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Mindful Masquerades

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Introduction

In 1897, a young man with very "shapely legs" skipped across stage at the Columbia Theater in San Francisco. The *Chronicle's* theater critic described the play, *Devil's Auction*, as "capital entertainment," especially since the young man, in fact, was a woman.[1] Gender impersonators in the first quarter of the twentieth century appeared as popular theatrical specialities across the country, and San Franciscans joined the nation in their appreciation of these performances. Yet, in addition to traversing genders, other forms of masquerade captivated city residents.

Alternative crossings ventured into cultural and racial identities which in turn, at times, explored sexual desires. This paper refers specifically to these cross-dressings as ethnic masquerades for simplicity and clarity - to distinguish them from masquerades that consisted purely of gender impersonations. Yet ethnic masquerades never engaged solely cultural or racial themes. They just as importantly implicated gender and sexual meanings. While both on and off the stage, the local press reported San Franciscans adopting a diversity of masquerades for varying purposes, the public embrace of ethnic masquerades particularly revealed how San Franciscans' imaginations could thrive outside of the limitations that moralists, legislation, and their physical bodies proscribed.[2]

In San Francisco leisure and legal culture, various gender and ethnic identities appeared distinct and impermeable. Sexual identity did not even enter into the realm of public debate, as heterosexuality stood as the only imaginable lifestyle. Turn-of-the-century theorists believed that innate characteristics distinguished men from women and Chinese, Japanese, African Americans from whites.[3] California state law strictly forbade same-sex sodomy and identified it and other acts associated with homosexuality as "crimes against nature."[4] Based on recurring messages in popular magazines, "scientific" studies, and legislation, it seemed unimaginable that people would want to embody specific ethnicities or sexualities clearly marked as alien.

Yet, a wide range of gender, sexual, ethnic enactments appeared in the city press. Masquerades in the *Call, Chronicle, Examiner, Overland Monthly* and *Wasp* took a variety of forms. In addition to gender impersonators on stage, whites enjoyed donning Japanese dress for leisure. As city whites dressed "ethnic" for amusement, Chinese San Franciscans who

clung to their ethnic dress faced scrutiny. Alternatively, local Japanese readily and deliberately adopted western dress to facilitate American acceptance. Finally, white women who verbalized heterosexual love in song and poetry underlined an alternative sexuality in the physical enactment of their performances.

Though perceived, impermeable differences between sexes or races formed the basis for cross-dressing's appeal, some of San Francisco's masquerades additionally revealed vibrant imaginations that sought to disregard the very boundaries that made their acts notable. While theatrical gender impersonations more powerfully solidified existing gender distinctions through their deliberate enactment of male and female, ethnic masquerades exposed how individuals simultaneously recreated their gender, ethnic, and sexual identities. As much as ethnic masquerades reflected relationships of racial power and gender and sexual normativity, they also unearthed the infinite contradictions that could acceptably exist within the city's social hierarchies.[5]

Usual Crossings

In San Francisco, gender impersonations drew crowds as it did in other parts of the nation. Female and male impersonation provided comedy or surprise, often serving as the only spark of life in an otherwise sleep-inducing performance. As a popular form of entertainment, individuals appearing as the opposite sex hardly appeared socially threatening. These socially acceptable performances mirrored and solidified existing gender norms as vulgar comedy or as serious demonstrations of ideal femininity and masculinity.

In the local press, gender crossings appeared to be appropriate entertainment. A full-page pictorial titled "How San Francisco Notables Look in Theatrical Roles," assigned fourteen dignified urbanites to female bodies. Heads of San Francisco notables such as Judge W.W. Morrow, Mayor Phelan, David Starr Jordan, Joaquin Miller perched atop bodies of famous female theatrical roles such as Cleopatra, Juliet, Cinderella, and Lady Macbeth.[6] At the Columbia Theater, "Stuart," the famous female impersonator, graced the stage in the production of "1492."[7] In 1900, Dora Amsden in the *Overland Monthly* applauded men costumed as women in Japanese Noh Theater.[8] In less formal theater, men of the San Francisco Bohemian club enjoyed dressing up as women for their quarterly performances, called "jinks."[9]

Women performers also playfully dressed in drag. Mary Marble performed regularly in man drag. In 1898 Marble opened at the Columbia Theater, playing a man in a play titled "Milk White Flag."[10] In 1900, Mary Marble and the Mascotte Ballet performed "A Rag Baby" at the California Theater. Marble dressed as a man embraced two women under each arm. The song valorized ragtime American slang, such as "you're out of sight," "stake me to some dough," or "you take the cake." The women sang, "jingo ragtime mixes my brain."[11] Yet, in addition

to nonsensical language that fuddled the brain. Marble's male personae flirtatiously interacting with two other women no doubt also "mix [ed] the brain."

Local newspapers commended child actors who impersonated the opposite sex. The *Wasp* praised Gladys Montague, the "champion cake walker and male impersonator of the Pacific Coast," who at seven years of age held a collection of medals.[12] In 1900, two curly headed boys Ellis and Edwin Smedley enacted the tragic romance between Romeo and Juliet. The *Call* praised the "clever chaps" for their clarity and sincerity in acting. "Adult actors could take a lesson from them." In a photo accompanying the review, one Smedley, in a dress and bonnet sat on the lap of the other, as they stared lovingly into each other's eyes.[13] The *Chronicle* also commended Little Walter Leon, only eight years old, for his recitations, all given with the poses, mannerisms and characteristic expressions of a little girl. "He is a strikingly handsome youngster [with] long golden curls. Gowned after the most approved feminine style, with his pretty ringlets fluffing about his delicate face, the clever little fellow will go through his really artistic work with perfect self possession." [14] The most successful gender impersonators quickly disappeared to the Eastern stage. Fourteen-year-old Alice Condon had a peculiar talent for male impersonation. Her "strong," "true" voice and pleasing "carrying" quality made her "naturally adapted." The *Call* remarked, "the tiny male impersonator is not destined to remain long with us. The East is already stretching out its greedy arms to snatch the California girl, and Alice Condon is shortly to be one of the main attractions in a big New York vaudeville show." [15]

During this "golden age of impersonation," performers far from blurred late Victorian notions of polarized innate gender differences. Social acceptance of performances such as the nationally acclaimed cross-dresser Julian Eltinge relied on the fundamental assumption that an impossible divide existed men and women.[16] Actors marketed themselves as magicians, performing the unimaginable feat of crossing into the role of the opposite sex. Gender cross-dressing sold as "magic" drew audiences who firmly believed in the innate differences between the sexes. Though their physical performances appeared to muddy gender categories at first glance, men and women who impersonated the opposite sex in the early twentieth century did not profoundly challenge contemporary notions of gender among the middle class audiences who enthusiastically and comfortably enjoyed their productions.

Ethnic Masquerades

As acceptably entertaining gender impersonations appeared in the *Chronicle*, *Call*, *Wasp*, and *Overland Monthly*, so too did ethnic masquerades. In the public press, San Franciscans literally and figuratively dressed in costumes of other ethnic individuals. Whites costumed themselves as Asians, Asians costumed more or less as "Americans," and city poets and singers less obviously

imagined loving someone of the same sex. Various impersonations and masquerades in many ways aptly reflected existing notions of innate and unchangeable ethnicity, gender, and sexual identities. However, where gender impersonators appeared more profoundly to affirm rather than challenge cultural norms, San Francisco masquerades with cultural or racial crossings more notably diverged from socio-legal mores. While the popular draw of gender impersonators relied on socially accepted notions of gender differences, masquerades with an ethnic theme appeared to disregard multiple mores on ethnic identities and interracial interaction. As San Francisco men and women sought to imagine their bodies and, at times, their desires in unexpected ways, their explorations revealed an imaginative sensibility that stretched the physical boundaries that real life imposed.

Asian Costumes

In the San Francisco press, local white residents appeared particularly interested in dressing up as Asians more than any other race. Perhaps because of its geographic positioning along the Pacific Coast facing the "Orient," as well as its significant Asian population, the city often engaged in topics of Asian objects and people. Asian cross-dressings in public demonstrations, solo theatrical performances, and larger productions such as the *Mikado* mocked Chinese and Japanese under the cover of playful entertainment.

