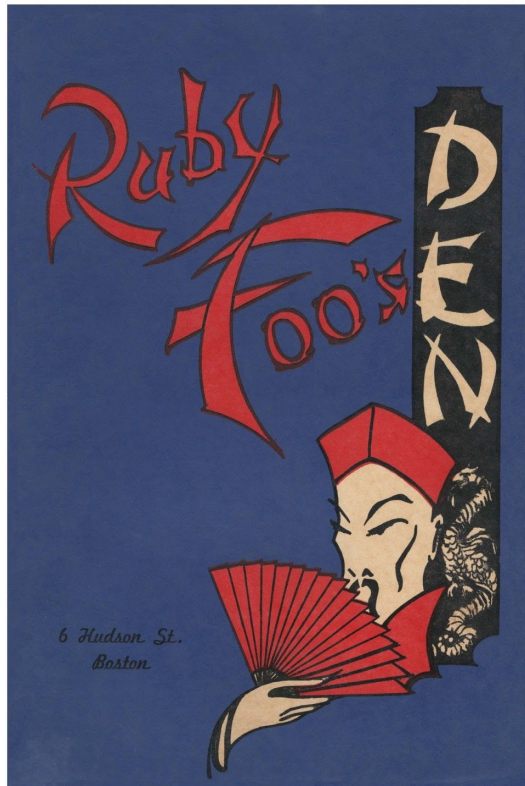


Site History of 6 Hudson Street

Boston (Chinatown), MA



City of Boston Archaeology Program

2020

Introduction

This is a preliminary document summarizing the background history of 6 Hudson Street in the Chinatown neighborhood of Boston, Massachusetts (Figure 1). The property is currently vacant. A more-complete history of the property will be included in the final Archaeological Report.

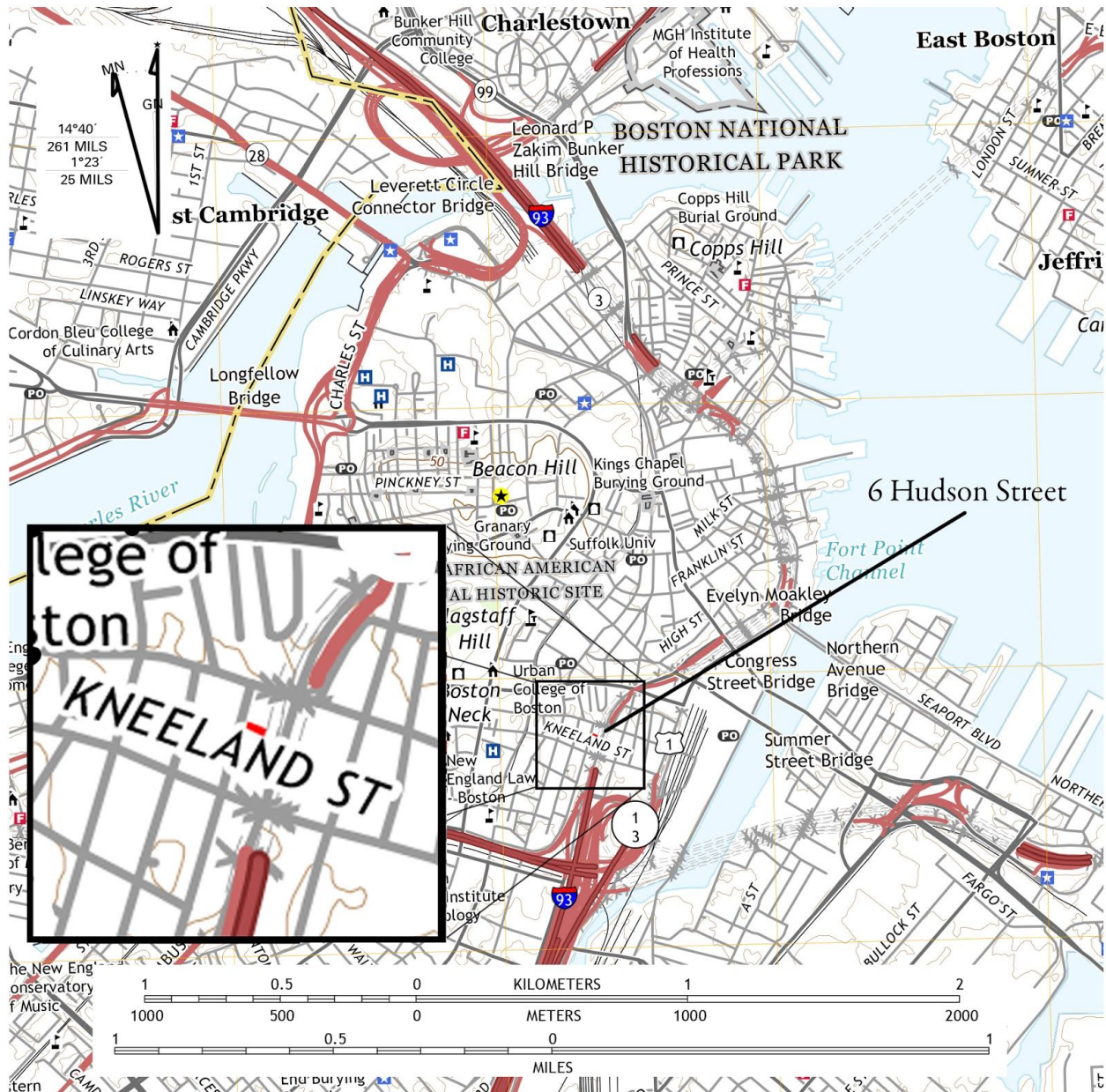


Figure 1- Map of 6 Hudson Street project area (red) on USGS South Boston quad map.

The property is currently owned by Wilson Lee, who has given his enthusiastic permission to conduct this archaeological survey prior to his planned development of the parcel.

Project area

Existing Conditions

The parcel is rectangular-shaped, measuring 6.3 meters wide by 18.5 meters long (20 feet by 61 feet) or 116 square meters (1,253 square feet) in size (Figure 2). It is currently vacant (Figure 3-4). The property is currently bounded on the west by Hudson street, on the south by a neighboring vacant parcel, to the east by state-owned land, and to the west by Mary Soo Hoo Park (Figures 2, 4-5), which is owned by the Massachusetts Turnpike. One parcel to the north beyond Mary Soo Hoo Park is the Chinatown Gate (Figure 5).

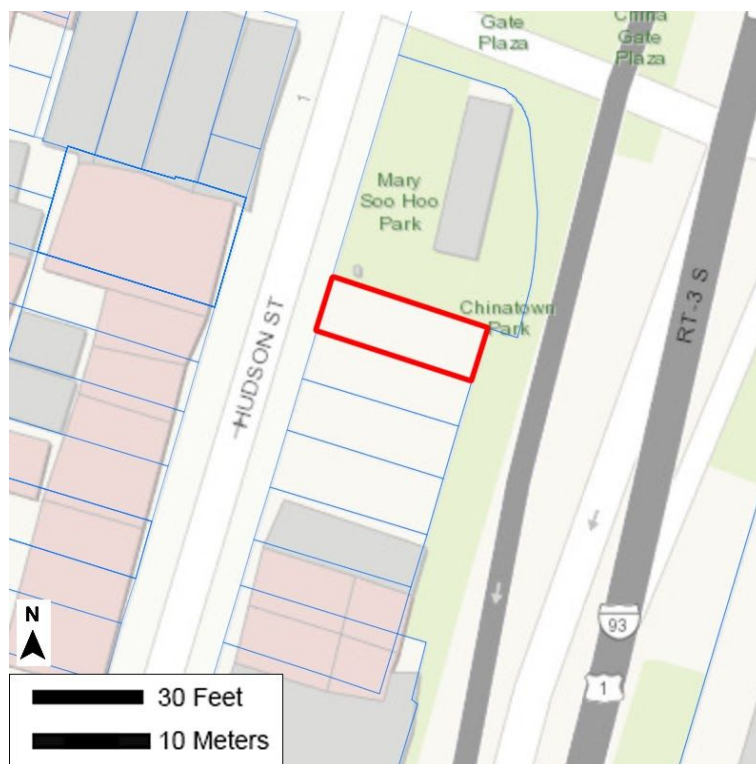


Figure 2- 6 Hudson Street marked in red. Note proximity to Mary Soo Hoo Park and Chinatown Gate.



Figure 3- View East from Hudson street of project area. Left (north) is red fence of Mary Soo Hoo park, right (south) is neighboring vacant land. State property beyond black fence at rear of lot. Fence along Hudson street visible in lower left corner.



Figure 4- View south from Mary Soo Hoo Park towards 6 Hudson street parcel (Between red and silver fences. 8-12 Hudson street visible in grassy vacant area beyond silver fence. 16 Hudson street party wall is visible as the brick facade in rear of image).



Figure 5- Project area (indicated under red arrow) relative to Chinatown Gate. View from Beach Street looking East towards gate, Soo Hoo park (center), and 6-12 Hudson street (right).

Historical Background

6 Hudson street is located within the cultural center of a relatively intact early 19th century downtown neighborhood representing a diverse cross-section of Boston history (Figure 6).



Figure 6- Google 3D aerial image showing project area (red) near gate and Soo Hoo park (upper right). Note buildings on opposite side of Hudson street (center/left), which would have been identical to 6 Hudson Street prior to demolition.

There are numerous sources of documentary data available for 6 Hudson street, all of which contribute to the discussion, below, including historic maps, deeds, tax records, census documents, restaurant guides, books, and oral histories.

Pre-Contact History

Prior to filling episodes in the 1830s, 6 Hudson street was tidal mudflats known historically as South Cove. Boston's sea levels have risen dramatically since their lowest levels approximately 15,000 years ago, meaning that until relatively recently, approximately 3,000 years ago, the land that became 6 Hudson street was inhabitable.

There are three Native pre-contact archaeological sites documented within .5 km of 6 Hudson (Figure 7). These include the Block 79 Prehistoric Site (19-SU-61), Federal St. Shellheap (19-SU-13), and Woven Plant Fiber Textile site (19-SU-114). All three of these Native sites are directly connected to the use of near-coastal marine resources in the region.

