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Small Towns and Mining Camps: An Analysis of Chinese Diasporic Communities in 19th-Century Oregon

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SMALL TOWNS AND MINING CAMPS: AN ANALYSIS OF CHINESE DIASPORIC COMMUNITIES IN 19TH-CENTURY OREGON

A Thesis Presented
by
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ABSTRACT

SMALL TOWNS AND MINING CAMPS: AN ANALYSIS OF CHINESE DIASPORIC COMMUNITIES IN 19TH-CENTURY OREGON

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Chinese Diaspora archaeology has focused historically on urban contexts or in-depth case studies, with minimal comparative studies. To expand such research, this thesis is a multisited analysis in Oregon using archaeological assemblages from the Jacksonville Chinese Quarter and four remote Chinese mining camps, museum material collection from a Chinese store in John Day, and store ledgers written in Chinese and English dating to the late-19th century. By situating the research in the framework of race, this thesis seeks to understand the ways that race and racialization impacted market access and affected consumption choices for Chinese immigrants in different classes. Chinese communities had well established organizations in a complex network which contributed to controlling market access as well as serving to protect Chinese immigrants from impacts of racialization. These networks helped Chinese immigrants maintain a connection not only to other Chinese

communities, but also to the homeland through various services including transfer of goods and people.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Chinese immigrants began migrating to Oregon in the mid-19th century following the discovery of gold. Similar to the experiences of Chinese immigrants in other parts of the American West, those who migrated to Oregon also experienced systemic and individual racism taking form in federal, state, and local legislation, and in various acts of racial violence. Chinese immigrants needed to navigate through theses series of racial boundaries. Despite these obstacles, many found ways to survive, and even flourish in predominantly White controlled communities, ultimately becoming important community members.

Using Critical Race Theory as a means to emphasize how racialization shaped consumption decisions, this thesis uses material and written assemblages from southern and eastern Oregon Chinese communities in the 19th century to answer the question of accessibility across different types of communities. It demonstrates that previously established Chinese networks dictate a certain extent of access to goods, but they do not create identical assemblages given the local contexts and individual actors involved. This research seeks to recognize the fluidity of goods and people, especially in regions dominated by temporary labor forces.

This thesis specifically focuses on the mid-19th century to early 20th-century Chinese immigrants in Oregon and is part of the larger Oregon Chinese Diaspora Project (OCDP), a

grassroots federal/state/local partnership that emphasizes the shared stewardship of Oregon's Chinese American cultural history. The OCDP has archaeological projects all across Oregon, ranging across all types of Chinese communities such as mining camps and railroad camps, and is dedicated to supporting all research related to Chinese American history in Oregon. Figure 1 shows the two main regions this project takes place.

Figure 1. Location of project areas.

After the arrival of Europeans to China in the 16th century, the number of Chinese people migrating across the globe increased significantly. By the 19th century, over 2.5 million people were leaving China, traveling to locations including South Africa, the Caribbean, the South Pacific, New Zealand, India, Australia, and Europe. A variety of factors

including socioeconomic conditions, political unrest, natural disasters, and increased European pressure for labor all contributed to the growing Chinese migration. While some returned home, others established roots in new countries.

Chinese immigrants started coming to the United States as early as 1785, first to the East Coast as seamen and students. When the news of gold found at Sutter's Mill in California spread to China, an influx of Chinese immigrants came to the United States in the mid-19th century. During this time, most Chinese immigrants came from the region in China known as the Pearl Delta Region 珠三角, which consisted of Sam Yup 三邑, Sze Yup 四邑, and Heungshan 香山 districts in Guangdong Province (Figure 2). While the socio-economic conditions, political unrest, and natural disasters in southeastern China during the mid-19th century encouraged Chinese in the Guangdong and Guangxi region to seek opportunities elsewhere, the increased migration out of China was not solely due to these circumstances. Chinese people from this region have a tradition of going abroad for opportunities (Bronson and Ho 2015). The difference was that the scale increased in the 19th century from mostly traveling to Southeast Asia to a much larger global scale that included the Americas, New Zealand, Australia, and other countries.

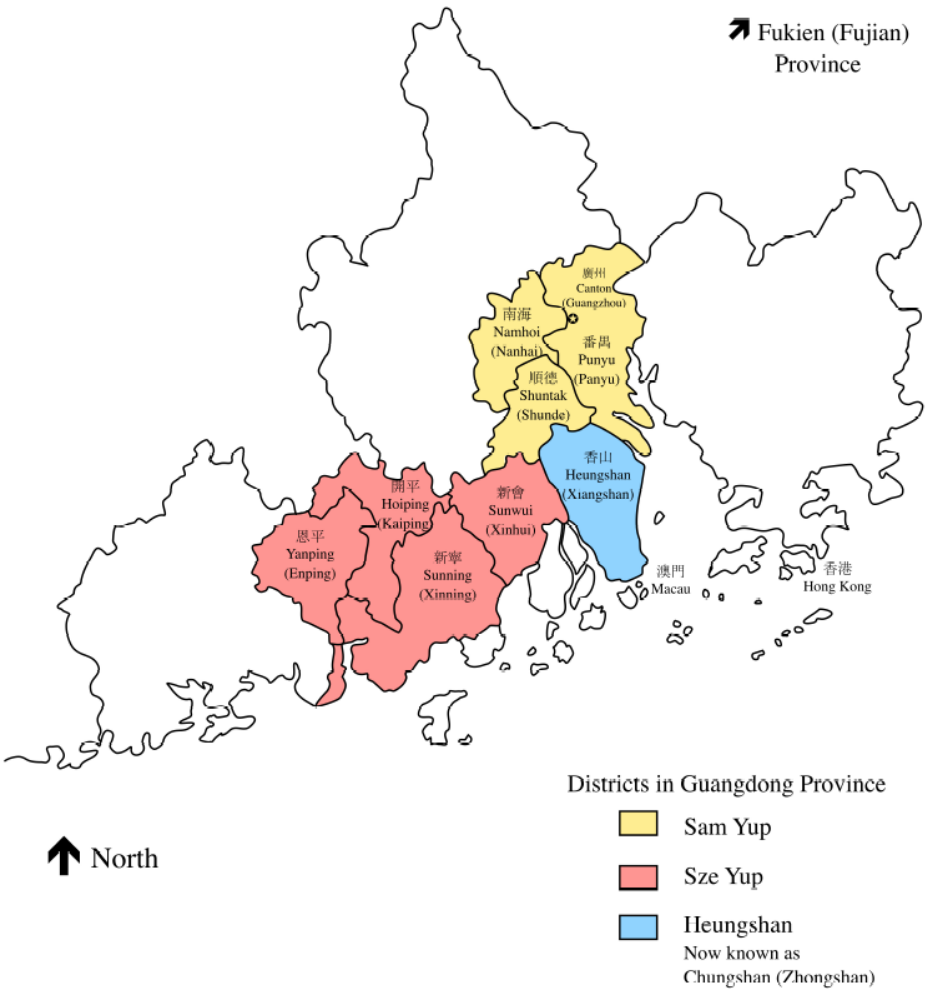


Figure 2. Map of the Pearl River Delta, Guangdong Province. Map adapted from Choy (2007: 18).

Chinese Diaspora Archaeology

Chinese Diaspora archaeology began in the 1960s. However, earlier research from both archaeologists and Chinese American historians has focused almost exclusively on various Chinatowns and Chinese railroad camps, with less attention to mining camps or comparisons between sites (Cassel 2002; Chen 1980; Greenwood 1996; Lee 1965; Merritt 2010; Voss 2005 2015; Williams 2004). In the last two decades, scholars have begun to

examine Chinese diaspora communities in different contexts such as rural towns, mining camps, railroad sites, lumber camps, and fishing and shrimping sites. Though multiple Chinese American historians have addressed the lives of people in the Chinese communities from a historical perspective, recreated personal accounts of individual Chinese lives, and referenced the mining experience, they have not situated the experience in archaeological research (e.g. Bronson and Ho 2015; Cassel 2002; Chen 1980; Chin 2002; Lee 1965; Lee 2002). Mining camps are in a unique position because they were occupied for a longer duration relative to railroad camps, but not to the extent of Chinatowns (LaLande 1981). In addition, railroad camps were owned by White companies, contrasting with the Chinese operations of many mining endeavors. As a result, mining camps were more autonomous than railroad camps, thereby representing a different kind of labor and economic setting in comparison to other Chinese immigrant contexts. With additional archaeological comparative work, a more holistic understanding of Chinese communities can be attained.

