as a means of presenting Los Angeles as moving forward in a

¹² *Los Angeles Times*, March 28, 1894, as cited in Mead, “La Fiestas de Los Angeles,” 69.

¹³ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 82.

¹⁴ *California Voice*, February 24 and March 4, 1898, as cited in Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 83. In addition to the *Porcupine*, the *East Side News*, newspapers like the *Los Angeles Record*, the *California Voice*, and the *Los Angeles Citizen* widely criticized La Fiesta and made objections about its unpatriotic mission that encouraged race mixing. The *Los Angeles Times*, however, was a proponent of La Fiesta and was a major driving force of the parade.

period of racial transition despite the anti-Chinese sentiment and rhetoric common during that time and the passage of the 1892 Geary Act which extended the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. 1890s Los Angeles serves as a unique site for studying the multi-cultural struggles and triumphs of a growing city. La Fiesta de Los Angeles provides a lens through which to examine the political, social, economic, and cultural circumstances that promoted ethnic stratification and ideas of white racial superiority. Historian Natalia Molina argues that the promotion of the white race in Los Angeles was central to the city's development and success.¹⁵

This project focuses on the Chinese community in Los Angeles and their participation in the parade and endeavors to recognize their exercise of agency, however limited. I examined La Fiesta from the years 1894-1903 because I wanted to focus on the inaugural years of the celebration and explore the Chinese community in Los Angeles at the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁶ The project is split into two parts. The first section contextualizes the historical background of La Fiesta by tracing the history of the Chinese in Los Angeles as well as the development of the city of Los Angeles. Section two examines La Fiesta de Los Angeles itself, mainly addressing the contrast between the image of a diverse and inclusive city that parade planners were trying to present and the initial controversies regarding the inclusion of the Chinese in the parade. Photographs and postcards of La Fiesta are used to glean clues about the development of the Chinese American community and how the Chinese sought to present themselves.

This project expands upon historical research on urban development, race relations, the Chinese community and Chinese experience, and economic growth of Los Angeles. Historical

¹⁵ Molina, *Fit to be Citizens*, 19.

¹⁶ The Chinese were the only Asian ethnic group initially asked to participate in the parade. The inclusion of the Chinese (and their annual dragon float) in the Fiesta was partly in response to the growing Chinese community settling in Los Angeles and partly due to the popularity of the Chinese dragon float.

studies on race in Los Angeles often focus on the Mexican experience due to the historical ties of Mexicans to the annexed land of Los Angeles. I aim to go beyond the conventional white and Latino paradigm of race in Los Angeles because I believe it is important to highlight the presence and role of Asians in the history of Los Angeles. Thus, I hope that my project contributes to the field of Asian American Studies and to Los Angeles' history, particularly in terms of understanding the interactions between Chinese immigrants and other ethnic groups during a period in which the city was still defining itself and what it represented. Expanding upon historical research and theoretical frameworks that explore the intersectionalities of race, gender, class, and nationality within La Fiesta de Los Angeles, this project investigates how the development of a racialized Los Angeles in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries offers important historical perspectives for the United States.

Methodology and Literature Review

La Fiesta was a celebration and spectacle that placed different ethnic groups on parade for commercial and boosterish purposes. While these parades may have appeared as a sign of racial progress and inter-ethnic peace, there is much that begs to be uncovered in the history of La Fiesta de Los Angeles. How did the Chinese “perform” their identity and culture while on parade? How can the representation of the Chinese and other ethnic groups that participated in the parade inform understandings of race in Los Angeles during the late nineteenth-century? Through an analysis of the performance of “Chinese-ness” in the parade, I aim to uncover and illuminate the complex relationship that the Chinese had with the parade organizers and how they tried to shape their own representation to American spectators. I also address the question: what was the role of La Fiesta in building the city of Los Angeles? In addition to drawing on secondary sources, I conducted primary source research, examining United States census data and photographs from the California State Library and the University of Southern California collections, postcards from the Jewish Museum of the American West, newspapers such as the *Los Angeles Times*, and travel literature to portray the environment and experience of La Fiesta de Los Angeles.

Certain key works gave me insight into ethnic relations in late-nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Los Angeles. I expand upon historian William Deverell’s *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of its Mexican Past*, which mostly examines the interplay between cultural authority and ethnic stratification in Los Angeles from the 1850s until World War II, focusing on the behavior and ideas of Anglo Americans toward Mexicans. Deverell writes about La Fiesta to question why the city’s leaders used the past as a cultural tool to build the city and its regional identity while also trying to “whitewash” Los Angeles’ early

history.¹⁷ Deverell's work has been critical in helping to ground my understanding of La Fiesta. *Before L.A.: Race, Space, and Municipal Power in Los Angeles, 1781-1894* by David Samuel Torres-Rouff is another critical study of the city as well as La Fiesta de Los Angeles. *Before L.A.* explores the re-shaped history and contested struggles of the city of Los Angeles through an examination of race relations, municipal politics, and urban development. Torres-Rouff grounds his analysis of La Fiesta in the framework of racial and spatial projects, offering a solid understanding of the 1894 La Fiesta. I build upon these studies by moving beyond the relationship between Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans to highlight Chinese participation in La Fiesta, mainly through photographic analysis.

My project also relies on historical studies on the early Chinese community in Los Angeles, mainly Scott Zesch's *The Chinatown War: Chinese Los Angeles and the Massacre of 1871* and Natalia Molina's *Fit to be Citizens: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939*. *Chinatown War* is a thorough study of Chinese/Chinese American history in Los Angeles, though its main focus is the 1871 massacre. I draw upon Zesch's work for an understanding of Chinese history in Los Angeles, particularly in terms of anti-Chinese legislation and treatment of the Chinese. Molina's work, which focuses on the experiences of Mexican, Japanese, and Chinese immigrants, helped me set the foundation for understanding the racial hierarchy in Los Angeles in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. She reveals that between 1869 and 1920, the Los Angeles City Health Department only used two racial categories: "Chinese" and "the rest of the population."¹⁸ She also analyzes some of the ways in which the interplay between social structure and ideology shaped the meaning of "Chinese" and "Chinatown" in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Los Angeles. She asserts that from the beginning of the

¹⁷ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 52.

¹⁸ Molina, *Fit to be Citizens*, 9.

city's public health efforts, the Chinese were placed in the lowest sector of the racial hierarchy because of the stereotype of the Chinese as carriers of disease.¹⁹ These racial stigmas were seen in municipal laws such as the Cubic Air Ordinance that required all residents to have at least 500 cubic feet of space per person in their living quarters but was enforced only in Chinese communities.²⁰ Molina's work has provided much of the background understanding about the anti-Chinese laws that shaped Los Angeles' racial environment.

Studies of festival and celebration in two different Asian American communities have aided my conceptualization and analysis of public cultural performance and spectacle. Chiou-Ling Yeh's *Making an American Festival: Chinese New Year in San Francisco's Chinatown* traces the development of the Chinese New Year parade and beauty pageant in San Francisco as a way of building ties between the Chinese business community and American culture, business, and politics during the Cold War period.²¹ I utilize Yeh's method of analyzing parades and cultural production to discuss the representation of the Chinese in La Fiesta. His analysis of cultural commodification and Chinese agency in developing their own representation in the parade is also similar to my discussion of the Chinese in La Fiesta.

Like Yeh, John Tchen also examines the power of Orientalist fantasy in America. In *New York Before Chinatown*, Tchen identifies the ways in which Orientalism has shaped the formation of American cultural identity and racism. In his study of social and cultural history before the twentieth-century, he argues that the "othering" of Chinese people and objects

¹⁹ Ibid., 17.

²⁰ Ibid. Laws such as the 1870 Cubic Air Ordinance were used to harass and levy fines from the Chinese. Billed as a public health measure, this law was only enforced in the Chinese quarter, where living quarters were often cramped. However, this was because the Chinese were often refused housing outside of the boundaries of Chinatown.

²¹ Another useful source on the topic of cultural performance is Lon Kurashige's *Japanese American Celebration and Conflict: A History of Ethnic Identity and Festival, 1934-1990*. He writes about the celebration of Nisei Week in Los Angeles and discusses the formation and enactment of Japanese American identity.

simultaneously shaped American culture and white identity while also being shaped by American social, political, and economic events. My project on the Chinese in Los Angeles adds to his analysis of the Orientalist gaze.

History of the Chinese in Los Angeles

Chinese immigrants began arriving in Los Angeles in the early 1850s, following the 1849 California Gold Rush. Due to harsh social and economic conditions in China during this time, many Chinese sought better opportunities by coming to the United States. The 1850 Los Angeles County Census lists two Chinese men living in Los Angeles.²² By 1861, the number of Chinese in Los Angeles had increased to 21 men and eight women.²³

There were many reasons behind this skewed gender ratio. Many Chinese men did not bring their wives over to the United States with them because they thought their stay in the United States would only be for a short period of time. Some of the Chinese women who did immigrate to the United States were prostitutes, brought over by single men who made prostitution into a lucrative business. In addition, the 1875 Page Law was an exclusionary law to prevent the immigration of Chinese women. It halted the immigration of Asian women and other Asian “undesirables”—any individual from Asia who was going to the United States as a contract laborer, any Asian woman who would engage in prostitution, and all people who were convicts in their native countries.²⁴ The law had an unfortunate negative impact on the Chinese community in America, making it difficult for women to reunite with their husbands, perpetuated the existence of Chinese bachelor societies in the United States, and impeded the growth and stability of Chinese family communities.²⁵ The Chinese female population in the United States

²² *Census of the City and County of Los Angeles, California, 1850*, (Los Angeles: Times-Mirror Press, 1929): 114. I also looked at Census Schedules for 1900 and 1910 on microfilm at the UCLA Young Research Library to try to get a sense of the Chinese population in Los Angeles during those times, but the Schedules were illegible.

²³ *Ibid.*, 24. The skewed gender ratio was a result of exclusionary laws targeted at preventing the immigration of Chinese women.

²⁴ Stuart Creighton Miller, *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 18, 31.

²⁵ It was not until World War II (when China was an ally to the United States) and the Magnuson Act of 1943 that Chinese exclusion quotas were repealed and Chinese immigrants were allowed to become

dropped from comprising 6.4 percent of the Chinese community to 4.6 percent between 1870 and 1882.²⁶ In many ways, exclusionary laws like the Page Act sought to push the Chinese population in the United States to extinction by stopping the immigration of Chinese women.

By 1870, a small Chinese community of about 200 people resided in Chinatown, which was one block long on Calle de los Negros (also referred to as “Negro Alley” and later renamed Los Angeles Street) between El Pueblo Plaza and Old Arcadia Street.²⁷ Calle de los Negros was the heart of Chinatown. Its name came from the dark-complexioned *Californios* who had once resided there; it used to be an old Latino neighborhood but had become a tough slum by the 1860s.²⁸ Harris Newmark, author of *Sixty Years in Southern California: 1853-1913*, recalled that by 1853, Calle de los Negros “was as tough a neighborhood. . . as could be found anywhere.”²⁹ Popularly referred to as “Five Points” and the “Barbary Coast,” these nicknames placed Los Angeles’ Chinatown on the same level as these rough areas of New York and San Francisco, respectively.³⁰ The Chinese had to rent property for their businesses and homes because of local laws that prohibited “aliens ineligible for citizenship” from owning land.³¹ Racial covenants restricted the selling of property to racialized groups.³²

naturalized citizens. The repeal of Chinese exclusion quotas helped balance the ratio of Chinese women to Chinese men in the United States.

²⁶ George Anthony Peffer, “Forbidden Families: Emigration Experiences of Chinese Women under the Page Law, 1875-1882,” *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 6, no. 1 (Fall 1986): 42.

²⁷ *Los Angeles Times*, May 9, 1926, as cited in Edward R. Bingham, “The Saga of the Los Angeles Chinese” (unpublished Master’s thesis, Occidental College, 1942), 24.

