

A People's Guide to Chinatown

By the Anti-Displacement Studio at Northeastern University
with the Asian Community Development Corporation

Fall 2023



Principal Investigator: Dr. Lily Song
School of Architecture, Northeastern University



Asian Community Development Corporation



Acknowledgements

We thank Rebecca Leu, Jamie Kim, Jenny Huang, and Billy Kan from ACDC for their partnership; Professor Joseph Nevins for generously sharing his research methods and lessons from *A People's Guide to Greater Boston*; and Lydia Lowe for her sage counsel. Northeastern University's Tier-1 Interdisciplinary Research Grant for the project "Reclaiming Open Public Places in Asian-American Communities: A Community-Based Participatory Research in the Boston Chinatown" funded the "People's Guide to Chinatown" workshop and the publication.

Introduction

A People's Guide to Chinatown is a project of the anti-displacement studio in collaboration with the Asian Community Development Corporation. It seeks to highlight stories of Boston Chinatown sites and buildings as spaces of community-led resistance, organizing, and transformation in the face of systemic oppression and injustice.

The anti-displacement studio is a Boston-based community-engaged research and design studio offered at Northeastern University by Professor Lily Song that activates the role and responsibility of the designer as creative accomplice to place-based activists and frontline communities.

Created by twelve undergraduate and graduate architecture students in the fall 2023 anti-displacement studio with feedback and guidance from ACDC staff, the 12 initial entries of the people's guide are intended to support the partners' youth leadership development and coalition building activities.

These Chinatown place histories honor and draw inspiration from larger efforts by the Chinatown Community Land Trust to build Chinatown's Immigrant History Trail along with the Chinese Progressive Association's decades-long grassroots organizing and advocacy, which were instrumental to many of the community struggles and wins documented here.



ACDC Staff Presenting During Walking Tour



Northeastern Anti-Displacement Studio in front of Chinatown Mural



Northeastern Studio and ACDC Members in front of Chinatown Gate

Table of Contents

Project Introduction

Acknowledgments	02
Introduction	03
Chinatown Map	05

Site-Specific Entries

Chinese Merchants Association Building	06 - 07
The Corner Bakery	08 - 09
Empire Garden Restaurant	10 - 11
Kwong Kow Chinese School	12 - 13
Josiah Quincy Elementary School	14 - 15
Traders Building	16 - 17
Parcel C and The Metropolitan	18 - 19
Parcel 24	20 - 21
Dainty Dot Building	22 - 23
Mass Pike Towers	24 - 25
Castle Square Apartments	26 - 27
Berkeley Street Community Garden	28 - 29

Project References and Acknowledgements

Reference	32
-----------------	----

Chinatown Map



CHINESE MERCHANTS ASSOCIATION BUILDING

20 Hudson Street
Betsy Schwefler

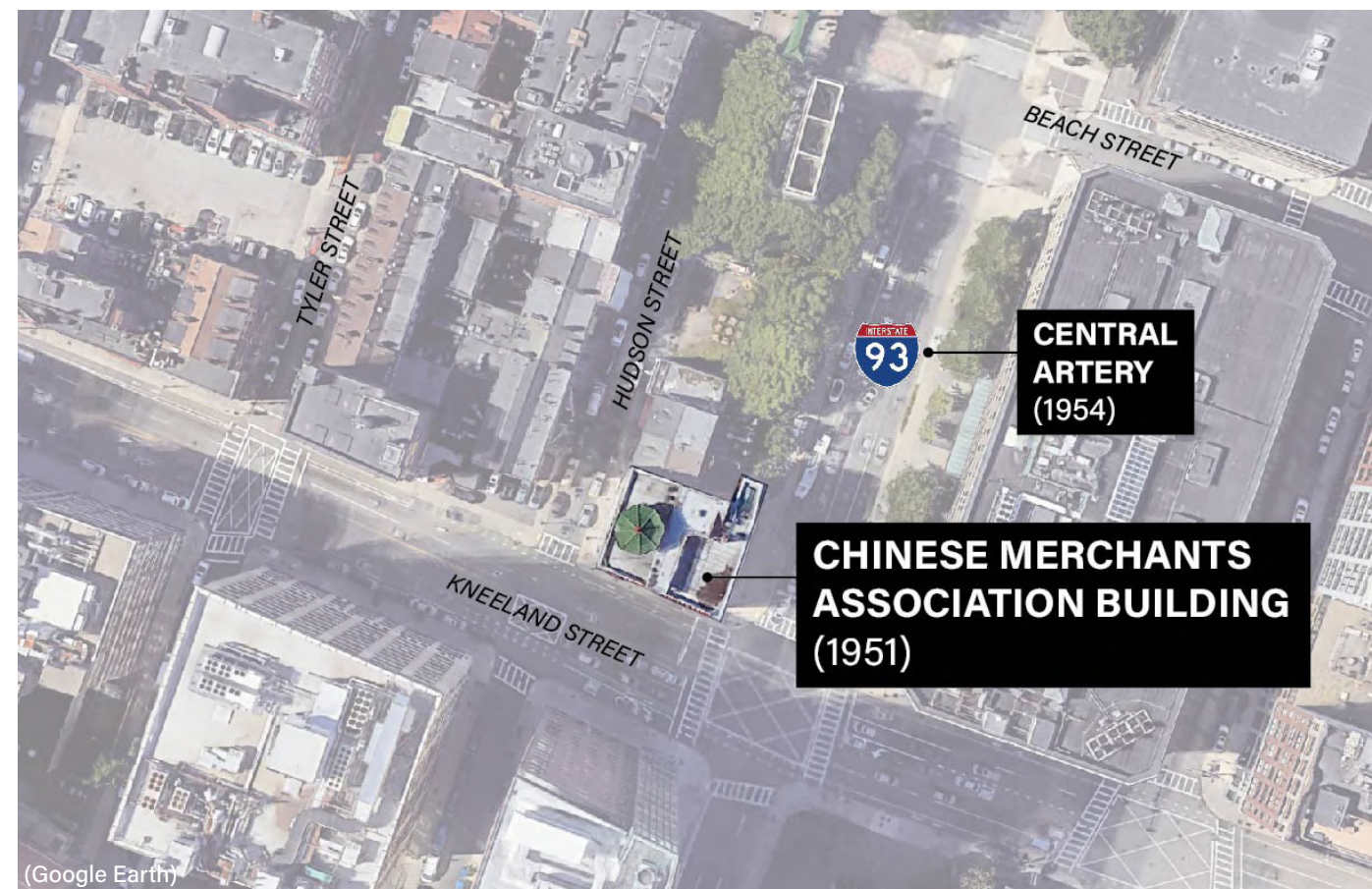
In 1954, Chinese Bostonians lined up at the Chinese Merchants Association (CMA) building to sign a petition asking Governor Christian Herter to change the Central Artery route. The crowds consisted of people actively trying to protect their homes from the large-scale urban renewal projects that were designed to make it easier for white, middle-class Americans to get from the suburbs to the city.

The newly constructed building was fully funded by Chinese investment and was designed by Edward Chin Park, a Chinese American architect who studied under Walter Gropius at MIT. The building served as a civic center, equipped with a 500-seat auditorium and a 250-seat banquet hall. In the brief time it was fully active, the building was host to children's plays, youth dances, musical performances, film screenings, and community gatherings. The building combines international style modernism with strong motifs of Chinese culture—an image that was very intentionally crafted to communicate the beginnings of a new Chinatown, one that was cooperating with the urbanization undertaking Boston at the time. The wealthy elite of Chinatown wanted to revitalize the area on their own terms, and assure the state of Massachusetts that Chinese citizens were a “model minority” capable of adjusting to modernity and that Chinatown should not be labeled as a “slum” or “blighted area” in need of urban renewal.

After a year of push back from the community and 58 different proposals for the Central Artery. Half of the newly constructed civic center was ultimately sacrificed in order to save more residential buildings from being demolished. The original plan for the central artery displaced 170 families, while the final plan displaced 14. The subsequent construction of the Massachusetts Turnpike was not as highly contested, as the CMA's resources were spread thin fighting developer projects, resulting in the destruction of dense residential blocks. The altered building still stands today, with a giant “Welcome to Chinatown” sign, and an eye-catching pagoda that exists as pure ornament in a now inaccessible roof garden. It serves as a reminder of the efforts and pitfalls of the battle for Chinatown.

Sources: Liu, 2020; Chen, 2014; CHCP, 2023; To, 2008.

Intersection of Kneeland and I-93



(Google Earth)

Chinese Merchants Association Building Before and After Central Artery



(Chiu for Chinese in Massachusetts, 1951)

1951



(Google Earth)

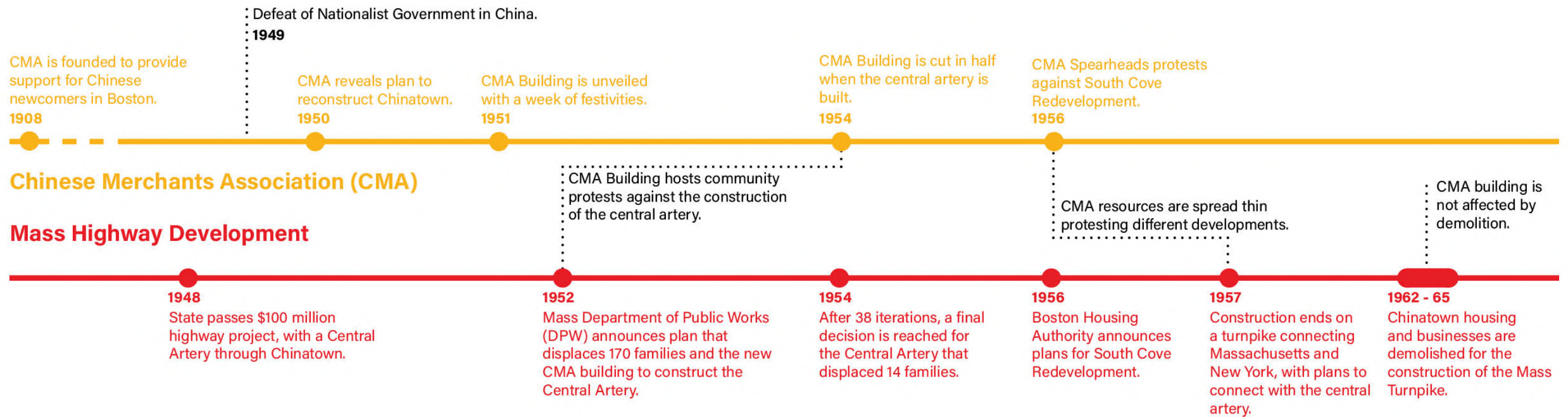
2022

Community Gathering to Sign a Petition Against the Construction of the Central Artery at the CMA Building

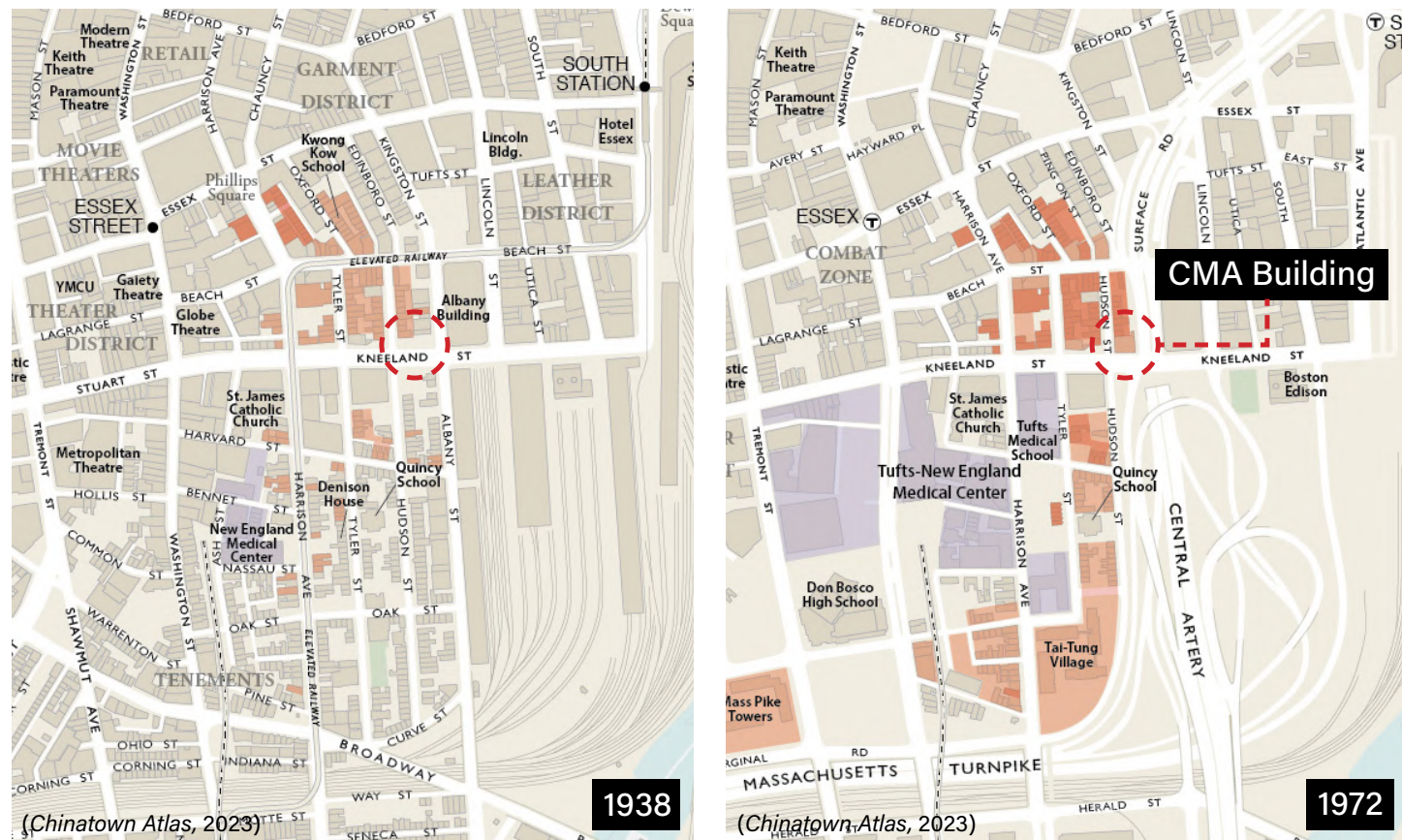


(To for CHSNE, 1954)

Chinese Merchants Association Building Timeline During Mass Highway Development



Changes in Chinatown from 1938 to 1972



Architectural Details of the CMA Building

The pagoda is a religious symbol that traditionally marks the tomb of a Buddhist monk.

Rooftop garden is no longer accessible after renovations.

Traditional, easily digestible representations of Chinese culture.

Balconies are covered for additional space.

Auditorium goes from 506 to 194 seats. Dining space is halved, and loses pork oven.

Ground floor becomes commercial.

Orientalist font used in signage, welcoming those coming from the expressway.

What do you think this building represents today?

Who were these ornamental details for?