Historical archaeology has the benefit of having access to written records which allows us to ask different questions and interrogate the material record in different ways. Archaeology contributes to the historical gaps that are often invisible in the historical records. Items such as Chinese Brown Glazed Stoneware (CBGS) in Chinese diaspora, which would not be recorded in the documentary records, can tell us more about how items were stored. Using both the documentary and archaeological record allows archaeologists to fulfil the gaps between each types of evidence and to explore their different representations. Chinese Diaspora archaeology is no exception. Scholars such as Ruth Ann Sando have used inventory records of ceramics and opium from a Chinese store in California to understand the

relationship of ceramics and opium-related artifacts to cost (Sando and Felton 1993). Meanwhile, Stapp used census and assessment records to better understand the population of a Chinese mining camp (Stapp 1993). However, in both of these examples, they offer minimal direct connections to the material records, and instead, focus on the general historical background of the sites.

Other non-archaeological scholars have also examined both Chinese and English historical written records related to the Chinese immigrant experience. Remittance letters are personal letters that sometimes narrate their travels or details of personal lives including financial struggles, health, goals, sentiments of home, gratitude for families back home, and many more (Benton and Liu 2018). These letters were sent back to China with remittance and thus provide an example of the types of written documents related to Chinese immigrants. These letters have remained virtually unexamined from an archaeological perspective, even though non-archaeological scholars in China and North America have studied them extensively (Benton and Liu 2018). In addition, Yung *et. al* have edited a volume that compiles written personal accounts from Chinese Americans dating as early as the Gold Rush in the 1850s (Yung et. al 2006). Research on remittance letters documenting Chinese American voices will be crucial for providing the greater historical context and insight into the lives as described as those who lived it. Putting the archaeological materials in the context of these personal remittance letters has been one of the challenges for these research projects by archaeologists and historians. These compilations often also provide a glossary in the back of the book, which includes Chinese character, pinyin transliteration, as

well as English translations of various words and phrases. These become important resources for research on written records.

Few past studies on Chinese diasporic communities have been situated in the framework of race (Fong 2013; Sunseri 2015; Sunseri 2020). However, race is an important framework to understand the lived experiences of 19th- and 20th-century Chinese immigrants. Beginning in the mid-19th century, Chinese immigrants became racialized through a series of anti-Chinese legislation. In addition, this time period also marked the beginning of tensions between EuroAmericans and non-White populations including Indigenous and Black. The Donation Land Claim Act of 1850 dispossessed land from local indigenous tribes and brought thousands of White settlers into Oregon (Coleman 2018). Six years prior, the provisional government headed by Peter Burnett passed the first Black exclusion law, legalizing slavery for three years and requiring that any freed Black male had to leave after two years and a female after three. If they chose to stay, they would be subject to lashing (Nokes 2020). This legislation is exemplary of the settler-colonialism taking place in Oregon which ultimately encouraged racism on a large scale, expanding beyond legislative means. Specific to Chinese communities, studying the ways that race impacted market access and therefore consumption of Chinese in Oregon allows the nuanced understanding of intersections of class and geographical location of specific Chinese communities.

Lastly, the majority of previous research conducted has been focused on California. One reason for this is because the state still has a large Asian American population, whereas Oregon and other western states (e.g. Idaho, Montana) do not. With the exception of larger

cities such as Portland, Chinese American histories in these more rural areas are not as well represented in the larger Chinese American narrative. The lack of modern Chinese population in rural areas have downplayed the role of Chinese immigrants in these early communities. However, as demonstrated by previous and ongoing research of the rural Chinese American landscape, these histories are equally important in understanding Chinese American history.

In the last decade, Chinese Diaspora archaeology has made tremendous progress in becoming a field that includes a multitude of sites beyond Chinatowns. The inclusion of a younger generation of Chinese American scholars, such as Kelly Fong (方少芳) and Laura W. Ng (伍穎華), has provided Chinese Diaspora archaeology with insights that can only be offered by Chinese Americans, allowing the nuances of being a Chinese American to come to light on the academic platform (Fong 2020; Ng 2020). In addition, Fong and Ng's research are directly connected to their families; their research is not just personal but powerful as they allow others to understand the daily lives of Chinese immigrants. They speak to how transnationalism is not just a theoretical framework, but an active method that has helped many Chinese Americans form their identities—me included. Ng (2020) references her dissertation trips between China and the U.S. and the role of transnationalism in understanding the Chinese American identity. Similarly, I would not be the scholar I am today had I not spent years traveling between China, Taiwan, and the U.S.

The Archaeology of American Mining

Archaeological interest in North American mining began in 1924 when the foundations of a dam presumed to be the one associated with Sutter's Mill and artifacts were found. Though archaeological excavations were not conducted until 1947 by Robert Heizer, the findings encouraged what would become the beginning of the field of historical mining studies (White 2017). Sutter's Mill is thus a symbol of North American mining- representing the California Gold Rush in the 1840s and the subsequent development of the mining industry.

Archaeology of American mining became a recognized subfield in 1967 when Franklin Fenenga wrote an article on post-1800 mining for the first issue of *Historical Archaeology* (Fenenga 1967; White 2017). In his article, Fenenga emphasized the study of the social aspects of mining. Early mining camp conditions are poorly documented in written records, and a male-dominated material culture would be distinct from other typical historical assemblages. In addition, according to these early studies, there would be ethnic signatures left in these assemblages, allowing the study of the process of acculturation, therefore "broader connections to the American historical experience" (Fenenga 1968; White 2017). Though the model of acculturation is now outdated, Fenenga's work represents an early focus in American mining archaeology and situates the importance of historical mining in understanding the patterns of American ethnic relations.

With the development of mining archaeology, a distinction between industrial archaeology and historical archaeologists specializing in mining also became more evident.

Industrial archaeology emphasizes mining workplaces, specifically the mining systems, mining processing plant layout, technological change, and assessments of process efficiency. Historical mining archaeology, on the other hand, emphasizes the overall settlement, the relationship between the mining communities, and the mining enterprise. Historical mining archaeology is concerned with the "formation of identity in mining communities, including a closer examination of ethnicity, gender roles, class, and status relations" (White 2017). In recent decades, historical mining archaeology has been approached from a variety of perspectives, including understanding the role of capitalism with mining, global networks, and power relations between individuals and social groups that span into ideological, economic, military, and political realms (Hardesty 1998; White 2017).

As mining camps are often ephemeral sites, they contain a unique archaeological signature: horizontal stratigraphy is found more commonly than vertical stratigraphy (Furnis and Maniery 2015; Hardesty 1998; White 2017). Typical archaeological mining features include collections of tent pads, cellar holes, privies, wells, and artifact scatters (Nobel and Spude 1997; White 2017). Archaeological remains of house sites often demonstrate evidence of them being moved or abandoned, therefore lacking in vertical stratigraphy. Mining structures can experience the cycle of occupation, abandonment, and reoccupation, thereby destroying earlier components. Natural processes of rapid deterioration such as decaying timber or fire and insect attacks can all begin to take place after abandonment of the site (Bell 1998). Following deterioration, scavenging can also take place; useful materials can be taken to be repurposed. Therefore, the structure of mining sites must be viewed as discontinuous surviving remnants of multiple occupations, instead of a continuous accumulation of historic

debris (Hardesty 1998). The nature of the type of mine also impacts the types of features and the associated patterning. For placer mining, discrete sites can be harder to separate, but work areas can be identified by the arrangements of waste materials such as ditches and dams. As demonstrated by the mining sites in the Malheur National Forest, ditches and dams were among the immediately recognizable features on the landscape that pinpointed the site as a mining area.