Both off and on the stage, white San Franciscans enjoyed dressing Asian. In the Salvation Army parade on Eighteenth Street in 1897, each white marcher wore the attire of a different Asian country to show the international expanse of Salvationists' missionary work.[17] Three years later, during San Francisco's Mardi Gras event, Theodore Wores wore a man's Japanese robe, sported a conical hat, and carried a pole.[18] At the Tivoli in 1898, Georgie Cooper and Tom C. Leary enacted Japanese characters in *The Geisha*.[19] Little Blanche Trelease also impressed audiences in "Brownies in Fairyland" with her "laughable Chinese imitations."[20]

Internationally acclaimed dancer Loie Fuller also capitalized on San Francisco's interests of performing Asian at the California Theater. The *Chronicle* noted her "new Chinese dance worth seeing with the accompaniment of Chinese music." Costumed appropriately in "beautiful" garb, Fuller danced "quite in keeping with the Chinese figure."[21] However, her impressive ethnic impersonations did not normally drive Fuller's world-renowned reputation. In cities such as Paris, New York, London, and Philadelphia, Fuller drew crowds specifically for her unusual dance styles, such as the "serpentine," "skirt," and "fire" dances. Her choreographies characterized her as a master of effect, using light, shadow, and movement while enveloped in billowing drapery during a time when her performing contemporaries wore tights and short muslin skirts. Fuller's unique artistic style gained further influence as sculptors, glass workers, and architects increasingly adopted her "magical effects" of light and color in their own work.[22] Notably in San

Francisco, Fuller's choice of performing Chinese appealed to local tastes.

When a production titled *The Mikado* arrived in San Francisco, theatergoers enjoyed white actors' enactment of romantic Japan. Though a later play titled *Geisha* would reap more compliments from reviewers, San Franciscans ultimately preferred to replay *The Mikado* in local amateur productions. "Bev [ies]" of college "girls" and church groups enacted the popular libretto in the following decades to the delight of local audiences.[23] As late as the 1920s, Sonia Sunwoo recalled participating in the production of *The Mikado* at her elementary school.[24]

With silly names and a ridiculous story line, Englishman W.S. Gilbert, the author of *The Mikado*, poked fun at romantic Japan and projected British social anxieties rather than anything Japanese.[25] In this alleged Japanese village of Titipu, social offenders eligible to be beheaded consisted of the "nigger serenader and the others of his race, the lady from the provinces who dresses like a guy, and who doesn't think she waltzes but would rather like to try, and that singular anomaly, the lady novelist, I'm sure she'd not be missed ! " Certainly, Japan had its own set of gender and race issues, but, at the turn of the century, singing individuals of African ancestry, cross-dressing women who yearned to waltz, and female novelists more likely took a back burner to the government's push towards military mobilization and the elimination of domestic dissent.[26] Gilbert himself, explained that when he found the aristocracy of old Japan were called "samurai," he decided to keep clear of historical accuracy to facilitate rhyming phrases.[27] Critic G.K. Chesterton noted *The Mikado* as the most mordant, deliberate satire on England that Gilbert ever wrote.[28]

As popular as the performance proved in San Francisco, the revival of *The Mikado* received limited praise in other cities. In 1910, New York reviewers openly insulted the production, yet conceded that it fit into the height of "silly season" in New York theater. The play proved "old-fashioned' and "out of tune with modern conditions." Since *The Mikado's* original debut in the 1880's, "Japan... ha[d] stepped to the front to take among the world's greatest powers so that today we laugh with the Mikado not at him." *The Mikado* unfortunately catered to the ordinary New Yorker's "sadly deteriorated taste" in theater. "The love for the beautiful and classic has given place to an unhealthy craving for the vulgar, commonplace, and inane." [29]

In London, Parliament found *The Mikado* so offensive and unrepresentative of Japan that the Foreign Secretary, Lord Chamberlain banned its performance in England out of respect for Japan, even though no complaint had been issued from Japan itself. The *Literary Digest* noted "high regard for the operetta doesn't blind us to the fact that there is in it something that naturally hurts the pride of the Japanese, especially those of rank." [30] Gilbert himself appeared well aware of the potential insult of the play. When Great Britain banned its production in 1906, he

remarked that in three years, Japan would be at war with England over India and at that time, he would be offered a high price to permit its performance.[31)]

Indeed, what one city perceived as appropriate entertainment, others did not. Not only *The Mikado*, but another production about San Francisco's Chinatown titled the *First Born* also received criticism in New York. New Yorkers appeared to have little tolerance for ethnic imaginings involving Asians. The New York Times called the First Born an "unpleasant melodrama" with actors so "obviously Americans dressed up as Chinese that even the effect of orientalism is lost." [32)] For San Francisco, however, it appeared that mockery of the Japanese as well as other ethnicities through impersonation provided popular entertainment.[33)]

As white individuals costumed themselves and parodied Chinese and Japanese individuals, what they believed to be innocent play frequently slipped into pejorative mockery. Immigrant Yone Noguchi noted, "the vogue of the *Mikado* or the *Geisha*, a comic opera, made my true Japanese heart pained, as I thought it was a blasphemy against Japan; how often I wished to shout from the pit or gallery on its absurdity." [34)] In leisure and theater city, whites amused themselves often at the expense of Asian identities.

Desiring Japanese

In addition to its obvious mockery of "alien" ethnicities, cross-dressing also exposed both aesthetic and sexual desire.[35)] For white San Franciscans, Japanese femininity appeared particularly appealing in the midst of changing meanings of womanhood. Japanese womanhood symbolized a "lost" American femininity in the shadow of the "New Woman." [36)] Such a feminine ideal was the Japanese woman, that San Francisco's women used Japanese themes to enhance their personal lives on a very public level. White women clamored to dress Japanese. In social functions, the San Francisco community enjoyed taking on Japanese femininity as a form of entertainment.

Afternoon teas where attendants dressed as Japanese gained popularity among artists and the upper class. White women took great care in accessorizing their homes and bodies for afternoon teas. Hanging paper lanterns from the ceiling, wearing the appropriate robes, and setting the elaborate hairpieces all became part of the ritual. Japanese luncheons became intensely popular with society ladies weary of the monotony of English style afternoon teas and matinees lunches. In full Japanese garb from the sandals to the haori, partygoers chatted and ate suimono, yakizakana, sashimi, or a light snack with kuchitorimono and chawan mori.[37)] The "oriental," including teacups from Turkey, China, and even servants "only from Japan" added a distinct flavor to tea parties that left attendants raving for days.[38)]

Moreover, Japanese femininity enhanced American womanhood, even its most "classy" form. In 1907, Lady Teazle of the San *Francisco Chronicle* outlined the lives of rich and dignified women of the Bay Area on her "Society Chat" page. In addition to her usual

reports, outlining the accomplishments of local society ladies, she featured large pictures of two women in her full-page column. One youthful brunette in her twenties, Mrs. B.O. Bruce, donned a tennis outfit and carried a racket while posing in front of the net. The other, Mrs. J. Parker Whitney, a heavier, silver-haired woman, posed stoically, clothed in more elegant attire. Sandwiched in between these society ladies and serving as a backdrop to the two photographs, a drawing of a Japanese woman in a kimono sprouted out of an enlarged flower. She daintily held a rice paper umbrella over her shoulder as the rising sun of imperial Japan radiated behind her. Although Lady Teazle had not included even a sentence on an upper class Japanese woman in San Francisco, she evoked the image of Japanese femininity and gentility in the use of a Japanese woman in the backdrop. For Teazle and perhaps many of the "well to do" people of San Francisco, a Japanese woman's femininity harkened an ideal that white women alone, even society ladies, could not evoke.[39]

Indeed, dressing Japanese among women appeared to hold some popularity among the wealthy in other nations as well. Yonako Abiko, a Japanese community leader stirred excitement when she wore her kimono during her extensive travels abroad. In 1907 when Abiko embarked on a cruise, the international passengers began clapping upon her entry into the grand ball. She had worn a kimono at the request of her fellow passengers. European friends as well, constantly raved about the beauty of the kimonos.[40] Margherita Palmieri wrote in admiration, "I scarcely need to tell you how pleased I should be to have [your photograph] in your pretty national costume if you have one to spare. In fact I am wearing one at this moment, and I think you would be rather amused if you could see it, as I was not able to get one thin enough for summer wear I have had one made of art muslin such as they use for curtains and I have made two paper chrysanthemums for my hair ! "[41]

Notably, the emulation of Japanese feminine composure did not appear across the American nation. When the *Geisha* appeared in New York's Daly Theater, the *New York Times Magazine* criticized the "design of the Japanese woman's dress" likening the obi or the belt to a "huge girdle" and an "inverted life preserver." "[Japanese dress] would spoil the figure of Venus de Milo, herself."[42] Japanese clothing also did not impress Helen Birdsall Hopkins when she wrote to Abiko from her Connecticut home. Though she appreciated other feminine cultural signifiers of the "dainty," "grace [ful] ," Japanese "maid" with a "flower petal smile," she noted the "eastern dress" as being "hardly up to date ! "[43]