THE CORNER BAKERY

62-66 Harrison Ave

Kaelin O'Connell

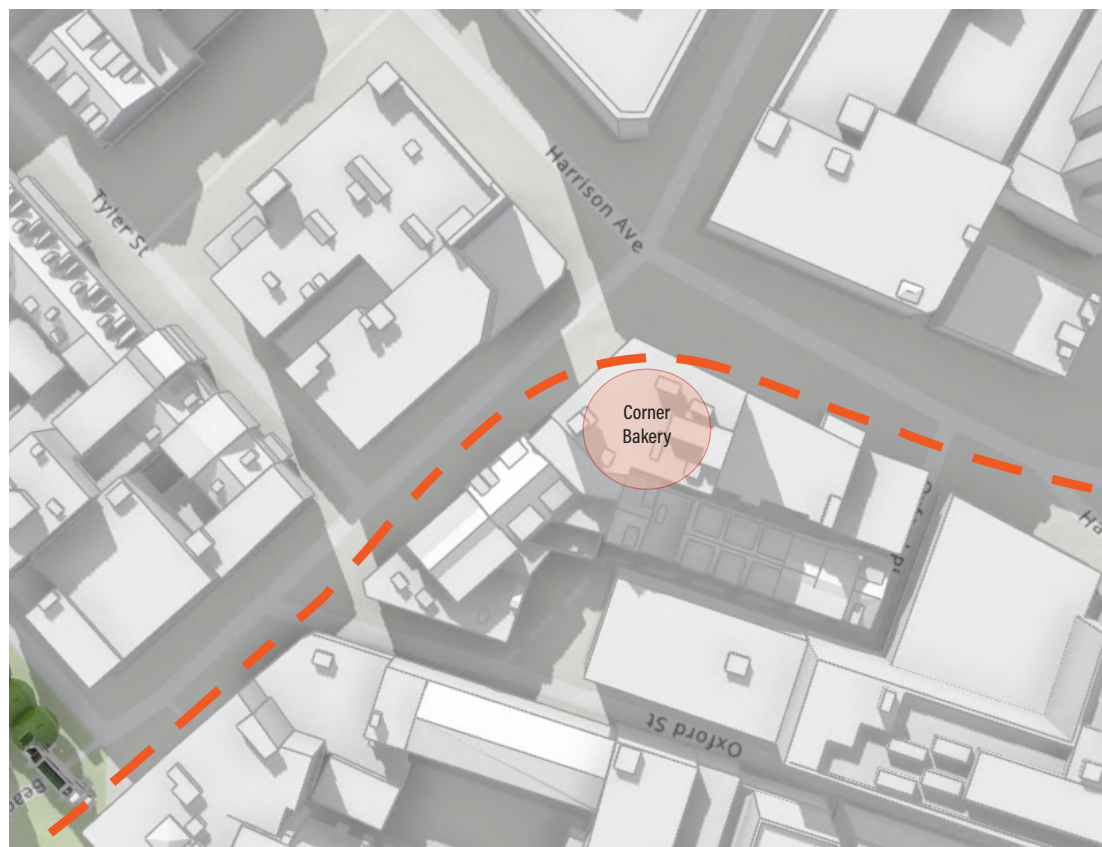
In 1928, a train derailed off the tracks above 62 Harrison Ave in Boston's Chinatown, killing two passengers. Although this horrific story may have come as a surprise to some, the elevated railway (also known as the "EI") was a well-known transit route to many Bostonians. Initially appreciated for its quick transit and connection of neighborhoods, residents soon complained that it was noisy, ugly, and divided the city. The noise pollution of the train, with its largest 'shriek' at the corner of Beach and Harrison Ave, deterred many would-be residents- except for many Chinese and Syrian inhabitants. The drop in property prices allowed for the expansion of restaurants and garment buildings, but the darkness and calamity of the EI led to dangers.

By 1938, the EI's demolition began and Chinatown's streets widened, becoming brighter and less noisy. This increased the neighborhood's desirability. The history of the EI, however, remains in Chinatown. Below the site of the wreck remains a one-story building that was constructed in 1910, now home to the Corner Bakery (previously the Boston Hotel). Situated between a swath of multi-story buildings, this bakery is a symbol of resilience in Boston's Chinatown.

Although the developers of the EI and the designers of the streets may have had good intentions, there has been a long road of transportation injustices in Chinatown, including two rounds of highway displacement. The Corner Bakery in Chinatown continues to stand as an emblem of community perseverance against the infrastructural injustices within the neighborhood.

(Sources: Boston Globe, 2004; Chinatown Atlas; Liu, 2020; Universal Hub, 2020)

Map of Corner Bakery



— Elevated Railway

(Source: ArcGIS)

Photographs of the Corner Cafe



(Source: Kaelin O'Connell, 2023)



(Source: Chinese Progressive Association)

Beach Street Elevations



Present (circa 2009)

BEACH STREET

必珠街

(Source: Chinatown Atlas)

Timeline of 62-66 Harrison Ave

1894

Approval of the EI

The EI running over the Boston Hotel at 62-66 Harrison Ave.



(Source: Boston Archives, 1939)

1910

Construction of Boston Hotel

Street view underneath the EI at the corner of Beach St. and Harrison Ave.



(Source: Boston Historical Society, 1933-35)

1938

Closing of EI and beginning of demolition

A brighter and more spacious view of 62-66 Harrison Ave. with the removal of the EI.



(Source: Boston Transit Archive, 1942)

2017

Safety improvement of Chinatown streets

The wider streets gave way to a car corridor in Chinatown in which pedestrian safety became a major concern.



(Source: Chinese Progressive Association)

1900

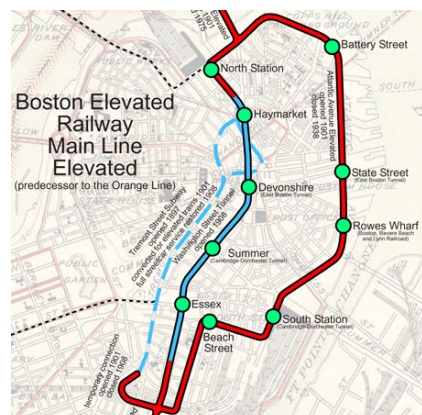
1910

1920

1930

1940

2010



(Source: Universal Hub, 2020)

1901

Decrease in residential uses

Left: Plan of the main line of the EI.

Right: Street view underneath the EI at the corner of Beach St. and Harrison Ave.



(Source: Boston Transit Archive, 1940)

1928

Train wreck

Horrible train wreck above 62-66 Harrison Ave. in which two people were killed.



(Source: Leslie Jones, 1928)

1940

Increase in Chinatown desirability

The development of residential uses.

Pictured on the right is a large apartment complex plan on Stuart St.



(Source: Chinese Progressive Association)

How do you learn from the past in order to build to the future?

Inside the Corner Cafe



(Source: Julia T for Yelp Photographs)



(Source: Jessi L for Yelp Photographs)



(Source: Rebecca K for Yelp Photographs)

EMPIRE GARDEN RESTAURANT

690 Washington Street

Cynthia Cheng

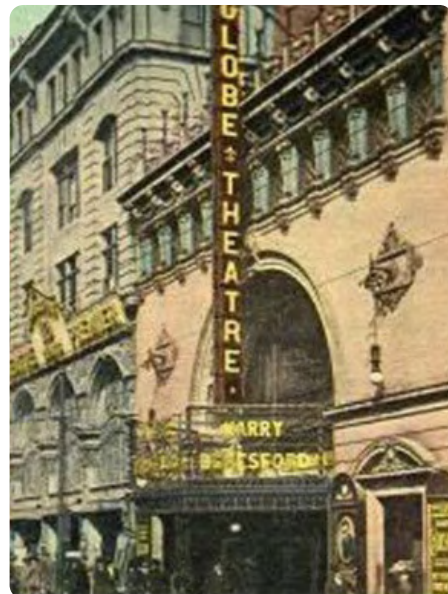
While dining at Empire Garden Restaurant, it is difficult to imagine how the building sits in what used to be the heart of Boston's notorious adult entertainment district, "The Combat Zone." Prior to its revival as a Chinese dim sum restaurant in 1995, 690 Washington Street historically lodged three major theater houses on the edge of Chinatown—the Globe Theatre (1903), Loew's Center Theatre (1947), and the Pagoda Cinema (1977). Originally, the Globe Theatre produced all-star comedy and drama content, but once the Boston Redevelopment Authority designated Lower Washington Street as the Adult Entertainment District in 1974, the content it produced, as the Center Theatre, shifted to fit the demands of the Combat Zone's clientele.

As the Combat Zone continued to become more infamous for its adult movie theaters, strip joints, prostitution, drugs, and crime, the area grew to become unsafe for the Chinatown community. Unable to stop the Combat Zone's continuing development, Chinatown residents dealt with dangerous activities creeping further into neighborhood streets and the barrier the zone created between them and the rest of the city. During the height of the Combat Zone, David Wong, a Chinatown resident, purchased the Center Theatre in 1977 and established the Pagoda Cinema, the only all Chinese-language theater in all of Boston. While other theaters in the area played few Chinese movies (e.g. the State Theatre), the Pagoda Theater provided a place solely for Chinese families and youth. Working with the blurry border between Chinatown and the Combat Zone, the community claimed space within and around their neighborhood.

As both neighborhood and district grew and their boundaries continued to clash, more conflicts rose between those who worked in and frequented the area. In 1985, police officer Francis Kelly unjustly brutalized and arrested Long Guang Huang, a restaurant worker, in the Combat Zone. This moment sparked community outrage, leading to demands of his freedom and the removal of the Combat Zone. Through mass protests and coalition building, the community facilitated a larger social conversation and investigation into the area by other communities. Almost a decade later, in 1993, Mayor Raymond Flynn declared the removal of the district because of the immense amount crime in the area and its economic decline due to advancements in digital technology. In 1995, Mr. Wong closed the Pagoda Cinema and reopened his business as the Empire Garden Restaurant, preserving the building's function as a place dedicated to the Chinatown community.

(Sources: Singer and Goodman, 2011; Chinatown Atlas; Liu 2020; Yee 2019; Boston's Landmarks Commission)

The Three Main Life Stages of the Building



(Source: Johnny M for Cinema Treasures, 2023)

Original Theater



(Source: Chinatown Atlas)

Chinese Theater



(Source: John D Woolf for Historic New England, 2017)

Chinese Restaurant

Interior Images of the Empire Garden Restaurant



(Source: Jean Y for FourSquare, 2023)



(Source: Christina for Daydream Tourist, 2013)



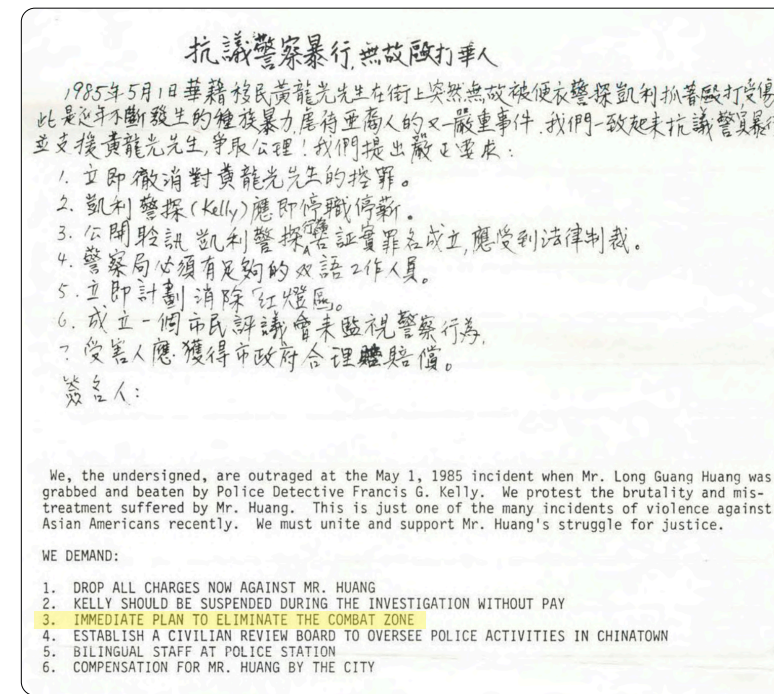
(Source: Black Thumb Studio, 2015)



(Source: Dina Rudick for The Boston Globe, 2011)

Although fully converted into a Chinese dim sum restaurant, the interior of the Empire Garden Restaurant still contains some of the grandeur design elements of the theaters from its past lives. Some of the architectural and decorative pieces are even from the original Globe Theatre, as its interior was not entirely demolished as the building changed ownership.

Chinatown's Activism Through Petition and Protest



(Source: Northeastern University Library, 1985)



(Source: Northeastern University Library, 1985)



(Source: Northeastern University Library, 1985)

After Long Guang Huang's unjust arrest on May 1, 1985, the Chinatown community demanded his freedom through petitioning. This pivotal moment led to the protests against the Combat Zone by Chinatown residents later that same year and eventually became the catalyst for other community efforts, such as neighborhood-watch groups and midnight clean-ups, to create a safer place for everyone to live in.

KWONG KOW CHINESE SCHOOL

87 Tyler St
Remi Messier

In 2000, disagreements over rent and governance between the Kwong Kow Chinese School and the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) resulted in court appearances and the forced relocation of the school. Despite the loss of their previous premises (the CCBA-owned building at 90 Tyler Street that once housed the Quincy Grammar School), the Kwong Kow Chinese School was uplifted and supported by the activism of its alumni, students, and other supporters. Many came together to defend this cornerstone of Chinatown that was so valuable and important to the region's Chinese diaspora and find it a new home at 87 Tyler Street.

The Kwong Kow Chinese School has had a long-standing history of fostering immigrants, community, and preserving culture and language in Chinatown. It has maintained a commitment to preparing children of immigrant and first-generation families to acculturate to life in the US while helping preserve their Chinese background. For over 100 years, it has provided Chinese language, cultural education, recreational activities, and childcare for over 20,000 children. This past summer, KKCS's youth lion dance group participated in the AANHPI Heritage Month celebrations at Boston's City Hall alongside other dance ensembles. KKCS's yearly dragon boat festival raises awareness about this important history and tradition while allowing for some friendly play and competition. KKCS organizes other culture enrichment programs for their students, including calligraphy classes and art activities. It also incorporates local customs such as attending Red Sox Games and life-skills building, for instance, through fire safety and anti-smoking education.

Having overcome multiple challenges to retain its presence in Chinatown, the Kwong Kow Chinese School has found a permanent home at 87 Tyler Street, where it remains as a beacon of the community.