The Block 79 Prehistoric Site was first documented by archaeologists on Boston Common during archaeological surveys ahead of a proposed lighting network on the Common (Pendery 1988). In 2007, an author of this permit conducted a re-analysis of the artifacts from this site documenting a late archaic (3,600-5,200 BP) and woodland (400-1000 BP) period occupation coupled with an intact shell midden deposit (Bagley 2007).

The Federal Street Shellheap is an early documented historical reference to a shell midden located in what is today the Millennium Tower in Downtown Crossing.

The author of this permit was the primary researcher contributing to the Woven Plant Fiber Textile site, a fragment of woven reed or marine grass textile reportedly found in clay deposits below 470 Atlantic Avenue, today the Independence Wharf Building. Carbon dating of the textile placed its creation between AD 1451-1513 or AD 1600-1617. Its presence within marine clay deposits indicates that it likely sank into the seabed during its initial use prior to the arrival of Europeans to Shawmut, the place we now call Boston.

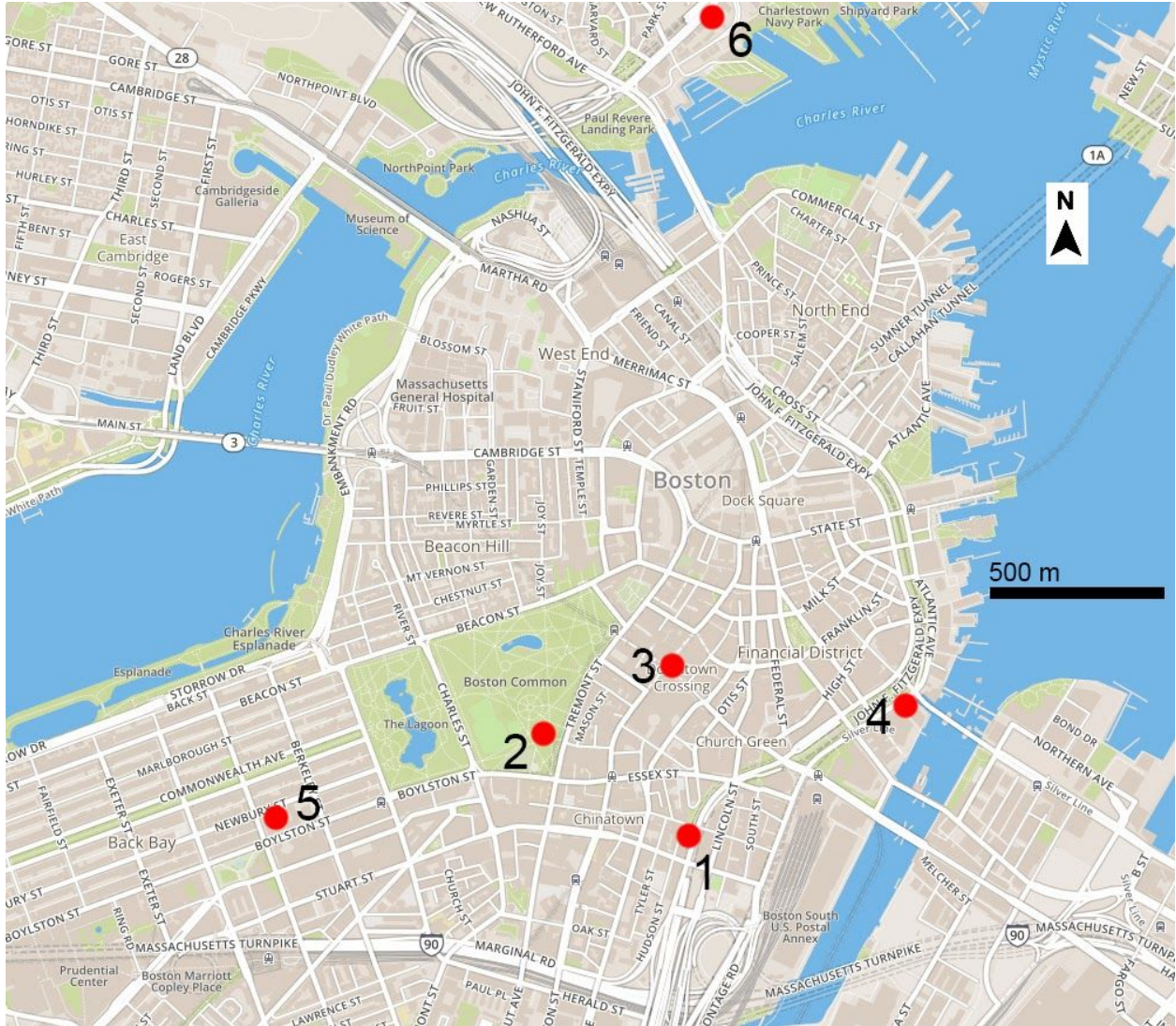


Figure 7- Sites mentioned in Native history section: 1. Project area; 2. Block 79 Prehistoric Site; 3. Federal Street Shellheap; 4. Woven Plant Fiber Textile site; 5. Back Bay/Boylston St. Fishweirs; 6. Town Dock Prehistoric Site

While these three sites are the closest to this particular location, two other sites are significant to this project with regards to their discovery location (Figure 7). The Boylston Street or Back Bay Fishweirs have been documented numerous times throughout the past 100 years. They were placed in marine clay deposits of the former Back Bay at low in order to trap and barricade anadromous fish during their spring spawning runs up rivers at high tide. As 6 Hudson Street would have been a location along the western shore of a tidal rivers and tributaries of South Bay (today a shopping mall), the site would have been affected by tides and a possible location of fishweirs in

the deepest components of the site. It is possible that South Cove may have been a site of wooden fishweirs (Decima and Dincauze 1998).

Finally, the presence of an Archaic submerged native habitation area found off the eastern shoreline of Charlestown during the excavations of Town Dock (Ritchie 1994), indicated the possibility for preserved habitation sites in areas that have since become inundated due to the rise of sea levels. Before 6 Hudson Street and South Cove were tidal, they were likely dry land areas along the shore of South Cove and may have been the site of Native habitation prior to the Woodland period (before 3,000 BP).

Pre-1833 South Cove History

Prior to 1838, the project area was located just east of the former shoreline of Boston. According to Nancy Seasholes (2003), the shoreline of South Cove was located approximately 150 meters to the north and west of the project area roughly following Harrison Avenue to the west (Figure 8).

Early landmaking episodes began early in the 18th century, with piers built extending east and south from Washington Street along the narrow neck that connected Shawmut/Boston to Roxbury (Seashole 2003, 237). The main goals of these early wharfs were to build vertical wall to aid in preventing the narrow and low-lying neck from flooding during storm surges and king tides (Seashole 2003, 238).

By the end of the 18th century, many wharfs extended into South Cove, nearly reaching the project area (Figure 8).

It was not until the early 19th century that Front street, today Harrison Avenue, was added to the east of Washington street, paralleling it and backfilling the area between with fill along the neck's early eastern-facing wharfs (Seashole 2003, 241-243). Wharfs were soon extending east from Front street (Figure 9-12).

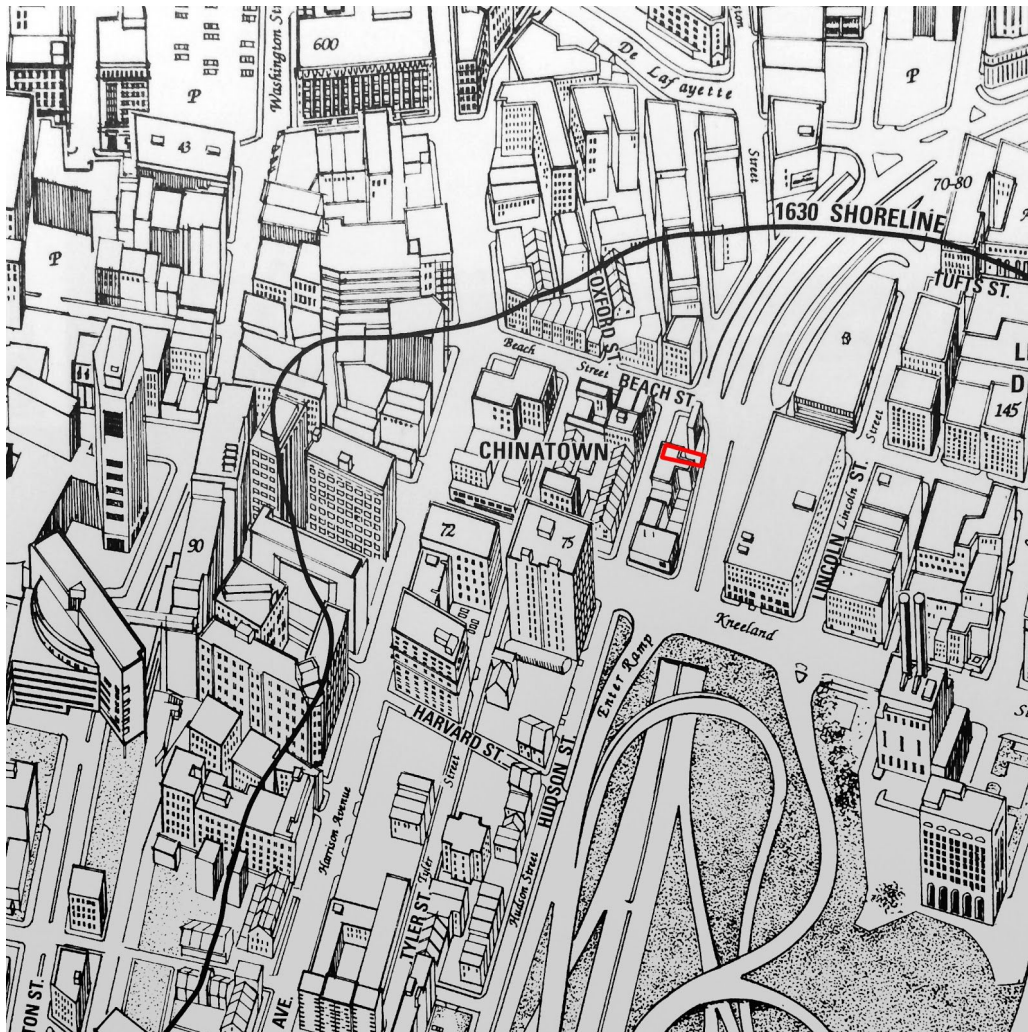


Figure 8- Reconstructed shoreline of South Cove, project area noted in red rectangle. Adapted from Seasholes 2003, Figure 9.1 pg. 236.