²⁸ See Molina, *Fit to be Citizens*, 44; “Hispanic Americans: Spanish Colonization and Californios (1769-1800s).” *Calisphere*. University of California, Web.

<http://www.calisphere.universityofcalifornia.edu/calcultures/ethnic_groups/subtopic3a.html>.

The term *Californios* refers to the Spanish-speaking, land-owning elite families who received land grants from Spain and Mexico. They mainly intermarried with each other and with American and European entrepreneurs. The U.S.-Mexican War caused Californios to slowly lose their power, authority, and land.

²⁹ Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California*, 31.

³⁰ *Ibid*.

³¹ As Molina writes on page 17 of *Fit to be Citizens*, “The Residence District Ordinance and other zoning regulations restricted where Chinese people could live and do business.” See also Ricardo Romo, *East Los Angeles: History of a Barrio* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 84; Isabella Seong-Leong

It was not until 1876 that large numbers of Chinese immigrants arrived in Los Angeles, choosing to settle in there after completing their work on the Southern Pacific railroad that connected Los Angeles and San Francisco.³³ However, an 1877 fire that destroyed most of Chinatown made it necessary for the Chinese residents to relocate.³⁴ In 1880, the few remaining Chinese residents in Chinatown were forced to move a few blocks south of the area when the Board of Health Commissioners declared that they were taking steps to “clear that portion of the city of the objectionable element.”³⁵ By 1890, Chinatown was home to over 67 percent of the 1,871 Chinese in the city of Los Angeles.³⁶ As seen in Figure 1, Chinatown centered around Los Angeles Street and Alameda Street, and it remained in much the same location until the 1930s, when Chinatown was relocated.³⁷

Quintana, “‘Shaken as by an Earthquake:’ Chinese Americans, Segregation and Displacement in Los Angeles, 1870-1938,” *Gum Saan Journal* 32:1 (2010).

<http://www.chssc.org/History/ChinatownRemembered/Neighborhoods/Segregation_and_Displacement_in_Old_Chinatown.aspx>

³² Molina, *Fit to be Citizens*, 20.

³³ Stargel, *Early Downtown Los Angeles*, 7. The completion of the Southern Pacific railroad in 1876 was an enormous opportunity for Los Angeles to establish itself as a major city in the United States. Business and civic leaders of Los Angeles offered the Southern Pacific company incentives to build the railroad through Los Angeles, rather than through the Mojave Desert, which was an easier route. As a result of this railroad stop in Los Angeles, many settlers coming from the East made the journey to Los Angeles in hopes of new adventures and business opportunities.

³⁴ Molina, *Fit to be Citizens*, 29; Seong-Leong Quintana, “Shaken as by an Earthquake”; Jenny Cho and the Chinese Historical Society of Southern California, *Chinatown in Los Angeles*, (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 20.

³⁵ “Removing Chinatown,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 8, 1887, as cited in Molina, *Fit to be Citizens*, 30.

³⁶ U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Population*, as cited in Thomas Allen McDonald, “Development of the Los Angeles Chinatown: 1850-1970,” (Master of Arts thesis, California State University, Northridge, 1973), 36; United States, Census Office, *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Volume I: Population Part I* (New York: Norman Ross Publishing, 1994): 437; United States, Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Volume I: Population Part I: Populations of States and Territories, etc.* (New York, NY: Norman Ross Publishing, Inc., 1997): 492; United States, Census Office, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Volume II: Population Reports by State Alabama-Montana* (New York: Norman Ross Publishing, Inc., 1999): 157. In 1890, 4,424 Chinese lived in Los Angeles County out of a county population of 101, 454. Citing Raymond Lou, Marcus and Chen write: “The registered Chinese population in the city of Los Angeles was 172 in 1870, rising to 605 in 1880, then 1,871 in 1890, and finally 2,111 in 1900. Total population for the city was 5,728 in 1870; 11,183 in 1880; 50,000 in 1890; and 102,000 in 1900.”

³⁷ McDonald, “Development of the Los Angeles Chinatown,” 58-59.

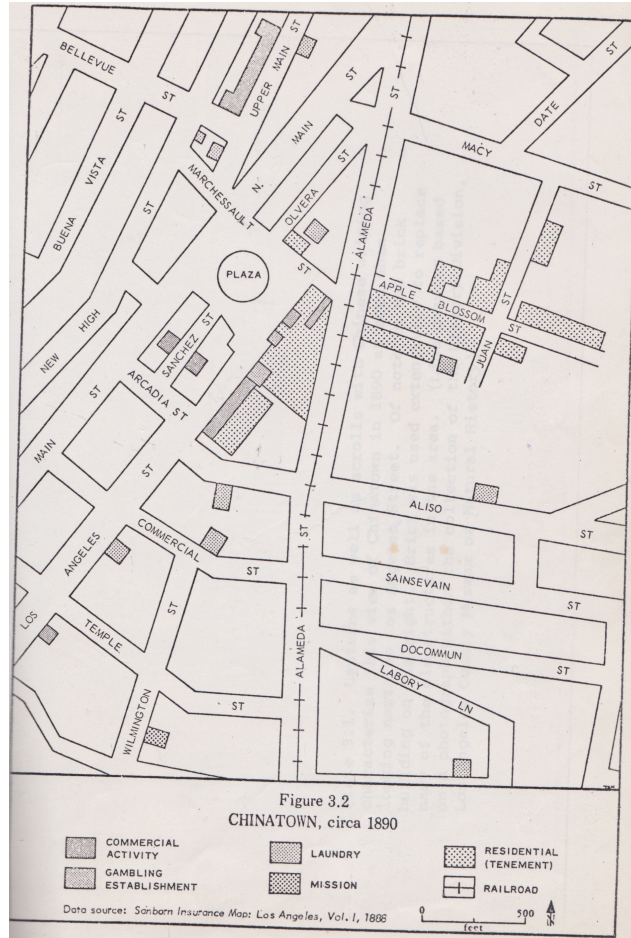


Figure 3. Map of Chinatown, Los Angeles, circa 1890. Source: Thomas Allen McDonald, “Development of the Los Angeles Chinatown: 1850-1970,” (Master of Arts thesis, California State University, Northridge, 1973), 42.

In addition to residential segregation, the Chinese in Los Angeles faced language and cultural barriers that made it difficult for them to interact with non-Chinese peoples. In 1873, journalist Albert S. Evans wrote, “What a strange, peculiar people are these Chinese! Dwelling among us, they are not of us. . . They walk the same streets and breathe the same air with us; but they do not talk the same language; do not act as we act; do not reason as we reason; do not think

as we think.”³⁸ They tended to remain within their own ethnic community, buying most of their supplies and goods at Chinese-owned stores and kept their social activities within the restaurants and gambling halls of Chinatown. Despite the fact that their property rents and special taxes were disproportionately high, the Chinese were able to gain an economic position through their foothold in the laundry and agricultural produce markets.³⁹ In fact, 50 of the 60 licensed vegetable peddlers in the city in 1880 were Chinese.⁴⁰ Chinatown in the 1880s had restaurants, herbalists, washhouses, tenements, and a church.⁴¹ Chinatown was its own self-sufficient town within Los Angeles. There were employment opportunities—mainly for low-wage jobs—as well as governmental organizations, services such as temples, a newspaper, service organizations, and a cemetery.⁴²

The Chinese community formed its own organizations for mutual aid and protection since they lacked political representation in matters that affected their everyday lives. The *huiguan*, district associations, began in San Francisco in the early 1860s.⁴³ The *huiguan* were established along home-country geographic and kinship lines. They provided services and protection to their members, and also collected membership fees. Another form of Chinese organization was tongs, or secret societies, that tended to run illicit businesses, monopolizing profits from gambling,

³⁸ Albert S. Evans, *À la California: Sketches of Life in the Golden State*, (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1873): 246, as cited in Scott Zesch, “Chinese Los Angeles in 1870-1871: The Makings of a Massacre,” *Southern California Quarterly*, Vol. 90, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 122-3.

³⁹ Cho and the Chinese Historical Society of Southern California, *Chinatown in Los Angeles*, 18. For instance, in 1886, the Los Angeles Trade and Labor Council led a boycott of all business that employed Chinese workers and all goods made by Chinese labor. The boycott ended when the Chinese refused to provide fresh produce for the city.

⁴⁰ Bingham, “Saga of the Los Angeles Chinese,” 29.

⁴¹ Molina, *Fit to be Citizens*, 29.

⁴² McDonald, “Development of the Los Angeles Chinatown,” 46.

⁴³ David Samuel Torres-Rouff, *Before L.A.: Race, Space, and Municipal Power in Los Angeles, 1781-1894*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 187. See also Scott Zesch, *The Chinatown War: Chinese Los Angeles and the Massacre of 1871*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2012); Him Mark Lai, *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions*, (Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press, 2004), 46. The most famous *huigan* is the Chinese Six Companies.

opium, and prostitution. Thus, while these different associations were helpful in providing job placement services to their members, some also ran criminal enterprises, including extortion.⁴⁴ Legitimate and illicit Chinese enterprises operated hand in hand. However, it is important to note that although the Chinese were stigmatized for these illicit businesses, non-Chinese patrons and property owners were not because they were seen as victims who had been seduced by Chinatown.⁴⁵

When the Chinese first arrived in the United States, they were well received. They began to work in agricultural produce and laundry businesses, and as a result of their success, the Chinese community was able to expand its physical presence by taking up more blocks and buildings.⁴⁶ In 1861, the Chinese population in Los Angeles was barely large enough to support a single Chinese store. Laundry became a ripe business opportunity. Most of the Chinese immigrants were men and worked as laundrymen, market gardeners, agricultural and ranch workers, and road builders.

However, the Chinese were soon scapegoated and blamed for the loss of white Americans' jobs as the anti-Chinese labor movement grew. It was in this milieu of anti-Chinese sentiment that the 1871 anti-Chinese massacre occurred.⁴⁷ On the evening of October 24, 1871,

⁴⁴ Zesch, *Chinatown War*, 43, 46.

⁴⁵ Molina, *Fit to be Citizens*, 29. See also Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

⁴⁶ "Annual Report of Health Officer of Los Angeles City," November 13, 1879, Los Angeles City Archives as cited in Zesch, *Chinatown War*, 14. However, laws prohibited the Chinese from owning any land, so they had to rent or lease units for their residences and businesses. Since they did not own their own property, many Chinese did not fix up their residences or businesses, which eventually led to a decline in the overall appearance of Old Chinatown in Los Angeles. A local health officer denounced Chinatown as "the crying sanitary evil of Los Angeles" due to the crowded conditions of Chinatown.

⁴⁷ Marco R. Newmark, "Calle de los Negros and the Chinese Massacre of 1871," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, Vol. 26, no. 2/3 (June-September 1944), 97-98, as cited in Ivan Light, "From Vice District to Tourist Attraction: The Moral Career of American Chinatowns, 1880-1940," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 43, no. 3 (Aug., 1974): 374. Los Angeles has a history of race and class struggles, often resulting in riots, massacres, or uprisings, such as the 1943 Zoot Suit Riots, 1965 Watts Riots, and the 1992 L.A. Civil Unrest. The 1871 anti-Chinese massacre was Los Angeles' very first large-

18 Chinese men and one white man were killed by a mob of 500 white men in Los Angeles' Old Chinatown. The riots began as a result of feud and then shootout over commerce resulting in the division of the See Yup Company, a Chinese association. A white rancher named Robert Thompson shot into a store in Chinatown and was killed by return fire. A rumor then spread throughout Los Angeles that the Chinese were "killing the white men by wholesale."⁴⁸ As word spread throughout Los Angeles of Thompson's death, a mob of 500 white and Latino Angelenos arrived in Old Chinatown, hunting down and assaulting every Chinese person they could find. The mob entered Chinatown with the goal of driving the Chinese out of their homes and businesses. At the end of a relentless five-hour attack on the Chinese and Chinatown, the angry mob had killed and lynched 18 Chinese men and boys: 15 Chinese men were hung from lampposts and three were shot.⁴⁹ Chinese residences and businesses were also looted and damaged. Historian Scott Zesch argues that the 1871 massacre was actually the "The Race Riot that Didn't Change a Damned Thing" because anti-Chinese sentiment increased significantly in the decade following the massacre.⁵⁰

After the 1871 massacre, discrimination against the Chinese continued in the form of legal and physical violence. In Los Angeles, anti-coolie clubs formed in 1876 and members of the Workingmen's Party came into office in Los Angeles in 1879, and led attempts to force Chinese entrepreneurs out of business by increasing their laundry taxes from five dollars to

scale racially motivated, racially targeted outburst. It was a racialized disturbance—stemming from issues of race, class, and a gendered instance of orientalism—that demonstrated just how violent the investment in whiteness was. Public memory of the history of Los Angeles does not emphasize that Asian residents of Los Angeles have often been at the heart of these riots, usually as the targets and victims of anti-Asian sentiment and violence.