For San Franciscans, however, Japanese femininity proved to be a pleasing attraction. The San Francisco Woman's Board of Foreign Missions sent Abiko a letter requesting that she wear her kimono when she volunteered for a weekend excursion in Bolinas. "I trust that you will find it convenient to take with you the Japanese costume. It will add so much to the joy of the girls."[44] So pleasing

did Japanese feminine dress prove that fashion-conscious San Francisco women scrambled to stores to dress "Japanese" in their daily lives. Department stores such as Marks Brothers on Market Street known for their "honest values" kept their prices competitive on popular trends by slashing their "lawn kimonos" normally fifty cents to nineteen cents.[45)]

Few, if any, white women probably wanted to become ethnically Japanese. Yet, many of the middling and upper classes embraced the signifiers of Japanese womanhood to enhance their own personal lives in the midst of shifting gender trends. As the "New Woman" posed potential dangers of masculinizing women, white women enacted romantic femininity by incorporating gendered Japanese bodies into their own lives. Masquerades additionally revealed themselves as expressions of desire, as San Franciscans hoped to enhance the most personal dimensions of themselves.[46)]

Dressing "Un-American"

As much as white San Franciscans celebrated dressing Asian for their own entertainment, native dress for the Chinese marked them as undesirably different from the general population. Chinese San Franciscans remained reluctant to adopt American dress and suffered immensely for their visible ethnicity. A much as resident Chinese appeared alien to scrutinizing eyes, in fact their appearance embodied little of anything authentically or uniquely Chinese. As they unconsciously adopted bits of western dress, their cultural cross-dressing became part of a natural evolution of a San Francisco Chinese identity rather than any lingering masquerade.

To many San Franciscans, Chinese residents who maintained their traditional Chinese aesthetic appeared foreign on the most basic physical level. At the park and on the sidewalk, Chinese men appeared with queues, clothed in cotton tunics, top and bottom sets, and Chinese shoes.[47)] On street corners and park benches, Chinese women wore matching pantsuit type outfits and pulled their hair tightly back into buns. In San Francisco where men kept their hair cropped short and women wearing bloomers caused controversy, Chinese men wearing long braided queues, and women wearing pants undeniably shaped the way white San Franciscans viewed Chinese men and women.

Many Chinese explicitly contemplated their appearance's impact on their lives. One poem elaborated,

Since I left South China,
I have changed my clothes to Western style.
I seek praise for being neat and fashionable
Though I have yet to speak with an American tongue.
Smart in appearance-
Who dares to call me an ignorant fool?
A loose gown with wide sleeves brings only scurrilous remarks
And it gets you nowhere, even if you are modern in education.[48)]

Chinese recognized dress as a reflection of their identity as successful and modern men. Brilliance of clothes, neatness and fashionable attire marked social standing. Appropriate dress pointed to a respected individual.

Yet, American men's and women's aesthetic often held negative connotations among the Chinese, inhibiting complete transformation in dress. In the month of December 1909, images in the Chinese language daily newspaper, *Chung Sai Yat Po*, seemed to have little American influence. Images showed men wearing traditional Chinese clothing and advertisements and sold accessories in Chinese language packaging. On December 29, however, an ad appeared for "Scott's Santal Pepsin Capsules." In the top corner appeared a headshot of a very western looking man. He appeared dignified with cropped short hair and the requisite bushy mustache of the time. He wore a jacket with a collared shirt and tie. His race remained indiscernible. It was the only ad with the text appearing in both English and Chinese. "No cure, no pay," it read, "Curee quickly and permanently the worst cases of Gonorrhea and Gleet, no matter how long standing." [49] For the Chinese, sexually transmitted diseases and their remedies clearly held an American component articulated through the image of dress, style, as well as language.

For writer Sui Sin Far.[50] American dress signaled duplicitous character. In "A Chinese Ishmael" a submission to the Overland Monthly, Far told a story of a dainty Chinese slave girl Ku Yum who is saved from the bondage of her labor and an arranged marriage by a reformed gambler of noble lineage, Leih Tseih. Far depicted the villain of the story, the arranged groom, as being well-acculturated into white America. Lum Choy, a scarred man of little integrity who intended to pay a high bride price for Ku Yum, "curr[ied] the favor of white people," "w[ore] American clothes," and "when it suit[ed] his convenience passe[d] for a Japanese." [51] Far's villain, Choy, notably in American dress, embodied a despicable man, adopting the image of western masculinity through his attire.[52]

"American" dress for Chinese women also held illicit appeal. Western clothing incited ambivalent reactions among individuals who recognized both its sexually provocative qualities, as well as its disregard for displaying "appropriate" Chinese femininity.

> All dolled up. Strolling along the street.
> She's so elegant and sweet !
> She dresses half Chinese, half American,
> She ties her loose temple hair with a bright silk ribbon.
> She shows her fashion expertise,
> Not her feminine disposition.[53]

The sex appeal of American gender presentation implicated prostitute-like qualities, as well. "We in the business of pleasing men must keep up with the trend. ....Doll ourselves like beautiful American-borns ; Surely the men will find us very pleasant." [54] For Chinese San Franciscans, cross-dressing into male or female American gender presentations held less than desirable connotations.

Though at first glance Chinese appeared different from white American men and women, on closer examination, their presentations were not at complete odds with American personae. Photographic images challenged literary depictions of Chinese men such as the cringing, sickly Ah Foy Yam who flipped flapjacks for "white" miners.[55] Men stood with good posture, exuding confidence in their leisurely steps, neither slouching nor shuffling. Male bodies appeared fairly thick rather than gaunt. With strong jawbones, many looked directly into the photographs, hardly fearful of having their souls stolen by the camera. Chinese fathers and mothers as loving parents shouldered infants or held their children's hand at street corners, door fronts, and in alleyways.[56] Several women dressed highly ornately, appeared clean with unblemished skin, and elaborate hairstyles. Those women not in fancy attire appeared well groomed with resolute expressions, diligently running errands, rather than lasciviously propositioning men from an open window.

Chinese San Franciscans' dress was not comprised of wholly Chinese ensembles. Their outfits indicated a blend of the multiple cultural influences that permeated San Francisco's Chinatown. In his detailed study of early San Francisco Chinatown photographs, John Tchen observed that as alien as white San Franciscans liked to perceive the Chinese, their physical appearance hardly reflected Chinese traditionalism. Photographs reveal the majority of the Chinese population in cotton tunic tops, cloth shoes, pants, and wide-brimmed hats. Though the tunics and cloth shoes came from China, the pants and Hamburg style felt hats did not.

By the 1910s, Chinese American masculine presentation should have become more familiar for native-born whites in the city. Men's clothes grew increasingly western, wearing overalls and driving derbies. In many of the photographs with faces hidden, ethnicity became indiscernible. Those who wore Chinese tops had them more closely fitted, without baggy sleeves. For Chinese men, their expressions of manhood through their clothing reflected a male identity not so alien in San Francisco.[57] In 1912, Far depicted a Chinese family of humanity, romance, and nostalgia, adopting American culture and clothes, while still being Chinese in her narrative of Chinese America, titled *Mrs. Spring Fragrance*. The shift from the "Chinese Ishmael" in the *Overland Monthly* to *Mrs. Spring Fragrance* a decade later marked Far's attempts to expose the reality of Chinese incorporation into America despite the assumptions of "whites" who believed Chinese to be alienating.[58]

The Chinese indeed cross-dressed minimally in the literal sense of the word. In fact, western culture often proved to have negative connotations among the local population. Even when they chose to wear non-Chinese items such as Hamburg hats, their choices immediately became a natural part of "Chinese San Francisco," rendering them no longer a borrowing from an alternative identity. As San Francisco Chinese gradually and rather unconsciously incorpo-

rated American dress, cross-dressing never became a deliberate or theatrical "masquerade."