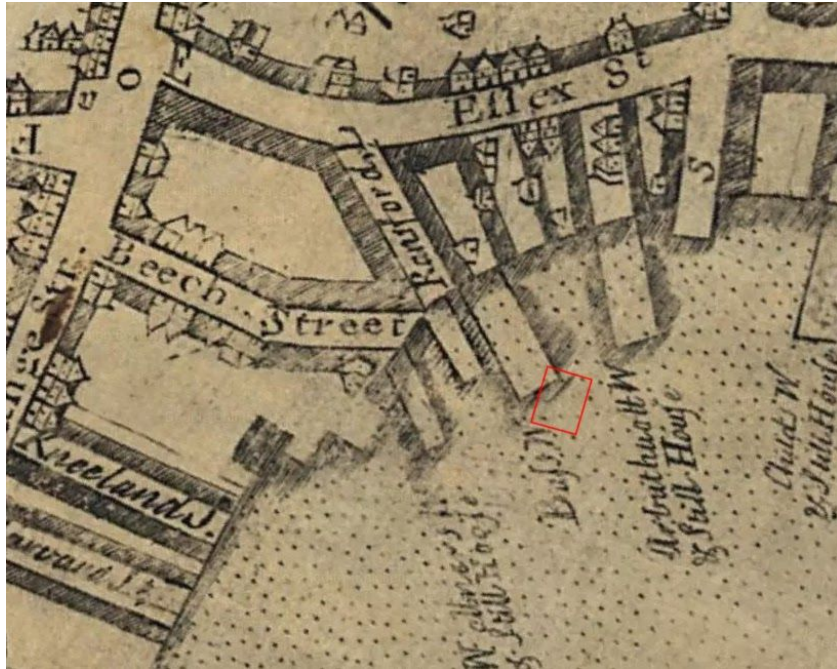


Figure 9- 1769 Prince Map, with project area indicated in red.



Figure 10- 1805 Plan of Boston showing newly extended Front street on left, wharfs, and the project area in red.



Figure 11- 1814 Hales Map of Boston showing project area in red.



Figure 12- 1832 Stimpson map of Boston with project area in red.

1833-1838: Filling of South Cove

In 1833, a “group of lawyers, merchants, and businessmen formed the South Cove Corporation for the express purpose of filling the flats” of South Cove out to the Free Bridge to South Boston (Seashole 2003, 246). Today, the free bridge to South Boston is located in the area from the southern end of Atlantic Avenue through the train tracks to the northern tip of Dorchester Avenue. The area to be filled measured 77 acres (Seashole 2003, 246).

The fill came from an 18-acre marsh at the end of South Bay and a three-acre gravel hill located in Roxbury (Seashole 2003, 246). Filling began in 1833 using laborers, wheelbarrows, and horse-drawn carts (Seashole 2003, 246). The engineers utilized the natural properties of the two fill sources by placing the mud from South Bay in the filled area, first, which was easier to drive pilings into for construction and served as waterproofing for cellars when dug-through. Gravel from the hill was used on top of this mud (Seashole 2003, 246). Cellar excavations were also carted in as fill (Seashole 2003, 246). It should be expected that gravel may be encountered in deeper depths during excavations in this filled-in area. This fill and eastern sea wall created the western portion of the Fort Point Channel. The project area and local streetscape had been created by 1838 (Figure 13).

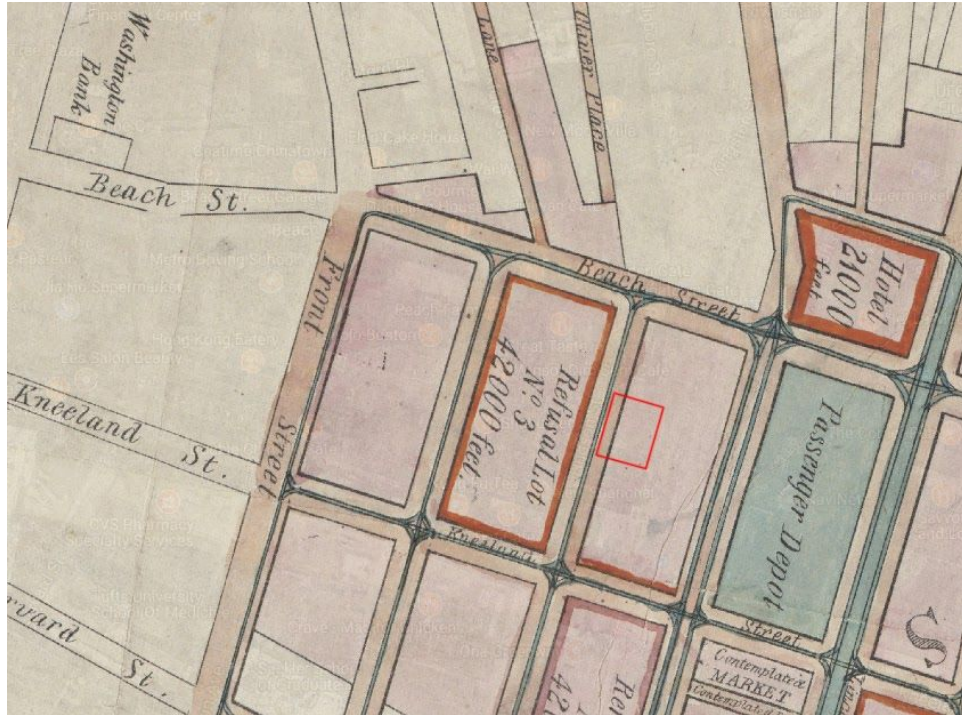


Figure 13- 1835 Boston and Worcester Railroad Map of Boston showing project area in Red as well as the propose street grid, which was still being created when this map was drawn.

1838-1900 Early occupants of 6 Hudson Street

The first mention of the property in deed records is the sale of of a lot of land from the South Cove Corporation to John Edwards on March 16, 1839 measuring 20.4 by 61.6 feet (Suffolk Records of Deeds book 442, page 75-81 [SRD 442/74-81]). The property has remained the same size and shape since its first sale. At this time, the property is listed as undeveloped land. This property is sold on August 14, 1841 still undeveloped to Samuel Millard, gentleman (SRD 472/215).

On December 15, 1841, the lot is mentioned with a house on the property in a mortgage agreement with Neptune Insurance (SRD 447/239) (Figure 14). This document shows that the house at 6 Hudson street was originally built sometime between August 14, 1841 and December 15 1841.

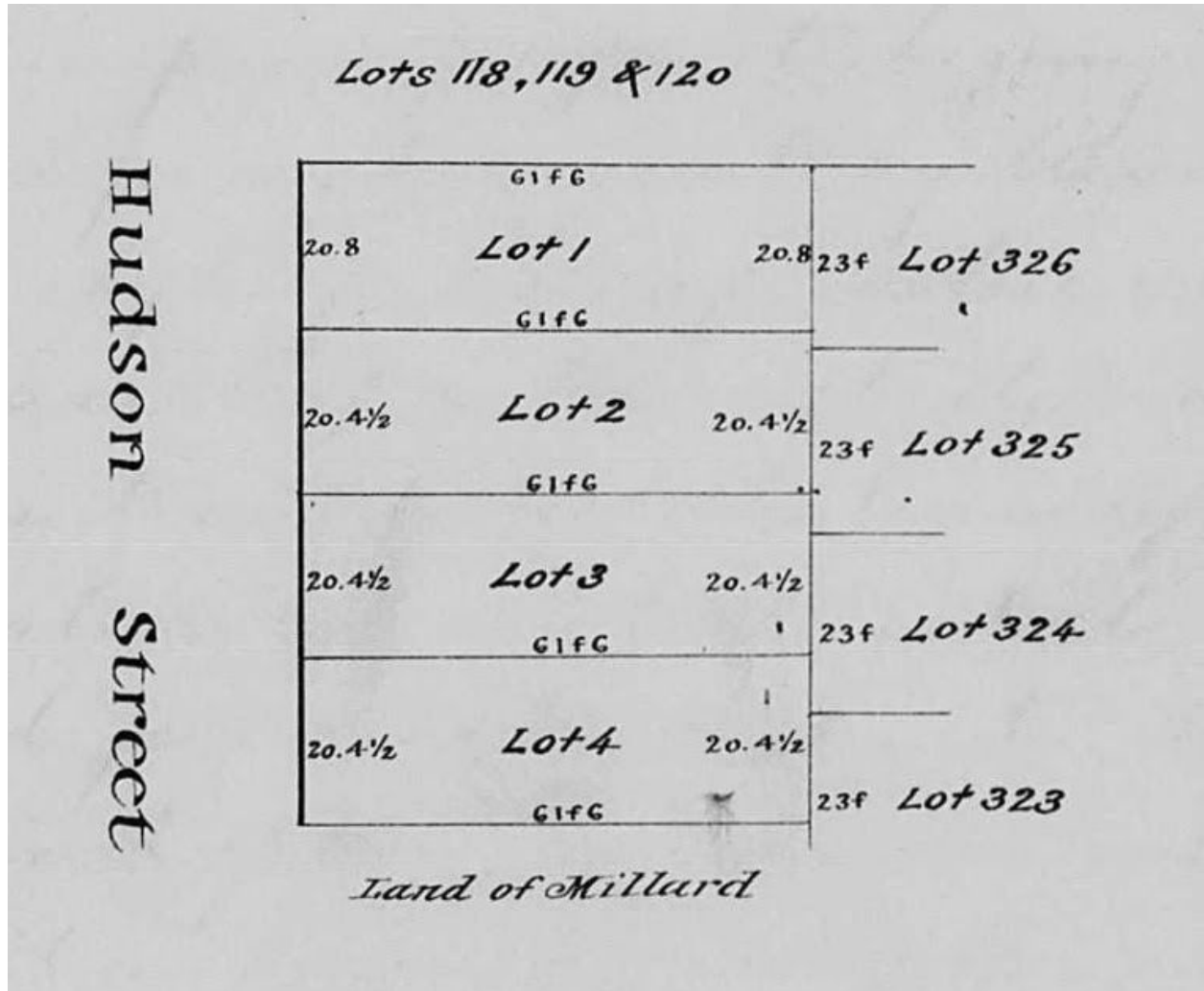


Figure 14- 1841 Plan included in SRD 447/239. Lot 2 is 6 Hudson Street.