⁴⁸ Robin Lindley, "The Forgotten Los Angeles Race Riot: Interview with Historian Scott Zesch on the Chinatown Massacre of 1871." *History News Network*. George Mason University, Web.

<<http://hnn.us/article/148259>>

⁴⁹ Newmark, "Calle de los Negros and the Chinese Massacre of 1871," 97-98, as cited in Light, "From Vice District to Tourist Attraction," 374.

⁵⁰ Zesch, *Chinatown War*, 213.

twenty-five dollars per month and by increasing the tax on vegetable peddlers nearly seven-fold.⁵¹ During this time of anti-Chinese sentiment, the Chinese were paid lower wages, faced lynchings, robberies, murders, race riots, and stone-throwing, and had to pay higher special taxes for being “Mongolian.” In addition, there were many municipal attempts to drive the Chinese out of Los Angeles using various tax measures targeting the Chinese. In 1878, an amendment to the city charter of Los Angeles prohibited the employment of Chinese laborers.⁵² In 1879, there was an increase in local business license tax, which was aimed at Chinese launderers and vegetable peddlers.⁵³ The state of California passed an education code law in 1885 that established “separate schools for children of Mongolian and Chinese descent.”⁵⁴ Despite this discrimination, the Chinese were able to find a foothold in Los Angeles’ laundry and produce industries in the late nineteenth-century.

Following these events, the national climate became even more strongly anti-Chinese, as evidenced by the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, a federal law that targeted the Chinese as the first group excluded from immigration and citizenship. As the result, the imbalanced sex ratio in the United States threatened their survival. This sex-ratio imbalance was used as a point of anti-Chinese criticism by white Americans. In the 1876 California State Senate hearing on Chinese immigration, a witness stated that “The Chinese are bad for us, because they come here without their families. Families are the center of all that is elevating in mankind, yet here we have a very large Chinese male population.”⁵⁵ Along with the 1875 Page Law, the 1882 Chinese Exclusion

⁵¹ Molina, *Fit to be Citizens*, 16.

⁵² Zesch, *The Chinatown War*, 213.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ “Brown v. Board of Education: The Southern California Perspective.” *Social Sciences and Humanities Library*, University of California, San Diego. Web. <<http://sshl.ucsd.edu/brown/calcode.htm>>

⁵⁵ California State Legislature, Senate Special Committee on Chinese Immigration, “Testimony Taken before a Committee of the Senate of the State of California,” in *Chinese Immigration: Its Social, Moral, and Political Effect: Reports to the California State Senate of its Special Committee on Chinese*

Act reinforced gendered immigration patterns that impacted the establishment of Chinese communities in America until the Act's repeal in 1943.

In the latter half of the nineteenth-century, fears of “yellow peril” pervaded the nation. The yellow peril was the idea that Chinese immigrants were dangerous and would negatively influence native-born white Americans to follow “heathen” beliefs, activities of vice, and different cultural practices.⁵⁶ As a result of the pervasive yellow peril discourse, the Chinese were a hyper visible part of the nation’s racial imagination.⁵⁷ These racist attitudes were shaped by economic pressures, white Angelenos’ perceptions of Chinese cultural practices, and a perceived threat to the nation’s health.⁵⁸ But despite the racist encounters and racialized municipal legislation targeting them, the Chinese community was able to grow during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

In their book, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, sociologists Michael Omi and Howard Winant argue that racialization and racial awareness lie at the base of all social relations. They define race as an “unstable and de-centered complex of social meanings constantly being transformed by political struggle.”⁵⁹ Race also “signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies.”⁶⁰ Omi and Winant maintain that racial formation influences the racial hegemony of society. The creation of La Fiesta de Los Angeles is itself a study of the historically specific and socially

Immigration, (Sacramento: F.P. Thompson, 1878): 103, as cited in Hiroyuki Matsubara, “Stratified Whiteness and Sexualized Chinese Immigrants in San Francisco: The Report of the California Special Committee on Chinese Immigration in 1876,” *American Studies International*, Vol. XLI, no. 3 (Oct. 2003): 42.

⁵⁶ Molina, *Fit to be Citizens*, 16.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁵⁸ Molina, *Fit to be Citizens*, 26. The impact of the Chinese population on public health was studied as early as 1862.

⁵⁹ See Kyeyoung Park, “Introduction: Theoretical Interpretation of Ethnic Tension,” 20-21.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

constructed nature of racial categories.⁶¹ In the case of Los Angeles during the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries, the Chinese were a racialized minority that was made powerless in a system that reinforced anti-Chinese sentiment. However, the Chinese used La Fiesta as an opportunity to demonstrate their relative affluence and to share aspects of their culture that they cherished.

⁶¹ Ethnic Studies scholar Thomás Almaguer's *Racial Fault Lines* would also be helpful for understanding the racial formation process in California and the social construction of race in the American West.

History of La Fiesta de Los Angeles

La Fiesta de Los Angeles was a celebration devised by the Los Angeles Merchants Association in 1893 as a means of “alleviating the economic ills of the city.”⁶² Members of the newly formed Los Angeles Merchants Association looked to the Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition in 1893, Pasadena’s Tournament of Roses, as well as the San Francisco’s Midwinter Fair as examples of successful events that would help bring prosperity to Los Angeles.⁶³ La Fiesta organizer Max Meyberg believed that the event would draw visitors from all over the nation who would be eager to see “advantages no other cities in our country enjoy.”⁶⁴ In 1894, Los Angeles’ population was roughly 75,000, and the accessibility of Los Angeles via railroad meant the promise of thousands of tourists.⁶⁵ The Merchants Association tied the success of La Fiesta to its marketability as an exotic spectacle and encouraged participation in the event by stressing that it was the participants’ “duty” to make La Fiesta a lucrative venue “for advertising Los Angeles.”⁶⁶ The first La Fiesta commenced on April 10, 1894 with an investment of \$10,000 by the Merchants Association to put on the celebration, which was comprised of concerts, marches, and parades.⁶⁷

⁶² Cecilia Rasmussen, “Downtown’s Fiesta Began as a Multicultural Celebration,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 2003. <<http://articles.latimes.com/2003/apr/27/local/me-then27>>. Seaver Center for Western History Research, 1178 OV, Max Meyberg Fiesta Scrapbook, second item in scrapbook, letter written by Meyberg on corporate stationery, with archivist’s pencil notation suggesting date of 1930-31, as cited in Torres-Rouff, *Before L.A.*, 261.

⁶³ Torres-Rouff, *Before L.A.*, 4.

⁶⁴ Seaver Center for Western History Research, 1178 OV, Max Meyberg Fiesta Scrapbook, second item in scrapbook, letter from Meyberg, as cited in Torres-Rouff, *Before L.A.*, 262. Although these groups were labeled as “advantages,” the historical treatment of these groups shows otherwise. The Chinese, for example, were viewed as a public health nuisance by the city. In an 1882 letter to the editor of the *Los Angeles Times*, the author blames “China town,” a place of “filth and stench” as a sore spot to the city’s tourism and self-promotion.

⁶⁵ Torres-Rouff, *Before L.A.*, 5.

⁶⁶ Seaver Center for Western History Research, 1178 OV, Max Meyberg Fiesta Scrapbook, second item in scrapbook, letter written by Meyberg on corporate stationery, as cited in Torres-Rouff, *Before L.A.*, 261.

⁶⁷ Torres-Rouff, *Before L.A.*, 263.

The name of the celebration, “La Fiesta de Los Angeles,” was the result of a City Council sponsored contest and evoked thoughts of the city’s Spanish past.⁶⁸ The whole production of La Fiesta was meant to reflect the multiday parties held by *Californios* during Spanish and Mexican rule.⁶⁹ Besides showing off the beauty, businesses, and nature in Los Angeles, La Fiesta’s organizers wanted to display the city’s unique demographic makeup. The cultural groups showcased in the history parade included Mexican Americans asked to ride horses as Spanish conquistadores, Yuma Indians from eastern California, and the Chinese to perform their dragon dance and show their floats. Not only were these various cultures commodified for the purpose of economic boosterism, but these groups were also expected to enact their own subjugation in this supposed “celebration” of Los Angeles’ historical past.

La Fiesta de los Angeles celebrations occurred between 1894 until the 1940s and underwent several name changes since its inception. It was cancelled between 1898-1900 due to the Spanish American War, but was revived in 1901, where President William McKinley made a special appearance. It also went by the name, “La Fiesta de las Flores” until the 1940s. There was also a special celebration in 1931 to celebrate the 150th anniversary of Los Angeles, but it was humorously referred to as “La Fiasco” because of its occurrence during the Great Depression. It eventually became too expensive to stage, so La Fiesta was brought to a close in the 1940s. In the late 1970s, it was revived as “L.A. Street Scene,” an outdoor food and music festival that took place in late summer. Its name was officially changed in 1990 to “Fiesta

⁶⁸ Rasmussen, “Downtown’s Fiesta Began as a Multicultural Celebration,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 2003; Anna Liza Posas, “Finding Aid to the La Fiesta de Los Angeles Collection MS.207,” Autry National Center, Braun Research Library. <<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8cr5vrm/>>; “The Golden Dragon Parade - A Los Angeles Tradition.” *The Golden Dragon Parade and New Year Festival*. Chinese Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles, Web. <<http://www.lagoldendragonparade.com/Event.html>>.

⁶⁹ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 53-54.

Broadway” and continues to this day as a Cinco de Mayo celebration.⁷⁰ Now, the Chinese dragon dance is performed in the annual Golden Dragon Festival, usually held around Chinese New Year.