Chinese Diaspora archaeology is a field that is rapidly growing and collaborating more with Asian American scholars. Within the archaeological literature, it is clear that comparisons are lacking between various types of sites within the Chinese Diaspora, which can reinforce stereotypes that the Chinese population was monolithic. Additional literature review exploring the theoretical frameworks used by Asian American scholars and the use of Critical Race Theory in both Asian American contexts and archaeological contexts will provide an important framework for further exploring the data in this thesis and the role of race in Chinese communities. In addition, archaeological research focused on mining camps will help contextualize how Chinese mining camps differed from non-Chinese mining camps and allow for a more nuanced understanding of Chinese diasporic archaeological assemblages. With a research question that focuses on the comparison of individual Chinese communities of different classes, my thesis fills this gap in the comparative literature. In addition, by combining archaeological evidence with written records, the connection between material and documentary evidence will be solidified and enlighten the lives of Chinese individuals across different contexts.

Chinese Translation and Transliteration

Although scholars in the past have begun to incorporate Chinese characters and Chinese translations of parts of their work to provide accessibility to the larger Chinese-speaking community, to date no historical archaeologist in this subfield is fluent in reading and speaking Chinese. This research here represents the first time Chinese documents are transcribed and translated by an archaeologist to be used for archaeological analysis. In addition, in recent years, especially with the 2020 volume of *Chinese Diaspora Archaeology in North America*, more scholars have incorporated actual Chinese characters of places and people instead of just the romanized pinyin (Rose and Kennedy 2020). Incorporation of the Chinese written language while understanding the variations of spoken languages used by Chinese immigrants is necessary to understand the perspectives of Chinese immigrants during the 19th and 20th centuries. This practice is absolutely crucial in understanding Chinese American history as the same spelling of Chinese can often refer to multiple Chinese characters.

In order to accurately represent the Chinese language and nuances in translation, this thesis incorporates 1) the standard Hanyu pinyin when tone marks are available, 2) Traditional Chinese characters when available, and 3) translation when the item/person/place is first introduced. Because the majority of Chinese speakers across the globe are more familiar with Hanyu pinyin, and Cantonese pinyin is not nearly as accessible even in Cantonese-speaking regions, the majority of the transliterated phrases are in Mandarin with

the exception of a few where the phrases are actually in Cantonese[1]. In most cases, the pinyin is first written in italicized, followed by the Chinese character and translation in parenthesis. Readers may distinguish between Mandarin and Cantonese transliteration with the tonal marks; the Standard Hanyu pinyin uses tone marks whereas Cantonese uses numbers (1-6). Traditional Chinese characters are used instead of Simplified because 19th-century Chinese immigrants would have used Traditional Chinese since Simplified Chinese was not used in Mainland China until the Communist Party of China implemented them in the 1950s and 1960s.

Thesis Outline

Chapter 2 situates this research in Critical Race Theory and uses diaspora, network and accessibility, and consumption as a framework to interpret the data. Racialization must be contextualized in all instances of Chinese Diaspora research to emphasize how systemic and individual racism structured the environment in which they lived and therefore impacted their consumption patterns. In addition, using race as a framework also allows the perspective of AsianCrit and narratives of Asian Americans to be recognized in settler colonial Oregon. Chinese immigrants had different networks through organizations and secret societies which protected them from various forms of racism through services such as movement of goods and people. Chapter 3 introduces the resiliency of Chinese immigrants

[1] In certain geographical locations such as Sze Yup, the Cantonese transliteration is used because that most accurately reflects the area.

and outlines the historical background including more concrete examples of discrimination Chinese immigrants faced as well as a detailed description of the research area in Oregon.

Chapter 4 details the methods and data used. This study draws from a combination of material and written assemblages. A total of five archaeological assemblages are used: archaeological surveys of the Jacksonville Chinese Quarter Site in Jacksonville, Oregon, and four mining camps in the Malheur National Forest in Grant County, Oregon: Happy Camp 2 and 3, Ah Yee, and Ah Heng 1. For the sake of comparison, the four mining camps in Malheur National Forest have been grouped as one unit of analysis. As a late 19th century dwelling that was occupied for half a century, the Chinese Quarter Site in Jacksonville offers valuable insights into the lives of the Jacksonville Chinese immigrants in the late 19th century. The mining camps are roughly contemporary with the Jacksonville assemblage but vary in function and permanence. These camps may have been in use for months specifically for a particular class and therefore provide a different assemblage in comparison to the permanent residential assemblage in Jacksonville.

Details of the lives of Chinese miners in John Day are supplemented with Chinese ledgers from Kam Wah Chung, a Chinese-owned store, and EuroAmerican Grant County stores' ledgers. The Chinese ledgers consist of three documents that date from February 1887 to August of 1889, while three English EuroAmerican store ledgers from Grant County date from 1878 to 1880, and 1888. The museum collection at Kam Wah Chung Museum in John Day is part of the material analysis. Lastly, a single inventory request from Jacksonville has also been transcribed and translated. This document is used to demonstrate the extent of the

connections Chinese communities had, even if based in remote areas. Finally, Chapter 5 offers an in-depth analysis of the data, comparing the sites and explaining the differences in the types of information between material and written assemblages. Analysis of foodways and outerwear categories demonstrate variability across sites. Differences in representation of these types of goods are indicative of variable consumption habits dictated by accessibility as well as pragmatic reasons. This chapter also includes the Kubli Store ledger data presented in Jeffrey LaLande's thesis (1981) in order to provide a better contrast of mining consumption practices between the Siskiyou Mountains and the Malheur. Ultimately, the different assemblages demonstrate that not all Chinese diaspora assemblages look the same.

The concluding chapter presents a discussion of the findings. All of the sites used in this analysis should be interpreted with the context of mobility. Both people and goods moved across these locations. This is especially true of the mining camps which must also be understood as a transient assemblage. Chinese miners were not staying in the mining camps long term, nor did they necessarily view these sites as personal spaces in comparison to a permanent home. In addition, this chapter describes future directions for research, and links this study with the current COVID-19 situation, drawing specific parallels between the xenophobic rhetoric used in the 19th century and the present day, as well as the ways that Chinese immigrants have persisted throughout time. The current anti-Asian environment fostered by COVID-19 fears has reminded Asian Americans across the globe how racialization impacts our decision making, consumption, and movements throughout the world.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

In order to properly situate Chinese immigrant experiences in the context of 19th- and early 20th-century the U.S., the role of race and the process of racial formation must be addressed. In the last two decades, scholars have pointed out the lack of racial examination in the field of historical archaeology despite the fact that historical archaeology is well suited for studying race (Battle-Baptiste 2011; Epperson 2004; Fong 2020; Fong and Lai 2015; Franklin 2001; LaRoche and Blakey 1997; Mullins 1999; Orser 2007). Understanding theories of racial formation allows "archaeologists [to] consider racial positioning in more complex and nuanced ways, particularly in relation to power" (Fong and Lai 2015:7). While race is a social construct, Omi and Winant believe that in American race, race is a "master category" that has "profoundly shaped, and continues to shape, the history, polity, economic structure, and culture of the United States" (Omi and Winant 2014:106; see also Smedley and Smedley 2012). Racial formation, or the process of racializing, is then defined as the sociohistorical process that creates, inhabits, transforms, and destroys racially meaningful relationships and permits classifications of 'other' (Omi and Winant 2014; Orser 2007). These racial categories are created from historically situated racial projects that include ascribed, embodied, and essentialized social difference (Omi and Winant 2014). By the mid-19th century, antagonism towards the Chinese had begun, marking the beginning of

racialization of Chinese people (Smedley and Smedley 2012). Racialization of Chinese immigrants played a role in the networks of Chinese communities which dictated market access for various Chinese classes, impacting Chinese miners' consumption.