Millard remains the owner until 1843, when he sells the property to Charles Maynard, gentleman (SRD 501/1).

Maynard owns the house until June 23, 1868, when he sells the property to John Sullivan (SRD 929/184). From 1843-1868, Maynard appears on the City of Boston directories, annually, indicating that the property was owner-occupied. For a complete transcription of Boston Directory listings for 6 Hudson street from 1845-1972, See Appendix A.

The sale in 1868 appears in the Boston Traveler newspaper (Figure 15), which describes the house as a three-story brick house. This is consistent in description

throughout the property's existence indicating an overall lack of significant modifications to the home from its construction in the 1840s to its demolition in the 20th century.

REAL ESTATE MOVEMENTS.

The neat three-story brick house, No. 6 Hudson street, has been sold by Charles A. Maynard to John Sullivan for \$8500.

Thomas Dans, 2d. has sold his house on Newton street, Back Bay, with 1900 feet of land, for \$12,500 to Theodore A. Gore.

Uiram P. Bean has sold an elegant house and lot on Newbury street, west of Arlington, for \$27,000 to C. L. Bartlett.

On Pelham street, Harriet A. Thayer has bought a house with 913 feet of land for \$9000.

Figure 15- Boston Traveler story, June 25, 1868 describing 6 Hudson street.

Directories throughout the 1850s and most of the 1860s list Charles Maynard with a series of boarders and residents. Charles Maynard's occupation ranges from working at the Post Office, to Clerk (possibly at the Post office) to a Post Office employee again. The 1850 census (Table 1) sheds light on the living conditions at 6 Hudson street:

Last	First	Age	YOB	Gender	State of Birt
Maynard	Chas A	47	1803	Male	Massachusetts
Maynard	Sarah A	44	1806	Female	Massachusetts
Maynard	Charles H	11	1839	Male	Massachusetts
Maynard	Anna L	7	1843	Female	Massachusetts
Maynard	Walter B	7	1843	Male	Massachusetts
Maynard	Emily E	5	1845	Female	Massachusetts
Maynard	Sarah E	3	1847	Female	Massachusetts
Maynard	Frank E	1	1849	Male	Massachusetts
Bragg	Hannah B	63	1787	Female	Massachusetts
Donaldson	Mary	23	1827	Female	Nova Scotia
Dorety	Agnes	40	1810	Female	Ireland
Snell	Harriot	45	1805	Female	Massachusetts
Mills	James	30	1820	Male	New Hampshire
Mills	Emily D	25	1825	Female	Massachusetts
Mills	Emma Z	3	1847	Female	Massachusetts
Mills	Harriot L	0	1850	Female	Massachusetts

Table 1. 1850 US census occupants for 6 Hudson Street.

Mary Donaldson and Agnes Dorety are listed as being members of the Maynard family, with Ms. Snell and the Mills family being a second family. One interpretation of these two women is the presence of live-in domestic laborers, indicating that the Maynards were of upper-middle class status. Both Charles Maynard and James Mills are listed as having Clerk jobs at the Post office, no others in the household are listed as having occupations outside of the house.

Various 20th century documents describe the building as being 22 feet by ~33 feet or 726 square feet per floor. The ad indicates that the building is 3 stories tall, meaning these 16 people share approximately 2200 square feet of living space, or 138 square feet per person (sfpp). In 2007, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) released a document measuring overcrowding in housing. In this document, HUD states overcrowding to be anything less than 165 sfpp with the US average sfpp in 2005 of 916 (DHUD 2007, 8).

Maynard, while financially able to both purchase the home and hire domestic laborers, was not wealthy enough to make the property a single-family home, renting some of the space to James Mills and his family. Also notable is Harriot Snell's listing as the first resident of the second family in the census, implying a leadership status in the household. Based on her age, Harriot Snell may be James's mother or perhaps his unmarried partner. The youngest member of the house, Harriot Mills, appears to have

been named after Harriot, though it is not certain if the older Harriot is the mother, grandmother, other family member, or family friend.

Perhaps most notable, overall, is the fact that nearly the entire household is Massachusetts-born, indicating that these residents were not immigrants but instead local families participating in the new job and living opportunities associated with the creation of the South Cove properties.

After Charles sells the house to John Sullivan in June of 1868, Sullivan does not keep the home for long selling it just nine months later to Mary Ann Flanagan, widow (SRB 955/165) with a mortgage with John Sullivan. Mary Ann appears to struggle with the property mortgaging it three times in total in 1869, 1870 (SRB 1017/17), and 1873 (1191/100). Mary Ann appears to pass away, giving the ownership to her son John Flanagan, for \$1 in her will. The property leaves the Flanagan family in 1883 when it is sold to Jacob and Mathilda Berwin (SRB 1595/425).

The Flanagan ownership lasts from 1868-1883. During this period, directories indicate that Flanagans are present throughout the period, though many boarders are also present. The 1870 directories indicate a spike in individuals in the home, which is confirmed in the 1870 census for the property, which lists the following 23 individuals:

Last	First	Age	Birth	Gender	Race	Job	Place of birth
Dooley	Richard	50	1820	Male	White	Tailor	Ireland
Murphy	Hannah	37	1833	Female	White	Keep Boarders	Ireland
Murphy	Wm	8	1862	Male	White	At School	Massachusetts
Connell	John	40	1830	Male	White	Carpenter	Ireland
Donovan	Peter	28	1842	Male	White	Porter	England
Crawford	Wm	20	1850	Male	White	Brass Finisher	Scotland
Butler	Wm	30	1840	Male	White	Laborer	Ireland
Murphy	Wm	20	1850	Male	White	Stone Cutter	Ireland
Quinn	Daniel	20	1850	Male	White	Tailor	Ireland
Bowman	David	31	1839	Male	White	Paper Ruler	Massachusetts
Mcclusky	Thomas	20	1850	Male	White	Stone Cutter	Ireland
Haggerty	David	40	1830	Male	White	Carpenter	B Provinces
Connell	John	24	1846	Male	White	Salesman	B Provinces
Dolan	John	40	1830	Male	White	Printer	Massachusetts

Couch	John	20	1850	Male	White	Drug Clerk	Massachusetts
Martin	Peter	31	1839	Male	White	Brick Mason	Massachusetts
Powers	John	29	1841	Male	White	Laborer	Ireland
Driscoll	Ellen	20	1850	Female	White	Domestic Servt	Ireland
Donovan	Hannah	30	1840	Female	White	Cook	Ireland
Kennedy	Eliza	25	1845	Female	White	Machine Girl	Massachusetts
Mcclusky	Kate	18	1852	Female	White	Seamstress	Ireland
Shea	Julia	22	1848	Female	White	Machine Girl	Ireland
Ryan	Mary	15	1855	Female	White	Shirt Maker	Massachusetts

Table 2- 1870 US census record for 6 Hudson St.

This census record makes very clear that 6 Hudson street had become a boarding home to immigrants and first generation Americans. Interestingly, all individuals in the census were marked as having both parents born in another country. Overcrowding was significant in 1870, with space reduced down to 95 sfpp (165 being the overcrowding cutoff).

Even though Mary Ann Flanagan, the owner, turns up in multiple directories as being present at the house, she does not turn up in the census records. It is possible that Hannah Murphy is unlikely to be a pseudonym for Mary Ann Flanagan as she is not listed as owning property.

Last	First	Race	Gender	Age	DOB	Relation	Marriage	Occupation	Born	M-born	F-born
Mcdermott	John P.	White	Male	28	Abt 1852	Self	Married	Furniture Store	MA	Ireland	N. Bruns
Mcdermott	Mary F.	White	Female	27	Abt 1853	Wife	Married	Keeping House	MA	Ireland	Ireland
Mcdermott	John	White	Male	3	Abt 1877	Son	Single		MA	MA	MA
Mcdermott	Annie	White	Female	2	Abt 1878	Daughter	Single		MA	MA	MA
Galvin	Patrick J	White	Male	26	Abt 1854	Self	Married	Printing Office	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Galvin	Elizabeth	White	Female	22	Abt 1858	Wife	Married	Keeping House	MA	Ireland	Ireland
Galvin	Mary	White	Female	10/12	Abt 1879	Daughter	Single		MA	Ireland	MA
Galvin	John	White	Male	50	Abt 1830	Father	Widower	Laborer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Gleason	Richard	White	Male	67	Abt 1813	Self	Married	Carpenter	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Gleason	Catherine	White	Female	61	Abt 1819	Wife	Married	Keeping House	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Gleason	John	White	Male	23	Abt 1857	Son	Single	Harness Maker	N Bruns	Ireland	Ireland
Gleason	Jane	White	Female	21	Abt 1859	Daughter	Single	Tailoress	N Bruns	Ireland	Ireland

Table 3- 1880 US census record for 6 Hudson St.

In the 10 years elapsed since 1870, the house has reduced in number of individuals of immigrant families of Irish and Canadian-irish origins. This census also indicates that the home now holds three families, as opposed to boarders. As the house is three stories, it may be that the house now is a three-family home with an apartment on each floor.

1874 is the first appearance of the home on detailed maps (Figure 16). In this map, the property is shown being owned by Mary Flanagan. Of note is the extension of the rear of the property, which the surrounding properties on the street also have. It is believed that this addition would have contained a privy.