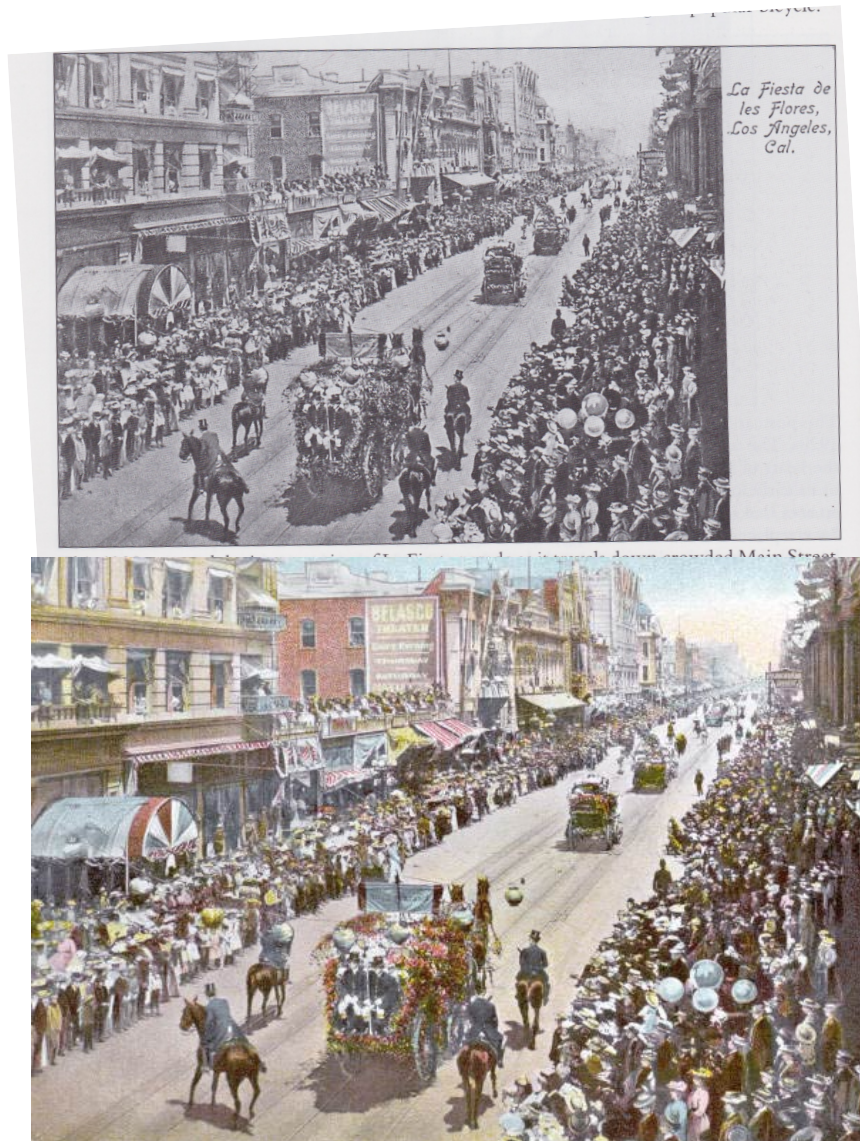


Figure 4. (Top) A black and white postcard depicting a view of La Fiesta parade and spectators on Main Street, 1909. Source: Stargel, *Early Downtown Los Angeles*, 18. (Bottom) A color version of the

⁷⁰ Information about the trajectory of La Fiesta and the history of its name changes comes from Rasmussen, “Downtown’s Fiesta Began as a Multicultural Celebration,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 2003.

same postcard. Source: La Fiesta de Los Angeles, 1894-1896 Exhibit, Jewish Museum of the American West.

In the early years of La Fiesta, there were themed parades, concerts, and marches put on for the tens of thousands of spectators. The huge crowds seen in Figure 4 convey the immense appeal of this spectacle. Each day had a different theme, such as Floral Day, Military Day, Children's Day, and Historical Day.⁷¹ Historical Day told the story of Los Angeles' past through nine different floats, moving through different periods of history: Native American, conquistador, mission, and modern.⁷²

The first period of Los Angeles' history presented in La Fiesta was the "Prehistoric California" float, which conveyed a general commodification of Native American culture. Approximately 100 Yuma Indians were transported in for the explicit purpose of pretending to be Aztec Indians. What is interesting about the incorporation of Yuma Indians is that they were not even a local tribe; they were brought from Arizona because it was difficult for La Fiesta's organizers to get Native American performers. The Yuma Indians were paid one dollar each for their participation, treated terribly, conveyed in boxcars, and confined in close quarters near the train station.⁷³ During the parade, the Yuma Indians played the part of savage Aztec Indians, performing a "war dance," "step dance," and "scalp dance."⁷⁴ Other facetious elements of the display of Yuma Indians as Aztec Indian were that the clothes they wore actually represented Native American clothing found in the Pacific Northwest, and the tipis on the floats were

⁷¹ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 56.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 69. *Los Angeles Times*, April 10, 1894, page 8. In the 1895 Fiesta, changes were made to the chronological sequence of Los Angeles history and the floats. For instance, the myth of El Dorado, represented with Inca aborigines, was the first float.

⁷³ *Los Angeles Times*, March 28, 1894, page 4; *Los Angeles Times*, April 10, 1894, page 8.

⁷⁴ *Los Angeles Times*, April 10, 1894, page 8. The shabby treatment of the Yuma Indians perhaps gives an indication about why local Native Americans were not "available" or their reluctance to participate.

common among Plains Indians, but not in southern California.⁷⁵ An 1894 *Los Angeles Times* article described the float: “Resplendent in war-paint and buckskin dress,” the Indians “dazzle[d] the sun in brightness” and turned “the average rainbow...green with envy.”⁷⁶ The backstory behind the inclusion of the Yuma Indians in La Fiesta shows that the organizers were very committed to presenting a monolithic idea of Native American groups that played into stereotypes of Native American practices and culture in order to better market a linear notion of Los Angeles’ history.

Following the Aztec floats, the parade progressed through other historical epochs, portraying the “discovery” of California in 1542, the Spanish missions, the first Anglo immigrants to California, the gold mining period, the celebration of water irrigation, the real estate boom of the 1880s, and “solid prosperity” that represented the last period of Los Angeles’ history.⁷⁷ Dressed as Spanish *caballeros*, Mexican Americans rode horses for the portion of the parade on the city’s Spanish past. Spectator S. Willie Layton wrote that “typical Spanish life [was] made quite real by the presence of genuine señoritas and a company of typical and gallant caballeros on prancing steeds.”⁷⁸ La Fiesta depicted early Spanish American life, tracing the city’s progression from pueblo to metropolis.

In its telling of Los Angeles’ history, La Fiesta glossed over the city’s violent interracial history. In regards to Mexicans and Mexican Americans in particular, La Fiesta offered a way to forget about the Mexican-American War and instead project the sense that the city’s white Anglo leaders had come to some sort of reconciliation with its residents of Mexican descent; for instance, the Spanish-language name of the parade, “La Fiesta,” even suggested the cohesiveness

⁷⁵ *Los Angeles Times*, March 28, 1894, page 4; *Los Angeles Times*, April 10, 1894, page 8.

⁷⁶ *Los Angeles Times*, April 11, 1894, as cited in Torres-Rouff, *Before L.A.*, 3.

⁷⁷ Torres-Rouff, *Before L.A.*, 3-4; Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 66.

⁷⁸ S. Willie Layton, “California. La Fiesta de Los Angeles,” *The Woman’s Era* II: 3 (June 1895): 17.

of the city and its Mexican past.⁷⁹ The guise of celebration allowed the city's Anglo American leaders to "whitewash" and forget the city's unpleasant past and appropriate different cultures for economic boosterism.⁸⁰ The sequence and historical progression of the parade was meant to be linear, demonstrating "progress" over time.



Figure 5. Temecula Indians representing Aztec Indians in the 1896 La Fiesta. Source: California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento.



⁷⁹ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 59.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 61.

Figure 6. Spanish caballeros portrayed by Mexican Americans, ca. 1901. Source: California Historical Society Collection, 1860-1960, University of Southern California Digital Library.

The floats and parades at La Fiesta both reinforced old perceptions and created new ones of non-white groups in Los Angeles. Archaeologist Stacey Lynn Camp shows in her study of tourism laborers in turn of the century Los Angeles that “Anglo-American boosters, wishing to draw commerce to the region, created a suite of standardized and racialized symbols and images that were circulated in the form of travelogues, brochures, and newspaper advertisements to Midwesterners.”⁸¹ In fact, it seems that La Fiesta was meant to serve as a live history lesson for the city’s schoolchildren. Organizers of La Fiesta hoped that the city’s 6,5000 schoolchildren would gain appreciation for the history they witnessed at the parade and eventually pass it down.⁸²

La Fiesta recalled the city’s Spanish origins and simultaneously romanticized the city’s non-white past. As historian Natalia Molina writes, “The creation of a ‘Spanish Fantasy Past’ was a master narrative in the selling of Los Angeles.”⁸³ Historian and journalist Carey McWilliams coined the term “Spanish Fantasy Past” to describe the process in which Americans wanted to believe that California had closer links to Spain than to Mexico.⁸⁴ The history parade of La Fiesta presented a new urban past of Los Angeles that archeologist Camp describes as “akin to carnivalized Manifest Destiny.”⁸⁵ The evolutionary story of the history of Los Angeles

⁸¹ Stacey Lynn Camp, “Materializing Inequality: The Archaeology of Tourism Laborers in Turn-of-the-Century Los Angeles,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* (2011) 15: 282.

⁸² William Deverell, and Douglas Flamming, “Race, Rhetoric, and Regional Identity: Boosting Los Angeles, 1880-1930,” in John M. Findlay, and Richard White, eds., *Power and Place in the North American West*, (Seattle: University of Washington, 1999): 121, as cited in Camp, “Materializing Inequality,” 282.

⁸³ Molina, *Fit to be Citizens*, 18.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* See also Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981).

was told in the history parade, and began with a float of angels, followed by Spanish caballeros, “Aztec” Indians, floats representing the mission period and the mining period, the Chinese, and then a float that showcased Anglo-American products and mercantilism.⁸⁶ Through a visual representation of the racial progression of various groups in the history of Los Angeles, culminating in a float that celebrated Anglo-American accomplishments, La Fiesta’s history parade reaffirmed Anglo-American hegemony in Los Angeles’ racial hierarchy.

La Fiesta de Los Angeles offered an opportunity for the Merchants Association to present a contrived and heavily redacted narrative of the history of Los Angeles. Though La Fiesta attempted to gloss over existing social tensions through a digestible, visual performance, it also reinforced the racial categories of white, Chinese, and Mexican. In Los Angeles during the late nineteenth-century, Mexican and Chinese residents were stigmatized as dirty and backward while Anglo-Americans were seen as clean.⁸⁷ The Chinese, as a racial group, were perceived to be below Native Americans and Mexicans. This perception was largely influenced by the living conditions of the Chinese (older buildings with unpaved streets and no sewers), which was a result of municipal neglect or the landowner’s refusal to provide proper maintenance.⁸⁸ Despite such discrimination, the Chinese still participated in La Fiesta, negotiating their own representation to Angelenos and tourists.

⁸⁶ Deverell and Flammig, “Race, Rhetoric, and Regional Identity,” 121.

⁸⁷ Torres-Rouff, *Before L.A.*, 249.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 251.

Chinese Involvement in La Fiesta

La Fiesta de Los Angeles was an idea concocted to celebrate Los Angeles' multicultural image. Given the city's Spanish past, histories of Los Angeles and La Fiesta often focus on its Mexican communities and overlook the contributions of the Chinese. In describing the involvement and popular reception of the Chinese parade in La Fiesta de Los Angeles, I hope to show that the contribution of the Chinese community to La Fiesta helped solidify Los Angeles' multicultural image and that their cultural production impacted tourism in Los Angeles at the end of the nineteenth-century.

Despite the problematic premise and constraints of La Fiesta, the Chinese were able to exert some agency in their own representation in the parade. In "The Making of San Francisco's Chinatown Parade," historian Chiou-Ling Yeh describes a societal fascination with Orientalism, claiming that Chinese merchants in the late nineteenth-century used this fascination to "Orientalize ethnic celebrations as a means of reducing racial tensions."⁸⁹ Writing about the Chinese Bok Kai festivals in Marysville, California (from which the Chinese community in Los Angeles borrowed its dragon in 1896 for La Fiesta), Yeh claims that the Chinese "highlighted exotic cultural characteristics, thereby successfully attracting tourists and ameliorating interracial hostilities."⁹⁰ Yeh's analysis can be applied to the Chinese creation of floats in La Fiesta, where the Chinese were able to use pre-existing Orientalist ideas to their advantage. Their presence in La Fiesta seemed to help them gain wider acceptance among those spectators who were greatly impressed by the Chinese dragon, clothing, and floats.⁹¹ A letter published in *The Woman's Era*,

⁸⁹ Chiou-Ling Yeh, "In the Traditions of China and in the Freedom of America": The Making of San Francisco's Chinese New Year Festivals," *American Quarterly* 56: 2 (June 2004): 396.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 396-397.