(Sources: Liu, 2020; Van Even, 2021; KKCS, 2021)

Kwong Kow Chinese School Area Plan



Kwong Kow Chinese School Past & Present Imagery

Current Location of The Kwong Kow Chinese School



(Source: Messier, 2023)

Previous Premises of KKCS - Quincy Grammar School



(Source: Historic Boston Incorporated (1847). 2017)

KKCS members in Boston's Chinatown Parade



(Source: Boston Globe. 1939)

Former teacher and principal of KKCS turns 100



(Source: Digital Commonwealth. Nancy Wong. 1970)

KKCS Dance Team at City Hall



(Source: KKCS media. 2023)

KKCS Lion Dance Parade



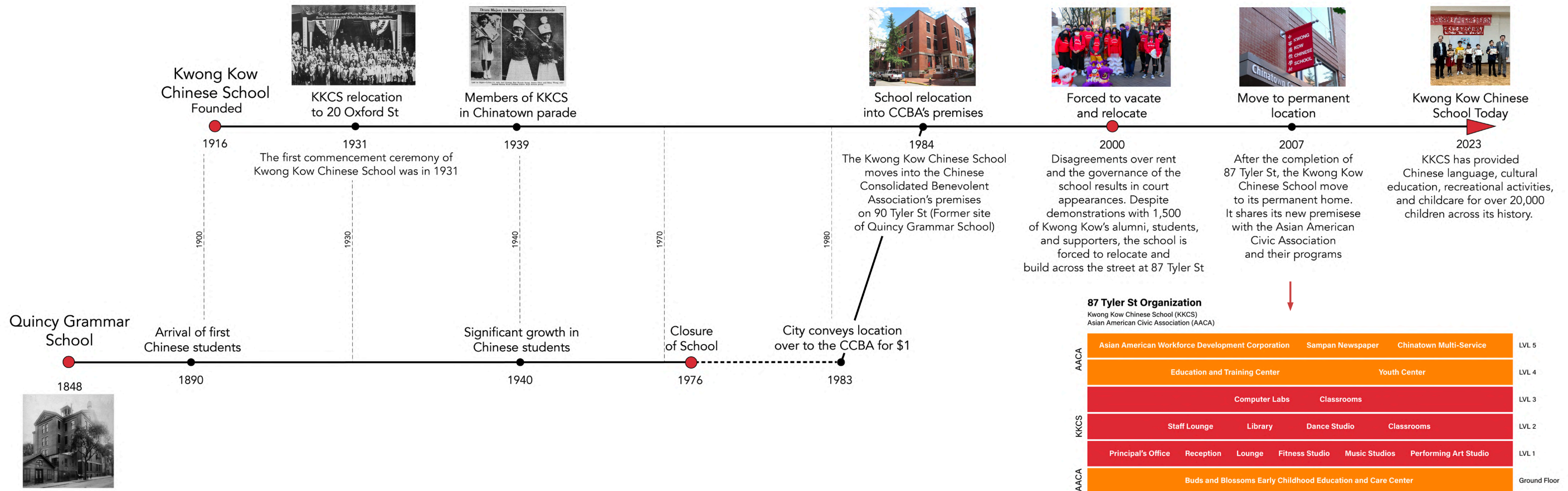
(Source: KKCS newsletter. 2022)

KKCS Arts & Craft Programming

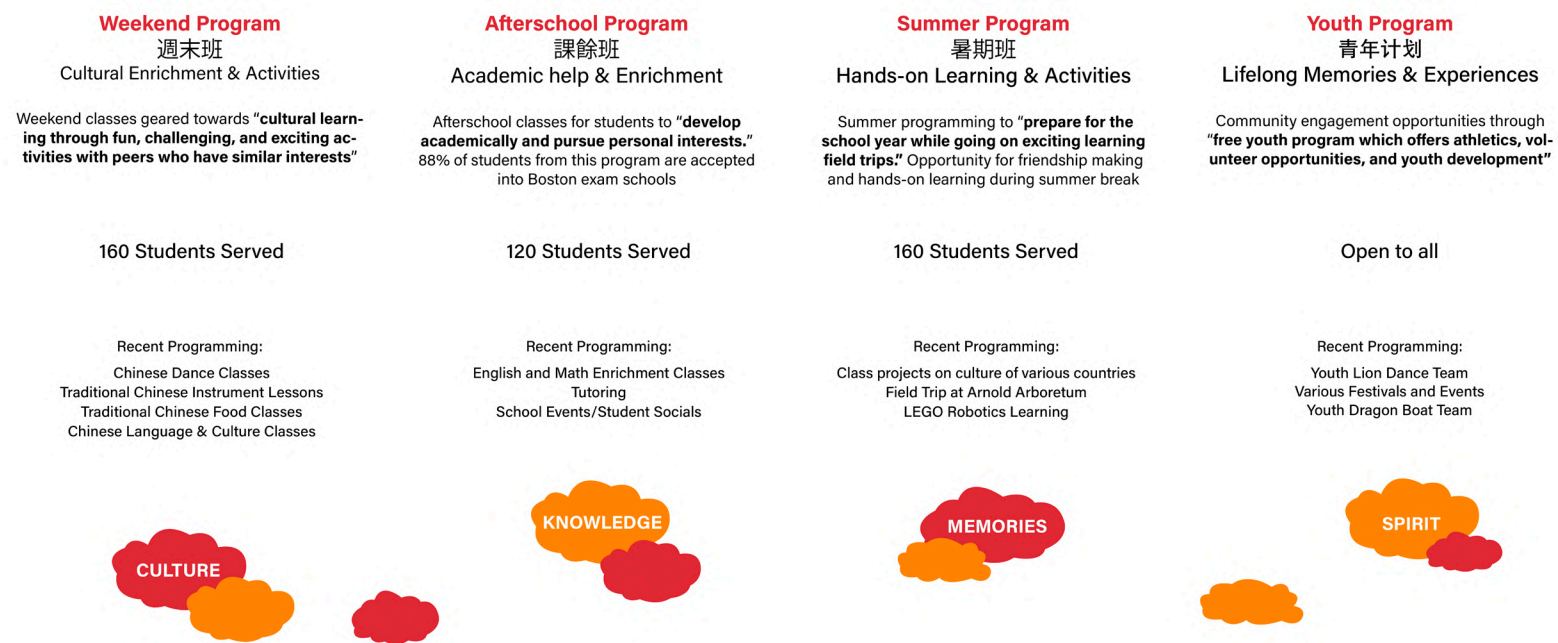


(Source: KKCS media. 2023)

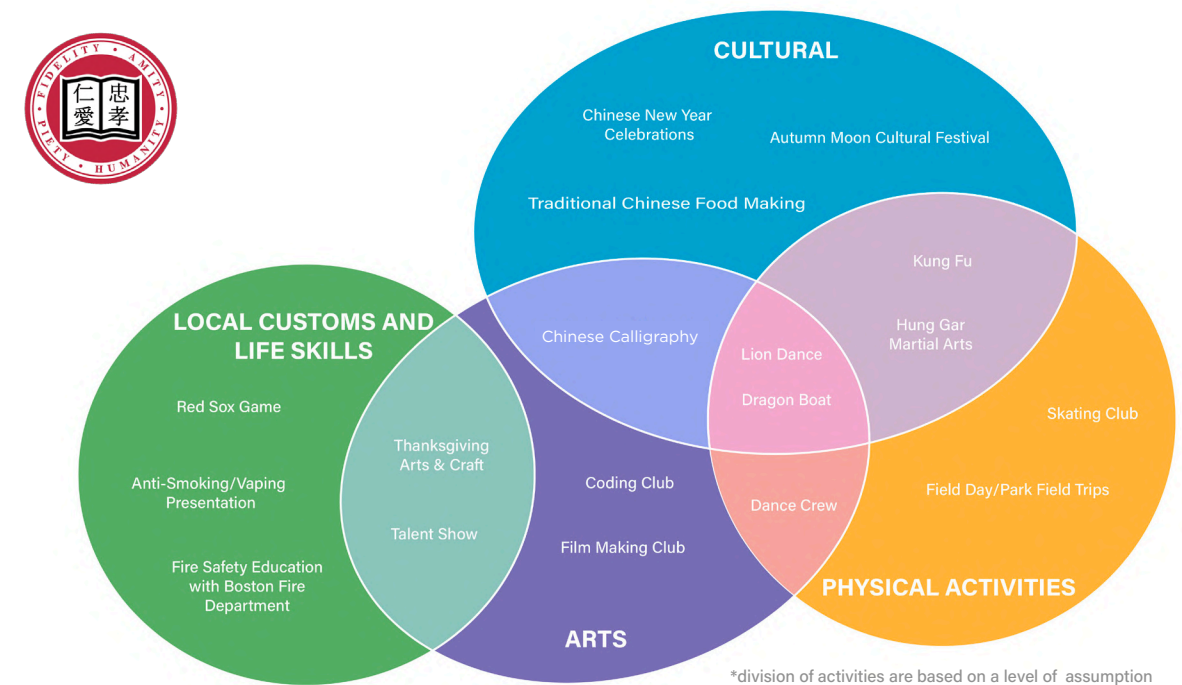
Kwong Kow Chinese School & Quincy Grammar School Timeline



KKCS Programming



KKCS Activity Diagram



How can we give back to cultures and communities that shape us and in turn help reinforce and renew them?

JOSIAH QUINCY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

885 Washington st, Boston

Kelly McInnis

In The 1960s, the Quincy School Community Council (QSCC) sought to create a neighborhood school that was community-run. In the coming years, Chinatown residents faced a conflict that undermined their efforts to make Josiah Quincy Elementary School (JQES) a community school. (JQES, derived from the Quincy Grammar School, has persevered and maintained an active institution for the residents of Chinatown.)

In 1975, Chinatown families learned that their children would be bused across town as part of the court-mandated desegregation effort with Boston Public Schools. During this time, the children at JQES were used as examples of a "model minority" to further discriminate against Black students and continue educational injustices. The busing to new schools led to a language barrier for the students, which meant the JQES students were not properly educated at the predominantly white school.

Boston activist, Suzanne Lee, was an influential leader in the wake of the busing crisis. Her efforts propelled her to become a school principal after successfully helping launch the Chinese Parents Association (CPA). The CPA acted in a bus boycott reacting to their children being bused away from JQES. Eventually, the Parents of JQES's demands went to the Department of Justice.

The boycott by the Josiah Quincy school's families helped change the Boston dynamic. Before the bus boycott, groups of Chinatown members were often disregarded when issues were brought to the city. The parents of Chinatown helped lead to more equal representation for the students at JQES.

How do you think bilingual education across Boston has helped create community?

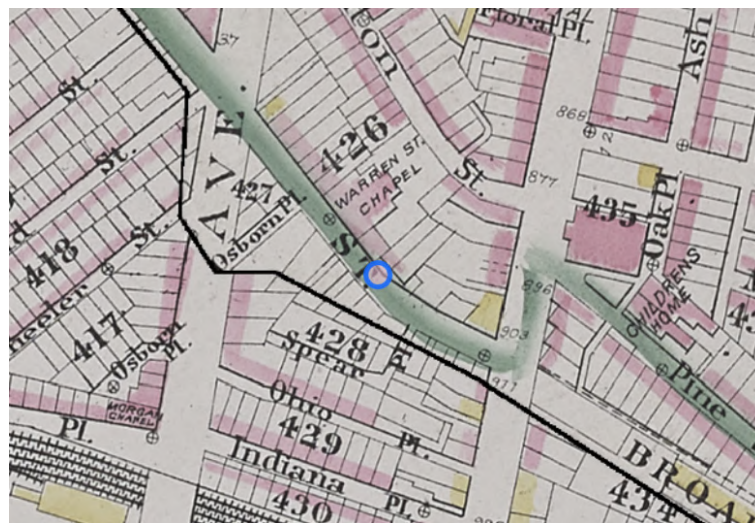
(Pan, 2022; Liu 2020; Chinese Historical Society of New England; National Park Service)

Josiah Quincy Elementary School




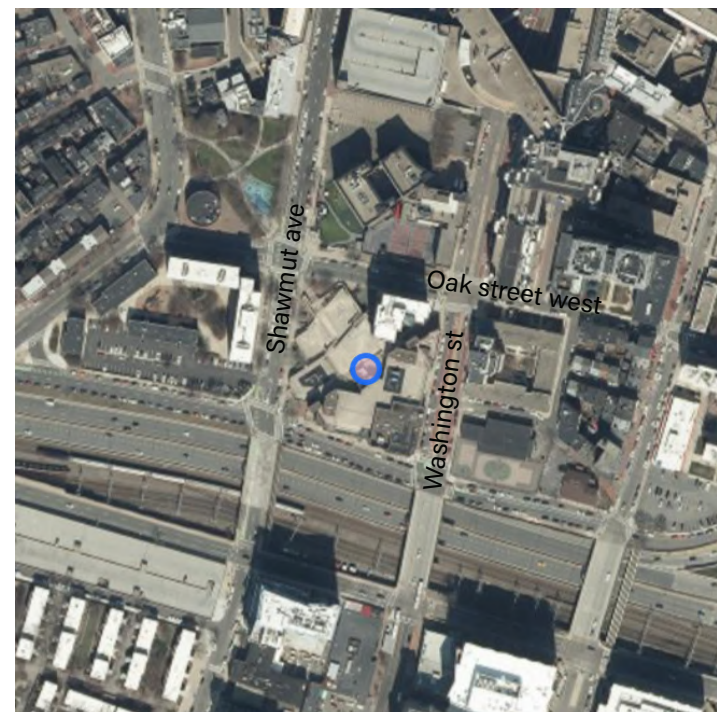
(Source: Caroline and Lawrence Schwirian)

Area of Josiah Quincy Elementary School



1882

 Josiah Quincy Elementary School



2023

Old Quincy Grammar School



(Source: Chinese Historical Society of New England)

Push for new school, formation of Quincy School Community Council (QSCC)



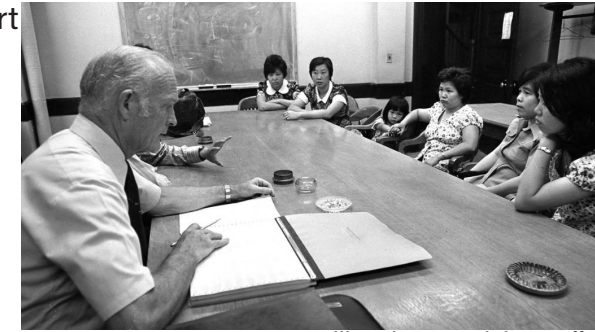
Leanne Burden Seidel

Josiah Quincy Elementary school opens 1976



Chinatown Neighborhood Community Center

Late 1970's, Court ordered busing to desegregate Boston Public schools



Bill Ryderson/Globe Staff

Josiah Quincy Upper School set to be complete summer 2024

1960

1974

1975

2023

Old Quincy School closed and sold for \$1

The Old Quincy school becomes a community center, owned by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA)



Caroline and Lawrence Schwirian

Chinatown JQES meeting with Boston Public Schools department demanding equal treatment of Chinatown students and families

Chinese Parents Association undertakes school bus boycott until demands were met



*Rendering

Shira Laucharen/ Sampan

School Program Features

Advanced Work Class (AWC) opportunity

Cultural events such as the Winter Festival and Lunar New Year Celebration

Mandarin language instruction for all students

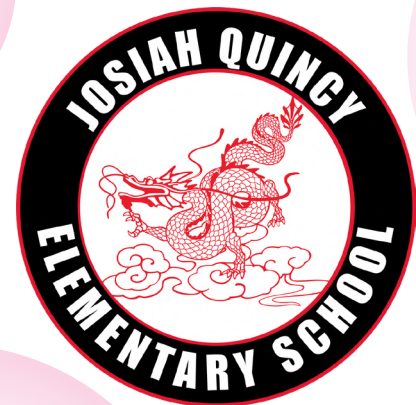
Language immersion (SEI), Chinese SEI

Partnerships with; Big Brother/Big Sister, Boston Chinatown Neighborhood Center, Northeastern University, Tufts Medical Center and more

Morning programs with Strong Women, Strong Girls group

Programs for physically Handicapped students

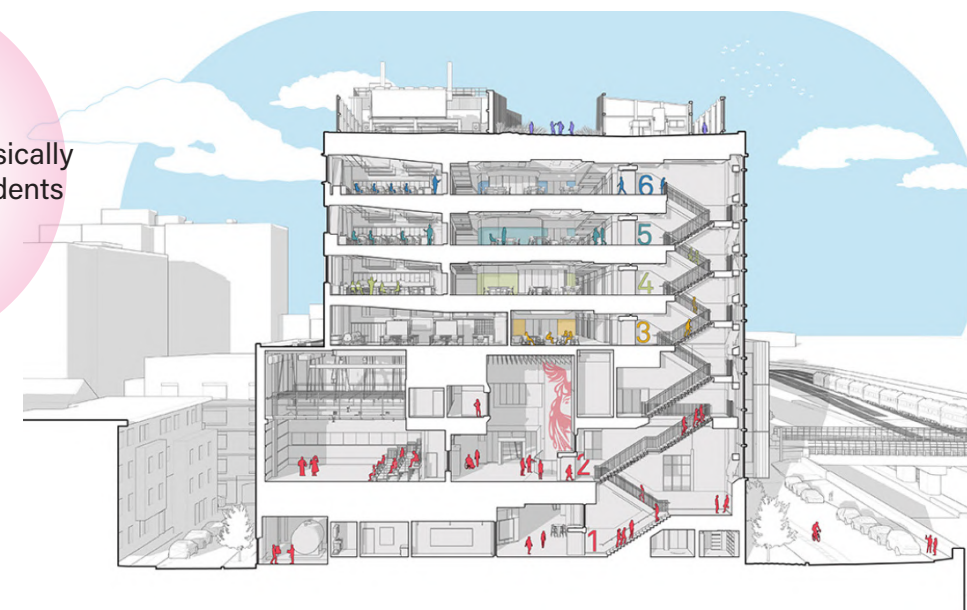
After school programs for Chinese dance and band in partnership with local agencies



Josiah Quincy Upper School

"This will be one of the greenest buildings in Boston. Students will get to enjoy science classrooms with modern lab facilities, a beautiful new gym to encourage everyone to stay active, and accessibility across the board to ensure that every single space is available for every single student."