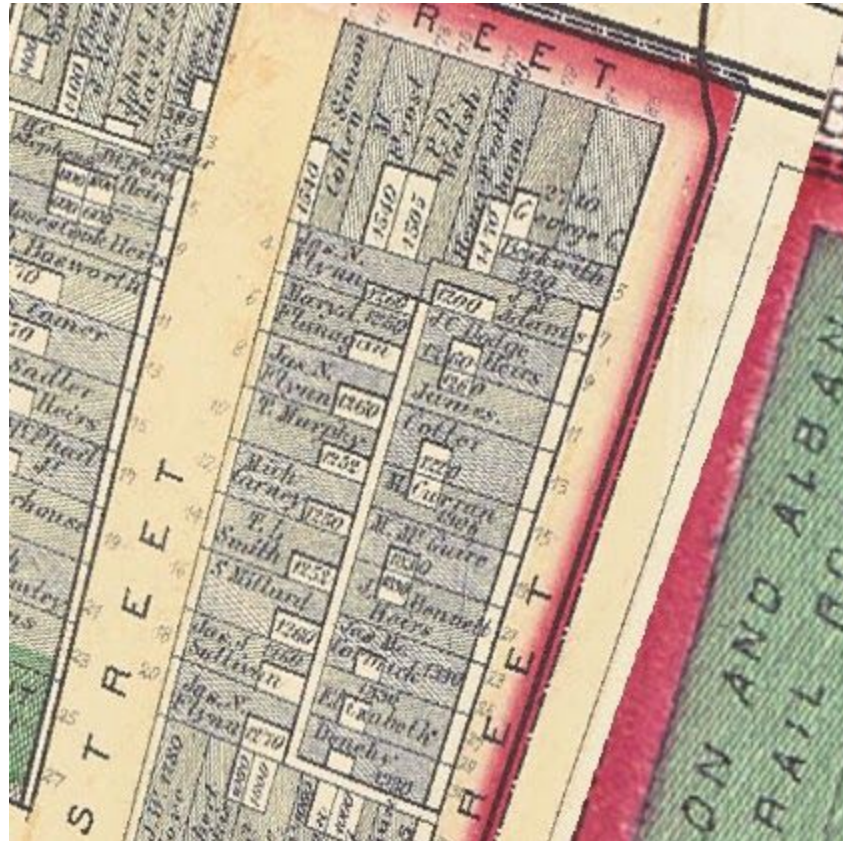


Figure 16- 1874 Hopkins Map showing Mary Flanagan property with ell extension possibly containing a privy.

Jacob Berwin, who purchased the property from the Flanagans in 1883, sells the property about a year later to Eva and Simon Hershberg (SBR 1628/476). The Hershbergs own the property from 1883-1891 but do not turn up on directories.

In 1883, the first map was made showing both the house in detail and the materials of construction (Figure 17). This map supports the previous statement that the addition on the rear of the property may be a privy as the addition is wood as opposed to the brick construction of the main building. Previous excavations on multiple Boston sites have

shown that these wooden additions on mid-late 19th century buildings often contain privies.

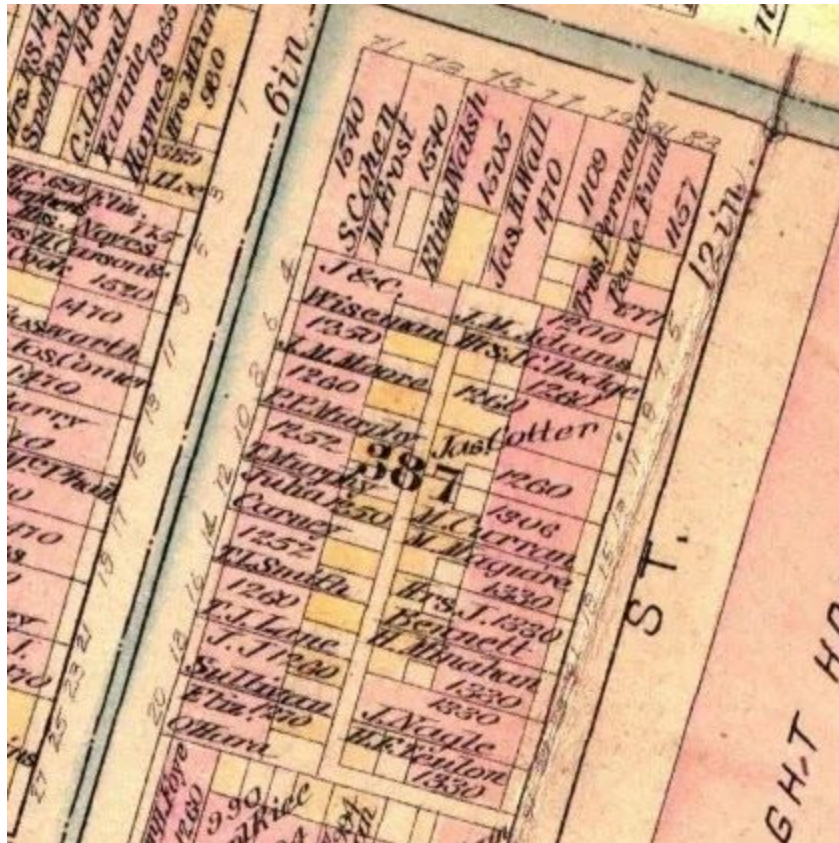


Figure 17- 1883 Bromley showing wooden ell (yellow) behind 6 Hudson Street. House incorrectly labeled as owned by J M. Moore.

The directories are silent for 6 Hudson from 1883 until 1885 when the house is occupied by three male borders (possibly their families too, but that is not recorded in the directories). The Borders have the last name Grant (plumber), McCarthy (McCarthy and Lynn), and Wilson (Chandelier maker).

In 1891, Eva Hirshberg sells the property to John Martin (SRB 1987/443). Martin sells the property in 1899 to Henry M. Rowe of Newton (SRB 2620/396).

The 1890s directories are relatively quiet. The lack of an 1890 and scanned tax records for the City do not aid much in interpreting this period. Borders are listed in 1891-1893,

but only one or two per year. Then there is a gap with boarders returning in 1898. Until 1899, all appear to be white people of English ancestry (last names: Hodge, Reed, Harvey). A Frank Vizener is boarding in 1892 but his name does not produce results on searches.

1899 marks a significant transition of occupancy at 6 Hudson Street with the appearance of Theodore Nahass, a Syrian immigrant.

Summary of pre-Syriatown history: 1840-1870 Multi-family owner occupied lower middle class individuals. 1870-c. 1878: Boarding House. C.1878-c1893: Three-family rental housing. 1885-1899: Sparsely-occupied 3-family and possible 1st floor store.

1899-1920: Syriatown

The arrival of Theodore Nahass marks the transition of the neighborhood into Syriatown.

The 1900 census indicates that Theodore Nahass owned a grocery store at 6 Hudson street. He lived nearby at 107 Kneeland Street. The 1900 census shows Theodore, labeled as "Thadus" as head of house, 42, living with his daughters, Loretta (18), Gilalia (12), and sons Adolph (17), and Samuel (14). All of the members of the family are listed as having been born in Turkey, as were their parents. Theodor Nahass immigrated in 1890, with his children arriving in 1891. The Nahass family lived in the same house as several Italian immigrant families on Kneeland.

There is no census entry for 6 Hudson street in 1900, but the directory indicates the Deraney, Nackley, and Kazhal families boarding in the apartments above the grocery store on the first floor.

It appears from Directories that few adult men occupied the home in the early 20th century, but it is not possible to know the size of their families at the home. It is possible that the house returned to a multi-family home occupied by Syrian immigrants during the first decade of the 20th century.

The 1910 census lists:

Last	First	Rel	Gen	Race	Age	YOB	Status	Birth	F.Birth	M.Birth	Year of immigration
Maloof	Eliaas	Head	Male	White	18	1892	Single	Syria	Syria	Syria	1901
Habib	Eddie	Cousin	Male	White	22	1888	Single	Syria	Syria	Syria	1904
Habib	Bessie	Cousin	Female	White	19	1891	Single	Syria	Syria	Syria	1900
Haudi	Nammi	Lodger	Male	White	33	1877	Married	Syria	Syria	Syria	1905
Haudi	Bika	Lodger	Female	White	24	1886	Married	Syria	Syria	Syria	1905
Haudi	Najla	Lodger	Female	White	3	1907	Single	Mass	Syria	Syria	

Table 4- 1910 Census record for 6 Hudson

The same census lists Eliaas Maloof as the proprietor of a restaurant, Eddie Habib as a shoe worker at a factory, Bessie Habib as a tire worker at a factory, Nammi Haudi as a wire worker at a factory, and Bika and Najla as not working. All the individuals are listed as one family in the census suggesting that the Haudis are lodgers in the Maloof-Habib home, or that they are relatives. Only Eliaas is listed as a native English speaker whereas the others are listed as speaking Syrian, likely Arabic. Their neighbors in 12 Hudson are mostly Massachusetts-born individuals of Irish ancestry, whereas their other neighbors in 14 and 20 Hudson Street are also Syrian immigrants. This indicates that while Hudson Street was a significant part of Syriatown in Boston, it was not exclusively Syrians who occupied the space.

An October 27 1910 Globe article states that Asid Maloof, 21, of 6 Hudson Street was arrested for marrying 13-year-old Annie George of Carver (Globe 1910).

At the end of the 19th century, Syria comprised a large area of the middle east, today parts of Lebanon, Palestine, and Jordan. In 1860, a large civil war broke out near Mount Lebanon between various clans, tribes, and militias. During the peak of battle, massive numbers of Syrian Christians were killed, particularly in Damascus, where 25,000 Christians were killed by Druze and Sunni Muslim groups over three days (Shaw 1977).

One of the outcomes of this conflict and other incidents across the middle east was a massive wave of Arab immigrants, with estimates of 110,000 Arab individuals, most of

them Syrians (Hooglund 1987). The majority of these individuals were Christians fleeing persecution.

Information on Boston's Syriatown is lacking, overall, so some of the background on this Boston neighborhood borrows from the narrative of Boston's NYC counterpart, Little Syria, around Washington street near the World Trade Center.

The relatively low rents of the former South Cove area attracted the large immigrant population from Syria to Boston, resulting in the sudden appearance of Syrian immigrants around 1900, concentrated around Hudson Street, in what would later be known first as Syriatown and later as Chinatown as Syrians were replaced by Chinese immigrants.

An 1899 article in the New York Times (Childe 1899), describes a vibrant community of families assimilating into American culture while retaining cultural aspects of their homeland including aspects of their dress, language, and food.

In 1911, the Immigration Commission of the United States Congress published a report titled *Immigrants in Cities*, presented by Senator William Dillingham. Volume 5 included Boston's immigrants (Figure 18). It states:

“The Hudson street district is predominantly Syrian. Fifteen native families have been studied in the district, and 155 foreign families, of which 113 are Syrian, 29 Italian, and 11 Irish.

Forty years ago this entire district was a respectable middle-class residence quarter. It did not have the extremes, aristocratic and humble, of the north end or Roxbury. The population about twenty years ago was mainly Irish or Irish-American, but the place is fast becoming the orient of Boston. Chinatown centers on Harrison avenue near Essex street. Farther up the avenue and on Kneeland, Tyler, and Hudson streets there is a cosmopolitan mixture of Greek restaurants and groceries, Syrian churches and shops, kosher eating houses, and immoral resorts confined to no race.