⁹¹ Coverage of La Fiesta in the *Los Angeles Times* focused heavily on the Chinese section of the parade. The special attention and coverage paid to the Chinese section is a marker of its importance.

the first newspaper published by and for African American women, described the Chinese floats in La Fiesta:

The Chinese portion was brilliant and picturesque, and will go down into history as the most striking success of La Fiesta, '95. Their barbaric splendor was imposing because it was genuine—a great moving living picture of historical events from the land of Confucius, dating back 2,000 years, with real accessories from the Asiatic birth place, depicted by the people therefrom.⁹²

This description reveals the various tensions at play in spectators' minds: from “brilliant” to “barbaric” to “genuine,” the Chinese floats and dragon dance seemed to play into viewers' expectations that Chinese culture was exotic and different. However, participating in La Fiesta and coordinating their own procession gave Chinese leaders and participants the opportunity to combat Anglo-American dominance and instead, shape their own representation.

But beyond just using La Fiesta as an opportunity to exert some agency in shaping their image, the Chinese also seemed to view La Fiesta as a business opportunity. In 1894, the Chinese quite cleverly played a trick on other Angelenos who were appointed to be mounted marshals, cavaliers, and centaurs in La Fiesta's parades. These mounted officials were in need of horses available for rent, but could not find any because the Chinese had already rented them all for just three dollars a day. Then, the Chinese approached the group of officials with an offer to rent them horses, but charged them five dollars a day, profiting two dollars on each horse.⁹³ Thus, while La Fiesta's organizers were also hoping to make a profit from the celebration, the Chinese ingeniously found their own way to benefit monetarily.

⁹² Layton, “California. La Fiesta de Los Angeles,” 17.

⁹³ Wielus Mead, “Las Fiestas de Los Angeles: A Survey of the Yearly Celebrations, 1894-1898,” 72.

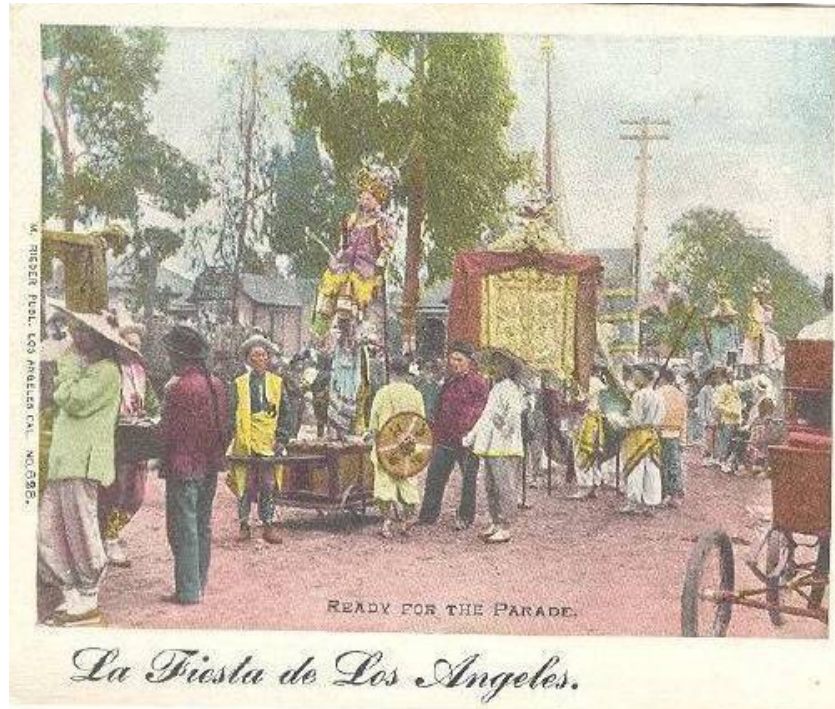


Figure 7. Postcard by M. Reider commemorating La Fiesta, 1903. Source: La Fiesta de Los Angeles, 1894-1896, Jewish Museum of the American West.



Figure 8. Chinese men waiting by their float for La Fiesta, 1901. Source: Cho, *Chinatown in Los Angeles*, 38.

Figures 7 and 8 both show Chinese participants getting ready for the parade. In Figure 8, several Chinese men dressed in traditional Chinese clothing are sitting near their float with a banner in the background. There is also what looks to be a woman to the right of the man in the hat on the right side of the photograph. This photograph alone shows the diversity of dress through the different types of hats worn by the men. The hybridity of styles—from a “coolie” hat to a traditional Qing *guanmao* headwear (seen on the second man from the left) to a straw boater hat on the man on the far left of the photograph, paired with Chinese shoes—demonstrates Chinese adaptation to American society.⁹⁴ To the Chinese, this range of hats might have signified the various connections to their culture and history that they continued to maintain while also emphasizing their adoption of American dress.

In sharing aspects of their culture, the Chinese conveyed meaningful teachings of importance to the Chinese community. In Figure 8, the banner reads: 至孝堂 (zhi4 xiao4 tang2), which means extreme filial piety. The character below them is 帥 (shuai4), meaning a high-ranking leader or leadership. Following Confucian ideals, the Chinese believed that only those who demonstrate filial piety were worthy of holding high positions and earning the respect of others. A Chinese saying, 百善孝為先 (bai3 shan4 xiao4 wei2 xian1), states that out of the 100 most important virtues, filial piety should be the first. The phrase on the banner advocates respect for one’s parents. While non-Chinese spectators may not have been able to read these words, the fact that the Chinese chose to present a belief that resonated with Confucian teachings perhaps was a tactic to uphold their values in the face of American denunciations of Chinese morals and behaviors. This would also reflect the reason that so many sons—and some daughters—ventured abroad to support parents and families in China. Chinese

⁹⁴ The Qing *guanmao* headwear was worn by Qing dynasty officials. These hats indicated rank, as defined by the color, shape, and decorative elements.

immigrant spectators viewing this display might have viewed it with a sense of pride and affirmation.

In addition to all of the eye-catching and meaningful components of the floats, the Chinese portion might have even featured acrobats, as mentioned by historian Jenny Cho in a caption of the photograph in *Chinatown in Los Angeles*.⁹⁵ The appearance of acrobats (who might have actually been martial artists that were mistaken as acrobats by spectators) shows that the Chinese contribution to the parade was more than just banners or floats or a dragon dance, but included other exciting components to create an attractive spectacle. As figure 8 is a photograph from the 1901 Fiesta, perhaps by that time the Chinese felt more invested in their involvement and decided to make their portion of the parade even more grand by including an eye-catching martial arts or acrobatic performance.

The postcard seen in figure 7 is an example of one way images of La Fiesta were circulated. Congress introduced the postcard in 1901, which prompted a postcard mailing frenzy and launched it into popularity.⁹⁶ They were popular because the images on postcards allowed people to see places they had not visited. Postcards were printed from photographs and often tinted to appear more realistic, like the postcard in Figure 7, which was actually based on a black and white photograph. The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce sent out postcards along with promotional literature to entice tourists to visit Los Angeles and to attract new residents.⁹⁷ Artists capitalized on the excitement generated around La Fiesta by creating postcards of different parts of the parade in the event that spectators wanted to buy one as a souvenir or mail a copy to their friends. In a time when photographs required large, cumbersome, and costly equipment, postcards would have been handy souvenirs.

⁹⁵ Cho, *Chinatown in Los Angeles*, 38.

⁹⁶ Stargel, *Early Downtown Los Angeles*, 8.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

In addition to postcards, there are several photographs of the Chinese floats and dragon from La Fiesta during its early years that are very valuable for analyzing the “exotic” spectacle that spectators saw. These photographs of the Chinese floats in La Fiesta were likely disseminated to the public in articles about or advertisements for La Fiesta.⁹⁸ Despite the parade organizers’ desire to narrate a story of racial hierarchy and urban growth, the representation of the Chinese in the photographs instead speaks to the ways in which the Chinese were “exotic” and different from Anglo Americans.⁹⁹ Just as the different racial groups were segmented according to their historical presence on the land, these photographs show how the Chinese were seen as separate from the larger Anglo Angeleno community, further reifying notions that the Chinese were unassimilable. As one spectator described the Chinese floats: “Oriental splendor had dropped bodily down into the busy bustling western world,” demonstrating the point of view that the Chinese people and their culture were thought of as quite mystical, as if descending from another place.¹⁰⁰ Though the effect of these photographs of the Chinese “spectacle” on the American public cannot be decisively evaluated, it can be argued that these images as well as first-hand viewing of the Chinese portion had an impact on the social perceptions and acceptance of the Chinese in Los Angeles.

In 1894, the inaugural year of La Fiesta, there was debate among the organizers as to whether or not the Chinese should be included. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that “The

⁹⁸ See John Kuo Wei Tchen, *Gentle's Photographs of San Francisco's Old Chinatown*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1984); Anthony W. Lee, *Picturing Chinatown: Art and Orientalism in San Francisco*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

⁹⁹ Although I did not find evidence of La Fiesta’s organizers explicitly stating that La Fiesta was meant to convey notions of racial hierarchy, I agree with historian William Deverell’s analysis of La Fiesta as a way to present a linear story of racial progress in Los Angeles, particularly evident through the historical narrative of the parade. The *Los Angeles Times* wrote of La Fiesta: “Let us bury our sight of the mistakes of the past,” which further shows a desire to whitewash the histories of conquest and interracial tension in Los Angeles. *Los Angeles Times*, April 8, 1894, quoted in Wielus, “Las Fiestas,” 24.

¹⁰⁰ Layton, “California. La Fiesta de Los Angeles,” 17.

question of introducing Chinese floats into the procession created considerable discussion, some of which was adverse to the idea. The matter was finally disposed of by the Southern California Committee being instructed to invite the Chinese and Japanese to participate in the parade.”¹⁰¹ However, the Japanese did not partake.¹⁰² Those opposed to Chinese participation in La Fiesta claimed that “the mere idea of having the Chinese in the parade indicated failure, that their presence would lend nothing to the celebration and might result in a serious disturbance.”¹⁰³ The compromise to this question of Chinese inclusion was to extend an invitation to “all representatives of other nations within the city.”¹⁰⁴ Historian William Deverell argues that the decision to invite all other ethnic groups to participate in the parade does not necessarily reflect an egalitarian mindset; rather, the decision to include more ethnic participation demonstrates the Committee’s desire to promote a sense of “regional progress predicated upon racial hierarchy” over time.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ “La Fiesta: Details of the Celebration Nearly All Arranged,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 18, 1894, page 6; Paul Ong, Tania Azores, “Asian Immigrants in Los Angeles: Diversity and Divisions,” 101, in *The New Asian Immigration in Los Angeles and Global Restructuring*, edited by Paul M. Ong, Edna Bonacich, and Lucie Cheng, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994); United States, Census Office, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, 166.

¹⁰² Though the Japanese were invited to participate, I did not see any indication in the newspapers that the Japanese participated in La Fiesta at least during the early years of the celebration. In addition, the Japanese community in Los Angeles was extremely small in the late nineteenth-century, numbering only 36 people in 1890.

¹⁰³ “Birth and Growth of La Fiesta,” *Los Angeles Herald*, Fiesta edition, May 6, 1903, page 5.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. The “serious disturbance” likely refers to the 1871 massacre and subsequent interracial tension.

¹⁰⁵ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 65.

In response to the invitation by La Fiesta's committee, the Chinese Board of Trade held a meeting and decided that they would have their own float.¹⁰⁶ According to Ferd K. Rule, Fiesta president from 1897-1903, this invitation extended to the Chinese was "the first occasion in the history of the state of California where the Chinese had been invited to take part in a public celebration."¹⁰⁷ As Marco Newmark points out, the Southern California Committee made a "wise decision" in accepting the Chinese because their portion of the parade ended up being one of the most unusual, attention-grabbing parts of the parade.¹⁰⁸ The visibility of the Chinese in La Fiesta also seemed to change some spectators' conceptions about the Chinese. As the characters Gladys and Mr. Crescent discuss in *A Business Venture in Los Angeles: Or, a Christian Optimist*:

"It seems to me," remarked Gladys, "that the Chinese are rather popular in Los Angeles. I had quite the opposite idea before coming here.