Michelle Wu, Mayor, City of Boston



Drawing and renderings of the new Josiah Quincy Upper School in Chinatown, opening 2024
By architecture firm HMFH

TRADERS BUILDING

35 Kneeland Street

Anais Marston

In 1981, the Tufts New England Medical Center (T-NEMC) announced their purchase of two buildings (15 and 35 Kneeland St). Combined, this purchase displaced 25 garment shops and eliminated 600-800 jobs, most of which were held by Chinese women. This encroachment into Chinatown and termination of employment for hundreds of residents sparked waves of protest in the community. These jobs provided essential health care coverage for both the working women and their families, so in addition to the sudden loss of household income, they were also left uninsured. Due to the retaliation of the community, the city of Boston found new locations for the displaced businesses, most of which were in South Boston.

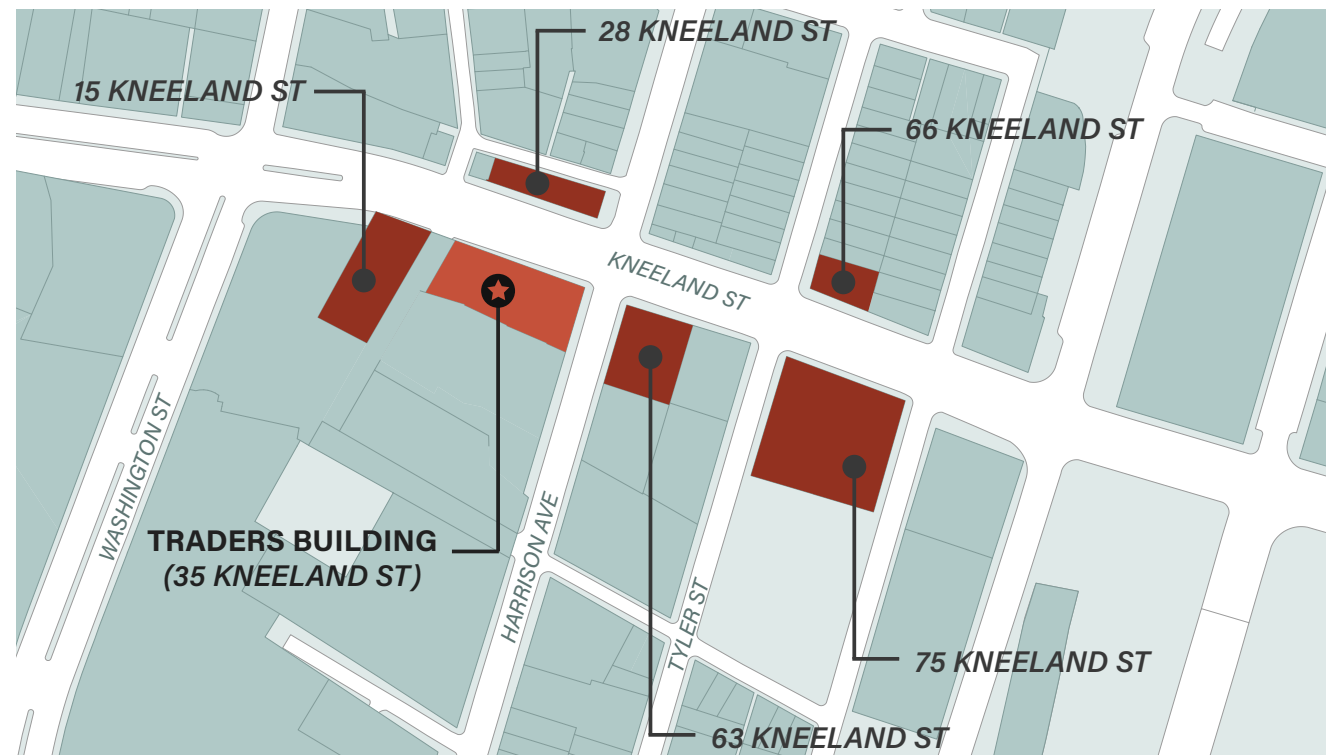
However, Boston's garment industry was continuing to decline. The shutdown of P&L Sportswear Company, one of Boston's largest manufacturers, in December of 1985, left nearly 400 garment workers without employment. With increased competition for remaining jobs, and limited transferable skills for other industries, many could not find employment after this closure. In other industries, job retraining programs for displaced workers were provided, but for Asian workers, there was no such support. Seeing the injustice, Chinatown workers organized themselves, handing out flyers on the street and holding meetings with government officials to fight for their rights. In May 1986, following almost six months without employment, they held a rally at the State House where over 200 workers gathered to protest the discrimination and delay in government aid.

Due to their resilience and determination garment workers succeeded, and in October 1986 they were able to celebrate the start of new retraining programs that had previously been denied to them. The work of these women opened new opportunities within the community and was an essential step in economic justice advocacy in Boston.

(Liu, 2020; Chinatown Atlas; Tappe, 1952; Chinese Progressive Association, 1985; Garment Workers Committee, 1986; Wen-Ti Tsen, 1993)

With the loss of the garment industry, how could Chinatown house new work opportunities for immigrants within the community? What would those jobs look like today and in the future?

1920s Garment Buildings on Kneeland St



Strength of the Garment Workers

A Garment Worker Portrait

May Ning immigrated with her husband from Hong Kong to Boston in 1980. Not knowing any English, she felt limited in her options and opted to continue working as a garment worker, a trade she had practiced since the age of 13. In Hong Kong, garment workers were viewed as skilled laborers, a stable secure occupation. But in America, May felt, garment workers were seen as just another low-level occupation for the uneducated. "There is no respect for garment workers here in America! The emphasis is mainly to make money, to produce as many pieces of garment as possible to achieve wealth. Pride in the quality of work no longer plays an important role. Living depends on the cycles of the garment industry."

When the P&L Sportswear Company shutdown in December, 1985, May was one of the workers left unemployed. This made living very difficult for May and her family. Since her immigration to the states in 1980, May had two children, now age 2 and 5. Typical of many Chinese immigrant families, her husband is a restaurant worker. The impact of the shutdown made health insurance inaccessible without help. Her family budget did not permit the purchase of clothing for her daughters. May had to sew them in her spare time. The year before the shutdown, May made only \$6,000. Her wages had been declining for several years. She saw no future in the garment industry. "To stay in the garment industry would be financial suicide."

The city and state were under law to provide retraining for these laid-off garment workers. When retraining and support services did not come after five months, May joined the 200 P&L workers to protest the injustice and delays of the state and city agencies. After a rally at the State House, May said, "Before this, I would never have thought of getting involved. Now, I see the importance of coming out to insure justice is done. I can no longer sit quietly, my family and livelihood is at stake!"

On July 25 the Mayor's Office scheduled a meeting at the Jobs and Community Service agency to discuss the city's proposal for the retraining of garment workers left unemployed through plant closings. The city informed the Garment Workers Support Committee of the meeting and stated that the unemployed garment workers should not attend. The garment workers, determined to have some input into the policy making decisions affecting them, decided to attend the meeting. May felt that it was important and necessary for them to come. May and many fellow garment workers went to the meeting, which set the basis for future meetings for the city and workers to help decide how best to select the most effective retraining programs.

Since then, retraining programs have begun. For May, these retraining programs are very important. "They will," she said, "help open doors which had earlier been closed to me." May feels that the Mayor's Office must maintain an active role along with the garment workers in continuing to develop and monitor the progress of the retraining programs.

*** Please note - May Ning is fictitious name used to protect the privacy of the worker.



Image (2): 1986 Garment Workers Protest
(Source: Northeastern University Library, 1986)



Image (3): Garment Workers Meeting
(Source: Northeastern University Library, 1986)

Image (1): Article about an unemployed worker from P&L Sportswear Company
(Source: Northeastern University Library, 1985)



Image (4): Trader's Building, 2023
(Source: Anais Marston, 2023)



Image (5): View of Kneeland St, 1958
(Source: Digital Commonwealth, 1958)




Image (6): View of Kneeland St, 2023
(Source: Anais Marston, 2023)

Trader's Building Timeline

1922

Construction of Traders Building

The Trader's Building, alongside many similar buildings, is built in the 1920s to house the booming garment industry.



Digital Commonwealth, 1958

1952

Central Artery Proposal


The proposal for a new expressway, the Central Artery, plans to cut through the heart of Chinatown and cause mass destruction of the neighborhood.

The combined efforts of Chinatown leaders, the garment, shoe and leather industries, and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, lead to a revised plan that pushes the expressway east, greatly reducing the damage to Chinatown.

1981

T-NEMC Purchases Traders Building

T-NEMC announces its purchase of the both Traders Building (35 Kneeland St) and 15 Kneeland St, pushing out 25 garments shops and 600-800 jobs.



Digital Commonwealth, 1981

1984


Former Traders Building Reopens

The former Traders Building reopens after its purchase by T-NEMC, housing New England Health Resources, Information Services, Transition Inc, and The Copy Center.

1986

Garment Worker's Protests

200 garment workers protest at the Massachusetts State House demanding job retraining programs for displaced workers after the P&L Sportsware Company closure.




Northeastern University Library, 1986

After 10 months without assistance, retraining programs for garment workers are finally implemented thanks to their efforts.

2023

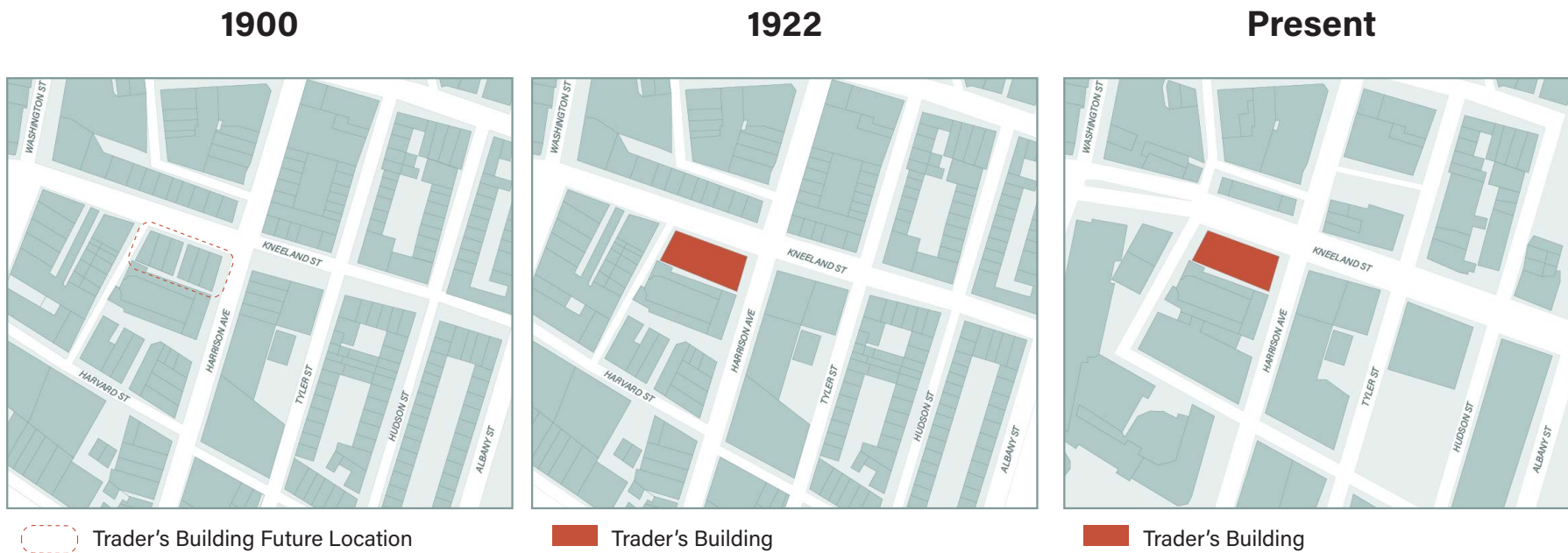
Tufts Medical Center Ownership

The Traders Building is still owned by T-NEMC, now called Tufts Medical Center, and houses a collection of their medical clinics, academic centers and administration offices.

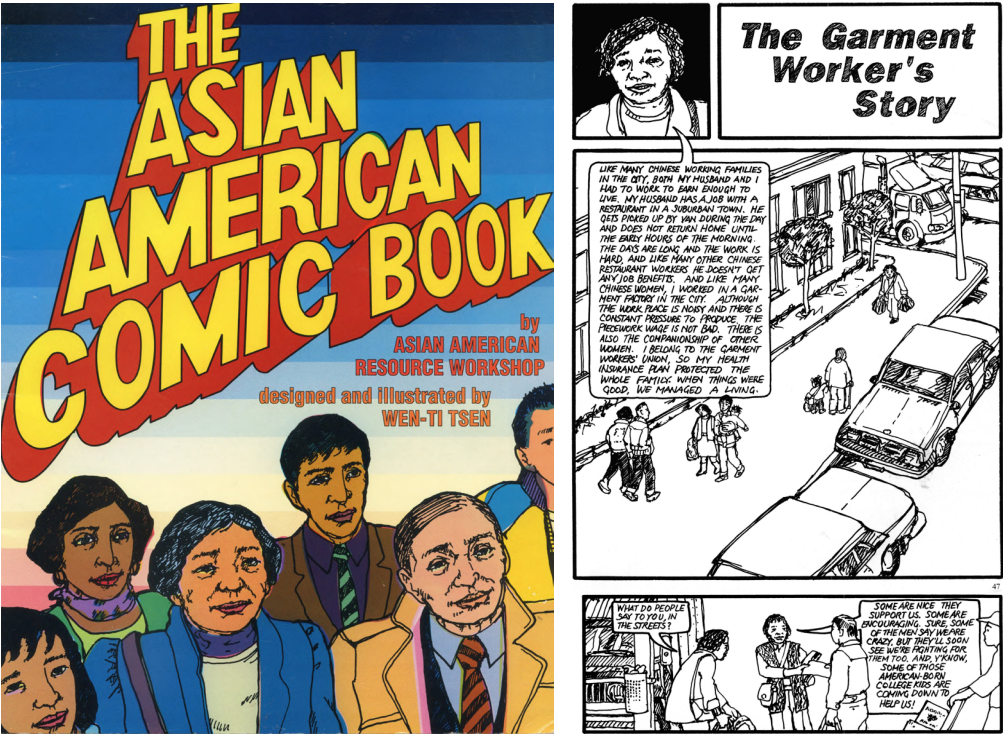


Anais Marston, 2023

Garment Sector Maps Through Time



Inspiring The Arts



THE ASIAN AMERICAN COMIC BOOK
by ASIAN AMERICAN RESOURCE WORKSHOP
designed and illustrated by WEN-TI TSEN

The Garment Worker's Story

Wen-Ti Tsen, 1993

In 1993, painter, illustrator and public artist Wen-Ti Tsen created the Asian American Comic Book. This series of comics documents four different Asian American experiences with heavily researched drawings that accurately depict both major events the reality of everyday life.

"The Garment Worker's Story" shows the details of what some of these women experienced and the complexities they had to face in order to get their voices heard.

PARCEL C AND THE METROPOLITAN

Oak Street and Ash Street

Abigael Peckham

The community's historic mobilization in response to the proposed parking garage on Parcel C came to define Chinatown as one of the most active and engaged neighborhoods in Boston. In fall 1992, when Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) proposed to allow Tuft's - New England Medical Center (T-NEMC) to build a 455-spot parking garage on land it had promised to Chinatown just two years before, the community made their feelings clear; a garage on Parcel C would be hazardous to residents' health and safety, and they would oppose it at all costs.