Critical Race Theory and AsianCrit

One of the ways to address race and the impacts of structural racism on Asian Americans is through Critical Race Theory. Early scholars such as Crenshaw (1995) and Gotanda (1995) have described Critical Race Theory as the movement that addresses racial inequalities in the American legislative system. While scholarship within Critical Race Theory emphasize various objectives and arguments, two common interests unify the field: the understanding of how white supremacy has maintained subordination over people of color and the desire to change the bond between law and racial power (Crenshaw 1995). In 1705, the Virginia Assembly created the first recognizable slave code, beginning the formalization of racial classification and legitimizing subordination for these categories (Gotanda 1995). Within the next century, in 1790 Congress enacted the Naturalization Act that limited citizenship to only those of free White persons. Critical Race Theory scholars acknowledges the social gains from civil rights reform, but they remind us that the constitution is still not 'color-blind'. This term has often been used by those who believe that the Constitution is not racist in part due to the idea that racism is an individual prejudice and that race is characterized as objective and apolitical (Gotanda 1995). Even post-civil rights reforms and legislation such as Affirmative Action exemplify the ways that race is maintained in the Constitution (Crenshaw 1995; Gotanda 1995). Therefore, the

understanding that the Constitution and other legislation emerging from it creates inherent racial barriers embedded in the legislation that subjugates people of color is crucial (Bonilla-Silva 2003; Crenshaw 1995; Gotanda 1995).

In addition, legislation concerning immigration and citizenship are heavily invested in the constructs of race (Camp 2013; Ngai 2015). Considering citizenship status and the creation of "alien citizenship" also relies on legislative racial construction. Race is thus also closely tied to citizenship and immigration. Citizenship and immigration status are one of the many factors that have furthered the othering of Asian Americans. Asian Americans throughout modern history have been characterized as perpetual foreigners, including using narratives that assign early Asian immigrants as sojourners which emphasizes their impermanence (Bronson and Ho 2015; Cassel 2002; Fong 2013; Kim 1999; Omi and Winant 2014). While some Chinese were sojourners with every intention of returning to China after making their riches, not all had the same intention, and some did plan on staying. In addition, within American history, the term "sojourners" has often only been applied exclusively to Chinese immigrants and not other groups (Liu 2002). Asian immigrants were seen as unfit for, uninterested, and therefore unable to assimilate into the larger American way of life (Fong 2013; Kim 1999; Ngai 2014).

Scholars of Critical Race Theory have also argued for an AsianCrit perspective that specifically addresses the needs and concerns of Asian Americans. Asian Americans have historically been situated differently with respect to other marginalized groups. A perspective that focuses specifically on Asian Americans can then facilitate the understanding of

interracial relationships that expand beyond the "White versus others" narrative (Chang 1999). AsianCrit allows the acknowledgement of the place, perception, and interactions between the different communities of 'othered' people, such as various indigenous populations. Though these questions within the context of southern and eastern Oregon are currently unanswered, they serve as important guidelines for future research.

One of the tenets of AsianCrit is the idea of *Asianization* which is the grouping together of all Asian affiliated ethnicities such as Japanese, Koreans, and Vietnamese into the same category of Asian (Iftikar and Museus 2018; Wing 2001). Yet, Asian Americans are comprised of many different ethnicities that encompasses a large geographical area. For example, fifth-generation Chinese Americans are grouped together with new Hmong Americans. Asianiziation furthers the perpetual foreigner narrative by homogenizing all Asian immigrants, allowing this identity to be racialized as a whole. The "Asian American" identity is both a panethnic identity and a racialized identity with a political connotation that links an individual to a collective identity, creating "a sense of community, place, cultural space, configured within and against the nation-form America" (Chang 1999:5; Espiritu 1992). Asian Americans as a panethnic group is a product of the U.S. political and social processes, where culture has followed the boundaries instead of creating them (Espiritu 1992).

However, AsianCrit scholars call into question the ability of this group to accurately reflect the variety or totality of Asian American experience. The monolithic model has manifested itself in ways such as the "model minority" myth and created labels such as

"honorary White," which further racializes Asian Americans (Iftikar and Museus 2018). In addition, the legal system has historically treated race as either Black or White, forcing Asian Americans to traditionally attempt to be associated with White as a means to gain rights (Chang 1999).

Reconstructive history that emphasizes the importance of reconstructing an Asian American history is also a necessity in AsianCrit (Chang 1999; Iftikar and Museus 2018). One of the ways in which Asian Americans have been racialized in America is the erasure of Asian Americans in American history. This includes ignoring the role of Chinese in Reconstruction-era civil rights legislation. Section 16 of the 1870 Civil Rights Act was successful because of the lobbying efforts by Chinese immigrant leaders (Chang 1999). Incorporating the voices and contributions of Asian Americans in United States history is a necessity to understand the panethnic identity that exists within (or is projected to) the Asian American community. Using the perspective of AsianCrit helps understand the structural racism created by specifically anti-Asian American legislation, the impacts of the racialization of Asian Americans, and the ways that Asian Americans have persisted despite racialization.

To understand the structural racism that impacted Asian Americans in the 19th and 20th centuries requires an examination of legislation on federal, state, and local levels that impacted the lives of Chinese immigrants (Table 1). State-level legislation listed in the table are exclusively those from Oregon where this project is situated, though other nearby states such as California, Washington, and Idaho also enacted anti-Chinese state legislation. Most

famously, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Geary Act of 1892 specifically prohibited Chinese immigrants from coming into the U.S. On a local level, California established a Foreign Miners' Tax and Oregon implemented a Poll Tax, as a mean to discourage Chinese immigrants from working (Chen 1980; Lee 2003). By situating the Chinese immigrant experience in various levels of legislation, archaeologists can better understand the structural racism that Chinese immigrants had to navigate and how it impacted their day-to-day consumer decisions, and thereby the material records left behind.

Table 1. Federal, state, and local anti-Chinese legislation from mid-19th century to early 20th century.

Year	Federal/State/Local	Title	Description
1854	Federal	People v George Hall	Chinese testimony against a White man was inadmissible. Chief Justice Murray argued that Black meant not just "negroes" but all non-Whites, including Chinese immigrants.
1868	Federal	Burlingame Treaty	Permitted free immigration of Chinese people to U.S., deny right of naturalization.
1870	Federal	Further Restrictions on Chinese Immigrants	An Act to Prevent the importation of Chinese Criminals and to Prevent the Establishment of Coolie Slavery.
1878	Federal	*In re Ah Yup*	The circuit court in California ruled that Chinese-born Ah Yup could not naturalize because he was a member of the "Mongolian" race and therefore not Caucasian.
1882	Federal	Chinese Exclusion Act	Prohibited all immigration of Chinese labors and also impacted all the Chinese who had previously settled in U.S. by forcing them to obtain certifications for re-entry. This Act made Chinese

			immigrants permanent aliens by excluding them from U.S. citizenship and prevented many Chinese immigrants to be united with their families.
1884	Federal	An Amendment to the Exclusion Law	Created further hardships for the Chinese living in the U.S. and more harassments for Chinese re-entry
1888	Federal	The Scott Act	Prohibited Chinese laborers to the U.S. and also the return of Chinese who had temporarily left the U.S.
1892	Federal	The Geary Law	Extended Exclusion Law for another 10 years, requiring certificates of residence for Chinese in the U.S.
1902	Federal	Act of April 29	Extended the Chinese Exclusion Law indefinitely. Chinese in Philippine Island restricted.
1904	Federal		U.S. Regulations Extended to the Philippines.
1907	Federal		Regulations for the interrogation of Chinese entering the U.S.
1859	State- OR	Article XV, Section 8; State Constitution	"No Chinaman, not a resident of the state at the adoption of this constitution, shall ever hold any real estate or mining claim, or work any mining claim therein".
1859	State-OR		Oregon required Chinese and Kanakas[2] to pay a $50 per month tax if they were involved in trade or barter.
1862	State-OR	Poll Tax	Poll tax of $2 per month, which had to be paid every year; Chinese miners had to pay the state government $50 a year in taxes and fees just to be in Oregon.
1862	State-OR	Poll Tax	Poll tax raised to $4 per month.