"It is a common mistake of Eastern people that the Chinaman is not wanted in California. He *is* popular—in Los Angeles at least, as far as my observation extends. And justly so, for he is quiet and respectful in behavior, attending strictly to his own business, though taking an interest in all that concerns the prosperity of the city of his adoption. See with what dignity those men are walking beside their dragon, and what a fine appearance they make in their gorgeous silken robes. I tell you, Miss Gladys, Los Angeles would be badly off without her Chinese population, and Los Angeles has the sense to understand that and to treat them decently."¹⁰⁹

While this excerpt is somewhat inaccurate about the popularity and treatment of the Chinese in Los Angeles, it demonstrates the impact that seeing the Chinese in the parade may have had on spectators. Gladys, one of the protagonists in the novel, was so impressed by the Chinese procession that she claimed that Los Angeles would not be as well off without the Chinese. By controlling their representation—for instance, creating an impressive float with regal, dignified

¹⁰⁶ "La Fiesta: Another Meeting of the General Committee," *Los Angeles Times*, 3-23-1894, page 9.

¹⁰⁷ "Birth and Growth of La Fiesta," 5.

¹⁰⁸ Marco Newmark, "La Fiesta de Los Angeles of 1894," *The Quarterly: Historical Society of Southern California* 29: 2 (June 1947): 102.

¹⁰⁹ Doissy, *A Business Venture in Los Angeles*, 194.

clothing—the Chinese conveyed their desire to be seen as a valuable part of the Los Angeles community and were able to convince spectators that the Chinese did indeed belong.

The Chinese floats and dragon were one of the greatest attractions of La Fiesta. Novelist Louise Doissy described the Chinese float—and the Chinese people—in glowing terms:

“Notice this Chinese part of the parade,” said Mr. Crescent, as the immense dragon came slowly in sight, set off with the shimmer of silver, the glimmer of gold and the glitter of steel, together with the sparkle of real jewels. “The Chinese are in earnest in everything they do. That brightness and glitter is due to no tinsel paper or other pretensions—all is solid and real, just as it appears.”¹¹⁰

Further capitalizing on the spectacle, a news reporter wrote: “It seemed as if all the genius of the Orient had been brought in to make it beautiful and artistic.”¹¹¹ As seen in these descriptions of the Chinese floats and dragon, Orientalist fantasy was omnipresent in the American imagination. Perhaps one of the reasons the Chinese agreed to participate in La Fiesta is that they recognized that they had the opportunity to define their presence in Los Angeles, to stake a claim to their space in the city’s history. When the Chinese were asked to join La Fiesta in 1894 (and again in 1895), the leaders of the Chinese community may have realized the Merchants Association relied on them to make La Fiesta a success. So given this opportunity to publicly define their own identities, the Chinese carefully crafted a presentation of their own understandings of Chinese culture.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 193.

¹¹¹ Newmark, “La Fiesta de Los Angeles of 1894,” 106.

¹¹² Torres-Rouff, *Before L.A.*, 268.



Figure 9. Artist's drawing of the Chinese procession in La Fiesta, 1894. Source: *Los Angeles Times*, April 11, 1894, page 8.

The Chinese portion was a well-thought-out procession (see Fig. 9) that was meant to highlight the legacy of Chinese history. Chan Kan Sing, a Chinese interpreter, told the *Los Angeles Times* that the concept behind the 1894 Chinese procession in La Fiesta was that the Chinese would “represent an event in our history of 2,800 years ago. It is when China was divided into six warring nations.... On our float all these people will be represented—the six emperors and their six generals and the scholar.”¹¹³ The float was built by Chinese carpenters and was richly draped and ornamented.¹¹⁴ Also as part of the 1894 Chinese procession, the Chinese borrowed a dragon made of green and blue silk that was over one hundred feet long from San Francisco.¹¹⁵ It seems that a large portion of the Chinese community in Los Angeles was involved or contributed in some way to the Chinese floats and parade. Even the Chinese theater orchestra was asked to lead the Chinese procession.¹¹⁶ The elaborate preparations reflect the investment the Chinese had in defining themselves as members of the city’s business community as well as members of the broader community—they, too, stood to benefit from La

¹¹³ “Fiesta Features,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 30, 1894, page 4.

¹¹⁴ “La Fiesta. Final Details of the Carnival Being Perfected,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1894, page 4; Torres-Rouff, *Before L.A.*, 4 and 263; Mead, “Las Fiestas de Los Angeles,” 72. Sources differ on the cost of the Chinese floats. Historian David Torres-Rouff writes that the Chinese floats cost between a total of \$2,500 to \$3,000 total, while historian Christina Wielus Mead writes that the floats were valued at \$5,000 total.

¹¹⁵ “La Fiesta. Final Details of the Carnival Being Perfected,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1894, page 4.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Fiesta. As the Merchants Association perhaps had hoped, the participation of the Chinese had the “effect of producing a more perfect understanding and a better feeling between the races.”¹¹⁷



Figure 10. Right-side view of Chinese float in La Fiesta, 1895, by Charles B. Waite. Source: Chinese in California, California Historical Society.



Figure 11. Left-side view of Chinese float in La Fiesta, 1895, by Charles B. Waite. Source: Chinese in California, California Historical Society.

¹¹⁷ “La Fiesta,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 11, 1894, page 4.



Figure 12. Chinese merchant float in the 1897 Fiesta. Source: California Historical Society Collection, 1860-1960, University of Southern California Digital Library.

These floats suggest a level of relative affluence and the existence of a merchant class in the early Los Angeles Chinese community. The fact that the Chinese community could mount these floats and acquire a dragon for La Fiesta meant that they had resources and both local and transnational connections to other Chinese communities. Figure 10 reveals another story behind the Chinese procession in La Fiesta: the juxtaposition of the Chinese presenting their conception of their own history with the larger construction of the parade. The “80 Years B.C.” sign at the front of the procession signaled a significant historical event in Chinese history from 906 B.C.: the unification of China’s six warring nations by scholar and statesman Su Chan.¹¹⁸ In relaying this historical event, they were evoking their very long past and status as an important civilization. The Chinese constructed their own narrative and countered the master narrative of La Fiesta by using a sign deliberately printed in English to say that they have an important history and rich culture. Though there were many other banners used in the Chinese procession,

¹¹⁸ Mead, “Las Fiestas de Los Angeles,” 68.

the fact that this sign was translated shows that they wanted spectators to understand the story they were telling. Given that La Fiesta was meant to be a history lesson for the children of Los Angeles, the Chinese were strategically inserting their history into the narrative of Los Angeles.

Figures 10 and 11 show two views of a Chinese float in the 1895 Fiesta. The large banner contains the words: 有目共賞 (you3 mu4 gong4 shang3), whose literal translation is: “Have eyes together watch/look/appreciate/enjoy,” and more eloquently means, “We use our eyes to enjoy (or watch) together.” In these photographs, a young girl or young woman in a very ornate headdress can be seen at the very front, riding a horse in Figure 10. Given the types of shoes she is wearing, it is possible she had bound feet. Next to her is a Chinese man in plain clothes, clearly not meant to draw any attention, as his outfit is a stark contrast to the ornate clothing of those in the float. Even from this black and white photograph, it is possible to see how opulent and eye-catching the women’s clothing is.

The people on this float might have been drama performers, as the phrase 有目共賞 would suggest. In China, opera groups often moved from place to place to perform and to earn money. In the Guangdong province, this type of opera group is called 粵劇 (yue4 ju4). Without the displayed banner, this float would otherwise resemble a bridal carriage with the bride sitting in the middle with her face and head covered. The women’s ornate head dresses and elegant, shining clothes with large sleeves, and men’s beards and fans (like the man in the back of the float) signaled high social status.

Though there is little existing scholarship on Chinese opera groups in Los Angeles in the nineteenth-century, Chinese opera has been a longstanding tradition in Chinese American communities. Chinese opera in the United States started out as a form of entertainment provided

by touring Chinese artists for an immigrant audience.¹¹⁹ In fact, by 1852, just three years after Chinese immigrants arrived in California during the Gold Rush, the first recorded performance by Chinese actors took place in San Francisco.¹²⁰ In Los Angeles, a Chinese theater located between Ferguson Alley and Marchessault Streets and served as the site for musical, theatrical, and opera performances.¹²¹

In Chinese immigrant communities, watching Chinese opera performances was a way for “Chinese immigrants far from home [to] lose themselves in heroic stories of the past, forgetting for a short while their demeaning roles in everyday life and how far they had to go to achieve their dreams.”¹²² Since Chinese opera artists were part of touring groups, it is likely that the Chinese Board of Trade who organized the Chinese procession had to coordinate this appearance with the opera group, or borrow imported costumes from a Chinese theater group in San Francisco.¹²³ In the way that Chinese opera performances told stories, provided comfort, and entertained Chinese immigrants, this opera float was one way the Chinese could share with Western audiences a popular form of social entertainment in the Chinese community.

There were many components to the Chinese portion of the parade that impressed non-Chinese and Chinese spectators alike and conveyed certain meaningful phrases. The white banner covering the bottom of the float seen in Figures 10 and 11 contains many 壽 (shou4) characters, which means “long life.” Also on the hand-painted banner are brush paintings of different types of birds and fish. The painting of the heron, or 鷺 (lu4) in Chinese, is significant

¹¹⁹ Cecilia J. Pang, “(Re)cycling Culture: Chinese Opera in the United States,” *Comparative Drama*, 30, Nos. 3, 4 (Fall 2005-06): 362.

¹²⁰ Thomas W. Chinn, *Bridging the Pacific: San Francisco Chinatown and its People*, (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1989): 19.

¹²¹ Cho, *Chinatown in Los Angeles*, 34. It is unclear when the Chinese theater was built.

¹²² Iris Chang, *The Chinese in America*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2004): 50, as cited in Pang, “(Re)cycling Culture,” 368.

¹²³ “La Fiesta: Final Details of the Carnival being Perfected,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1894, page 4.

because it has the same pronunciation in Mandarin as 祿 (lu4), which means high positions or promotions in one's career. 福 (fu2), meaning good fortune or blessing, 祿 (lu4), and 壽 (shou4) are often the three items that Chinese people wish for because they are considered to be the most important items to have in one's life. The picture of fish, 魚 (yu2), means abundance.

¹²⁴ Though non-Chinese spectators likely would not have been able to read the writing on this banner and other banners displayed in the Chinese procession, the Chinese still created an artistic banner that was symbolic and meaningful. In the 1894 Fiesta, not only were there floats as in Figures 10 and 11, but there also appeared

six flag-bearers and three men carrying banners. Then came a smaller car borne on the shoulders of the Chinamen as is a palanquin. The car contained several images and also one or two gongs which were pounded vigorously. Following were two men carrying censers of burning incense and then were forty men marching in double file and carrying peculiarly-shaped spears. The men were not all costumed uniformly, yet the colors of their apparel blended very harmoniously.¹²⁵

This description accompanied the drawing seen in Figure 9. The Chinese procession also included Chinese children and music (including a bugler), and even a lion in the 1897 Fiesta.¹²⁶ One report stated, "The music, even from an American standpoint, was much better than the Chinese music usually heard."¹²⁷ As evidenced by all of the components that went into creating the Chinese procession, many Chinese people participated in the Chinese procession, perhaps eager to make the Chinese portion as grand as possible.

¹²⁴ Chinese to English translations done by Jennifer Shuen.

¹²⁵ "The Parade," *Los Angeles Times*, April 11, 1894, pages 8-9.

¹²⁶ "La Fiesta Notes: Chinese Merchants will Make a Grand Display," *Los Angeles Times*, April 18, 1895, page 25. The lion's first appearance in La Fiesta appears to be 1895, as the *Los Angeles Times* writes about the excitement surrounding the arrival of the lion. The lion is a bearer of good luck, so including it in the parade was a symbol of bringing luck to all in its route.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

The Chinese community's decision to include children in their procession is significant because it records the emergence of a family community. It counters the common perception that only Chinese communities in the United States were bachelor societies. The choice to include children makes a statement about the desires of the Chinese community to show that they did indeed have families, and like many other Angelenos, had a stake in the future of the city. The Chinese worked to shift their popular representation to be seen as a family society.