After the Chinatown Neighborhood Council (CNC) approved the proposal, it was clear to the community that organizing was their best chance to have their voices heard. Over the next 18 months, the Parcel C Coalition drafted petitions, held community meetings and protested, wrote letters, engaged lawyers, carried out an intense media campaign, lobbied the Massachusetts Department of Environmental Protection (MDEP), and held a community funded referendum.

In August 1994, the Coalition opted to hold a Family Fun Day on Parcel C as an alternative to occupying the site, which would place residents (and potentially, the immigration status of some) in harm's way. Family Fun Day would highlight the possibilities a community center would bring to the site, from recreation to gathering and more. The event featured games and contests, free food and drinks, a performance from a local musician, skits, karaoke, and a magician.

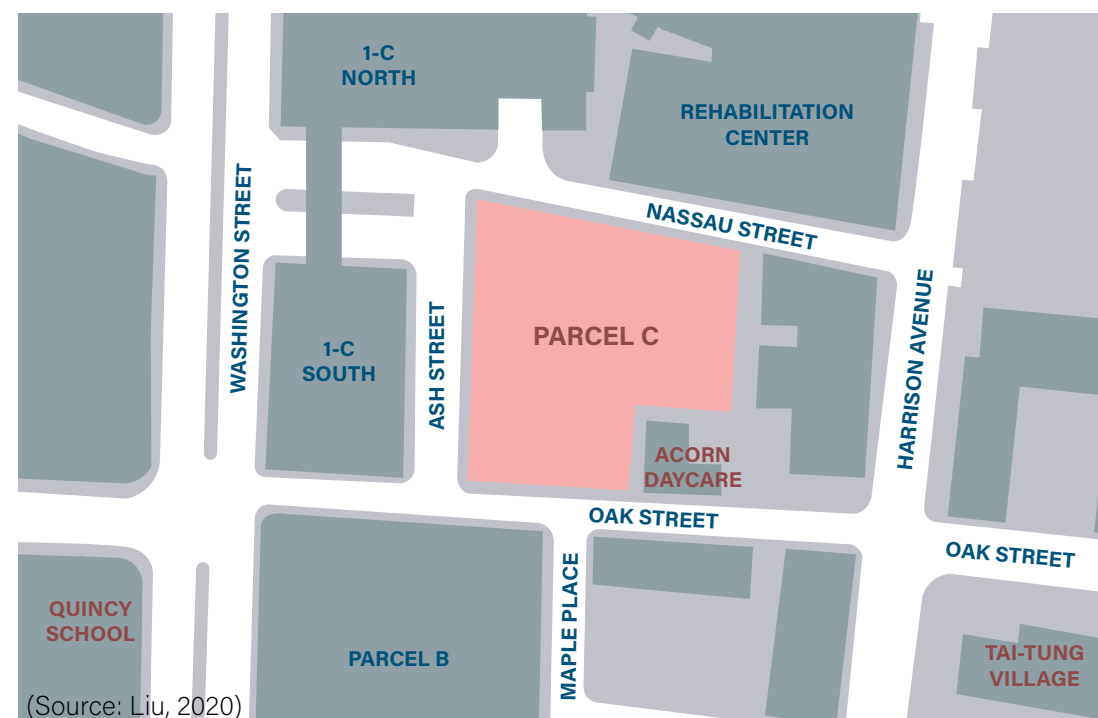
The Family Fun Day was a great success, made possible by the community's enthusiasm and the creativity and hard work of the organizers. On October 21st, 1994, Mayor Menino's office announced that T-NEMC withdrew its garage proposal, and Parcel C would be signed over to the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA). The victory was hard fought; T-NEMC and the BRA dismissed concerns about the garage time and time again, but as a collective, the Parcel C Coalition was stronger than any facet of the community acting alone.

(Sources: Leong, 1997; Liu, 2020; Nevins, 2020)

Organizations

ACDC	Asian Community Development Corporation
BAYES	Boston Asian Youth Essential Services
BCNC	Boston Chinatown Neighborhood Center
BRA	Boston Redevelopment Authority
CCBA	Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association
CCC	Chinatown Community Center Inc.
CNC	Chinatown Neighborhood Council
CPA	Chinese Progressive Association
EAFA	Edward A. Fish & Associates
MDEP	Massachusetts Department of Environmental Projection
T-NEMC	Tufts - New England Medical Center

Parcel C (1994)



Family Fun Day: Protest as Play



The festivities began with a dedication ceremony, where the coalition performed a mock ribbon cutting for the community center they imagined, and celebrated with fireworks
(Source: NU Archives and Special Collections, 1994)



The event drew large crowds, showing the need, desire, and potential for a community center
(Source: NU Archives and Special Collections, 1994)



Attendees of all ages enjoyed games like ping-pong and basketball
(Source: NU Archives and Special Collections, 1994)

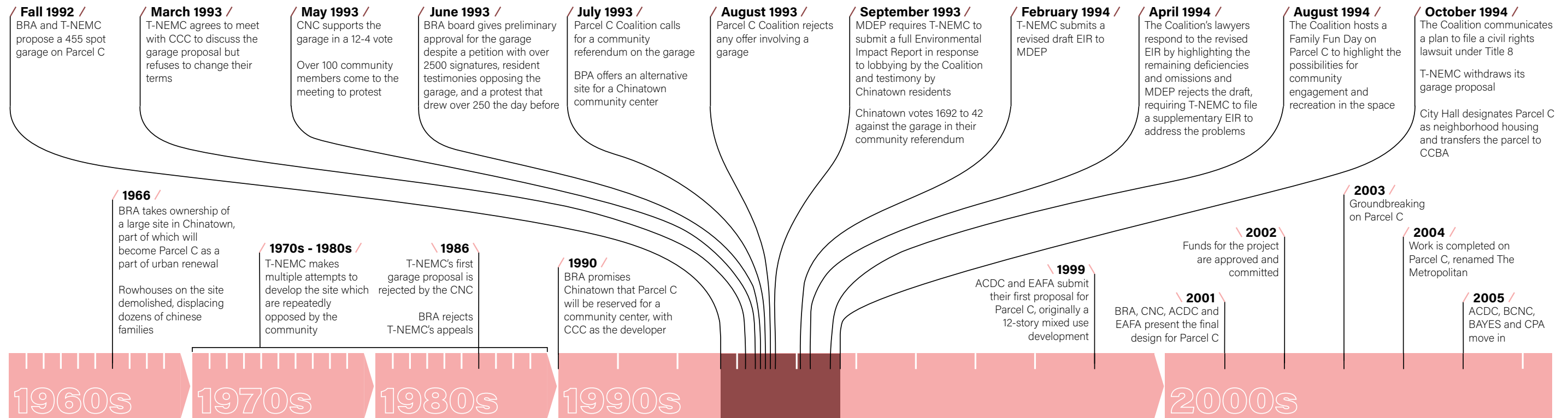


Children were a central focus of the event's programming
(Source: NU Archives and Special Collections, 1994)



The arts and crafts tent housed a children's art show in the afternoon
(Source: NU Archives and Special Collections, 1994)

The Fight for Parcel C



(Sources: Boston Redevelopment Authority, 1998; NU Archives and Special Collections)

Community Action for Community Spaces



Chinatown residents vote in their self-funded September 1993 community referendum
(Source: NU Archives and Special Collections, 1993)

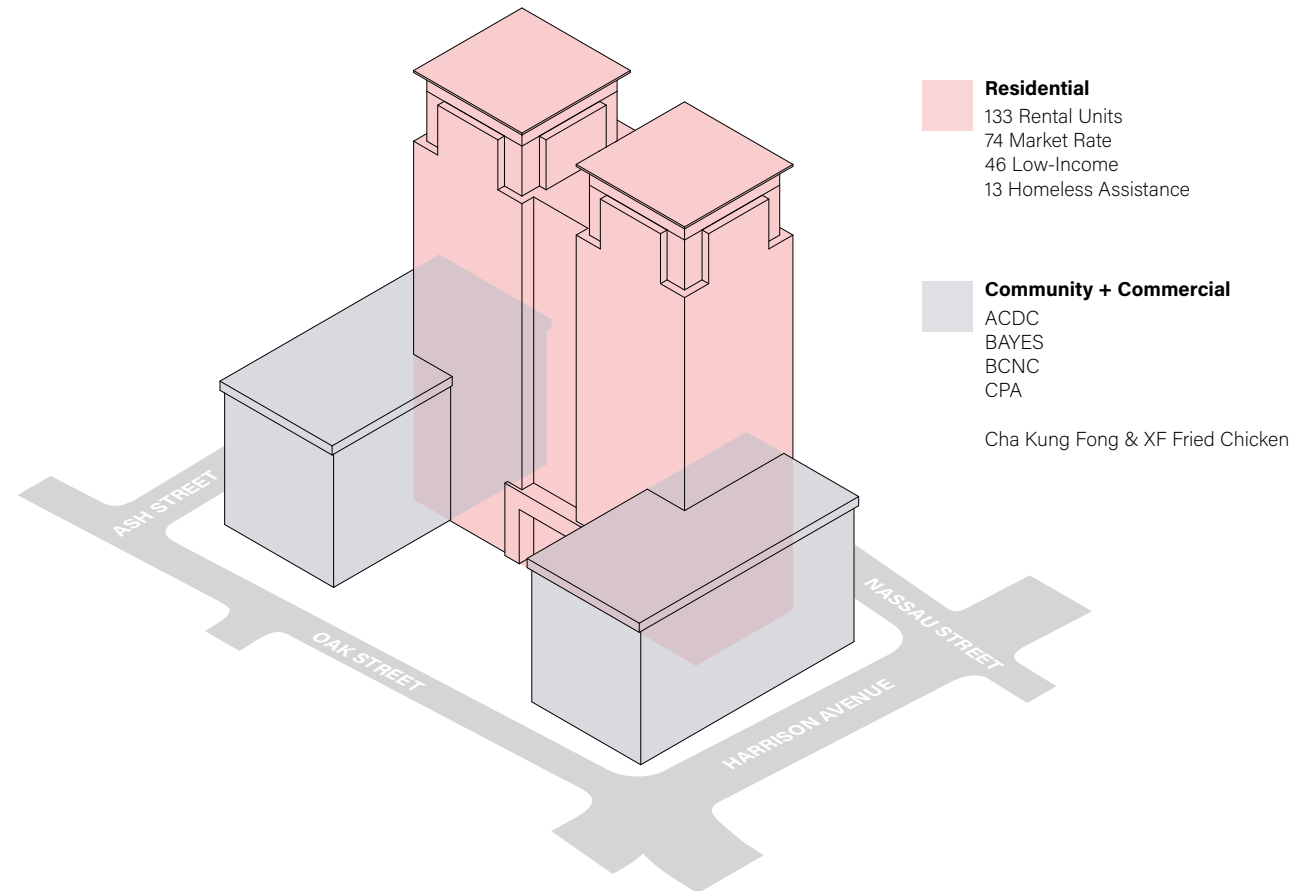
Residents and community members at one of many demonstrations in front of Tufts - New England Medical Center
(Source: NU Archives and Special Collections, 1993)

The community breaks ground on The Metropolitan in 2003, ten years after the Parcel C Coalition was formed
(Source: NU Archives and Special Collections, 2003)

The Metropolitan, completed in 2004
(Source: Elevated Residential)



The Metropolitan Program



PARCEL 24

Hudson Street

Hans-Nikolas Romano

On May 6th, 2014, a group of Chinatown community leaders and elected officials met on Parcel 24 to participate in the groundbreaking ceremony for One Greenway. Despite being from vastly different backgrounds and representing vastly different interests, they all gathered to commemorate the construction of a project they all had a part in. One Greenway positions itself on Parcel 24, a site that has historically been the location of community displacement and frustration.

Originally, Parcel 24 was home to dozens of Chinese Americans, who lived in tight quarters. The construction of the Central Artery/Tunnel Project mandated the demolition of much of Hudson Street, a residential street and vital thoroughfare in Boston's Chinatown neighborhood. Landowners were paid about one third of the actual value of their property. This became Parcel 24, an unused lot crammed next to the brand new, raised highway. For years, Parcel 24 remained vacant. Massachusetts Turnpike Authority and local community members disagreed over the use and ownership of the plot: the MTA wanted to maximize profits and the community members wanted more affordable housing.

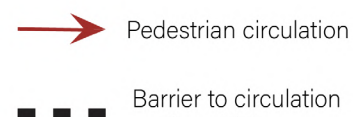
Community groups, chiefly the Asian Community Development Corporation, fought for the parcel to be built up with affordable housing and community amenities in order to give back to the community what was lost and more—rather than contribute to the looming threat of luxury residential properties. This resulted in the creation of 66 Hudson Street, with 95 affordable apartments, 88 Hudson Street, with 51 units for affordable ownership, the Pao Arts Center, One Greenway Park, and a community amenity center. One Greenway is a milemarker on the road to reclaiming what was lost and building a more equitable future for the residents of Chinatown.

Sources: ACDC, Chinese Progressive Association (2003, 2004)

Map of Parcel 24



- 1 66 Hudson Street
- 2 88 Hudson Street
- 3 Park at One Greenway
- 4 Pao Arts Center
- 5 Community Room
- 6 Location of Hudson Street Stoop
- 7 Interstate 93
- 8 MassDOT District 6 Headquarters



Photographs of Hudson Street, Chinese Historical Society of New England

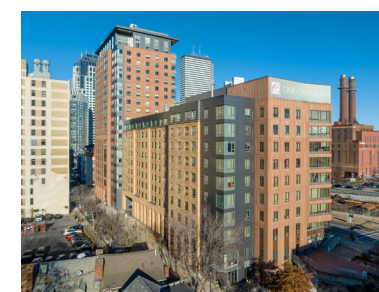


Photographs of Hudson street (starting top left going clockwise): victory over Japan in WW2; Ruby Foo's Den; support of America's involvement in WW2; funeral service for Dr. Sun Yat-sen; Cynthia Yoo before demolition

Photographs of 88 Hudson Street, Utile



How do these designs serve community needs?

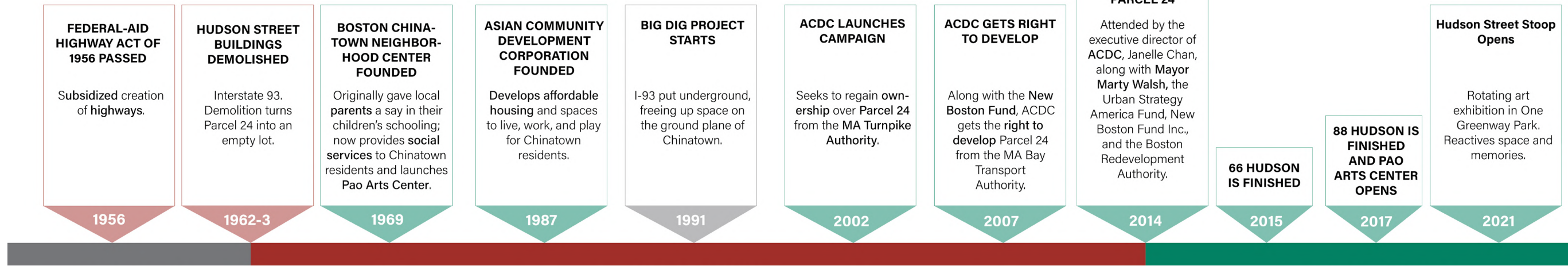


Photographs of 66 Hudson Street



Timeline of Parcel 24

■ ACT OF DISPLACEMENT
■ ACT OF ANTI-DISPLACEMENT



What do you want to be next on the timeline of Parcel 24's lifetime?