Dressing "American"

As unconsciously as Chinese San Franciscans cross-dressed, Japanese more deliberately dressed "American" in hopes of facilitating acceptance. Japanese San Franciscans ardently cross-dressed, adopting outfits that projected ideal western gender images. In public and private photographs, Japanese women and men appeared almost always in American fashion. On a thirty-eight-page spread congratulating Japan's military prowess in the annexation of Korea, the Chronicle included articles on the Japanese in the city as well as across the Pacific. A full-page pictorial displayed twenty-five "men of prominence" in the "local Japanese colony." All men had their hair cropped short appropriate to contemporary stylish hairstyles and all wore western suits. Nineteen of the twenty-five also dignified their visage by sporting the bushy mustache common among Americans in the 1900s. The six who did not have mustaches appeared to be in there twenties, signaling new facial hair aesthetic. Clearly all these men fit ideal American male aesthetics in their dress and comportment if not in their skin color. Brief captions accompanied the photographs detailing advanced degrees from prestigious universities.[59]

In family and individual portraits, Japanese San Franciscans defied the image of mystical Japanese women in "silken robes" and "zori" of "mist and fantasy" that accompanied the "geisha girl." In 1899, the Togasakis in their family portrait wore western clothes as the two children held American flags. The wife wore a dress with black plumed hat.[60] Additional family portraits consistently revealed wives and mothers wearing western dress.[61] Parents also enrobed children in western clothes. Kay and Sawako Tsuchiya, two and five years old, wore dresses with trimmed collar and sleeves, holding delicately dressed dolls. A big white bow held Sawako's hair.[62] Even more notably, a 1922 photo of David Fukuda at 100 days old pictured him in a white dress with trim, an outfit reflecting lingering Victorian norms.[63]

In environments that specifically promoted Japanese culture, photographs still revealed participants in western clothes. In a photo of the Japanese language school on Sutter Street, adults and children wore appropriately gendered western garb.[64] An illustration of a group of men at a kendo club showed Japanese men dressed in western suits or protective kendo gear. Their collective identity proved important to the members, not only in their regular meetings for language or kendo training, but also in taking of the group photograph.[65] Yet their solidarity, determined unequivocally by their cultural background, did not motivate its members to wear Japanese garb. Notably, none wore Japanese robe-type outfits.[66]

At wedding ceremonies as well, brides wore western style wedding dresses, not flowing kimonos. In the Ichikawas wedding portrait, the groom wore a white bow tie and long tuxedo jacket, while the bride donned a frilly white dress with delicate trim. A veil,

elaborate hairpiece, and white gloves accessorized her outfit. Flowers bedecked the top portion of her Mary-Jane shoes.[67] Some couples did exhibit more cultural fusion. Though grooms typically wore tuxedos, only a few of women wore black wedding kimonos, with modest embroidery at the bottom. Yet, even for these brides, a western bridal hairpiece and a veil topped their ensembles. One bride wore white gloves with her wedding kimono. For many of the wedding portraits the only item "Japanese" besides the ethnicity of the individuals themselves may have been the fake cherry blossoms that often accessorized the photo shoot.[68]

Japanese women also participated in the national trends of portraiture for young American society women. Beauty shots akin to debutante portfolios revealed a celebration of blossoming young womanhood. Photo studios such as Motoyoshi and Moriyama developed headshots for young women to distribute among friends and family. Hana Ohama wore a lacey white dress, white gloves, and a hat with a big plume hanging over the side. As she sat upright, her positive posture pushed her breasts forward while her hands rested in her lap.[69] Kikuye Okuye's begloved fingers supported her slightly tiled head at the chin. Her dress fell across her shoulders to form a "V" down her front, that was then fastened with a broach.[70] An additional photograph from the Uakahara family presented a profile of a woman peering out the window as she gently pulled back the curtain. Bedecked in a lacey beaded dress that flowed to the floor, she donned a short wavy haircut parted to the side with a white flower in her hair. A large diamond ring promiscuously enveloped her left ring finger.[71]

Indeed, it appeared that only at Angel Island Immigration Station did Japanese San Franciscans wear kimonos.[72] Without the opportunity to enter a clothier or beauty salon for a San Francisco coif, they had no choice but to maintain their traditional hairstyles and clothing while being detained. Only in photographs documenting Angel Island did Japanese women appear in kimonos with traditional hairdos.[73] The minute authorities released women from the immigration detention center, Japanese women appeared in two or one piece skirt and dress ensembles. In a group of "recently arrived" Japanese in Golden Gate Park all posed in western dress.[74]

For Japanese San Franciscans who recorded themselves on film, they participated in an American fascination with photography. Though in its earliest years, only the wealthy could create themselves in front of a camera, by the twentieth century opportunities for self-representation through photographs had become accessible to the middling classes as well. As Nikkei San Franciscans created themselves for the camera, they participated in what many other Americans also enjoyed to convey authenticity as well as personae through the photograph.[75] In family portraits, weddings, coming out photographs, Japanese sought to record their real-life events and simultaneously, or perhaps more importantly, capture their endeavors of

embodying an "American" personae.[76)]

Historian Yuji Ichioka, noted that Issei community leaders and Japanese government officials detailed a policy of fitting into its American population, which included dress.[77)] However, many Japanese in fact may have changed clothes simply out of logic, rather than religiously following a governmental mandate. Enmeshed in cultural dictates that applauded conciliation rather than confrontation, for the Japanese particularly it would seem only natural to blend into local dress for a better livelihood.[78)] Japanese sought a smoother transition to a San Francisco lifestyle through the adoption of American dress. In masquerade, they hoped for equal access to opportunities that American racism would deny based on appearances that associated them as outsiders.[79)] Within a short period, however, their deliberate cross-dressings would become more natural than the outfits in which they had been raised in Japan. For the Japanese, their masquerades became a more serious part of adapting to life in a city often fearful of the unfamiliar.

Imagining Desire

In local presses, artistic expressions also appeared in which performer and writers explicitly verbalized heterosexual desire, while their performance or authorship revealed an additional realm of sexual desire. Imaginations of race and ethnicity served as one vehicle for white women to express their homoerotic desire. Through acceptable artistic outlets, San Franciscans enjoyed opportunities to imagine various sexual identities.

White essayists had no problem articulating Japanese women's feminine if not sexual desirability. In publications, white women expressed desiring Japanese women without the cover of a male pseudonym. Grace Hibbard wrote a poem lamenting for the affection of a Japanese woman, harkening her as an exotic beauty.[80)] Gertrude Holloway also wrote of carefully courting a Japanese woman, secretly desiring a kiss. Holloway observed the Japanese woman in the shadows of a nearby nook afraid of scaring her away, yet fixated on her "features fair" and "lips framed for a kiss." She declared,

Oh maiden of the laughing eyes,
And hair dyed by the night
Of whom thou art the treasured prize,
Who hath the love won right,
To all the kisses that arise,
And on thy lips alight ? "

The Japanese woman spotted Holloway and smiled. She then retreated leaving Holloway wounded by "Cupid's feathered arrow." [81)] The poems reflected a complicated web of romanticism of Japanese femininity that served not only the men who more likely leafed through the *Wasp*, but also the white women who may have desired to engage intimately in Japanese femininity.[82)]

In particular, the *Sunday Examiner* series of local popular songs showed how singers assumed different racial or ethnic identities in their lyrics, though not their dress, exposing a more visible homoerotic component in their performances. In a weekly insert, the

Examiner published song sheets of local favorites, previously performed in area theaters. The song sheets revealed photographic exposes of white women dressed as themselves singing songs of love and desire for women of color.[83] Whether performers realized the sexual implications of their performance is uncertain as they mimicked what they believed to be African American and, at times, Filipino love.

Songs in which African American men lamented losing their female love interests took on subconscious complexity in their enactment by white women who performed as themselves. In 1898, at the Orpheum, white woman Flo Irwin sang of loving "a yaller gal" who dumps her for another of a lighter shade. "Oh come back ma' babay if you ever want to save me for I've badness in ma' mind less you gwine to treat me kind come back ma' baby an' be ma' cullud lady, or I'll sure carve dat nigger when we meet." [84] In 1899, white woman Querita Vincent sang about another man flirting with her girlfriend, "de warmest choc'late baby in de land." [85] In 1899, Georgia Cooper, another white woman sang of the prospects of her new Filipino girlfriend at the Tivoli. "I'm gwine to Manilla soon an' get this southern coon an then I'll show the nigs in this town style. When I go down the line with this foreign gal of mine, I'll sing this song and set the niggers wild. Dark ? Well, yes but not too shady. Goodness knows I love this baby. I'se gwine to wed this gal next may down on manilla bay." [86]

In 1901, white woman Clarice Vance sang of trouble with "her gal" who told her she was leaving her for another. Vance sang of giving her "babykins," her savings and a key to the front door, just in case she felt inclined to return.[87] As innocently as these performances may have appeared, they carried great potential for alternative readings during a time when "romantic friendships" between the middle and upper class white women appeared relatively common.[88]