On Hudson street, where the most important Syrian block investigated is located, most of the houses are four-story tenements, built of brick. Each house contains 10 to 14 rooms and is occupied by from four to six families. The houses were originally built to accommodate one fairly well-to-do family, and have been divided up into apartments; sinks and faucets have been installed in the kitchens, but very few other changes have been made. One toilet serves for a whole house, and bathrooms are an exception. Proximity to business houses makes the rents high in this neighborhood." (Dillingham 1911, 432)

"The Syrians live in the Hudson street district, which is old and not adapted to tenement-house use. There is generally one source of water supply to a house, and when five or six households live in one dwelling they are obliged to share the accommodations that were meant for one family." (Dillingham 1911, 465)

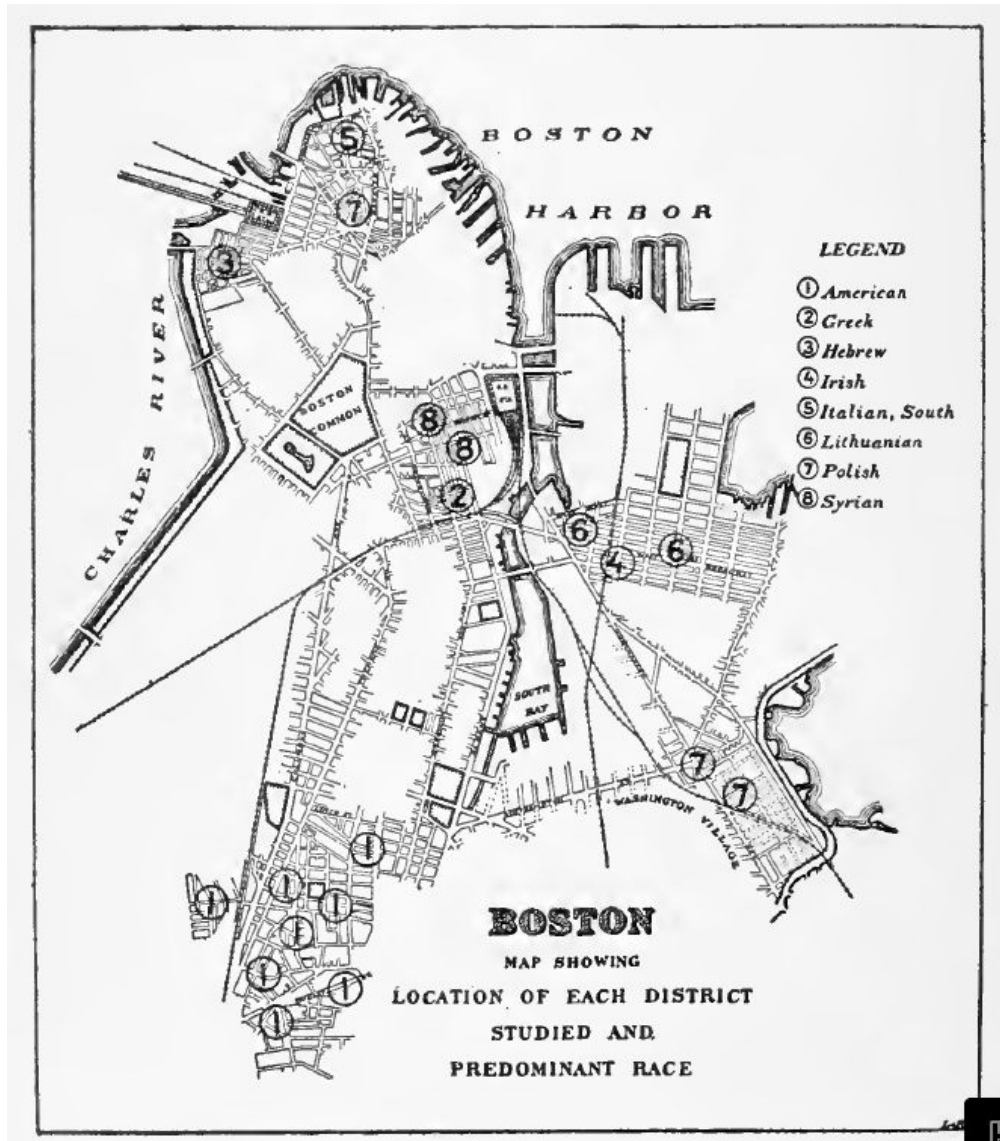


Figure 18- 1911 Immigration map of Boston showing Syrians in South Cove (8) (Dillingham 1911)

Interestingly, the 1911 report is concerned about sanitation and states that of the 112 Syrian households studied (mostly on Hudson Street) 13% of the Syrian households in zone 8 (Syriatown centered on Hudson Street) reported having just one toilet per household (Dillingham 1911, 465). Only 1 household, an Irish family, in the entire survey including all immigrant groups (1,412 households surveyed) did not have a flushing toilet in 1911. Of seven Boston groups surveyed including Syrian, Greek, Italian, Irish, Polish, Lithuanian, and “Russian, Hebrew,” the Syrian families were identified as having

the the greatest likelihood of having one toilet be used by three or more households at 90.2%, with 2.7% of Syrian households sharing one toilet amongst 9 households (Dillingham 1911, 466)

The report continues “It should be recalled in this connection that 113 Syrian households are included in this study and that the small proportion of families included in the income study is due to the fact that large numbers of the Syrians are peddlers and in business for themselves” (Dillingham 1911, 484). Peddlers were commonplace amongst jobs in the directory search in Appendix A. A particularly “Syrian’ peddler position was that of a coffee peddler, who served cold Syrian coffee from massive brass tanks held on backs and served in small glass cups (Figure 19).



Figure 19- Coffee peddler in New York City’s Little Syria in 1916. Library of Congress

Syrian traditional dress and cultural practices including hookah smoking appear to continue in Boston, as is illustrated in Figure 20, which was taken at one of the Hudson Street Syrian residences around 1915.



Figure 20- Syrian immigrants on Hudson Street c. 1915, Boston Public Library. Note that the ladies are crocheting, wearing bangles, and have distinct hair styles using items to hold their hair in place. Note also, the hookah.

Directories indicate the last recorded Syrian person at 6 Hudson in 1918, followed by several years of no individuals present in the directories. In 1924, the first Chinese immigrant appears signaling the transition of the neighborhood to Chinatown. Despite thorough searches, no entry was found for 6 Hudson street in the 1920 Census, suggesting the house was either avoided in the census for some reason or vacant.

1920-Present: Chinatown

Hudson Street-Area Chinatown History

By the 1920's over 1,000 Chinese people lived in Chinatown (Chen 1980). This number increased to 1,600 in 1950 (Chen 1980). Before WWII, Chinatown was mostly a

bachelor community, while the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943, more families were able to immigrate in (Chen 1980). With new families forming, there was a new generation of native-born Chinese American citizens (Chen 1980). Chinatown changed from having predominantly laundry business to having more restaurant and associations that served the local Chinese community (NPS 2017, 30).

Although the exact timing of the transition from Syriatown on this block of Hudson is unclear, evidence shows that by 1930's Hudson Street had become a mix-use, largely Chinese district that included Chinese restaurants, barbers, associations, and importing firms on both sides of the Hudson Street block (NPS 2017, 51). One Syrian, Joseph A. Hadge, operated a pool room at 15 Hudson but rented the space to Eng Shee Kung Shaw Association, a laundryman, and widowed noodle- factory manager Wong Leong Shee and his four children, indicating that there was still some Syrian presence (National Register for Historic Places 2017, 51). Tunney Lee, a local resident and Chinatown historian describes that the block south of Kneeland Street (just south of project area) had become the dividing point between the Chinese (north of Kneeland) and Syrian (south of Kneeland) population (NPS 2017, 51).

From the 1920's the block on Hudson Street included multiple Chinese businesses (NPS 2017, 51). 1 Hudson Street had 15 residents and a Chinese laundry in the 1920's. In 1926, the Chinese restaurant Wee Yin Low on 11 Hudson had opened and became Red Rooster in 1931 (NPS 2017, 51). In 1931 Mee Hong Low restaurant and Thing Horn barber shop shared 13 Hudson with residential space (NPS 2017, 51). In 1930's and 1940's Chinese goods stores had occupied 3 Hudson Street (NPS 2017, 51). Chong Lung Kee opened a store on 18 Hudson Street in 1920's that sold everything from tea to soap, and produce such as vegetables and fish, serving the Chinese community until the 1960's (NPS 2017, 51).

According to the Chinese Directory of New England, T.S. Tse noted that Chinese restaurants in great numbers existed covering a few blocks along Beach, Tyler, Oxford, and Hudson Streets, and a part of Harrison Avenue (NPS 2017, 49). By 1935, this block of Hudson Street had 5 Chinese restaurants, two Chinese barbers, five Chinese clubs, three Chinese grocers, seven firms offering Chinese and other goods, and two dormitories- one of which was Ruby Foo's Den (NPS 2017, 51). Another restaurant that opened on 21 Hudson in 1940's called Gamsum or "Gold Mountain" served the

community until 1960's when it was sold to make Shanghai Restaurant (To 2008). The painted brick billboard remains today on Kneeland Street as a reminder of the past (To 2008).

In addition to the restaurant and grocer scene, this block of Hudson street also housed associations such as the Chinese Nationalist Party. The Chinese Nationalist Party had established multiple branches in major American cities, of which included Boston (To 2008). The branch was at first founded at 10 Hudson before relocating to 17 Hudson Street (NPS 2017, 51). The organization grew out of support for Dr. Sun Yat-sen and remains as an active community association for many decades, especially after the Chinese Communist Party took power in 1949 (To 2008). The Chinese Merchant Association originally located at 2 Tyler street moved to 20 Hudson Street in 1951 (NPS 2017, 48). Purpose of the association was to promote unity and provide support among Chinese merchants in Boston (To 2008). During WWII, the two associations played important roles in gather community efforts to support China's efforts against Japan's invasion (To 2008, NPS 2017, 60). Multiple parades were held on Hudson street to advertise funds for Chinese refugee relief and to encourage boycotting of Japanese silk (NPS 2017, 60).



Fig. 21 Ruby Foo's Den served as backdrop for women raising money to support the Chinese war effort against Japan (To 2008).