70 YEARS PARCEL 24 HOUSED IMMIGRANT BOSTONIANS
50 YEARS PARCEL 24 SITS AS AN EMPTY LOT
ONGOING PARCEL 24 IS AFFORDABLE FOR CHINATOWN RESIDENTS
 photo credits: ACDC

Historical Map Comparison



Parcel 24
 Current highway footprint

Obtained from atlascope.org

Building Details



	88 Hudson St.	66 Hudson St.	One Greenway Park
Number of Total	51	95	X
Number of Affordable	51 (100%)	95 (100%)	X
Types of Units	1, 2, and 3 bedroom condos (for ownership)	1, 2, and 3 bedroom apartments (for rental)	X
Amenities	In-unit laundry, air conditioning, elevator	Community room, Pao Arts Center, elevator	Green space, garden
Community Gains	Increased homeownership	Increased affordable housing, stronger ties between local culture and local art	Stoop culture, shade, outdoor gathering space

photo credits: Utile, Apartments.com

DAINTY DOT BUILDING

120 Kingston Street

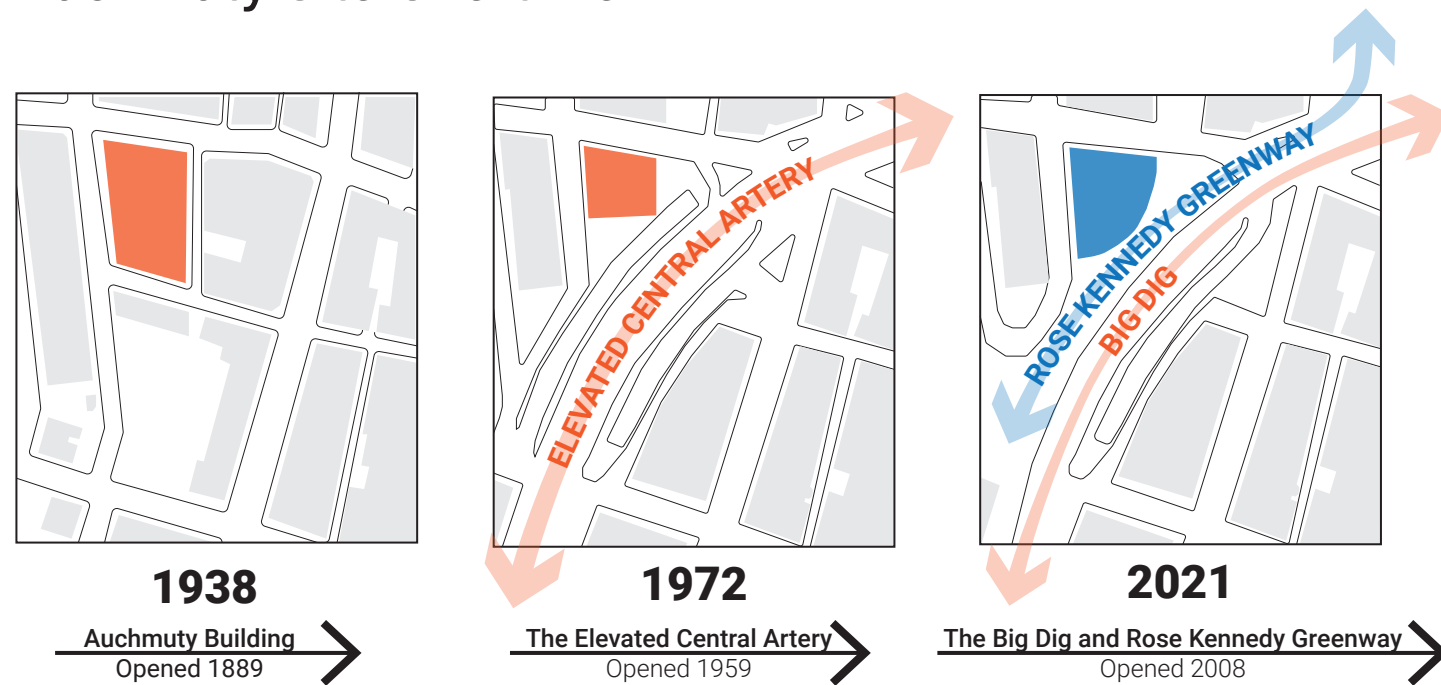
Camille Wimpe

In 2007, protesters held signs reading **“RESPECT THE MASTERPLAN”**, at the site of the former Dainty Dot Hosiery Building. They were contesting the construction of the Radian Luxury Apartments, a 26-story tower with 240 rental units. The Radian replaced the Auchmuty Building, built in 1889, home to Dainty Dot Hosiery, which was a textile manufacturer and salesplace. Dainty Dot was active until the 1990, despite **“the demolition of more than half the structure in the mid 1950’s to accommodate the construction of the Central Artery”**, making it **ineligible for landmark status**. The original plan called for the preservation of the two remaining original facades of Dainty Dot, however this was budgeted out after the **2008 recession**.

The **Chinatown 2000 Masterplan** was the second iteration of **community-driven neighborhood planning** in Chinatown, and stipulated a building height that was 1/3 as tall as the proposal. However, in order to build more luxury apartments, the developer worked with the BRA to assemble four pieces of land between Oxford and Ping On street that were owned by several Chinatown groups, creating a **local affordable housing site**. This site was developed by the CEDC (Chinese Economic Development Council) into 67 units of affordable housing on Oxford St. This linkage program included more than **twice as many affordable units than were required by city zoning**, and gave the developer considerable sway in the community, allowing him to build the 280’ tall tower he dreamed of. The Radian sits a block from the Chinatown Gate, casting a shadow over the elders who gather there. How could the Radian instead cast a positive glow over the park, and benefit the residents of it’s sister project at Oxford Ping-On?

(Sources: Liu, 2020; BPDA Impact Report, 2007; Boston Landmarks Commission, 2007; Boston Herald, 2008)

Auchmuty Site Overtime



Proposed vs. Built

Original proposal (left) called for **maintaining two of the facades** from the original Dainty Dot building. This was later determined to be **too expensive** so it was removed from the design (right), and as a replacement the height was reduced by 40’



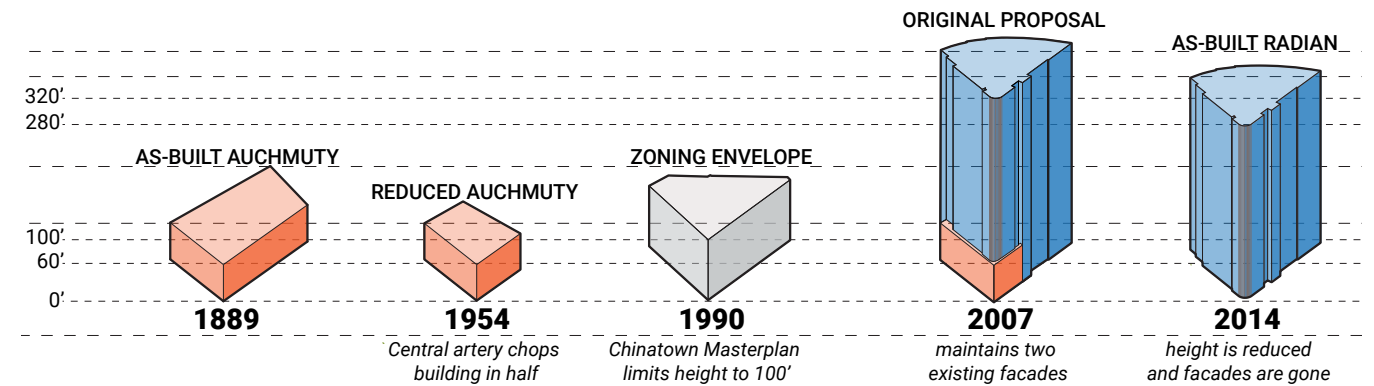
(Source: Elkus Manfredi, 2007)



(Source: Elkus Manfredi, 2010)



(Source: Radian Boston, 2023)

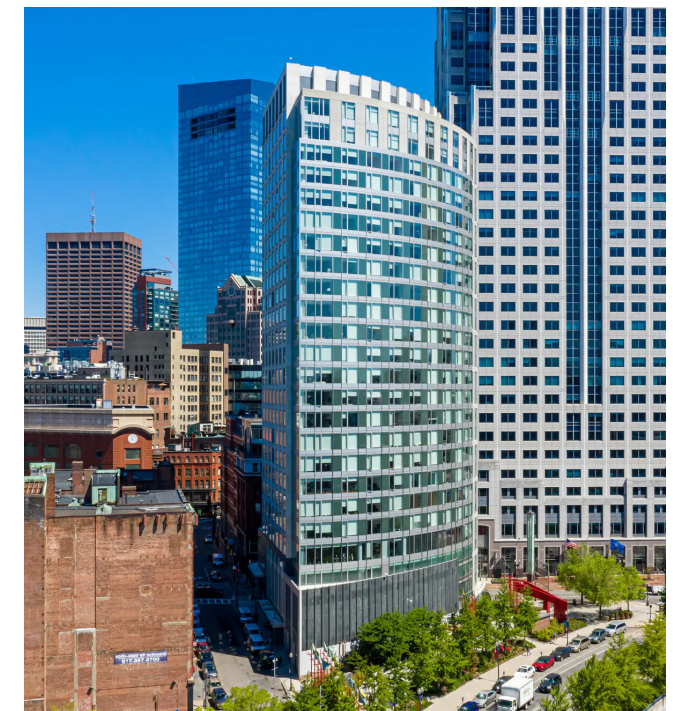


Current Site Plan + Photo



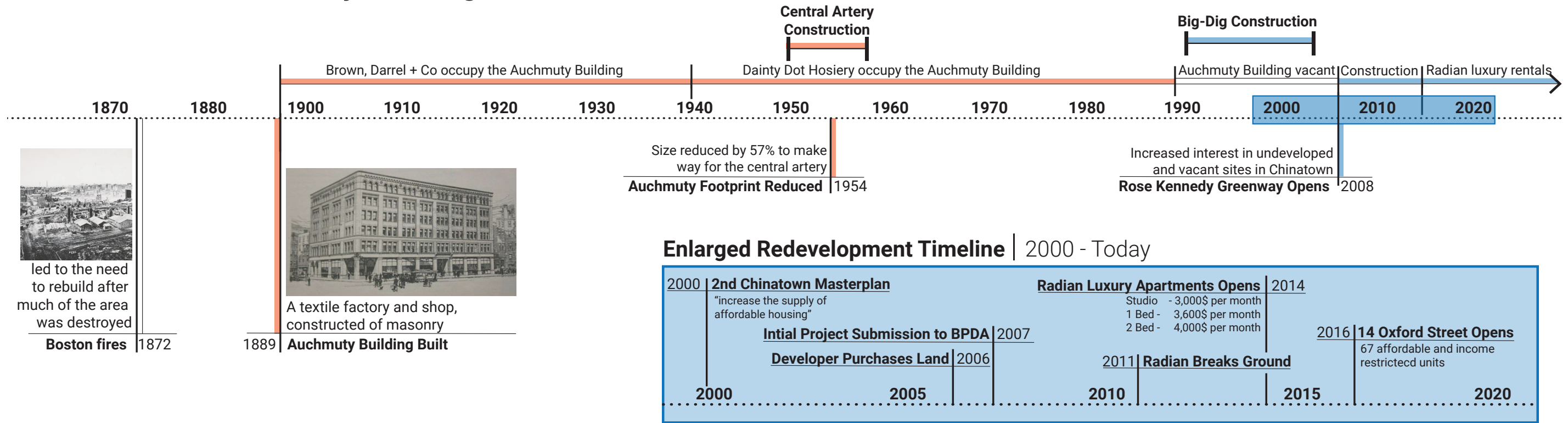
2023

Radian Luxury Apartments
Opened 2014

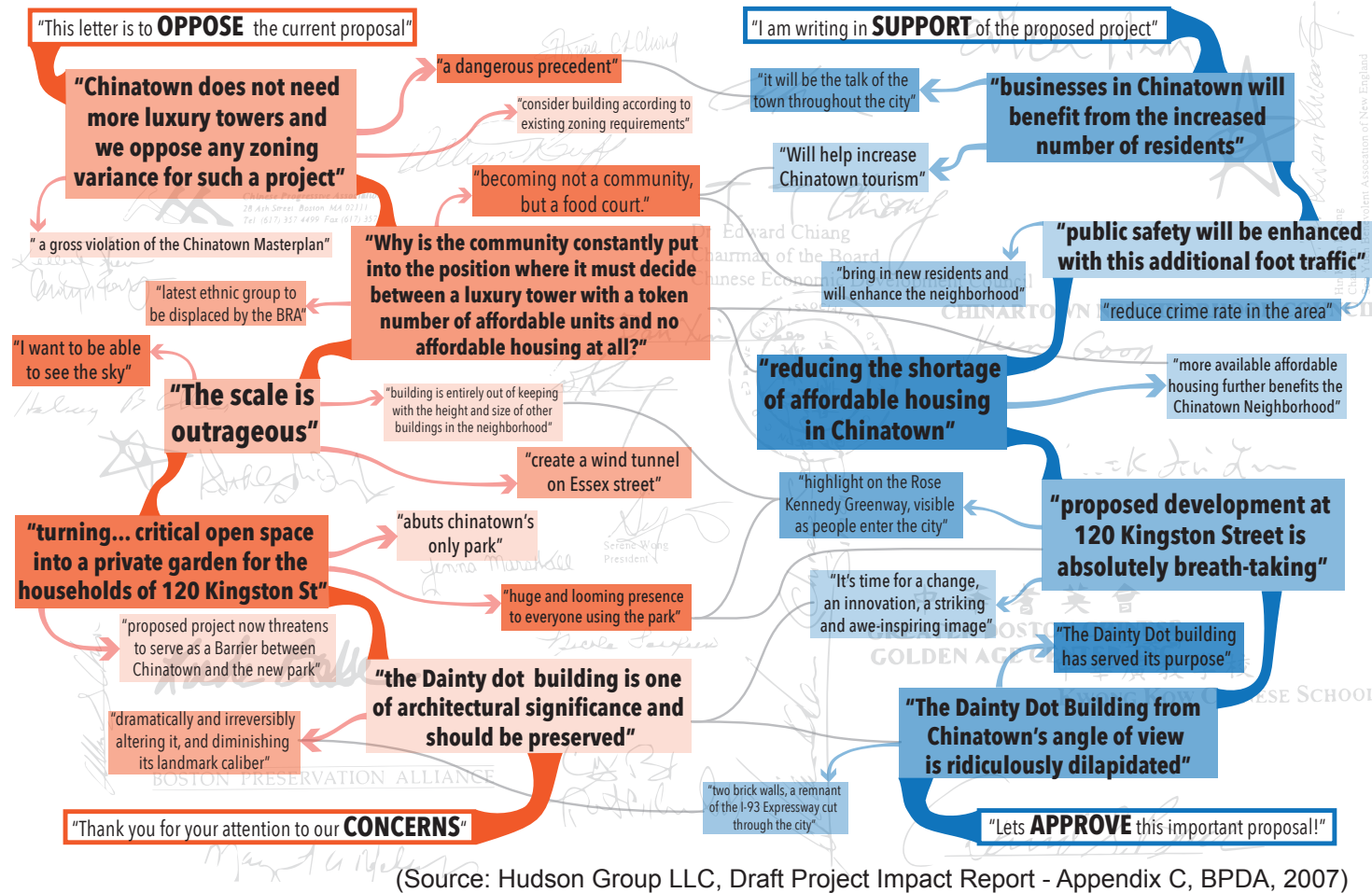


(Source: Radian Boston, 2021)

Timeline of the Auchmuty Building

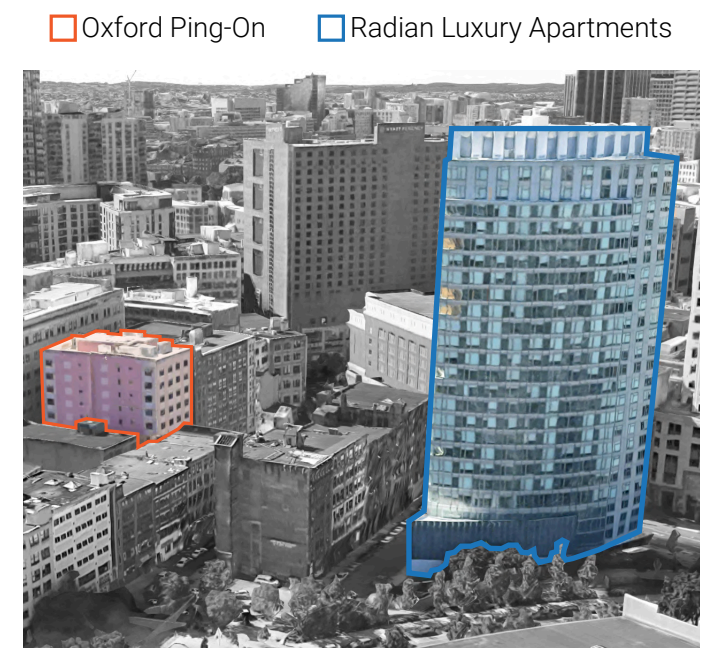


Public Responses to the Proposal



Affordable Housing Linkage at Oxford Ping-On

The map and photo below show the difference in **the locations** and **types of building** of Radian Luxury Apartments and Oxford Ping-On affordable housing. Was **moving affordable units off site** a good method in order to **provide affordability to residents**, or should the developer have been required to put the affordable units within the Radian? How can the residents of these two buildings **co-exist and support each other**?