What is significant about these three photographs is that they show the amount of detail, attention, and expense put into making this float look so majestic shows how much the Chinese community cared about their representation in La Fiesta. The inclusion of Chinese women and even young children suggests that the Chinese were demonstrating that they had families and were a part of the community too. It is obvious that the Chinese were invested in their presentation through this float, both in planning for their portrayal and in sparing no cost for the finery they wore. A spectator wrote of the Chinese float:

There were glittering banners and helmets wrought in fantastic shapes, baggy silk trousers of sky blue, terminating in stockings of sea green, pink and white; heralding this were the diabolic strains of the Chinese orchestra, tom toms, and clanking of forty tin kettles and the shrieking rasp of the Chinese fiddles. Not a thread of cheap gaudy tinsel marred their glittering display. The exquisite embroidery and bullion fringe would have stood examination severe, it was every thread solid gold and silver metal; the gay, silken garments and banners were of the richest texture and material. Their high officials deigned not to handle a bridle, but rode horses led by white men, so richly attired were they it made the eye ache to look upon them; their garments were a mass of golden embroidery. This page of Oriental splendor had dropped bodily down into the busy bustling western world.¹²⁸

The fact that the Chinese “high officials deigned not to handle a bridle but rode horses led by white men” may have been intended by the Chinese as a sly inversion of western race relations.

¹²⁸ Layton, “California. La Fiesta de Los Angeles,” 17.

If interpreted as a form of politicking, the white men walking the horses were not seen to be as high ranking as the Chinese men riding the horses, which was a change from the actual racial hierarchy at the time. The opulence of the floats shows that the Chinese community was socially complex—it was not just comprised of laborers but also merchants and those of the middle-upper class. This account of the Chinese contributions to La Fiesta suggests the relative affluence of the community or at least of the merchants.

Newspapers and spectators all remarked on the impressiveness of the Chinese procession, as can be seen in the photographs. For instance, the Chinese merchant float seen in Figure 12 is rather ornate, with decorations even on the wheels of the carriage. Like the float seen in Figures 10 and 11, the accessories indicated status and wealth—such as the fan held by the man sitting near the front of the carriage in Figure 12. This merchant float appears to contain only males, including some young boys.

Though the Chinese portion of the parade was very well received in 1894, the Chinese community was hesitant to appear in the 1895 Fiesta, given the initial controversy over their participation in the first Fiesta parade. Their hesitancy points to the fractured nature of race relations a little over 20 years after the Chinese massacre. By the second La Fiesta in 1895, Fiesta planners pleaded with the Chinese to participate in the parade. This behavior was quite a change from the previous year, but the popularity of the Chinese dragon had shown the Fiesta planners that to exclude the Chinese would mean a great loss to the parade's audience; the Chinese floats and performers provided the spectacle tourists yearned and expected to see. In fact, a delegation from the Merchants' Association and the Fiesta planning committee met with Chinese merchant leaders at the Chinese Board of Trade rooms in order to request their presence in La Fiesta. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that Mr. Thomas, a chairman of the Southern

California Committee, conveyed to the Chinese through an interpreter the “great surprise which the Chinese display was to all last year, that it was a revelation to citizens and strangers alike. The efforts of the Chinese were greatly appreciated, and it was the desire of the Fiesta management that they should still further show their interest in Southern California by sharing with the white merchants in the coming celebration.”¹²⁹ In their attempt to convince the Chinese to join the parade, La Fiesta’s planners argued that “the Fiesta was a table of multiple legs: one each represented by merchants, capitalists, manufacturers, and the Chinese...a Fiesta without the Chinese float would tilt toward chaos.”¹³⁰

The degree to which La Fiesta’s planners were pleading with and groveling before the Chinese to participate in the parade—stating that the Chinese were a part of the history of California and that their appearance would thus be very appropriate—highlights two key points about treatment of the Chinese in Los Angeles at the end of the nineteenth-century. One is that, regardless of the actual motivations behind inviting the Chinese to participate, city leaders were finally starting to realize the importance and potential influence of the Chinese in Los Angeles society. The second is that city leaders appealed to the Chinese to do “their part” by assuming their role in Los Angeles’ history, when really, harsh treatment toward the Chinese had been the long-time practice of municipal authorities. It seems that city leaders included the Chinese when it was to the city’s advantage, and excluded and scapegoated them when it was convenient.

After this meeting between Fiesta planners and the Chinese, the matter of whether or not to join the parade was placed before the Chinese community.¹³¹ In the end, the Chinese did participate in the 1895 Fiesta, to the delight of tourists and spectators. The dragon (borrowed

¹²⁹ “La Fiesta: A Conference Held with Chinese Merchants,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 24, 1895, page 10.

¹³⁰ Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 68.

¹³¹ “La Fiesta: A Conference Held with Chinese Merchants,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 24, 1895, page 10.

from San Francisco) was one hundred feet long and required forty men to walk it.¹³² The Chinese dragon eventually became a mainstay of the parade. In the 1896 Fiesta, the Chinese dragon that was used was transported from Marysville and required 150 men to carry it.¹³³ The fact that the Chinese in Los Angeles were able to borrow dragons from San Francisco and Marysville indicates the existence of ethnic networks and some degree of cooperation, as well as suggesting a level of socioeconomic success. Furthermore, a Chinese dragon brought from China for the 1897 Fiesta shows evidence of transnational ties.¹³⁴ As a reporter declared: “The Chinese inhabitants of the city evince a praiseworthy degree of public spirit in going to so much trouble and expense to give this gorgeous attraction to the fiesta parades.”¹³⁵

The following two images show what spectators found to be the most exciting part of the Chinese contribution to the parade: the Chinese dragon. As can be seen in the photographs, Chinese men stood underneath the dragon covering and had to move in unison to mimic the undulating movements of a dragon. Dragon dancing is a type of traditional performance that has been a part of Chinese culture for many centuries. These dances are most commonly performed at festivals or celebrations, usually during Chinese New Year because the dragon is seen as a symbol of good luck, so bringing a dragon through the community was meant to bring luck to the

¹³² “The Chinese Merchants Busy Preparing their Display,” *Los Angeles Herald*, April 3, 1895, page 7; Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe*, 68; Torres-Rouff, *Before L.A.*, 267; *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 2003; Newmark, “La Fiesta de Los Angeles of 1894,” 106. The *Los Angeles Herald* reported that the Pacific Coast Steamship Company “volunteered as a contribution to La Fiesta to transport free of charge all the Chinese costumes and effects which they propose to bring from San Francisco for use in their display.” There are conflicting reports of the exact length of the 1895 dragon as well as the number of men it took to move the dragon. William Deverell and David Samuel Torres-Rouff cite it as 800 feet while a *Los Angeles Times* article cites it as 200 feet.

¹³³ Chinese Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles, “The Golden Dragon Parade - A Los Angeles Tradition”. According to the website of the Los Angeles Golden Dragon Parade, which now puts on the annual dragon dance, the Chinese eventually purchased their own dragon for \$1500 (no date listed).

¹³⁴ “Great Chinese Dragon. New One Coming Across the Sea to Los Angeles,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 6, 1896, page 12.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

people. In addition, the dragon is the symbol of the Emperor and the bird of paradise that accompanied the dragon represents the Empress.¹³⁶



Figure 13. Jenny Cho writes of this photo in *Chinatown in Los Angeles*, page 38: “This 100-foot-long Golden Dragon was carried by Chinese men during the La Fiesta de Los Angeles parade in May 1901. The Chinese contingent of the parade was three blocks long and made such a positive impression that the organizing committee sent a note of thanks to the Chinese consulate for its support.” Source: California Historical Society Collection, 1860-1960, University of Southern California Digital Library.

¹³⁶ Though the bird of paradise cannot be seen in either of these photographs, the *Los Angeles Times* reports on it in “Fiesta Features,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 30, 1894, page 4.



Figure 14. Jenny Cho writes of this 1903 photo in *Chinatown in Los Angeles*, page 18, that was later turned into a postcard by the Paul C. Koeber Company: “A Chinese man poses next to this great dragon during the 1900 La Fiesta de Los Angeles. The dragon was “fed” at this ceremony in front of the Garnier Building with offerings of food and tea on the table. The orb to the left controlled the dragon’s movements.” Source: California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento.

Dragon dancing is a complicated, rather precise performance that requires a great deal of skill and stamina. In the United States, the type of dragon dance performed comes from the Guangdong province, and is usually performed by people who practice kung fu.¹³⁷ In Chinese culture, the dragon represents strength, nobility, and fortune, and is believed to drive away evil and bring good luck.¹³⁸ In Figure 13, the men near the front of the dragon are wearing coordinating outfits as well as socks because their lower legs can be seen under the dragon covering. The movements of the dragon during the dance are supposed to be synchronized with

¹³⁷ “Chinese Lion,” Chinese Historical and Cultural Project, Web. <<http://www.chcp.org/lion.html>>

¹³⁸ “The Dragon Dance - a Celebration in Chinese New Year,” Public Broadcasting Atlanta 30: Atlanta's PBS Station, Web. <<http://www.pba.org/programming/programs/tiaarchives/chinesenewyear/>>. It was difficult to find scholarly sources on dragon dancing, so I drew on popular sources.

music created by a drum, gong, and cymbal.¹³⁹ In dragon dancing, the color of the dragon is also significant. A green dragon often indicates a great harvest, while additional colors of gold or silver indicate prosperity, and red represents excitement. The length of a dragon can vary greatly; it can be between nine and twenty-four sections long, with each section measuring between five and six and a half feet.¹⁴⁰ The annual dragon dance at La Fiesta de Los Angeles gave the Chinese community the opportunity to preserve a Chinese tradition (though it usually occurs during Chinese New Year) while making spectators awestruck at the sight of such a dynamic performance.

However, the Chinese floats, dragon, and parade were not only meant for an Anglo American audience. Chinese Angelenos also attended La Fiesta's parades, including the Chinese portion. Figure 15 below shows a Chinese family riding in a carriage, on their way to see La Fiesta's parades. It is a practical looking carriage that is quite bare and contains two men sitting in the front and several women in the back of the carriage. This image suggests that the people in the carriage are immigrants, as evidenced by the clothing of the women and the queue of the man in the foreground. This photograph is a wonderful source because it shows that La Fiesta did not only attract a white audience.¹⁴¹ For Chinese spectators, seeing the Chinese portion of the parade

¹³⁹ "Chinese Lion," Chinese Historical and Cultural Project.

¹⁴⁰ "The Dragon Dance - a Celebration in Chinese New Year," Public Broadcasting Atlanta 30: Atlanta's PBS Station.

¹⁴¹ There are also photographs of non-Chinese families in Los Angeles going to see La Fiesta. Figure 15 is similar to these other photographs in that they simply capture a family sitting in a carriage, a rather quotidian scene. Photographs such as stand in contrast to photographs depicting participation in civic life in San Francisco. Arnold Genthe's photographs of the early Chinese community in San Francisco from about the 1890's to the late 1920's convey a particular, perhaps even manipulated perspective of the Chinese community. Many of his photographs of Chinese women were of prostitutes (deemed such because they were photographed walking on the streets unaccompanied or because of their elaborate clothing). In contrast, photographs like Figure 15 open up a sense of the Los Angeles Chinese community and give a feeling of normalcy when compared to the photographs of San Francisco's Chinese community.

might have evoked a sense of pride in being a part of the community that created such a wonderful display that was the highlight of each Fiesta.



Figure 15. Chinese family out to see La Fiesta Parade, undated.
Source: Chinese/Chinese American Communities, California Historical Society.