Located at the corner of Beach and Hudson, the materials for constructing the Chinatown Gate was donated by the Chinese Nationalist Government in Taiwan in 1970's (NPS 2017, 83). The Gate was meant to serve as a symbol of welcome that is frequently seen at entrances to cities and villages throughout China (NPS 2017, 83). However, the project took a decade to complete due to limited funding and technical difficulties before dedication in 1982 (NPS 2017, 83). Brothers Billy and Frank Chin were finally able to successfully lobby the city to secure the city's approval and funding (NPS 2017, 83). One side of the gate quotes the Chinese phrase "All under Heaven belongs to the people", a saying that dates to ancient China and a philosophy that Dr. Sun Yat-sen strongly advocated for. The other side is quoted with the Confucian virtues of "Propriety, righteousness, honesty, and integrity".

6 Hudson Street Chinatown History

Directories and census records of 1920's provide relatively little information on the residents in 6 Hudson Street (see Appendix A). The first evidence of Chinese population listed in the directories was a "Wall Lee" in 1924, followed by the "On Hing Lee Club" in 1925.

The famous Ruby Foo's Den restaurant opened in 6 Hudson Street in 1929 (Kaufman et al 2006). Ruby Foo was one of the earliest Chinese female restaurant owners in the country and her restaurant marketed themselves as Chinatown's "smartest restaurant," with the interior decor specifically designed to appeal to elite customer (To 2008). Ruby Foo's Den successfully catered to a non-Chinese and a celebrity clientele and became the most famous restaurant for non-Chinese customers in the 1930's (To 2008).

Throughout WWII the Den remained a legendary meeting place for theatrical and sports figures (Figure 22). Ruby Foo later opened similar restaurants in New York, Miami, Washington, and Providence and mentored dozens of aspiring chefs in Boston. Ruby Foo died of a heart attack on March 16, 1950 in her home on Jamaicaaway (The Boston Globe 1950).

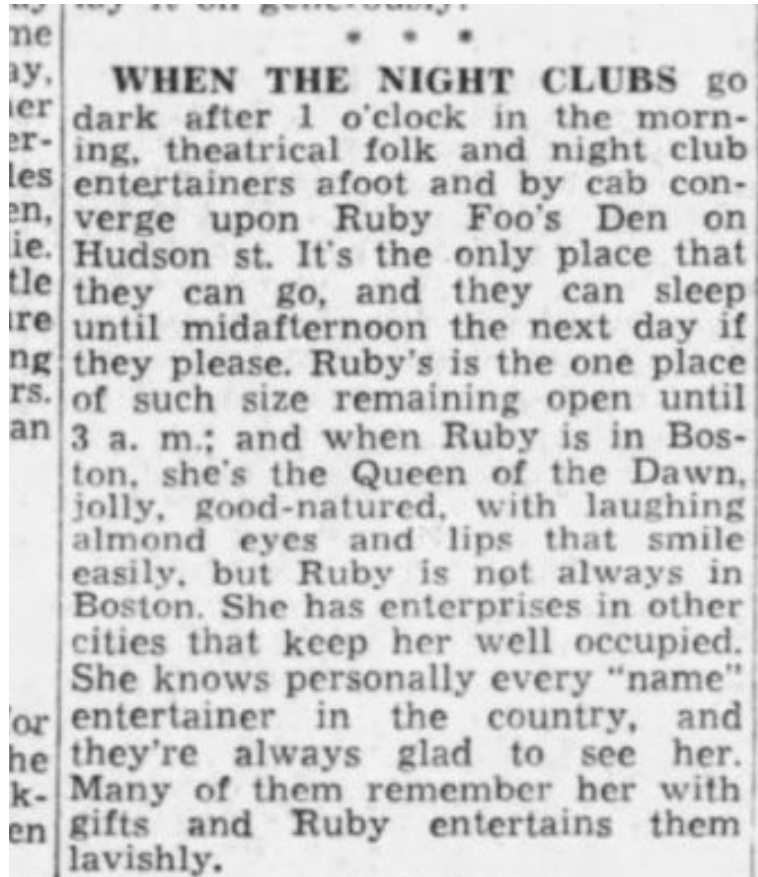


Figure 22- Boston Globe article from September 10, 1945

Census record of 1930's (Table 5) indicates that there were 8 men, age ranged 23 to 47, 6 out of which worked in a restaurant as a waiter or dishwasher. One of the other 2 remaining was an importer for Chinese goods and the other was a helper for a hotel. These residents occupied the rental units above the first-floor restaurant.

Surname	First	Relation	Gender	Race	Age	Birth	Married?	Birthplace	F Birth	M Birth	Job
Lee	Yon	Head	Male	Chinese	41	1889	Married	California	China	China	Waiter-restaurant
Sing	Wee	Head	Male	Chinese	60	1870	Married	China	China	China	Helper-Hotel
Ling	Yee	Lodger	Male	Chinese	47	1883	Married	California	China	China	Waiter-restaurant
Foo	Lee Fam	Head	Male	Chinese	43	1887	Married	California	China	China	dishwash
Foo	Gee Gab	Lodger	Male	Chinese	39	1891	Married	California	China	China	Waiter-restaurant
Lee	kit Dan	Head	Male	Chinese	43	1887	Married	China	China	China	Importer goods
Poay	George	Lodger	Male	Chinese	23	1907	Single	California	China	China	Waiter-restaurant
Wah	Yee Sak	Lodger	Male	Chinese	31	1899	Single	California	China	China	Dish washer
Lee	George	Lodger	Male	Chinese	37	1893	Single	China	China	China	Waiter-restaurant

Table 5- 1930 US Census record for 6 Hudson (shortened to fit)

A July 26, 1957 Boston Globe notice states that Ruby Foo's Den and 6 Hudson Street was auctioned for back taxes, closing the restaurant.

Researching of the property in the latter half of the 20th century is difficult given the lack of digitized documentation and numerous paywalls in place for newspapers and other more-recent historical documents.

20th century Inspectional Services Division (ISD) Permit data

In 1935, Ruby Foo submitted a permit to install a new store front and add a room to the rear of the building for a refrigerator. The property is described as 20x33' with 2 stories, stone foundation, brick walls, and a flat roof. The permit also describes the removal of the wooden ell at the rear of the property. This is likely related to or possibly the same structure believed to be a privy in earlier maps and plans. In 1937, a permit was submitted requesting to erect a metal shed structure measuring 8x14' on a concrete foundation to hold air conditioning equipment. 6 Hudson Street is described as a 21x35' structure with 4 stories containing a restaurant and three family apartments.

By 1951, an ISD permit on March 19 was issued regarding the demolition of #4 Hudson street leaving the party wall between 4/6 Hudson intact, stated that 6 Hudson structure measures 20 x 40 street and is a two-story two-family building.

In February 23, 1958, a “damaged metal building in rear 10’x20”” was removed from the rear of 6 Hudson. The location of this building is not known, but may have been related to the restaurant or a shed-like structure. There is no note that the grade needed to be filled suggesting this structure did not have a significant foundation or cellar.

In 1977, the City approved via ISD permit and Zoning division approval form the installation of a sign for Far East Travel Services on the partially below-grade floor of 6 Hudson Street.

According to permits, the building has been listed vacant as of 1988. An ISD permit dated January 9, 1989 approves “Take down and fill to grade” of 6 Hudson Street. The property has been vacant since. The neighboring properties (Figure 23) are still present and represent ideal comparisons to 6 Hudson as they would have been built at the same time and of near identical design.



Figure 23- Google street view of 15-21 Hudson Street, across the street from project area, showing buildings of the same style that would have been present on 6 Hudson street prior to 1980.

References

Bagley, Joseph

2007 A Prehistory of Boston Common. *Massachusetts Archaeological Society Bulletin*, 68 (1), 2-11.

Boston Globe

1910 *Elopement Sequel*. October 27, 1910.

Childe, Cromwell.

1899 "New York's Syrian Quarter", *The New York Times*, August 20, 1899. Accessed August 25, 2010.

Decima, Elana B. And Dena F. Dincauze

1998 The Boston Back Bay Fish Weirs, in *Hidden Dimensions: The Cultural Significance of Wetland Archaeology*, Ed. K. Bernick pp. 157-172. UBC Laboratory of Archaeology Occasional Publications, No.1. University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

Department of Housing and Urban Development

2007 *Measuring Overcrowding in Housing*. Prepared by Kevin S. Blake, Rebecca L. Kellerson Aleksandra Simic, Econometrica, Inc. Bethesda, Maryland

Dillingham, William P

1911 *Immigrants in Cities, A Study of the Population of Selected Districts in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, buffalo, and Milwaukee (In Two Volumes: vol 1)*. Reports of the Immigration Commission, 61st Congress 2nd Session, Document No. 338. Government Printing Office 1911.

Gibran, Jean. Polly Welts Kaufman, Sylvia McDowell, Mary Howland Smoyer.

2006 "Ruby Foo's Den" in *Boston Women's Heritage Trail*. Commonwealth Editions.

Hooglund, Eric

1987. *Crossing the waters : Arabic-speaking immigrants to the United States before 1940*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

National Register of Historic Places, Historic Resources Associated with Chinese Immigrants and Chinese Americans in the City of Boston.

Pendery, Steven

1988 Archaeology of the Boston Common. On file at the Massachusetts Historical Commission.

Ritchie, Duncan

1994 Archaeological Data Recovery Town Dock Prehistoric Site, Central Artery North Reconstruction Project, Charlestown, Massachusetts, Volume IVB. On file at the Massachusetts Historical Commission.

Seasholes, Nancy

2003 *Gaining Ground, A History of Landmaking in Boston*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.

Shaw, Ezel Kural

1977 *History of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey, Volume 2*, Cambridge University Press

The Boston Globe

1950 “Stage, Civic Leaders to Attend Rites for Ruby Foo Saturday”, *The Boston Globe*. March 16, 1950. Accessed January 19, 2019.

1950 “Death and Funerals: Ruby Foo”, *The Boston Globe*. March 17, 1950. Accessed January 19, 2019.

To, Wing-Kai and the Chinese Historical Society of New England

2008 *Images of America: Chinese in Boston 1870-1965*. Arcadia Publishing.