(Source: Google Earth, 2023)

MASS PIKE TOWERS

342 Tremont St, Boston, MA

Nicole Roach

In 1970, Mass Pike Towers (MPT) opened as subsidized housing for Chinatown residents displaced by Urban Renewal. The modernist complex, composed of two high rise towers and three walk-ups, was an innovative housing strategy at the time.

Trinity Financial then purchased the property in 2000. In addition to placing deed restrictions that guarantee affordability until 2070, Trinity spearheaded renovations that included unit updates and the addition of a Resident's Association and thirteen retail spaces on the first floor. After making these improvements, in 2004, Trinity proposed the development of a market-rate building in the MPT parking lot. With support from the Chinatown community, MPT Residents successfully resisted this development, yet remained on edge about the future of their home with Trinity in charge.

In 2017, with support from a national nonprofit organization, the Mass Pike Towers Tenants Association (MPTTA) developed a \$42 million dollar offer to purchase MPT from Trinity, using Castle Square Tenant Organization as a precedent. Trinity insisted that this offer was not substantial enough and thus still owns the complex today. Because of the aforementioned deed restrictions, the city of Boston and Trinity Financial insist that MPT residents, who are primarily Chinese, are in no risk of being displaced. While it would have been an incredible win for the Tenant Association and its partners to own the complex, MPT's merits cannot be understated: the development still provides an ever-necessary 190 affordable housing units for the residents of Chinatown.

How do tenants like living in MPT? If tenants could achieve ownership, what would they dream of doing? How might we ensure affordable housing in Chinatown beyond 2070?

(Sources: Atlascope; Liu, 2020; Chinatown Atlas; Trinity Financial; Housing Works; Boston Globe, 2017; Norman B. Leventhal Map and Education Center)

Context Map of Mass Pike Towers



Photographs



1895: Before urban renewal, rowhouses populated the site.



1959: Urban renewal completely transforms Chinatown.



2000: An older woman smiles at an event for MPTTA.



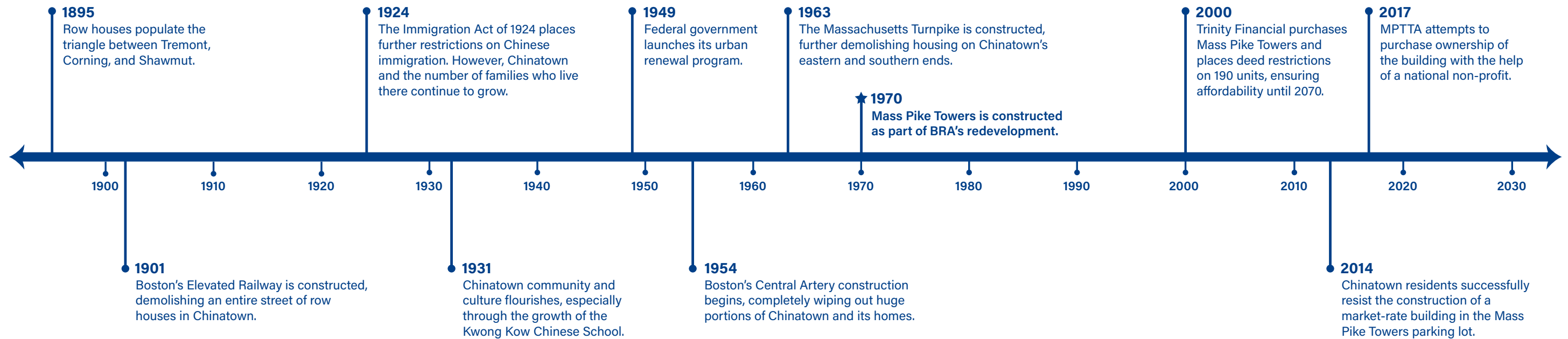
1970s: The towers stand proud shortly after completion.

(Source: Apartments.com)

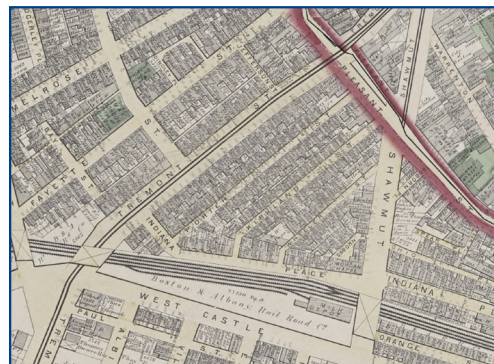


2020s: Retail space lights up the tower's first floor.

The Road to Mass Pike Towers



Site Transformation



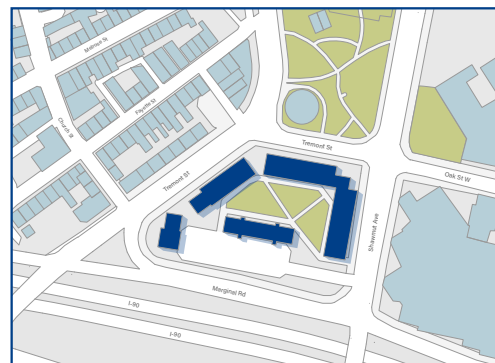
1874: Row houses populate the site.



1902: The elevated railway destroys an entire street of rowhouses.

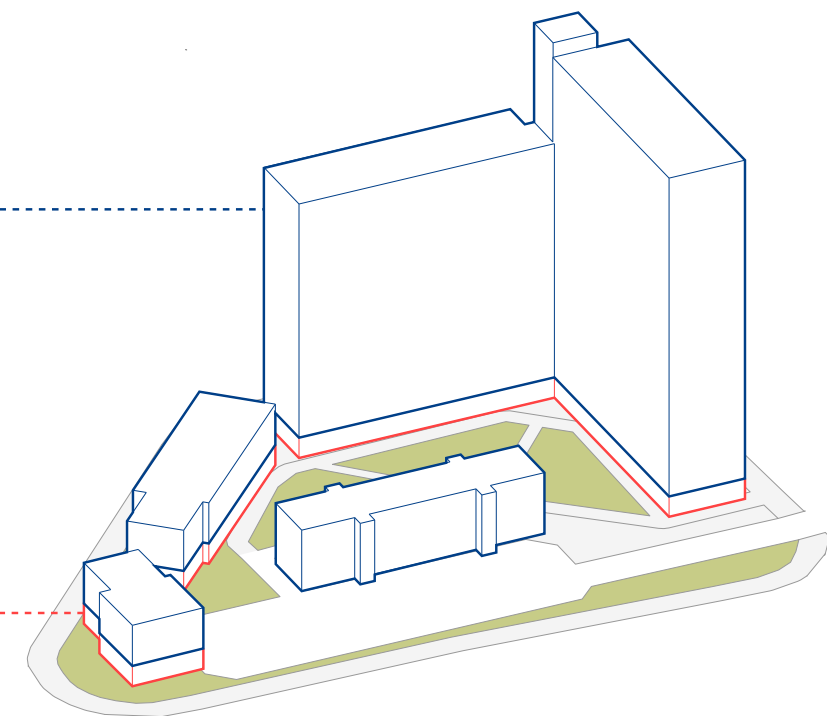
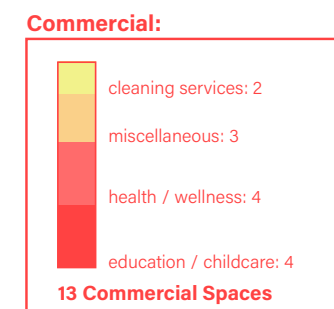
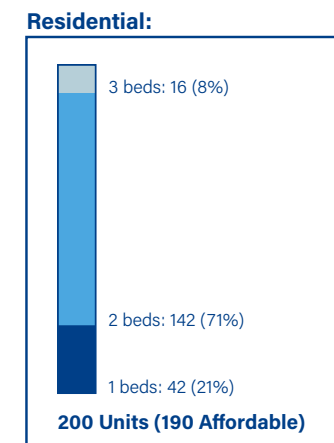


1965: BRA proposes urban renewal, completely restructuring the existing site.



2023: MPT now occupies the area where four full streets of rowhouses once stood.

Program Axonometric



CASTLE SQUARE APARTMENTS

484 Tremont St, Boston, MA

Ethan Matthews

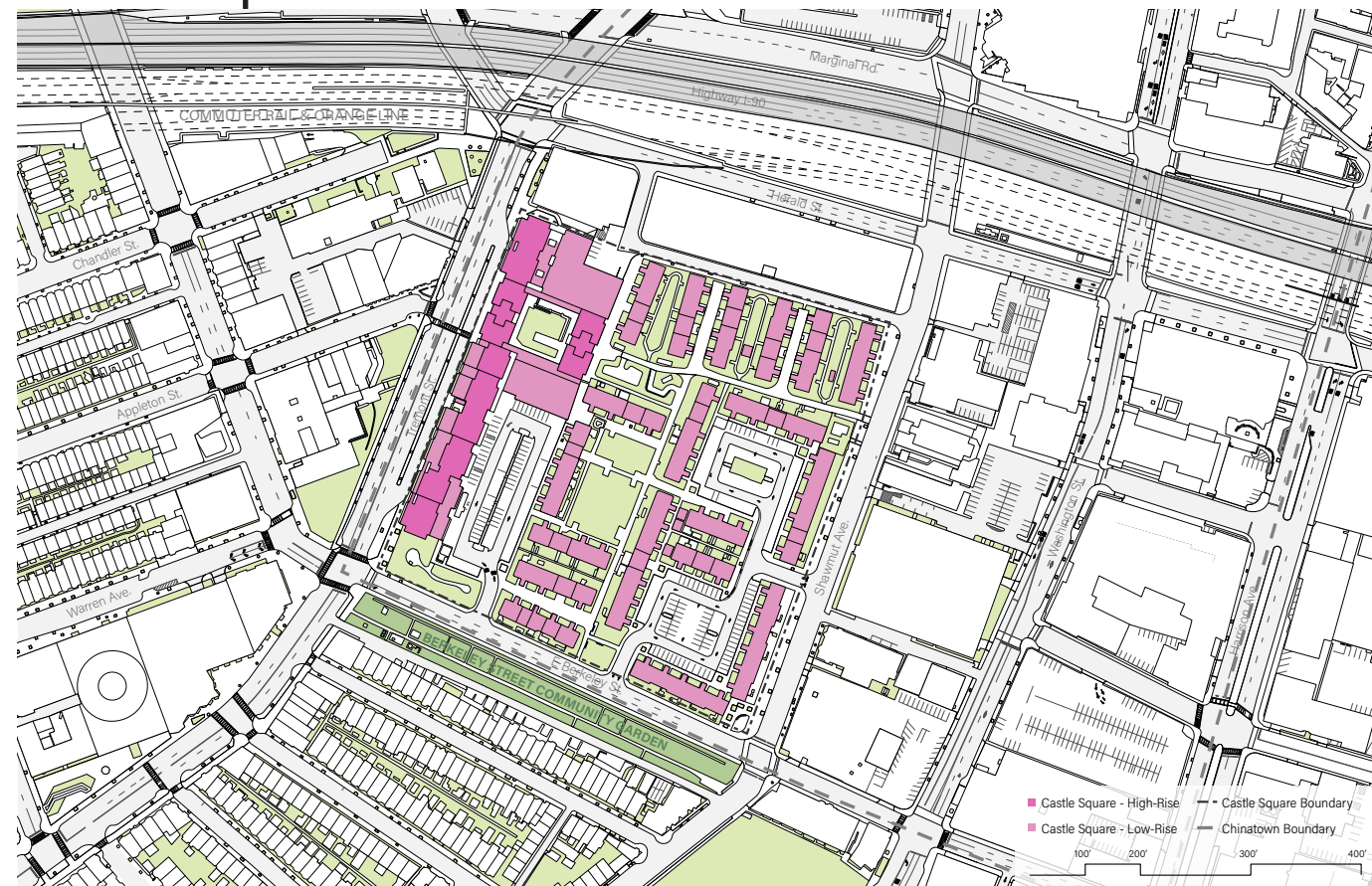
In 1987, the Castle Square Tenants Organization (CSTO) was formed by Castle Square residents to **oppose conversion of their affordable housing units into condos** by a new corporate owner. Due to the amount of public funds used in the development of Castle Square, resident approval was required for the complex's sale, giving the newly formed CSTO bargaining power in the process. After five years of community organizing and negotiating, the corporate owner, Winn Development Company, ended up with 51% ownership and **CSTO became a minority owner** with 49% in one of the first models of tenant-organized apartment ownership in the country.

Castle Square Apartments were designed primarily by Donald Stull (working under Samuel Glaser) in 1963 using **urban renewal funds**. This was the City Redevelopment Commission's first project done using **federal funds** for the construction of new medium-income housing, and the rent levels ended up lower than those initially recommended by the federal guidelines. Castle Square had a significant impact on the affordable housing landscape in Boston at this time, consisting of **500 units**, in addition to a later 100 units for the elderly constructed by the Boston Housing Authority. The complex contained green spaces, parking, and commercial areas.

Because a future ownership reorganization was part of the initial agreement in 1992, CSTO and Winn **renegotiated in 2011**, resulting in **CSTO as the majority owner**. This, in addition to \$11 million in HUD grants and loans, kickstarted the **nation's most extensive Deep Energy Retrofit** project of an affordable housing community. The result was an up to **70% reduction in energy usage**, LEED Platinum status, a new streetscape on Tremont Street, and a community center for CSTO.

(Sources: Castle Square Tenants Organization, Murtag, 1973, Carroll, 1990, Liu, 2020, South End Historical Society, Boston Housing Authority, McQueen v. Druker (1970))

Castle Square in Context



Castle Square from Tremont St.