Indeed ethnic masquerades literally became a vehicle for enacting illicit desires. In Jean Armor Deamer's short story "The Lasting Escape," a white fugitive Dave who masquerades as a Chinese man and Dora Maxton unconsciously began to develop a "case" [89] on each other. Dora's father had recently hired Dave to maneuver his launch. Finding Dave mysterious Dora became inexplicably drawn to him while regularly asking him to take her out on to the Bay. When her father accused Dora of developing romantic feelings for Dave, she responded with energy and indignation " How ridiculous ! Why, Dave's a Chinaman ! " Only after Dave revealed himself as a white man did Dora fully realize her attachment to him. Shortly after the "truth" was revealed he died, leaving Dora's affections unrequited. Though Dave's switch to whiteness was the only in which the attraction could fully articulate itself, it was Dave's initial disguise as a Chinese man that sparked Dora's subconscious affections - an attraction that on all counts as both fugitive and "Chinaman" would be unexpected if not unacceptable for a

respectable female heroine such as Dora. The author, Deamer, explored issues of desire through Dave's disguise as Chinese.[90)]

Covers of ethnicity enabling articulations of a diversity of desires certainly did not appear for the first time in turn-of-the-century San Francisco. Historian Eric Lott noted that long before the Civil War white Americans enacted same-sex sexuality in blackface to denigrate African Americans. Yet, for the theatrical and literary artists of San Francisco, performances could be just as much about explorations into their own erotic fantasies as maligning Japanese, Chinese, and African Americans. Masquerades involving ethnicity and desire became an inseparable knot of interactions that could ultimately erase its own borders and distinctions.

Conclusion

In the early twentieth century, gender and cultural impersonations in the local press exposed a cultural matrix that simultaneously privileged "white" Americans and romanticized ethnic identities, particularly Japanese femininity. These expressions clearly marked how many San Franciscans consumed ethnicity for leisure. As they entertained themselves in often insulting enactments of alternative ethnicities, they exposed not only their own desires to take on more "interesting" identities, but also how individuals often used gender and sexual imaginations to momentarily embody lives that physical bodies limited or enact desires that social proscriptions prohibited.[91)] City whites sought to "color" themselves for an afternoon or evening of entertainment, as they literally cross-dressed as Asians, or more figuratively enacted personas of Asians and African Americans through poetry or song. For the Chinese and Japanese who dressed in Western garb in varying degrees, cross-dressing became less "masquerade" and more "authentic" in reflecting new San Francisco identities. Whether deliberate or not, cultural cross-dressing for city Asians would inevitably become normalized – a part of ordinary everyday life – as blended San Francisco gender and ethnic expressions and identities became involuntary.[92)]

Ironically, some American whites in their efforts to "embrace" ethnicity fought against these inevitable shifts of any evolving culture by imposing a second cross-dressing upon city ethnics. Historian John Tchen documented how photographer Arnold Genthe sold exotic images of Chinatown to his wealthy art patrons. Genthe frequently altered photographs, such as inscribing invented Chinese characters over English signs, to create more mystical depictions of Chinatown.[93)] San Francisco Chinatown, in its "authentic" condition, proved to be not "Chinese" enough for what Genthe believed to be his clients' aesthetic desires. Likewise, as San Francisco Japanese dressed in western attire, middle class, white San Franciscans pressed for their Japanese "friends" to wear kimonos. Particularly, for a Japanese San Francisco community that usually did not dress in kimonos and for a Chinese community that never existed in an authentic Chinese

vacuum, these requests and renderings became imposed cross-dressings. For the city's Asians, as well as other inhabitants, bodily presentations through clothing symbolized a constantly evolving process of creating or adapting cultures and identities.

These conscious, unconscious, voluntary, and forced cross-dressings revealed the social complexity that underlay San Francisco's ideas about ethnicity and race in the early twentieth century. In the midst of legal regulations and various social mores it seemed unlikely that San Franciscans would want to embody or be intimate with individuals depicted as alien. Yet, masquerades traversed various boundaries drawn by socio-legal prohibitions as well as their physical bodies. Thus, masquerades reflected how cultural forms "became less of a repetition of power relations," and more of a "distorted mirror" that signified displacements and discontinuities that Eric Lott noted as a "peculiar American structure of racial feeling." Laura Browder, as well, highlighted the American tradition of "self-invention" and "testaments to the porousness of ethnic identity," particularly in California.[94] Yet, precisely because limitations posed by biology and social proscriptions proved physically *impermeable*, did San Franciscans resort to their imaginations to escape or stretch social reality. What ethnic masquerades reflected, appeared more complicated than the predictable narrative of American racism. As they committed these acts quite unconsciously under the cover of social acceptability, impersonators revealed how imaginations created alternative virtual realities in the midst of physical actualities.

【注】

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1) "Entertainment in play and Music," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 19 January 1897, p.9.

2) San Franciscans hardly proved to be pioneers of gender and cultural cross-dressing at the turn of the century. Gender impersonations existed as a significant cultural phenomenon since the Middle Ages if not earlier. Throughout history as well, migrating individuals likely culturally cross-dressed at each new destination for practical reasons. More specifically in the United States, ethnic and gender impersonations first took the nation by storm in the early nineteenth century through vaudeville acts including "blackface." Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993 (; Michael Moore, *Drag ! Male and Female Impersonators on Stage, Screen, and Television: An Illustrated World History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 1994) ; Robert Toll *On with the Show* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974) ; Mary Beth Hamilton "I'm the Queen of the Bitches: Female impersonation and Mae West's *Pleasure Man*," in *Crossing the Stage: Controversies in Cross-Dressing*, ed. Lesley Ferris (New York: Routledge, 1992) , 107-119; Valerie R. Hotchkiss, *Clothes that Make the Man: Female Cross Dressing in Medieval Europe* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.,1996) ; Roger Baker, Drag: *A History of Female Impersonation in the Performing Arts* (New York: New York University Press, 1994) ; Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

3) The notion that various ethnicities or races had biologically distinct origins dominated racial ideology throughout the nation. Scientists used this notion of innate differences to order various ethnicities into an evolutionary hierarchy, where whites not surprisingly occupied the upper tiers. Thus, xenophobes found legislation prohibiting intermingling of races as necessary protection from those considered biologically inferior. E. Nathaniel Gates, ed., *Racial Classification and History* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1997) ; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color:*

European Immigrants and Alchemy of Race (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997) ; Audrey Smedley *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a World View*, 2d ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999) ; Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man, Rev. ed.*, (New York: Norton, 1996) ; Michael Adas, *Machines as the Mismeasure of Men: science, technology, and ideologies of Western dominance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989) ; George W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1987) ; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: the United States encounters foreign people at home and abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000). In gender as well, scientists long believed that innate biological differences existed between men and women. These disparities in biological architecture explained differences in behaviors between men and women. Thomas Laqueur *Making Sex: Body and Gender From the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).

4) Same-sex intimacies always existed, yet heterosexuality stood as the sole undisputed lifestyle. Although, "perverse" sexual acts occasionally received attention from the press, the notion of sexual identities was publicly inconceivable in San Francisco. Public discourse on desire in terms of explicit heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, or any sexual identity remained non-existent. Underground literature on homosexuality frequently from Europe, circulated in the United States with little notice from larger society.

5) The world of clothing and appearance well illustrates these cultural contradictions. England and France at war for most of the century, admired, copied, and imported each other's fashions. Additionally, triumphant colonial expansion and control of trade markets brought new materials and styles to England and continental Europe. Though eagerly adopted, they also led to fears of cultural dilution and loss of national identity. Similar to its historical predecessors, turn of the century San Francisco cross-dressing reflected existing social hierarchies and its internal contradictions, prevalent in communities grappling with social diversity. Jessica Munns and Penny Richards, eds., *The Clothes That Wear Us: Essays on Dressing and Transgressing in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1999).

6) "How San Francisco Notables Look in Theatrical Roles," *San Francisco Call*, 18 February 1900, p.11.

7) First Nighter, "The Theaters," *Wasp*, 5 March 1898, 19.

8) Dora E. Amsden, "Dramatic Art in Japan," *Overland Monthly* 36, no. 212 (1900) : 101. See chapter two, "Writing Ethnicity," for further details.

9) Gary John Graves, "The Bohemian Grove Theatrics: A History and Analysis from the Club's Beginnings in 1872 up to the Encampment of 1992" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1994).

10) "Mary Marble," *Wasp*, 10 September 1898, p.13.

11) "Rag Time Mixes My Brain," (1900).