Appendix A: Directory listings for 6 Hudson Street

1845

Charles Maynard, at Post office, 6 South Hudson
James Mills, Clerk in Post office, 6 s. Hudson

1850/1851

Charles A. Maynard, at Post office, h. 6 Hudson
James Mills, clerk at Post Office, h. 6 Hudson

1852

Charles A. Maynard, at Post office, h. 6 Hudson
James Mills, clerk at Post Office, h. 6 Hudson

1853

Charles A. Maynard, at Post office, h. 6 Hudson
James Mills, clerk at Post Office, h. 6 Hudson

1854

Charles A. Maynard, at Post office, h. 6 Hudson
James Mills, clerk, h. 6 Hudson

1855

Charles A. Maynard, at Post Office, h. 6 Hudson
James Mills, agent Worcester and Western R. R., 19 State, house 6 Hudson

1856

Charles A. Maynard, at Post Office, h. 6 Hudson
James Mills, agent Worcester and Western R. R., 19 State, house 6 Hudson
Harriet Snell, widow, boards 6 Hudson

1857

George A. Farrah, artist 10 Tremont, h. 6 Hudson
Charles A. Maynard, at Post Office, h. 6 Hudson
Charles H. Maynard, clerk 8 India Wharf, h. 6 Hudson
James Mills, agent Worcester and Western R. R., 19 State, house 6 Hudson

1858

Hannah B. Bragg, widow, h. 6 Hudson
George O. Farrah, clerk, boards 6 Hudson
Charles A. Maynard, at Post Office, h. 6 Hudson
Charles H. Maynard, clerk 8 India Wharf, h. 6 Hudson
Harriet Snell, widow, boards 6 Hudson

1859

William Q. Baxter, clerk, boards 6 Hudson
Hannah B. Bragg, widow, h. 6 Hudson
George A. Farrah, clerk, boards 6 Hudson
Charles H. Maynard, clerk 8 India Wharf, h. 6 Hudson
Harriet Snell, widow, boards 6 Hudson

1860

George A. Farrar, letter carrier, P.O. boards 6 Hudson
J. Green Jones, at Post Office, house 6 Hudson
Charles H. Maynard, clerk 17 India Wharf, h. 6 Hudson

1861

Hannah B. Bragg, widow, boards 6 Hudson
George A. Farrar, lettercarrier, P.O. boards 6 Hudson
J. Green Jones, at Post Office, house 6 Hudson
Charles A. Maynard, at Post Office, h. 6 Hudson
Charles H. Maynard, clerk 17 India Wharf, h. 6 Hudson

1862

Hannah B. Bragg, widow, boards 6 Hudson
Joseph H. Clapp, boots and shoes, 77 Pearl, house 6 Hudson
Anna L. Maynard, teacher in the Bowditch School, South, boards 6 Hudson
Charles A. Maynard, at Post Office, h. 6 Hudson
Charles H. Maynard, clerk 17 India Wharf, h. 6 Hudson

1863

Charles A. Maynard, at Post Office, h. 6 Hudson

1864

Joseph H. Clapp, boots and shoes, 73 Pearl, house 6 Hudson
Charles A. Maynard, at Post Office, h. 6 Hudson

1865

J. F. Dix, 48 Franklin, boards 6 Hudson
Charles H Masury, clerk, boards 6 Hudson
Charles A. Maynard, at Post Office, h. 6 Hudson
Henry Revere (Gardner, Pratt & Mackintire), 44 Franklin, house 6 Hudson
Edward Smith (Fuller and S.) 109 Washington, boards 6 Hudson

1866

Mrs. Hannah B. Bragg, widow, boards 6 Hudson
Henry Revere (Gardner, Pratt & Mackintire), 44 Franklin, house 6 Hudson

1867

J. F. Dix, 48 Franklin, boards 6 Hudson

Charles A. Maynard, h. 6 Hudson
Henry Revere (Gardner, Pratt & Mackintire), 44 Franklin, house 6 Hudson

1868

Charles A. Maynard, at post-office, h. 6 Hudson
Henry Revere (Gardner, Pratt & Mackintire), 44 Franklin, house 6 Hudson

1869

George H. Ball, Bookbinder, 13 Washington H. 6 Hudson
Ann Flanagan H 6 Hudson

1870

John F. Couch, clerk, Purchase, cor. Federal, boards 6 Hudson
John Dolan, porter, boards 6 Hudson
Mrs. Ann Flanagan house 6 Hudson
Patrick Hayes, mason, boards 6 Hudson
John Quigley, peddler, bds. 6 Hudson
J. I. Tillman, jeweller, 2 Winter, bds. 6 Hudson
John Welch, packer, 151 Milk, boards 6 Hudson

1871

John M. Byrne, 33 Summer, boards 6 Hudson
Joseph Franey, tailor, 294 ½ Wash. h. 6 Hudson

1872

Morris Breen, machinist, boards 6 Hudson
Michael Driscoll, porter, boards 6 Hudson
Bernard Flanagan, Tailor, bds. 6 Hudson
Cornelius J. Lynch, musician, boards 6 Hudson
Jeremiah Lynch, salesman, 44 Broad, h. 6 Hudson
Michael Mallen, house 6 Hudson
Jeremiah Toomey, laborer, boards 6 Hudson
Cornelius Whelton, tailor, bds. 6 Hudson
Patrick Whelton, tailor, boards 6 Hudson

1873 (data from tax valuation records

<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QSQ-G9VS-B46B?i=26&wc=9BRR-RM7%3A1017717701%2C1067875601&cc=2125599>)

Jeremiah Lynch, agent
Cornelius Lynch, Musician
Cornelius Wilton, Jy.(?) Tailor
Patrick Wilton, Jy.(?) Tailor
James Lynch, Laborer
--- Wade, P.O. Clerk

1874 (data from tax valuation records

[https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QS7-89V2-4NL5?i=24&wc=9BT9-VZS%3A1017717701%2C1067885902&cc=2125599\)](https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QS7-89V2-4NL5?i=24&wc=9BT9-VZS%3A1017717701%2C1067885902&cc=2125599)

Jeremiah Lynch, agent

Cornelius Lynch, Musician

Terrence Lynch, Laborer

Patrick Downey, Tailor

Mathew F. Bassidy, St[?]re Worker

John Monach, Cloth Dresser

--- Hawks, Tailor

Antoine J. Wallman, Cloth Examiner

1875

Patrick Casey, stone-cutter, bds 6 Hudson

Thomas Flanagan, House 6 Hudson

James Garvey, marble worker, boards 6 Hudson

Augustus, Hutchins, house 6 Hudson, ward 16

Thomas Lynch, bricklayer, boards 6 Hudson

John P. McDermott, cabinet maker, b. 6 Hudson

Charles L. Taber, conductor, M. R. R. House 6 Hudson, ward 16

1876

Patrick Casey, stone cutter bds 6 Hudson

1877

1878

George Ogelvie house 6 hudson

1879 (data from tax valuation

[https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QS7-L9LW-P9NK-Q?i=138&wc=9BTW-3TR%3A1017717701%2C1292552504&cc=2125599\)](https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QS7-L9LW-P9NK-Q?i=138&wc=9BTW-3TR%3A1017717701%2C1292552504&cc=2125599)

John McDermott, Polisher

Patrick Gallivan, Laborer

John Gleason, Harness

1880 (data from tax valuation

[https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QS7-99GX-19FK?i=148&wc=9BTM-4WP%3A1017717701%2C1292557101&cc=2125599\)](https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QS7-99GX-19FK?i=148&wc=9BTM-4WP%3A1017717701%2C1292557101&cc=2125599)

John P. McDermott, Polisher

Patrick Gallivan, Laborer

John Gleason, Harness

1881

1885

John B. Grant, Plumber, boards 6 Hudson

Timothy McCarthy (McCarthy and Lynn) 17 Avery, boards 6 Hudson

William J. Wilson, chandelier maker, bds. 6 Hudson

1890

1891

Louis Caswell, salesman, bds. 6 Hudson

1892

Albert S. Hodge machinist 6 Hudson

Frank Vizener, painter, rms 6 Hudson

1893

Albert S. Hodge, Hodge Brothers, 15 Chardon, H. 6 Hudson

1893

Albert S. Hodge, Hodge Brothers, air valves 15 Chardon, H. 6 Hudson

1895

None

1896

None

1897

None

1898

Thomas Reed, mason, rooms 6 Hudson

1899

Mrs. Catherine Harvey, h 6 Hudson

Theodore Nahass

1900

none

1901

Theodore Nahass, grocer, 6 Hudson, h 107 Kneeland

Cali Deraney, coppersmith, h 6 Hudson

1902

Nicholas Nackley peddler, bds 6 Hudson
K. Nackley peddler 6 Hudson

1903
Willie Kazhal agent. H 6 Hudson

1904
None

1905
Laham K. Fancy goods 29 Hudson h. 6 do

1906
None

1907
None

1908
Joseph Goreiglry h. 6 Hudson

1909
None

1910
Edward Habib, shoemaker h. 6 Hudson

1911
Elias Thomy, barber, 82 kneeland, h 6 Hudson

1912
Elias Thomy, barber, 82 kneeland, h 6 Hudson

1913
Metri Cardose, pedlar, h 6 Hudson
Elias Thomey, barber, 82 kneeland, h 6 Hudson

1914
Miter Kardouse, laborer, h. 6 Hudson
Fodo J. Maloof, shoemaker, h 6 Hudson

1915
John Ayou 6 Hudson (business retail)
John Cardoza h.

1916

Assad Abraham, plasterer

George Khouri, peddler, h.

John F. Ayoub Grocer 6 Hudson Do.

1917

John Ayout. 6 Hudson

1918

Todo J. Ayout Grocier 6 Hudson Business Directory there is a grocer

1919

None

1920

None BUT lots of jewish shoe retailers nearby

1921

None

1922

None

1923

none

1924

Wall Lee

1925

On Hing Lee Club h 6 Hudson

1926

None

1927

None

1928

George Lee H. Hudson

Doon Lee h. Hudson

1929

Sak Wah Ype

1930

Lee Chin

1931

Lee Chin

1934

Hee Lee

1935

The Den, 6 Hudson

1947

Ruby Foo's Den

1953

Ruby Foo's Den

1964

Shee Lee Chin

Warren Wong, waiter

1965

Doo Wah Wong, waiter

Warren Wong, waiter

1966

Doo Wah Wong, waiter

1972

Patricia Warren, waiter at China Sails h 6 Hudson st.