The Chinese were included in La Fiesta as part of the city's efforts to showcase its diversity, yet they were able to take control of this public opportunity to craft and convey a certain understanding of Chinese culture and the Chinese community. Despite the anti-Chinese sentiment and legislation that occurred in the era of Chinese exclusion, during which the early years of La Fiesta took place, the extraordinary Chinese portion of La Fiesta seemed to change many spectators' views of the Chinese and Chinese culture, and even made city leaders realize just how valuable the Chinese were to Los Angeles' economy and community. The Chinese portion of La Fiesta emphasized a unique Chinese culture that played into the Orientalist fantasies of American spectators and reinforced the idea that Chinese culture was different from

Anglo-American culture.¹⁴² Chinese culture became a fixed and essentialized commodity that was used to attract spectators.¹⁴³ La Fiesta became a stage for the Chinese to showcase the Chinese community and demonstrate how valuable they were to Los Angeles, both economically and culturally.

¹⁴² Chiou-Ling Yeh, *Making an American Festival: Chinese New Year in San Francisco's Chinatown*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008): 157.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 206.

Conclusion

Parades and festivals such as La Fiesta are captivating sites of study because of the way they mirror power structure and social hierarchy.¹⁴⁴ In the late nineteenth-century, Chinese immigrants were viewed as unassimilable, dirty, vice-ridden foreigners, both regionally and nationally, and occupied the lowest rung of Los Angeles' racial hierarchy. Part of La Fiesta's goal was to re-craft the historical narrative of Los Angeles in a way that would gloss over a violent and exclusionary past, and instead tell a "linear tale of inevitable Anglo cultural and economic dominance."¹⁴⁵ In the end, however, Americans' fascination with Orientalism combined with the exquisite Chinese displays and performances resulted in the Chinese portion of the parade becoming such a draw for La Fiesta that the Chinese were invited back annually, despite almost not being included in its inaugural year. In La Fiesta, the Chinese used their culture as capital to combat prejudice and create business opportunities.¹⁴⁶ Thus, in appealing to American Orientalist imagination, the Chinese were able to craft their own representation in a way that increased their popularity (even if temporarily) in American society and staked a claim to a sense of belonging in Los Angeles.

Through their participation in La Fiesta, the Chinese both reinforced and subverted Los Angeles' racial hierarchy and the narrative of racial progress the parade was supposed to convey. In the late nineteenth-century, the Chinese were at the bottom of the racial hierarchy, but as their contributions to La Fiesta showed, they worked to change their representation. Various aspects of their participation in La Fiesta demonstrate that some Chinese merchants were middle-class or affluent and also were establishing families. The positive reception and anticipation of the

¹⁴⁴ Susan Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-century Philadelphia*, (Philadelphia: temple University Press, 1986), 5, as cited in Chio-Ling Yeh, "In the Traditions of China and in the Freedom of America," *American Quarterly*, 56: 2 (June 2004): 396.

¹⁴⁵ Torres-Rouff, *Before L.A.*, 6.

¹⁴⁶ Yeh, "In the Traditions of China," 397.

Chinese dragon and parade reflected how the Chinese made a great contribution to La Fiesta, and in doing so, demonstrated their economic and cultural value to Los Angeles. Furthermore, by choosing to tell an aspect of Chinese history from the B.C. era, the Chinese contested the narrative of La Fiesta's organizers as well as making a statement about their community belonging in Los Angeles on the basis of their rich culture and long history.

The participation of the Chinese in La Fiesta and the photographs showing their contributions and attendance reveal a great deal about their growing community and place in Los Angeles. Today, many people conflate Chinatowns together, assuming that their narratives, histories, and struggles have been the same. However, the story of the Chinese who resided in Los Angeles' Chinatown is different. Their role in La Fiesta shows that there was a merchant class that was able to support the creation of Chinese floats in La Fiesta, they had both local and transnational ties to other Chinese communities, and there were women and children, which indicates the growth of a Chinese family community. While more information about the Chinese community in nineteenth-century Los Angeles still needs to be uncovered, I hope that my project has contributed to understandings of the ways in which the Chinese negotiated their own representation and sense of belonging in Los Angeles.

Bibliography

Newspapers

California Voice, February 24, 1898.

California Voice, March 4, 1898.

Los Angeles Times, October 8, 1887.

Los Angeles Times, April 6, 8, 10, 11, 18, 30, 1894.

Los Angeles Times, March 28, 30, 1894.

Los Angeles Times, February 24, 1895

Los Angeles Times, April 3, 18, 1895.

Los Angeles Times, June 6, 1896.

Los Angeles Herald, Fiesta edition, May 6, 1903.

Los Angeles Times, May 9, 1926.

Rasmussen, Cecilia. "Downtown's Fiesta Began as a Multicultural Celebration," *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 2003. <<http://articles.latimes.com/2003/apr/27/local/me-then27>>.

Primary Sources

California Historical Society Collection, 1860-1960, University of Southern

California Digital Library. Web.

<<http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/p15799coll65>>

California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento. Web.

<<https://www.library.ca.gov/calhist/index1.html>>

Census of the City and County of Los Angeles, California, 1850, (Los Angeles: Times-Mirror Press, 1929).

Chinese in California, California Historical Society. Web.

<<http://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt5p3019m2/dsc/?query=la%20fiesta;dsc.position=2501;#hitNum3>>

“La Fiesta de Los Angeles, 1894-1896,” Jewish Museum of the American West. Web.

<<http://www.jmaw.org/la-fiesta-de-los-angeles/>>

Layton, S. Willie. “California. La Fiesta de Los Angeles,” *The Woman’s Era* II:

3 (June 1895): 16-17.

“Max Meyberg Fiesta Scrapbook,” Seaver Center for Western History Research, Los Angeles, CA.

United States, Census Office, *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Volume I: Population Part I* (New York: Norman Ross Publishing, 1994).

United States, Census Office, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Volume II: Population Reports by State Alabama-Montana* (New York: Norman Ross Publishing, Inc., 1999).

United States, Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: Volume I: Population Part I: Populations of States and Territories, etc.* (New York, NY: Norman Ross Publishing, Inc., 1997).

Secondary Sources

“Brown v. Board of Education: The Southern California Perspective.” *Social Sciences and Humanities Library*. University of California, San Diego, Web.

<<http://sshl.ucsd.edu/brown/calcode.htm>>

“Chinese Lion,” Chinese Historical and Cultural Project, Web. <<http://www.chcp.org/lion.html>>

“Hispanic Americans: Spanish Colonization and Californios (1769-1800s).” *Calisphere*.

University of California, Web.

<http://www.calisphere.universityofcalifornia.edu/calcultures/ethnic_groups/subtopic3a.html>.

“The Dragon Dance - a Celebration in Chinese New Year,” Public Broadcasting Atlanta 30:

Atlanta’s PBS Station, Web.

<<http://www.pba.org/programming/programs/tiaarchives/chinesenewyear/>>.

“The Golden Dragon Parade - A Los Angeles Tradition.” *The Golden Dragon Parade and New Year Festival*. Chinese Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles, Web.

<<http://www.lagoldendragonparade.com/Event.html>>.

Bingham, Edward R. “The Saga of the Los Angeles Chinese” (unpublished Master’s thesis, Occidental College, 1942).

Camp, Stacey Lynn. “Materializing Inequality: The Archaeology of Tourism Laborers in Turn-of-the-Century Los Angeles,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* (2011) 15: 279-297.

Chinn, Thomas W. *Bridging the Pacific: San Francisco Chinatown and its People*, (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1989).

Chiou-Ling Yeh, *Making an American Festival: Chinese New Year in San Francisco’s Chinatown*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

Cho, Jenny, and the Chinese Historical Society of Southern California. *Chinatown in Los Angeles*, (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2009).

- Deverell, William, and Douglas Flamming, "Race, Rhetoric, and Regional Identity: Boosting Los Angeles, 1880-1930," in John M. Findlay, and Richard White, eds., *Power and Place in the North American West*, (Seattle: University of Washington, 1999): 117-143.
- Deverell, William. *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of its Mexican Past*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).
- Doissy, Lourise. *A Business Venture in Los Angeles: Or, a Christian Optimist*. (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company, 1899).
- Griswold del Castillo, Richard "Manifest Destiny: The Mexican-American War and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo," *Southwestern Journal of Law and Trade in the Americas* 5, No. 31 (1998): 31-45.
- Lee, Anthony W. *Picturing Chinatown: Art and Orientalism in San Francisco*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
- Lee, Portia, and Jeffrey Samudio. *Images of America: Los Angeles, California*, (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2001).
- Light, Ivan. "From Vice District to Tourist Attraction: The Moral Career of American Chinatowns, 1880-1940," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 43, no. 3 (Aug., 1974): 367-394.
- Lindley, Robin. "The Forgotten Los Angeles Race Riot: Interview with Historian Scott Zesch on the Chinatown Massacre of 1871." *History News Network*. George Mason University, Web. <<http://hnn.us/article/148259>>
- Matsubara, Hiroyuki. "Stratified Whiteness and Sexualized Chinese Immigrants in San Francisco: The Report of the California Special Committee on Chinese Immigration in 1876," *American Studies International*, Vol. XLI, no. 3 (Oct. 2003): 32-59.

- McDonald, Thomas Allen. "Development of the Los Angeles Chinatown: 1850-1970," (Master of Arts thesis, California State University, Northridge, 1973).
- Mead, Christina Wielus. "Las Fiestas de Los Angeles: A Survey of the Yearly Celebrations, 1894-1898," *The Quarterly: Historical Society of Southern California*, Vol. 31 No. 1/2 (March and June 1949): 60-113.
- Miller, Stuart Creighton. *The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).
- Molina, Natalia. *Fit to be Citizens?: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California, 2006).
- Newmark, Harris. *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913* (New York: The Knickerboxer Press, 1913).
- Newmark, Marco. "La Fiesta de Los Angeles of 1894," *The Quarterly: Historical Society of Southern California* 29: 2 (June 1947): 100-111.
- Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994).
- Ong, Paul, and Tania Azores, "Asian Immigrants in Los Angeles: Diversity and Divisions," in Paul M. Ong, Edna Bonacich, and Lucie Cheng, eds., *The New Asian Immigration in Los Angeles and Global Restructuring*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994): 100-131.
- Pang, Cecilia J. "(Re)cycling Culture: Chinese Opera in the United States," *Comparative Drama*, 30, Nos. 3, 4 (Fall 2005-06): 361-396.
- Park, Kyeyoung. "Introduction: Theoretical Interpretation of Ethnic Tension."

- Peffer, George Anthony. "Forbidden Families: Emigration Experiences of Chinese Women under the Page Law, 1875-1882," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 6, no. 1 (Fall 1986): 28-46.
- Posas, Ana Liza. "Finding Aid to the La Fiesta de Los Angeles Collection MS.207," Autry National Center, Braun Research Library.
<<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8cr5vrm/>>;
- Quintana, Isabella Seong-Leong. "'Shaken as by an Earthquake:' Chinese Americans, Segregation and Displacement in Los Angeles, 1870-1938," *Gum Saan Journal* 32:1 (2010).
<http://www.chssc.org/History/ChinatownRemembered/Neighborhoods/Segregation_and_Displacement_in_Old_Chinatown.aspx>
- Romo, Ricardo. *East Los Angeles: History of a Barrio* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983).
- Stargel, Cory, and Sarah Stargel. *Early Downtown Los Angeles*, (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcardia Publishing, 2009).
- Tchen, John Kuo Wei. *Genthe's Photographs of San Francisco's Old Chinatown*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1984).
- Torres-Rouff, David Samuel. *Before L.A.: Race, Space, and Municipal Power in Los Angeles, 1781-1894*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).
- Wielus, Isabel C. "Las Fiestas de Los Angeles: A Survey of the Yearly Celebrations, 1894-1898," M.A. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1946.
- Yeh, Chiou-Ling. "In the Traditions of China and in the Freedom of America": The Making of San Francisco's Chinese New Year Festivals," *American Quarterly* 56: 2 (June 2004): 395-420.

Zesch, Scott. "Chinese Los Angeles in 1870-1871: The Makings of a Massacre," *Southern California Quarterly*, Vol. 90, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 109-158.

Zesch, Scott. *The Chinatown War: Chinese Los Angeles and the Massacre of 1871*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2012).