12) "Gladys Montague," *Wasp*, 16 September 1899, p.6.

13) "Two Clever Little Player," *San Francisco Call*, 11 March 1900, p.7.

14) Though popular in San Francisco, New York authorities banned Leon's public performance. Boys impersonating girls appeared to be more of a novelty than the girls who dressed as boys. "The bright little girl in knickerbockers, impersonating the small boy, is familiar to the public, but the little boy arrayed in a frock and acting the part of a girl is something of a novelty." "A Boy Rival for Girl Actors," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 February 1897, p.6.

15) "Native Daughter who should have been a boy," *San Francisco Call*, 11 March 1900, p.18.

16) When Julian Eltinge gained nationwide popularity in the 1910s for portraying ideal womanhood, he was in the midst of enacting the final decade of celebrated gender impersonations. By the end of the 1920s, cross-dressers would become thoroughly demonized. Yet in the early twentieth century, gender impersonators appeared to have come a long way since its earliest days - from crass comedy embedded in misogyny to a reverent celebration of femininity in all of its gentility, modesty, and grace. Rising out of the shadows of vaudeville, drag enjoyed national acclaim as legitimate theater. Late Victorian vaudeville female impersonation affirmed and celebrated the most traditional middle class norms. However, as "separate spheres" disintegrated, no longer could female impersonation appear as baffling and thrilling as acts of pure magic. During the 1920s, impersonators increasingly became viewed as evil performing homosexuals rather than performers. By 1930, authorities banning theatrical cross-dressing, forced most of America's thousands of female impersonators out of business. Moore; Roger Baker, *Drag: A History of Female Impersonation in the Performing Arts* (New York: New York University Press, 1994) ; Lesley Ferris, ed., Crossing the Stage: Controversies in Cross-Dressing (New York :

Routledge, 1993) ; Sharon R. Ullman, Sex Seen: *The Emergence of Modern Sexuality in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

17) "Will march in many costumes," *San Francisco Call*, 9 February 1897, p.11.

18) "Riot of Beauty in the Glow of a Thousand Lamps," San Francisco Call, 28 February 1900, p.4.

19) Though *The Geisha* intended to dramatize Japanese romance Tom Leary sported a shaved head and queue, and an outfit common among Chinese men, while Georgie Cooper wore an outfit that had kimono-themes. Wasp, 26 February 1898, p.6.

20) "Clever Child in her Debut," *San Francisco Call*, 14 March 1900, p.5.

21) *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1 January 1897, p.5.

22) During Fuller's early days as a performer during the 1880's, she was minor actor of soubrette parts, known for her impersonations of boys and later as among the first of a long line of "serpentine dancers." Never did she evoke lyrical enthusiasm in her audiences. The *New York Times* noted "remarkable" was never an adjective used to describe her. Not until she moved to France, did she become the adored "La Loie," creating a sensation and receiving immediate acceptance among France's *haute monde* in 1892. Her style of performance dress even started a fashion trend of wide "Loie Fuller skirts" in Paris. Upon her return to the United States, Americans greeted her performances with enthusiasm, though many reviewers and audiences alike still found much of her material unimpressive. Although Fuller performed to packed houses upon her immediate return in 1896, by 1901 theater house authorities, Koster and Bial closed Fuller's New York engagement due to lack of attendance. Additionally, Fuller collaborated with Japanese performance artists such as Sada Yacco and Otojiro Kawakami. "Loie Fuller's Engagement," New York Times, 30 August 1896, p.4; "Loie Fuller's Engagement Closed," *New York Times*, 11 January 1901, p.2; "Trial on Loie Fuller's Charge," *New York Times*, 20 January 1892, p.8; "Loie Fuller is Here," *New York Times*, 23 February 1896, p.8; "La Loie," *New York Times*, 25 February 1896, p.5; "Loie Fuller in French Sculpture," *Architectural Record* 13 (March 1903) : 270-278. For more on Loie Fuller's life and professional career see Sally Sommer, "Loie Fuller," *Drama Review* 19, no. 1 (March 1975) : 53-67; Loie Fuller, *Fifteen Years of a Dancer's Life* (French Edition, 1908; English, 1913) ; Frank Kermode, "Loie Fuller," *Theatre Arts* 46, no. 9 (September 1962) : 6-22; Margaret Haile Harris, "Loie Fuller, The Myth, the Woman and the Artist," *Arts in Virginia* 20, no. 1 (Fall 1979) : 16-29; "The Week at the Play," *The Outlook* 2, no. 51 (January 1899) : 782; "The Theatre," *The Speaker* 3, no. 60 (24 November 1900) : 203-204.

23) "Young Ladies will appear in 'Mikado," *San Francisco Call*, 20 February 1900, p.11; "Co-eds will the 'Mikado,'" *San Francisco Call*, 22 January 1905, p.34; "Mrs. Wheeler will Talk of Chaperons," *San Francisco Call*, 13 March 1905, p.4; "Co-eds will the 'Mikado,'" *San Francisco Call*, 22 January 1905, p.34; "Mrs. Wheeler will Talk of Chaperons," *San Francisco Call*, 13 March 1905, p.4.

24) Sonia Sunwoo, (Guest speaker at the University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA, 10 May 2001).

25) In the 1880's as Gilbert wrote *The Mikado*, he wisely chose Japan, a popular picturesque setting since "the first nation of the Far East to imitate Western progress," had become a "fashionable new toy to London society." W. A. Darlington notes that it was obvious "to Englishman, anyhow" that Gilbert had not thought of the real Mikado or the real Japan in his head in the creation of *The Mikado*. The Japan of the opera was just a "Gilbertian topsy-turvydom." Yet, Japanese protest in 1907 did lead to the proposed banning of the revival of the play. In this romantic comedy the son of the Mikado of Japan, Nanki Poo pursued his love, Yum-Yum, who was betrothed by arranged marriage to a tailor who recently became "lord high executioner" of Titipu. After a series of circuitous plot digressions, character disguises, and mistaken identities Nanki Poo ultimately marries Yum-Yum at the conclusion of the play. W.A. Darlington, *The World of Gilbert and Sullivan* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1950) , 124. W. S. Gilbert, *The Mikado* (New York: Boni and Liveright Inc., 1917).

26) Hugh Cortazzi, *Japanese Achievement* (New York : St. Martin's Press, 1990).

27) Hesketh Pearson, *Gilbert and Sullivan: A Biography* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1935) , 158.

28) Darlington, 126.

29) "Casino" *Theatre* 12 (1910: July-December) 4.

30) " 'The Mikado' Barred," Literary Digest 34:21 (27 May 1907) : 838. Biographer of W.S. Gilbert, Pearson noted that during its original run in the 1880's the Japanese Ambassador protested its production because of its

ridicule of the Japanese emperor. Later in 1907, protests from Japan more successfully banned its revival in theater houses. Pearson.

31) Pearson, 289.

32) *New York Times*, 31 January 1921, p.11. For more on the production and reception of the First Born see chapter two.

33) A long list of scholarship exists on the ethnic impersonations entertaining "whites." Actors and vaudevillians mocked African Americans in performances. Posing as "plantation darky" or the "northern dandy Negro" entertainers "blacked" up for the laughter of white audiences. Works on yellow face as well, have traced American whites dressed up as Asians to represent evil or for comic relief. These representations, regardless of the color of the "face," existed primarily to entertain American "whites." A long list of scholarship exists on the significance of blackface. A few examples are Lott; David R. Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness: race and the making of the American working class* (New York: Verso, 1991); Toll; William J. Mahar *Behind the Burnt Cork Mask: Early Blackface Minstrelsy and Antebellum American Popular Culture* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999). For African Americans performing "blackface" see Henry T. Sampson, *Blacks in Blackface : A Source book on Early Black Musicals* (Metuchen, NJ : The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1980); W.T. Lhamon, *Raising Cain: Blackface Performance from Jim Crow to Hip Hop* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998). For Asian representations see Darrell Y. Hamamoto, *Monitored Peril: Asian Americans and the Politics of TV Representation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); *Slaying the Dragon*, prod. and dir. Deborah Gee, 60 min., Asian Women United, 1988, videocassette.

34) Yone Noguchi, *The Story of Yone Noguchi* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Company, 1914).