[2] Kanakas are indigenous Hawaiians who had established an early presence in Oregon (Barman and Watson 2018).

1866	State-OR		Chinese allowed to mine with state license.
1868	State-OR		Chinese were prohibited from working on public projects but, like other states, employers subcontracted with Chinese labor agents so that the public records showed only EuroAmerican companies on the payroll.
1870s	State-OR/Possibly Portland specifically		Prohibited baskets being carried by suspending from or attaching poles carried across one's shoulders. (This is how the Chinese transported the laundry in Portland.)
1879	State-OR		Senator James H. Slater introduced a bill which would allow Chinese to live and travel in the U.S. but prohibited from working (never passed)
1862	Local- John Day		"Chinese or Tartars are hereby prohibited from working these mines under any and all circumstances"
1873	Local-Portland		Fining any person found sleeping in a room containing less than 500 cubic feet of space per person (Target was Portland's overcrowded Chinatown. Once incarcerated they were guilty of breaking the law there)
1872	Local-Eagle Mining District	Article III of the Mining laws of Eagle Mining District	"No Asiatics should be allowed to mine or hold mining ground in this District"

Chinese Diaspora and Transnationalism

Recently, archaeologists of the Chinese Diaspora have begun to situate their research in diaspora and transnationalism, which have grown in large part due to the emphasis of

scholars on the role of the homeland in studying Chinese immigrants (Ross 2013; Voss 2015). Through these frameworks, scholars can understand not only the migrations and establishment of collective identities, but specifically how negotiation of identities is situated in the context of home and host societies (Naum 2013; Ross 2013). Ross states that diaspora is a "framework identifying key characteristics of the migration process and factors affecting the nature of the migrant experience to guide research questions and offer common frames of reference for drawing comparisons within and between diasporic communities" (Ross 2020:37).

Similar to AsianCrit's critique of "Asianization," critics of the term "diaspora" have argued that diaspora essentializes the Chinese migration. Variations within the Chinese diaspora exist, however. In addition to difference in social economic class, emigrants also came from a variety of specific regions in southern China with climate, economic, resource, and custom variation. Yet, using diaspora as a process of movement and enduring connection to homeland acknowledges Chinese migration to all parts of the world and across multiple generations. They maintained ongoing physical and psychological relationships with the homeland regardless of the prospect of returning home (Ross 2020:39). These relationships contributed to the networks that connected Chinese communities from across the globe together. In his work, Ross also acknowledges that not all migrants were part of the diaspora due to a variety of factors, possibly by choice. Even the migrants that did not participate in the diaspora, these networks were still there.

Using diaspora and transnationalism allows the emphasis of the process of migration while acknowledging the connections within the homeland as well as across the globe with Chinese Diaspora communities elsewhere. Scholars emphasize the importance of knowing where, why, and how these immigrants came to America (Bronson and Ho 2015; Cassel 2002; Merritt 2010; Rose and Kennedy 2020; Ross 2013; Voss 2015; Voss and Allen 2008; Yu 2008). For Asian American scholars, including those from AsianCrit, using diaspora and transnational frameworks that emphasizes the link between Chinese immigrants in the Americas to family in China and its existence since the first Asian immigrated to the U.S. allows scholars to combat 'unassimilable' narratives (Iftikar and Museus 2018). Transnationalism is especially relevant for many Chinese Americans who grew up travelling between China and the United States; transnationalism is an ingrained way of life for even those who are born in the States (Ng 2020). Transnationalism represents more than physical travel between places, but also activities such as sending remittance letters, building homes, or donating money to villages (Hsu 2000; Yu 2020). Maintaining connections to the homeland became especially important in the face of growing racism. Active involvement with Chinese affairs and efforts to create a strong China helped Chinese immigrants create a transnational identity that facilitated resilience (Smits 2008).

For Asian American archaeologists such as Ng (2020), engagement with transnational migration heritage not only provides an important contrast between the attitudes of China's preservation for these home villages and the U.S.'s National Register for Historic Places for Chinese American sites, but also is critical to understand Chinese American identity formation. Home villages in China are often seen as part of China's national heritage, with

some listed under UNESCO's World Heritage status, while Chinese American sites listed in America's National Register for Historic Places are far fewer. This suggests the importance of overseas communities for China and its national perceptions of heritage, unlike the U.S. treatment of the same population which tends to silence Chinese American histories. Understanding Chinese American identity formation through a transnational lens emphasizes the role of geographic locations such as the U.S. and China, as well as what it means to be Chinese. Transnationalism underscores the importance of mobility and movement of goods and people, connecting Chinese people across the globe through diasporic networks.

Scholars have specifically addressed problems in understanding diasporic communities from acculturation and assimilation models, which, among many critiques, reinforce essentialism (Mullins 2008; Orser 1999; Voss and Allen 2008; Voss 2005; Yu 2008). Unfortunately, because Chinese Diaspora archaeology began as early as the 1960s, some of the foundational literature remains situated in acculturation and assimilation models. Defying stereotypes and challenging anti-Chinese perspectives through shifts in the framework of research is thus an important aspect of Chinese Diaspora archaeology.

By implementing a diaspora and transnational framework and understanding processes of racial formation and racialization in the Asian American context, archaeologists can contextualize the changing political nature of race with respect to the unique position Asian Americans have been forced into as specifically "foreign," and combat the assimilation model for understanding Asian American archaeological assemblages. Assimilationist views bolster Chinese stereotypes and portray Chinese immigrants as an undifferentiated, lower-

class, static group. Scholars need to instead acknowledge that Chinese immigrants came from a variety of social backgrounds and that immigration is "family-oriented, group-sustained, and socially embedded migratory activity that involves people in kinship or other social relations" (Cassel 2002:23). In addition, acculturation models prevent Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans from being recognized as participants in the formation of American national culture (Voss 2008).

As racial and ethnic identities develop in conjunction with power relations, critical analyses of social factors within the Chinese community can help move beyond the racial and ethnic narratives of Chinese Diaspora research, instead turning to understand strategies for survival and cultural identity for the Chinese immigrants within larger non-Chinese communities. Only a small handful of published archaeological projects have been conducted in the homeland, and using the diasporic transnational framework is a clear way for archaeologists to begin incorporating the context of homeland into the lives of Chinese immigrants (Ng 2020; Voss et al 2019). Research on the homeland is of equal importance in studying the Chinese Diaspora as it provides the comparison of the lives for those families remaining in China (Ng 2020; Voss et al 2019).

Consumption, Communities, and Market Access

The root of consumption theory is "people consume what is meaningful to them within the universe of what they can afford" (Orser 2007:13). However, consumption directly ties to larger social structures such as racial structures or societal organizations (Mullins 2011; Orser 2007). In addition, "race was a social mechanism that ensured that emergent

consumer culture's mass markets, public discourses, and economics never were utterly egalitarian, classless, or blind to ethnicity and social distinction" (Mullin 1999:v). In order to properly contextualize the consumption practices of various Chinese communities, the racial structures that impacted the day-to-day lives of Chinese immigrants must then be recognized.