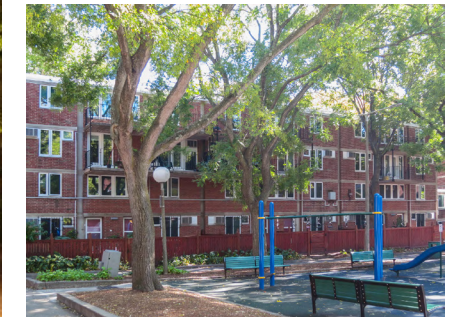
(Source: Damianos Photography)

Castle Square in 1968



(Source: CSTO (colorized))

Courtyards (Present Day)



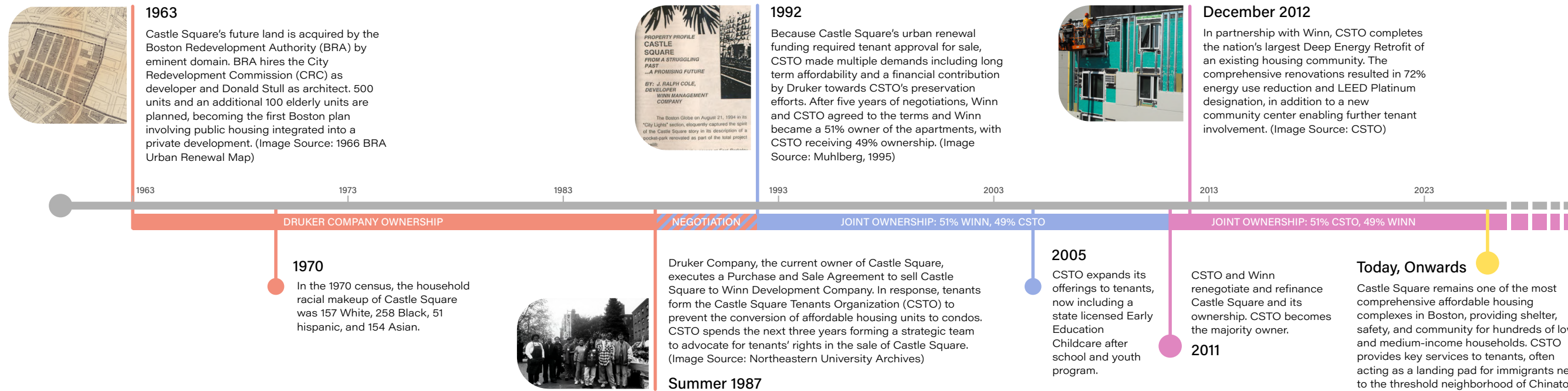
(Source: Building Science Corp.)

Chinese Progressive Association Members in Castle Square (1980s-90s)

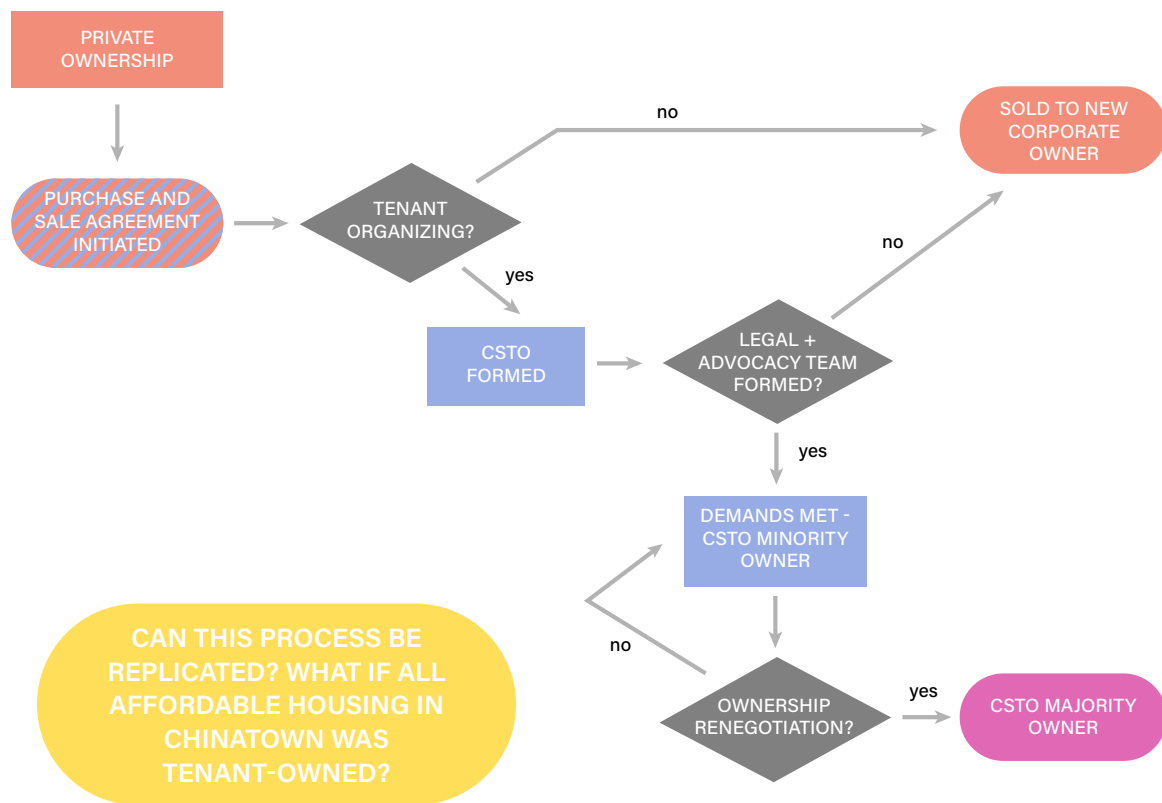


(Source: Northeastern University Archives)

Timeline



Ownership Pathways



Castle Square Tenants Organization Programs



Square Roots Afterschool & Summer Program

An EEC licensed after school and summer program focusing on academic success & homework help, enrichment activities, and school & family engagement. These programs are for grades K2-8 and cost a small monthly/seasonal fee, although they accept EEC/Child Care Choice Vouchers.



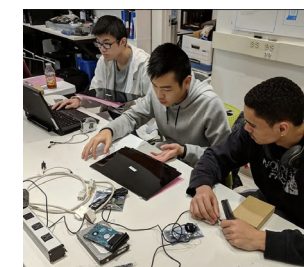
Adults & Seniors Program

Programs range from Senior Social Hour to Table Tennis, with particular classes aimed at Chinese and immigrant communities like ESL Class and Tai Chi Kung Fu Fan Class. These year-round programs can vary to include health and wellness workshops, fitness classes, and craft classes amongst many other topics.



Media Production Internships

These application-based teen internships take the shape of Media Makers and Change Creators. Both learn about media and production skills, focusing on social issues impacting their communities while learning valuable software skills. Interns receive a learning stipend per seasonal cycle.



Square Tech Computer Repair & Training Center

Square Tech is a licensed Microsoft refurbisher offering affordable IT services to tenants and residents of the surrounding communities. Services aim to develop 21st Century skills and bridge the economic digital divide.



Square Tech Internships

This paid internship program aimed at students ages 14-19 provides training in technology and business, applying these IT skills to refurbish computers. This not only increases access to technology for Boston's most vulnerable communities, but is a great resume and application-building opportunity for students.



Technology Center

CSTO's on-site technology center offers affordable introductory computer courses for adults and seniors, workforce training, and open computer lab access year round. Residents can gain further 21st Century skills and gain equitable computer access regardless of personal circumstance.

(Image Sources: Castle Square Tenants Organization)

BERKELEY STREET COMMUNITY GARDEN

500 Tremont Street.

Renata Palau

Over the past five decades, the Berkeley Street Community Garden (BSCG) has grown as a multicultural space between Chinatown and the South End. Beyond its everyday use, the BSCG tells a story about the resilience of Chinese residents from the impacts of urban renewal.

During the 1950s, the Boston Redevelopment Authority created a redevelopment plan for multiple neighborhoods, one of them being the South End's New York Streets. At that time the South End was known for being a multiracial and working-class neighborhood. The clearing of the New York streets was meant to make room for a new residential project. But in what was then called Dover Street, there was a parcel too narrow to build on. Intentions on making this lot a mixed space for parking and a garden were drawn out but nothing ever was completed.

In the 1970s, a group of Chinese residents found opportunities in this space, and began guerrilla gardening. Since this was considered an illicit activity, methods such as make-shift fencing from olive branches were used to protect the space. By 1974, Mel King collaborated in the Massachusetts Gardening and Farm Act, which allowed people to use vacant land for farming and gardening. This was known as the Revival Act and led to a series of community gardens across Boston. In 1976, the Berkeley Street Community Garden was officially established, and since then has become a recognized and protected space by various local organizations.

Today, the BSCG is a hub and resource for local Chinese residents who have introduced products such as Fuzzy Melon, Edible Amaranth, and Hyacinth Bean, among others. As a community organization, the BSCG offers translation services for meetings and documents in Mandarin and Cantonese.

With anti-Asian and anti-immigrant sentiment being an ongoing issue in American cities, places like the BSCG are essential in creating spaces of safety and belonging.

(Sources: Berkeley Community Garden, 2023; Liu, 2020; Trust for Public Land, 2023)

Historical Comparison



Boston Broomley Atlas, 1895 (Source: Norman Levinthal Map Center)



Current Site Map (Source: OpenStreetMap)

Views of the BSCG



(Source: The American Society of Landscape Architects)



(Source: The Berkeley Street Community Garden)



(Source: Trust for Public Land)

History of the BSCG

1950s Demolition of the New York streets in the South End for redevelopment project.

1970s The empty lot used for guerrilla gardening by a group of Chinese residents

1976 Officially named the Berkeley Street Community Garden.

1991 South End Lower Roxbury Open Space Land Trust (SELROSLT) created, with the intention of preserving community gardens and open spaces in the South End.

Urban Renewal

Community Resilience

Self-determination and Autonomy

1967 Parcel considered too narrow. Alternative plans for a mixed use parking lot and widen the road.

1974 The Massachusetts Gardening and Farm Act created along with the Revival Act. Allowed people to use vacant land for farming and gardening.

1980s Widespread trend of guerrilla gardening on abandoned spaces in different cities.

2010s Crime, COVID, and redevelopment projects threaten the Berkeley Community Garden's viability. Now protected and associated with Trust for Public Land.

The Placemakers of the BSCG

Shui Fong Ng, one of the original guerrilla gardeners



Alice and Tim members since the 1970s



Kabocha Squash



Bitter Melon



Hyacinth Bean



Taro Root



Fuzzy Melon



Bottle Gourd



Questions to Explore

How can growing and sharing food help build community?

What is the possibility of Guerrilla Gardening today?

(Source: The Berkeley Street Community Garden)

Reference

- adamg. “The Elevated Origins of a Lowly Building in Chinatown.” 12 May 2020. [https://www.universalhub.com/2020/elevated-origins-lowly-chinatown-building]
- Affordable Housing Online. “Castle Square in Boston, Massachusetts.” 2023. [https://www.affordablehousingonline.com/housing-search/Massachusetts/Boston/Castle-Square/10006645]
- Asian Community Development Corporation. “What We Do.” 2023. [https://asiancdc.org/our-work#:~:text=Our%20Mission&text=With%20roots%20in%20Boston’s%20Chinatown,area%2C%20including%20Malden%20and%20Quincy]
- Boston City Properties. “Castle Square.” 2023. [https://www.bostoncitiyproperties.com/castle-square.php]
- Boston Housing Authority. “Castle Square Tenants Organization Designated to Oversee Renovations and Provide New Services to the Eva White Elderly Housing Community.” 20 March 2018. [https://www.bostonhousing.org/en/News/Castle-Square-Tenants-Organization-Designated-to-O.aspx]
- Boston Landmarks Commission Environment Department City of Boston. “Gaiety Study Report.” 2023. [https://www.cityofboston.gov/Images_Documents/Gaiety%20Theater%20Study%20Report_tcm3-17376.pdf]
- Boston Public Library Norman B. Leventhal Map and Education Center, “Atlascope.” 2023. [https://www.leventhalmap.org/projects/digital-projects/atlascope/]
- Carroll, Matt. “TENANTS TO OWN COOPERATIVE: [THIRD EDITION],” The Boston Globe. 2 June 1990.
- Castle Square Tenants Organization Boston. “Timeline of Castle Square.” 2023. [https://www.cstoboston.org/history]
- Chen, Thomas C. “Remaking Boston’s Chinatown: Race, Space, and Urban Development, 1943-1994.” 2014. American Studies Theses and Dissertations. Brown Digital Repository, Brown University Library. [https://doi.org/10.7301/Z0D]5D1M]
- Chinatown Atlas. “Consolidation: 1970’s-1980’s.” 2023. [https://www.chinatownatlas.org/era/1970s-1980s/]
- Chinatown Atlas. “The Garment District and Chinatown.” 2023. [https://www.chinatownatlas.org/stories/garment-district-chinatown/]
- Chinese Progressive Association. “A Garment Worker Portrait,” an Article about May Ning, an Unemployed Worker from P & L Sportswear Company. 1985. [https://repository.library.northeastern.edu/files/neu:274340]
- Chinese Progressive Association. “Chinese Progressive Association | for Justice, Democracy, and Equality.” 2023. [https://www.cpaboston.org]
- Chinese Progressive Association. “Reclaiming a Lost Chinatown: Hudson Street and Parcel 24,” Chinese Progressive Association Newsletter. May 2003.
- City of Boston. “Castle Square Apartments fact sheet.” 15 Apr. 2015. [https://www.cityofboston.gov/images_documents/Final%20Castle%20Square%20Fact%20Sheet%205-13-11_tcm3-34628.pdf]
- Conti, Katherine. “Chinatown Tenants in Legal Battle for Mass Pike Towers Ownership,” The Boston Globe, 6 July 2017.
- Flint, Anthony. “Last Elevated Train Runs in Boston,” The Boston Globe, 26 June 2004.
- Garment Workers Support Committee. “Garment Workers Victory Program.” 1986. [https://repository.library.northeastern.edu/files/neu:274391]
- Historic New England. “Boston Transit Archive: 1895-1960s.” 2023. [https://www.historicnewengland.org/explore/collections-access/capobject/?refd=PC017]
- Kwong Kow School. “History and Overview.” 2023. [https://www.kwongkowschool.org/about/history/]
- Lowe, Lydia. “A Year of Growth for CPA,” Chinese Progressive Association Membership Newsletter. February 2004. [https://repository.library.northeastern.edu/downloads/neu:272833?datastream_id=content]
- Murtagh, Mary Margaret. “Public open space in low-rise medium-density housing: a case study of Castle Square.” Diss. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1973.
- Singer, Arthur, and Ron Goodman. Boston’s Downtown Movie Palaces. Arcadia Publishing, 2011.
- South End Historical Society. “South End History, Part III: Urban Renewal.” 8 Apr. 2012. [https://www.southendhistoricalsociety.org/south-end-history-part-iii-urban-renewal/]
- Tappé, A. Anthony. “The Ladies’ Garment Industry in Boston: A Study of Characteristics Affecting Choice of Location.” Diss. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1952.
- Tsen, Wen-Ti. “The Asian American Comic Book,” Asian American Resource Workshop, 1991. [https://www.wentitsen.com/,]
- United States District Court, D. Massachusetts. William McQUEEN and Patricia McQUEEN v. Bertram DRUKER and Representatives of the Late Joseph Toggliieb d/b/a CastleSquare Associates. 5 Oct. 1970. [https://shorturl.at/aegkx]
- Van Even, Catherine. “An Early History of Boston’s Chinatown,” National Park Service. 2023. [https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/boston-chinatown.htm]
- Walker, Craig F. Photograph from “Community members restore mural in Chinatown” by Abigail Lee, The Boston Globe. 21 March 2023.
- Wong, Nancy. “Celebrating 100 years.” Photograph. University of Massachusetts Boston, Joseph P. Healey Library. 1970. [http://openarchives.umb.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15774coll6/id/12164]



千絲萬縷 Tied Together by a Thousand Threads

呂明穎 Shaina Lu & 伍綺雲 Yvonne Ng

Photograph by Shaina Lu, ACDC.



A People's Guide to Chinatown
©2023 by Anti-Displacement Studio
is licensed under CC BY-NC 4.0