35) When young San Francisco "gentlemen" of elegant leisure and abundant means hosted "stag parties," they preferred provocative woman dancers in exotic garb from the "Orient." Additionally, a 1901 illustrated satire in the *Wasp* depicted how the Chinese queue became an "American plait," when a young white girl desired following a Chinese man, eyed his queue, cut it off, and reattached it to her own head. In her appropriation of the Chinese queue, crossings became a mix of mockery, desire, and incorporation. In the image of a Chinese man wearing a gender marked braid, the cartoon likely underlined "odd" Chinese masculinity to white San Franciscans. The illustration, however, additionally demonstrated how San Franciscans imagined borrowing things Chinese to create their own aesthetic. A Favorite with Clubmen," *Wasp*, 27 May 1899, 9. "Orient" here refers to cultures from the Middle East. "How a Chinese Queue Became an American Plait," *Wasp*, 21 December 1901.

36) See chapter two, titled "Writing Ethnicity" for further details.

37) "The Japanese Luncheon Fad," *San Francisco Call*, 14 February 1897, p.27.

38) "Third Violet," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 17 January 1897, p.13.

39) Lady Teazel, "Society Chat," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 October 1907, p.22.

40) JARP, Abiko Family Papers, box 1, folder 5 (1906-1907), Abiko Yonako Diaries - 3 books.

41) JARP, Abiko Family Papers, box 29, folder 1 (July 1908) Miscellaneous English Correspondence, 12 letters, 1906-1915.

42) *New York Times, Magazine Section*, "The Theatres," 4 October 1896, p.10.

43) JARP, Abiko Family Papers, box 8, folder 6, (1907 ?); Abiko Yonako Personal Memorabilia, 2 autograph books, 1907-1908.

44) JARP, Abiko Family Papers, box 29, folder 3 (14 October 1922) Miscellaneous English Correspondence, 12 letters, 1920-1922.

45) "Sale of Lawn Kimonas," *San Francisco Call*, 25 May 1905, p.16.

46) Though Japanese femininity was the most frequently evoked to enhance American womanhood, other "Oriental" woman also appeared as models of ideal womanhood, particularly as relations with Japanese became more tense in the decades following the earliest years of the twentieth century. In 1912, women students at University of California instituted an annual pageant titled "Parthenia," name after the Greek word for "spirit of young womanhood" to represent the "highest ideals" of the college woman and symbolized the transition from girlhood and womanhood. "As the athletic rally is the spontaneous outburst of virile college manhood, so the Parthenia is the naive revelation of the spirit of womanhood. Theme is transition of girlhood to womanhood." In 1916, Berkeley coeds for the first time decided to use Hindu themes to enact their coming of age. In "Aranyani of the Jasmine Vine" by Maude Meagher, a young woman, Aranyani who lived with her

hermit father had only one friend Girjia, whom she knew since boyhood. When a prince, Wasuki rode into the woodland seclusion, he persuaded Aranyani to come with him. Forest father and friend lamented her absence. Yet, Aranyani returned to the forest, unable to live with her dreadful loneliness. Laden with jewels and fancy dress she had grown sick at heart with her artificial life. The court followed her to capture her back but Girjia happened upon them and fought them off. Then Girjia recognized the princess as Aranyani and embraced her back into his life. Berkeley students busily researched authentic Indian costumes and mixed dyes for themselves to produce colors of fabric they could not find in local stores. Jean Q. Watson and Frances L. Brown, "The Partheneia of University of California," *Overland Monthly* 67, no. 5 (May 1916) : 359-364.

47) Bancroft Library, Chinese SVP, Subject Viewing Prints, volumes 1-3 volume 1, 1905.5278.77 - PIC, 1905.7442 - PIC, 1905.17500.14:83 - PIC.

48) Marlon K. Hom, *Songs of Gold Mountain: Cantonese Rhymes from San Francisco Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) , 206.

49) *Chung Sai Yat Po*, 29 December 1909.

50) Sui Sin Far served as the pen name for the real identity of writer, Edith Maude Eaton. Though Eaton was a half white and half Chinese Canadian, San Francisco came to define her Chinese identity. Born in England, she spent much of her childhood in Canada. She traveled through California briefly in her early thirties stopping for a few years in San Francisco. Despite her short stay, Eaton's understanding of Chinese America came more clearly together on the streets of San Francisco Chinatown. After the San Francisco Bulletin's editor sent Eaton out to canvas the area for subscriptions, she slowly found identity and acceptance among a community initially suspicious of her. Chinese men burst into laughter when she told them she was of their race. Soon after though, she gained entry into the community through the Chinese women who perceived her to have Chinese hair, eyes, and skin color, and took notice of her love of tea and rice. She rejected suggestions to "trade" on her ethnicity, by exoticizing herself as of noble Chinese birth through elaborate Chinese dress and scarlet beaded slippers. Instead, she chose to associate and identify with Chinese in Chinatown despite its unglamorous implications. Though she could easily pass, Eaton took risks to out herself in a world that was virulently anti-Chinese. While her brothers and sisters throughout adulthood hid their ethnicity, Eaton wore it as badge of honor. As Eaton began writing, she took on the name Sui Sin Far and used it in her everyday life. Eaton's self-proclamation of her Chinese American identity and her sympathetic writings about Chinese Americans made her a voice for San Francisco Chinatown. Particularly in her juxtaposition with her sister ten years younger, does Sui Sin Far's life as a Chinese American become a definitive act. Winnifred Eaton gained more fame as a fictional writer during the same period. She adopted the name Onoto Wattana and sold herself as half-Japanese, writing on orientalized Japanese gender and love dramas. Recent literary critics have painted Edith as the good and Winnifred as the bad sister. While Edith was a politicized, conscientious writer, Winnifred appeared to be a spineless whore of the competitive literary market. So intent was Winnifred in maintaining the farce of her ancestry that she fabricated Edith's obituary upon her death in 1914. She noted Edith as coming from noble Japanese birth and made a deliberate reference to herself, "Onoto Wattana." Far consciously made an effort to teach tolerance and understanding of the California Chinese community. She has consistently won the laudatory comments of the literary critics as one of Asian America's earliest great writers. Xiao-huang Yin, *Chinese American Literature since the 1850's* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000) ; Dominika Ferens, "Edith and Winnifred Eaton: The Uses of Ethnography in Turn-of-the-Century Asian American Literature" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1999).

51) This description become particularly notable since Eaton who felt loyal to Chinese heritage, and held those Chinese who chose to pass as Mexican or Japanese with pity and disapproval.

52) Sui Sin Far, "A Chinese Ishmael," *Overland Monthly* 34, no.199 (1899) : 43-49.

53) Hom, 229.

54) *Ibid.*, 312.

55) Jo Hathaway, "Ah Foy Yam," *Overland Monthly* 34, no.203 (1899) : 447. See chapter two, "Writing Ethnicity," for further details on Ah Foy Yam.

56) Arnold Genthe, Genthe's Photographs of San Francisco's Old Chinatown, ed. John Kuo Wei Tchen (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1984) 24, 27, 40, 47, 48, 51, 53, 55, 59, 60, 67, 72, 84, are just a few.

57) Genthe, 128.

58) More Americans appeared eager to read about Chinese in America than previously. Her first and only published

volume and sold 2500 copies by the end of 1912. Sui Sin Far's ability to publish a complete book as opposed to her previous journal entries and submissions perhaps reflected an increasing societal acceptance of Far's interpretation of Chinese sexuality and gender ideology. Sui Sin Far, *Mrs. Spring Fragrance and Other Writings*, eds. Amy Ling and Annette White-Parks (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

59) "Men of Prominence: Local Japanese Colony," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 October 1911, p.78.

60) NJAHS, Issei Project, box 4.1, folder Togasaki, Family (1899).

61) NJAHS, Issei Project, Photographs and Negatives, box 2, folder Iwata, Buddy, 6 December 1920; NJAHS, Issei Project, box Strength and Diversity, JA women, Prewar years, 1913; JARP, Abiko Family Papers, box 42, folder 4, "Abiko Family Photos" (1921).

62) NJAHS, Issei Project, box 4, folder Okamoto, Kay, 1911.

63) JARP, Abiko Family Papers, box 42, folder 2, "Baby Photos, 12 items," 28 March 1922. Not only at home but at work as well, at work as well, Japanese wore western clothes. A cook and his wife who labored at the Leonard home on Fulton Street posed seriously for their photograph. The wife wore a high neck and poofy white hat that resembled a giant smashed cotton ball perched on her head. NJAHS, Issei Project, box 1, folder California Historical Society, 1915.

64) NJAHS, Issei Project, box 1, folder California Historical Society, October, 1909.