One of the ways race and consumption are connected is through social mobility, specifically genteel practices which has been determined by White society. However, Mullins' (1999) analysis of African American consumption in Annapolis, Maryland, shows African American consumers as both Black and American as opposed to only associating with the White American identity. Chinese diasporic archaeological sites have revealed a combination of both characteristically EuroAmerican as well as Chinese manufactured goods. While earlier research interpreted the presence of these artifacts as means of analyzing the level of assimilation through consumption, current research has focused on a more nuanced analysis of these goods. Presence of EuroAmerican manufactured items do not imply an intentional social navigation. For examples, there are studies conducted on the negotiation of gentility and class with respect to the Chinese population. Voss (2019) explores vessel form types to illustrate specific Chinese populations as not necessarily navigating genteel social constructions, but instead as evidence of choosing more pragmatic items; larger serving size from EuroAmerican ceramics are more useful in certain settings in comparison to the smaller vessel types of Chinese *mín yáo* porcelain. Williams (2008) interrogates the relationship between material culture and Chinese masculinities through the discourses of Western perception of Chinese masculinity and Chinese notions of 文 (*wén*)

and 武 (*wǔ*). His research emphasizes the ways that objects can be understood from multiple gender discourses (Williams 2008:62). These examples show a need to understand multiple discourses of consumption and race without necessarily connecting them to social mobility. For Chinese diasporic communities, the networks which connected the various communities likely had as much control, if not more, in determining consumption than social mobility.

Though not a direct result of racialization, networks of Chinese organizations formed as a means to maintain connections to the homeland as well as protect Chinese immigrants from impacts of racialization such as systemic and individual racism. These networks controlled the levels of accessibility of goods. Chinese laborers had a different accessibility to goods in comparison to the merchants. The merchant class in Chinese communities was able to gain significant power and influence over the laboring class and dictated the market availability for the types of goods and quantities (Merritt 2010). Those communities with a smaller Chinese population had more limited access, allowing the merchant class to have more control over the laborers. In comparison, those with a larger Chinese population permitted more opportunities for different types of organizations (Merritt 2010).

Chinese immigrants formed settlements such as Chinatowns, small communities in rural cities and towns, small villages, and variety of work camps. These communities held different relationships with each other and became structured in certain ways due to economic and personal relationships. Chinatowns protected Chinese immigrants from racial violence by creating a physical space that fulfilled the immediate daily needs while remaining in a space with familiar people and surroundings. As a specific example, Chinese

immigrants in the Woolen Mills Chinatown in California built own hydrant and pump system to protect themselves from arson attack (Baxter 2008). Smaller communities became more heavily dependent on one another and held strong kinship ties (Bronson and Ho 2015; Cassel 2002; Merritt 2010; Rose and Kennedy 2020; Ross 2013; Voss 2015; Voss and Allen 2008; Yu 2008). Demographics of each type of settlement varied greatly, as Chinatowns often had more diversity in terms of women and children in addition to bachelor men (with wives and children in China), while work camps tended to be bachelor-dominated (Voss 2008). Large urban contexts such as Los Angeles (Greenwood 1996), San Jose (Voss 2008), San Bernardino (Costello et al 2008), Sacramento (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1982), and El Paso (Staski 1993) have been explored archaeologically to examine these dynamics. Non-archaeological scholarship has also tended to focus more on large Chinatowns such as New York City, Portland, San Francisco, and Washington D.C. (Chen 1980; Lee 1965; Lee 2003; Wong 2004).

Though often much smaller in size in comparison to their urban counterparts, rural Chinatowns became important for the Chinese mining community to sustain. As the next chapter elaborates, these rural settings included stores that provided access to not only familiar Chinese goods, but also various services, such as a setting for the Chinese immigrants to play games, socialize, and listen to Chinese music (Bronson and Ho 2015; Rose 2020). These rural Chinatowns in Oregon and other parts of the West Coast were not isolated, however; they were part of a larger network that connected to urban centers such as Portland, San Francisco, and Victoria (Bronson and Ho 2015).

Chinatowns and communities of varying sizes also served to protect Chinese immigrants from racial violence prevalent across the country. As a result, voluntary organizations based on clans, benevolent groups/district associations, and secret societies formed, which affected the internal and external social relations in diasporic communities (Mullins 2008). Before 1910, at least seven types of Chinese organizations existed: secret/fraternal societies (堂 *tong4*, now commonly referred to as tongs), county/district-of-origin groups (會館 *huì guǎn* and *shantang*), merchant/civic leader associations (Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, clan [surname] associations, temples and shrines, progressive political organizations, and missionary churches (Bronson and Ho 2015). Each organization operated in their own unique way. For example, while count/district-of-origin groups and clan associations were restricted to a person's regional background or family name, others were more open. Tongs even had White and Native American members (Bronson and Ho 2015).

Most notably, the Six Companies was the umbrella organization for multiple (often regional) Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Associations (CCBA). Both the Six Companies and CCBA first formed in San Francisco, and then CCBA expanded regionally. CCBAs served many functions that often included general control over Chinese immigrants (and specifically their members) personal freedoms, commerce, repatriation, and social organizations. While each regional association had their own unique set of roles and rules, they ultimately helped connect their members with Hong Kong and mainland China. In addition, drawing on the importance of kinship to Chinese people, clan associations formed

to assist immigrants. These organizations connected laborers and merchant-elites to the families and clan relations in both the homeland and host communities, giving them a network that offered Chinese immigrants varying degrees of aid. Most of the clan associations focused on acquiring property through fund-raising projects, provided commercial and social connections, and often dominated several Chinatowns (Bronson and Ho 2015). Out of these, *kongsi* is another organizational form that is not as well known. Chung argues that it is a form of the *huì guǎn*, and Han (2020) argues that the legacy of the *kongsi* is one of the underlying Chinese mining company organization. In many instances, these organizations also served as a way for Chinese immigrants to collectively resist both anti-Chinese legislation as well as mob violence. Members protected the rights of miners, often representing them in courts (Chung 2011:24). The Six Companies have been known famously for facilitating illegal immigration through providing falsified documents of residency, constructing new identities such as through the famous paper sons phenomenon.[3]

The amount of organizational types varied by location. In large urban settlements, a large enough Chinese population existed to support multiple types of organizations, whereas smaller settlements had fewer types. Regardless of types of organization, each local branch of these organizations was connected to the larger nation-wide and global branches. Some of these organizations also controlled trade of goods and movement of labor, which often led to the organizations ultimately controlling access to goods and thus also impacting the

[3] Paper sons and paper daughters are terms used to refer to Chinese people who illegally immigrated to the U.S. by purchasing documents which stated they were blood relatives to Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans already residing in the U.S. The 1906 San Francisco earthquake that destroyed public birth documents were one of the major events that allowed Chinese immigrants to claim their citizenship status. This phenomenon caused the construction of many new identities for Chinese immigrants and created fictive ties.

consumption patterns of Chinese immigrants (Merritt 2010). The control of goods becomes especially evident in railroad camp sites with little to no variation across sites. Each stop along the railroad grade, regardless of the location, was likely supplied by the same Chinese merchants, which meant that Chinese railroad workers had little or no market access (Merritt 2017:200). Facilitating labor through these various organizations is also crucial. The mere existence of these organizations allowed Chinese immigrants in the 19th and 20th centuries to move around from place to place and secure various employment opportunities.

The organizations became part of a complex network that Chinese immigrants depended on for a variety of goods and services. This network moved along urban and rural nodes to create various levels of market access for Chinese immigrants. Urban nodes would provide greater access to varieties of goods in comparison to rural areas due to population size, access, and sustained consumer demand (Kennedy 2015; Sunseri 2020; Yu 2020). Sunseri notes how meat cuts across different Chinese diasporic sites is a reflection of availability and difficulty of access to purchase specific meat cuts or cuisine preferences, rather than an indication of economic status or buying power (Sunseri 2020:268). Related to this notion is then also understanding how racialization impacts these accessibilities with respect to the Chinese immigrant's choices in these market access. Multisited comparisons are especially important in understanding these accessibilities (Merritt 2020; Rose and Kennedy 2020; Sunseri 2020; Yu 2020).