65) Philip Stokes noted group photos demonstrated a greater need to mark solidarities, to take every possible step to map the forms of one's personal society. Philip Stokes, "The Family Photograph Album: So Great a Cloud of Witnesses" in *The Portrait in Photography*, Graham Clarke, ed. (London: Reaktion Books, 1992) : 193-205.

66) "How Japanese Warriors Are Made," *San Francisco Call*, 17 January 1897, p.18.

67) JARP, Abiko Family Papers, box 43, folder 1, "Wedding Photos, 9 items," 28 February 1915.

68) JARP, Abiko Family Papers, box 43, folder 1, "Wedding Photos, 9 items," 11 July 1916 ?.

69) NJHAS, Issei Project, box 4, folder Ohama, geo, 12 February 1912.

70) JARP, Abiko Family Papers, box 43, folder 3, "Miscellaneous Photos, 10 items," 4 October 1915.

71) JARP, Abiko Family Papers, box 44, folder 3, "Miscellaneous Photos, 6 items," March 1921.

72) Angel Island, often referred to as the Ellis Island of the West Coast, served as the immigration processing station for immigrants arriving along the Pacific Coast. Him Mark Lai, Genny Lim, and Judy Yung, *Island: poetry and history of Chinese immigrants on Angel Island, 1910-1940* (San Francisco: Hoc Doi, 1980).

73) NJAHS, Issei Project, box 1, folder Angel Island Immigration Station - S.F., Record Group 90 of National Archives (1912).

74) NJAHS, Issei Project, box 1, folder Angel Island (1916) ; NJAHS, Issei Project, box 4, folder Ogata, Shizuye (1900).

75) Clarke Graham noted the early daguerreotypes as primarily portraying realism and the later portrait photographs as capturing more personality. Historian Alan Tracthenberg also cited Photographer Albert S. Southworth as elaborating on how the term "expression" came to represent the chief goal of the portrait: a look of animation, intelligence, inner character. Graham Clarke, ed., *The Portrait in Photography* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992) ; Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Matthew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989).

76) In fact, how "American" did these photographs appear ? According to Trachtenberg, American photographers had established sitting protocol for its portraits by the 1870's. Though the middle class dageurran portraits from an earlier time hoped to capture bodies without regard to composure, by the late nineteenth century photographers moved to overcome the intractable countenance, the face which would not relax or mellow or glow with "expression." A discourse of instruction and advice to both operators and sitters had arrived. Trachtenberg quoted W.S. Haley in his explicit directions for portraits. "[The] posture of person sitting for the portrait should be easy and unconstrained; the feet and hands neither projecting too much, nor drawn too far back; the eyes should be directed a little sideways above the camera, and fixed upon some object there, but never upon the apparatus since this would tend to impart to the face a dolorous, dissatisfied look." Sitters were encouraged and cajoled to *will* themselves into a desired expression, in short a role and a mask which matched one's self image. Yet, aside from the coming out carte-de-visite of young women, Japanese San Franciscans' photographs from the early twentieth century had little animation or mood-inspiring manipulation. Sitters sat stiffly, stared directly

into the camera with an expressionless face and undoubtedly held what Haley would have described as an "intractable countenance." Though Japanese dressed in Western clothes, their poses for the most part remained frozen in a time that preceded 1900s San Francisco by several decades. Trachtenberg.

77) Things Japanese had to be "eschewed" as much as possible. Outward appearances of how American perceived Japanese couples became important as officials advised wives to walk along side their husbands rather than behind to avoid reinforcing the stereotype of the tyranny of Japanese husbands. Yuji Ichioka, The Issei: *The World of First Generation Japanese Immigrants: 1885-1924* (New York: The Free Press, A Division of Macmillan, Inc., 1988).

78) Nyozekan Hasegawa, *The Japanese Character*, trans. John Bester (Tokyo: Kodansha, International Ltd., 1965).

79) Theorist Homi Bhabha noted mimicry as like a camouflage, not a harmonization of a repression of difference, but a form of resemblance that differs from or defends its presence through display. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

80) Grace Hibbard, "Japanese Love Song," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 March 1898, p.9.

81) Gertrude Holloway, "A Coquette," *Wasp*, 5 November 1898, p.8.

82) Mari Yoshihara asserted that white women in the Massachusetts area several decades later dressing Japanese and expressing desire for Japanese men enacted alternative sexual identities. For Yoshihara, these explorations of sexuality referred to white women with notions of western sexuality, mimicking "Oriental" romance and desire. Her research pointed to an enacted sexuality that differed from an "American" one, and thus became alternative. Alternatively, my examples of poetry by Hibbard and Holloway more explicitly refer to crossing of sexuality where white women imagined same-sex sexuality through their romantic desire for white women. Mari Yoshihara, "Women's Asia: American women and the gendering of American Orientalism, 1870's to WWII" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1997).

83) White women performers also commonly dramatized heterosexual "Negro love songs" such as "I love dat man." Women such as Alice Atherton and May Irwin drew crowds for their "naturalness" in demonstrating the "Negro characteristic" or "Negro unction." Performances such as these provided an additional venue for white women to imagine African American romance, an affair that white performers and theatergoers perceived as being distinctly different from their own sexuality. "Negro Imitators: Wherein Three Clever Actresses Differ," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 July 1898, p.5.

84) "I'll carve dat nigger when we meet," (1898).

85) K.M. Gilham, "I'se Her Black and Tan Adonis," (1899).

86) G.J. Yenewinne, "My Philippino Lady," (1899).

87) "Bye-Bye my Babykins Bye-Bye," (16 June 1901).

88) Caroll Smith-Rosenberg documented "romantic friendships" that formed among education and reform-minded women, such as Jane Addams. These socially acceptable relationships proliferated from the 1880's into the early 1900s, until critics grew increasingly concerned about the prevalence of homosexuality in America and discouraged female intimacy as "lesbianism." Caroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). Scholars Jennifer Brezina and Eric Lott have both pointed to the homoerotic potential if not reality of stage performers. Brezina traced how turn of the century women derived pleasure, not only from watching elaborate stage presentations and other female attendants' dress and conduct, but also from the unarticulated intimacies in the performances that may have reflected their own real life "friendships," or fantasies of "friendships" with other women. Lott further illuminated blackface as vehicle for white men to explore same-sex desire as they enacted homosexual undertones in their efforts to theatrically emasculate African American men. Jennifer Costello Brezina "Public Women, Private Acts: Gender and Theater in Turn-of-the-Century American Novels" in *Separate Spheres No More: Gender Convergence in American Literature, 1830-1930*, Monika M. Elbert, ed. (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2000) ; Lott.

89) "Case" here implies a romantic interest or "crush."

90) Armor Jean Deamer, "The Lasting Escape" *Overland Monthly* 51, no. 4 (April 1908) : 351.

91) Theorists have noted ethnic and racial impersonations as reflecting "mixed and messy" cultural contradictions that reflect both racial "envy" and "insult." Lott; Munns and Richards; Lhamon.

92) Judith Butler noted how bodies and clothes endlessly redefined each other to forge, adapt, adopt - and deny - varieties of selfhood. Bodily presentations thus both responded to and created an equally complex cultural

field of alteration and vacillation. Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: on the "discursive" limits of sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

93) Historian John Tchen wrote about Genthe's alterations of his photographs to project a more "Chinese" image. A sign advertising candy in Chinese was in fact originally written in English. Chinatown represented much more a mixture of America and China then Americans would have liked to realize. By creating a Chinatown completely separated and foreign from the larger city, photographer Arnold Genthe underlined the cultural distance to make his work more appealing to the wealthy patrons who bought his "exotic" art. Chinatown during the early 1900s existed as a mystical world, where Chinese inhabitants wore traditional frock, took care to maintain their long queues, and no sign of the English language or "Americans" existed. For many of the photographs Genthe appropriately cropped, etched and altered the scenes to eliminate white men and women and isolate only the most "Chinese" individuals to transmit his "authentic" picture of Chinatown. As Genthe drew in Chinese queues, etched out English signs, cropped out white men standing side by side with Chinese, he consciously altered a sellable Chinese identity more blatantly than even his literary cohorts. Arnold Genthe and John Kuo Wei Tchen, *Genthe's Photographs of San Francisco's Old Chinatown* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1984).

94) Laura Browder noted that during an age of theater of "blackface" and the "wild west show," identity had become something to be performed, rather than an essential quality. These productions permitted performers to slip between shades of brownness to find identities that were easier to live with than the ones they had been assigned at birth. She noted that from its beginnings, California had been a place where passage from one national and ethnic identity into another seemed possible. Laura Browder, *Slippery Characters: Ethnic Impersonators and American Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).