Summary

By situating the lives of Chinese immigrants in the framework of a racialized Asian American experience, archaeologists can better contextualize daily consumption choices. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, Asian Americans have repeatedly attempted to associate with Whiteness as opposed to Blackness. Archaeologists have argued that Chinese American business leaders intentionally situated themselves with a higher gentility through the use of British refined earthenware during banquets hosted for EuroAmerican friends. (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001). Navigation of the color line is thus a crucial element in Asian American experience and must be addressed in archaeological contexts.

Through the understanding of racial formation of Asian Americans, scholars can place Asian Americans in the narratives of race. Critical Race Theory, specifically AsianCrit, acknowledges the role that race has played in Asian American narratives and how legislation has subjugated people of color. Contextualizing anti-Chinese legislation put in place in the 19th and 20th centuries is necessary to understand the racial constructs that Asian Americans endured. Chinese immigrants began coming to the U.S. in small numbers as early as the late 18th century for a variety of reasons. Nineteenth-century immigration spurred by the gold rush and railroad work filtered into Chinatowns in response to the Exclusion era. The pre-established extensive Chinese networks that encompasses various types of associations, tongs, and organizations not only protected Chinese immigrants against discrimination but also to provided aid to Chinese immigrants.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

One drum, Two gongs, All Hakkas, Listen to my song. No harm listening to my persuasive song. It is good to take one's own path. Do not mind if the journey is long, Nor fear the hassle. North, south, east, west, You can travel in all directions. All places in the world are your domains. Be it prefecture, country or province, You can live in the city or the town. Ever heard of foreigners coming to China? Chinese people going overseas, Tens of thousands in Gold Mountain, Ten thousand in India. Hakka Drum Song (Lim 2005)

"一打鼓，二打锣，众客民，听我歌；我歌劝散听无讹，各人走散各人好。莫嫌路远怕奔波。东南西北任汝所至，普天之下皆王土，或州或县或省府，市镇通衢皆可处。更闻人自外国来，中国人多嗨外往，数十万人在金山，十万人在印度。"《劝散歌》

Songs such as the one above, as well as the saying "to succeed in life, learn to eat bitterness (吃得苦中苦，方为人上人)," taught Chinese people how to bear the hardships and loneliness that came with traveling across the globe as well as demonstrated the choices they made in order to gain the riches they wanted. Chinese people began immigrating to the U.S. in large waves when news of the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill spread to China in 1848. The lure of gold and employment opportunities became one of the main draws not only

for Chinese immigrants but also for people around the world. Chinese laborers were one of the core labor forces for mining in the American West. The mining industry that contributed to the idea of the "Frontier West" created its own forms of settlement including sets of politics, economy, and culture. Gold and high demands for labor drew people from all backgrounds to mining communities across the West. Although anti-Chinese legislation and sentiments may have been the general environment through which Chinese immigrants needed to navigate, the Hakka Drum Song, as well as the Chinese saying above, demonstrate resilience and purpose in Chinese immigrants. Though they faced violence and discrimination, going abroad was a beacon of hope not just for Chinese individuals but for whole families and clans.

Mining Communities

Mining differs from other economic activities, as it is ultimately unsustainable and often depletes resources from an area. However, many towns in the American West were also built because of mining. While some declined after the mining resources declined, others were able to continue through other forms of employment such as farming or ranching. Mining companies came to operate in remote regions, creating facilities that included bunkhouses and commissaries for employees (White 2017). This meant that in certain mining towns, mining companies directly controlled accessibility and consumption.

Mining communities often consisted of people across many ethnic backgrounds. Typical ethnic composition for the time included English, Irish, German, Swedish, Italian, Chinese, African Americans, Native Hawaiians, Mexicans, South Americans, eastern Europeans, Southeast Asians, and Native Americans (Obermayr and McQueen 2016; Rose

and Ruiz 2014). Most non-Europeans are largely invisible in the documentary record because the historical record only considered EuroAmericans. This diversity created racial prejudices in mining communities that manifested in a variety of methods, such as differential taxation, discrimination based on skillset and pay grade, and the separation of spaces. The racialization of ethnic groups prevented class-based identity from forming between different ethnic backgrounds; instead, ethnic groups focused on practicing their own cultural identities (Silliman 2006:151-2). Intentional development of ethnic neighborhoods in the communities regardless of the size of the community commonly occurred. In Arizona's Ajo, a copper mining town, Mexican workers had to rent housing instead of being able to purchase housing like their White counterparts (White 2017:78). Lowest pay grade was often determined by the newest ethnic group to join. Overt prejudice also forced ethnic groups into certain neighborhoods within the community and the spaces they were allowed. Mexican workers constituted up to 80% of Ajo's workforce but were only allowed half the amount of space the remaining White American settlement had (White 2017).

The overall mining industry was only able to sustain ethnic diversity (but not inclusiveness) over a long period due to the intentional division of hard labor. Labor that required dangerous conditions was assigned exclusively to new groups of immigrants. However, for the Chinese mining community in Oregon, Chinese miners were autonomous from the other White-owned mining companies and did not experience the same racialized tensions between owners and workers. Though Chinese miners coexisted with other miners, there is no evidence for class-based identity forming across different ethnic boundaries. In addition, interaction of Chinese miners with other non-White miners remain uncertain.

Despite this ethnic separation in the laboring community, ethnic signatures can often be more complicated to see or use in a mining community (Knapp 1998; Hardesty 1998, White 2017). In these mining company towns, consumption was often controlled by the company, and variations of goods that reflect the diversity of the population did not necessarily exist (White 2017). Between the different ethnic enclaves, considerable overlap existed between the material culture used by each, such as tin cans, cookware, and furnishings (White 2017). Chinese immigrants were one of the few groups that left a more distinctive mark in the archaeological record. Their connections with the extended Chinese networks allowed even the most remote mining camp to have access to foods such as rice, soy sauce, and fish, as well as gaming activities. Access to goods is visible through the presence of CBGS, *mín yáo* porcelain rice bowls, and gaming paraphernalia present in the archaeological record. However, Chinese-related artifacts do not make up the entirety of any given Chinese diasporic assemblage. Instead, written records and archaeological evidence have demonstrated that Chinese miners also purchased EuroAmerican goods (Stapp 1993; White 2017).

Early scholars generally believed mining communities were male-dominated. However, written and material evidence shows women contributed to unpaid labor as wives and mothers in households. Historical records have typically portrayed women solely as prostitutes, though further research has proven otherwise (Rose 2009). Women volunteered as community organizers, owned businesses, and worked as prospectors or miners (Obermayr and McQueen 2016, White 2017). In larger mining communities, other common jobs included waitresses, maids, cooks, and housekeepers. The growth of the mining town

often determined the population of women and children; during the initial phases, the mining town had a smaller population of women and children, but as it grew and stabilized, they became more prevalent (Obermayr and McQueen 2016). However, the privilege of having wives and family in a mining community was frequently reserved only for the White population. In other ethnic communities, the population of women and men was not nearly as equal according to historical documents. Historical records commonly ignored or under-documented non-White women (Rose 2013). Although a lot of women were often assumed to be prostitutes, a large population of women were married (Rose 2013). The difference was that these mixed-race marriages were illegal. They were ignored by members of the community and therefore constitute a silence in the historical record (Rose 2013).

Census documents have regularly demonstrated a lack of Chinese women and children in mining settlements. The 1870 Eastern Oregon census listed a total of 43 Chinese women, with ten of them listed as “keeping house” in Grant County. Chinese women were often sold into prostitution in brothels, or “green mansions” 青楼. Many sought to escape that life by trying to find a good man to buy them out of the mansions (Lim 2005). The Presbyterian Mission Home in San Francisco rescued approximately 1,500 girls from prostitution (Lim 2005). One of the more famous Chinese women was Polly Bemis who was born in northern China in 1853, sold to bandits, and eventually traveled to America. A saloonkeeper in an Idaho mining camp purchased her, and then later Charlie Bemis won her in a poker game. Polly was able to use her knowledge of Chinese herbal medicine to help Charlie multiple times, and eventually people started to seek her help for illness and wounds (Bronson and Ho 2015). In comparison to China, Chinese women were more allowed to

participate with their husband's business affairs in the U.S. By the turn of the 20th century, Chinese women had more opportunities for education and developments. Sieh King King (谢晶晶), then an 18-year old student in San Francisco, gave an impassioned speech calling for equality and education for women. In 1903, Mai Zhouyi (麦周仪), spoke to an audience of 1,500 in the Presbyterian Church in San Francisco's Chinatown to advocate for women's education and better treatment of immigrants (Lim 2005:146-47).

Chinese in the Northwest

Small numbers of Chinese immigrants began coming to the Northwest as early as 1788 for short-term jobs such as carpenters, shipbuilders, blacksmiths, and sailors. These early immigrants were valued by European fur traders, which contrasts with the later treatment by Americans (Bronson and Ho 2015). Beginning in 1851, the California Gold Rush reached the Siskiyou Mountains on the border between California and Oregon, and by the mid-19th century, Jacksonville and Sterlingville had Chinese communities and miners (Bronson and Ho 2015; LaLande 1981; Rose and Johnson 2016). Chinese mining settlements began to form in the interior of the Pacific Northwest, which facilitated the growth of coastal urban settlements, the first of which being Jacksonville. Portland and Victoria later became the dominant cities with Chinatowns in the Northwest. By 1870, Portland had a Chinese population of 720, and by 1880 the century, the population had increased to 1,983, becoming the second-largest Chinese population in North America (Bronson and Ho 2015; Wong 2004). Portland became an important city due to the labor exploitation of Chinese

immigrants, which drove the city to ignore many anti-Chinese legislations in efforts to secure their labor force.

The rise in Chinese miners encouraged local and state governments to enact anti-Chinese legislation such as the Poll Tax of $2 a month, as well as promoting racial tensions between Chinese and non-Chinese communities. Within the next year, this tax had doubled to $4 per month. In 1866, the *Oregon Sentinel* printed a comment by a Jacksonville writer who believed that it was "an unwise policy to allow a race of brutish heathens who have nothing in common with us, to exhaust our mineral lands without paying a heavy tax for their occupation" (*Oregon Sentinel* 1 Sept. 1866:2). This sentiment is one of many examples of how the public openly expressed dismay with Chinese miners. Others spoke of "Chinese invasions of the mines […who] lived the life of all poverty-stricken Chinaman far from home and friends" (Walling 1884:346). Sentiments such as the ones above represent the justification for these legislation and serve as examples of the environments of institutional and cultural racism in which Chinese immigrants had to survive. Headlines from the *Oregon Sentinel* between 1876 to 1880 indicate that anti-Chinese violence would continue in the Siskiyou Mountains in southern Oregon. These included robberies, arson, assassination, and property damage.

After the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, organized violence became even more present in the daily lives of Chinese immigrants. A series of violent crimes took place across the Northwest including the Squak and Coal Creek massacre in Washington, the expulsion of Chinese immigrants in Tacoma, and the Seattle Riot. In Oregon City, Chinese people were robbed and expelled in 1886. One hundred Chinese woodchoppers were expelled in Mt.

Tabor in 1886, Chinese men were escorted out of Milton with ropes on their necks in 1891, and Chinese people violently expelled out of La Grande and Union Oregon in 1893. In 1872, in Baker City, Oregon, windows of Chinese buildings were smashed.

Despite these acts, evidence exists of Chinse immigrants resisting and fighting off intruders. In 1867, a group of Chinese miners fought White miners due to conflicted mining claim boundary (*Oregon Sentinel* 27 Dec. 1867:3). A turning point in media representations of Chinese immigrants came when one of the Portland newspapers, *Morning Oregonian,* in 1865 changed editorship to Harvey W. Scott (Chung 2011). The newspaper soon after started printing articles that spoke positively of Chinese immigrants including predicting that the Chinese would help build the mining, manufacturing, and agricultural interests of Oregon (Chung 2011:52). Smaller newspapers eventually followed this policy. Chung theorizes that the decrease in negative stories about the Chinese partially contributed to less hostile interactions between Chinese and EuroAmericans. Within rural mining communities, the nature of these small communities and financial dependency on each other allowed for positive relationships to cultivate between Chinese and EuroAmerican populations. Despite the violence and numerous taxes and fees, a lot of anti-Chinese legislation appear to have only been in effect when it was beneficial to the EuroAmerican population (Chung 2011). This played out especially in the transfer of mining claims. Even though in many areas it was illegal for Chinese miners to own claims, EuroAmericans often sold their old claims to Chinese miners due to the former's loss of interest (Chung 2011:39; LaLande 1981:322; Rose and Johnson 2016:19; Steeves 1984:160–161,165).

Jacksonville and the Siskiyou Mountains

By the early 1850s, gold mining was well established in California, and southern Oregon became an extension of the California Gold Rush. Located on the edge of the Rogue River Valley, Jacksonville began as a small mining camp as part of the early gold strikes in the area. The Jacksonville Chinese Quarter was established by the 1850s, and the area southwest of Jacksonville by Upper Jackson Creek was almost "exclusively Chinese" by 1864 (LaLande 1981). In 1857, the local Jackson County to enact a Foreign Miners' tax targeting all non-White miners as a means for the county to generate additional revenue. Historical documentation indicates that hydraulic mining and small-scale placer mining made up the majority of the mining conducted in this area by the Chinese. Originally White-owned mining companies hired Chinese workers to build and extend the mines. Chinese mining companies shifted to also work in the area after more were established. However, the Chinese mining companies would work mostly in abandoned mines, due to discriminatory mining laws that banned Chinese from staking new claims. Chinese miners utilized the existing tailings and simply modified them in order to extend hydraulic cuts, which also benefited Chinese miners as they were able to efficiently continue mining these claims (LaLande 1981:30).

One of the most prominent miners in Jackson County was Gin Lin, a contract labor broker, and miner. He purchased and leased placer mining claims all along the lower Little Applegate River (LaLande 1981). Gin Lin was one of the Chinese miners who purchased hydraulic mining equipment, and the landscape changes his mining created can still be seen

today on the "Gin Lin Mining Trail" in the Rogue River-Siskiyou National Forest. The trail shows part of the extensive complex water system that is required for hydraulic mining.

The increased Chinese population also created a need for food, clothing, tools, and other goods for the Chinese miners. According to scholars, Chinese merchants were listed in the census, but their location is unknown. Chinese miners often had to purchase their goods at White-owned stores instead of Chinese ones. One example was Kaspar Kubli's store[4] which imported Chinese goods from Tung Chong and Company in San Francisco to serve the Chinese population (LaLande 1981:27). Alternatively, Chinese miners were so prevalent that White merchants wanted to cater to Chinese miners for financial gains.

For more than two decades after its initial establishment, the Jacksonville Chinese Quarter site "served as a regional supply hub for Chinese migrants working in the area" (Figure 3) (Rose 2020). Various accounts and census data indicate that in the 1860s and 1870s, the population of Chinese in the area was in the hundreds, but by 1880, the population was down to 49 (Beeson 1880). During its height, Chinese immigrants in Jacksonville worked a variety of jobs including miners, barbers, a doctor, several clothes washers, cooks, servants, laundrymen, boarding housekeepers, merchants, waiters, gardeners, physicians, or artists (Census 1870).

[4] In the late 1800's, Kaspar Kubli's son, Kaspar Kubli, Jr., became the president of the Golden Standard Mining Company in Jacksonville, Oregon. By early 20th century his career had took a political turn in Oregon state legislature had an open affiliation with the Ku Klux Klan (Neal 1985:78).

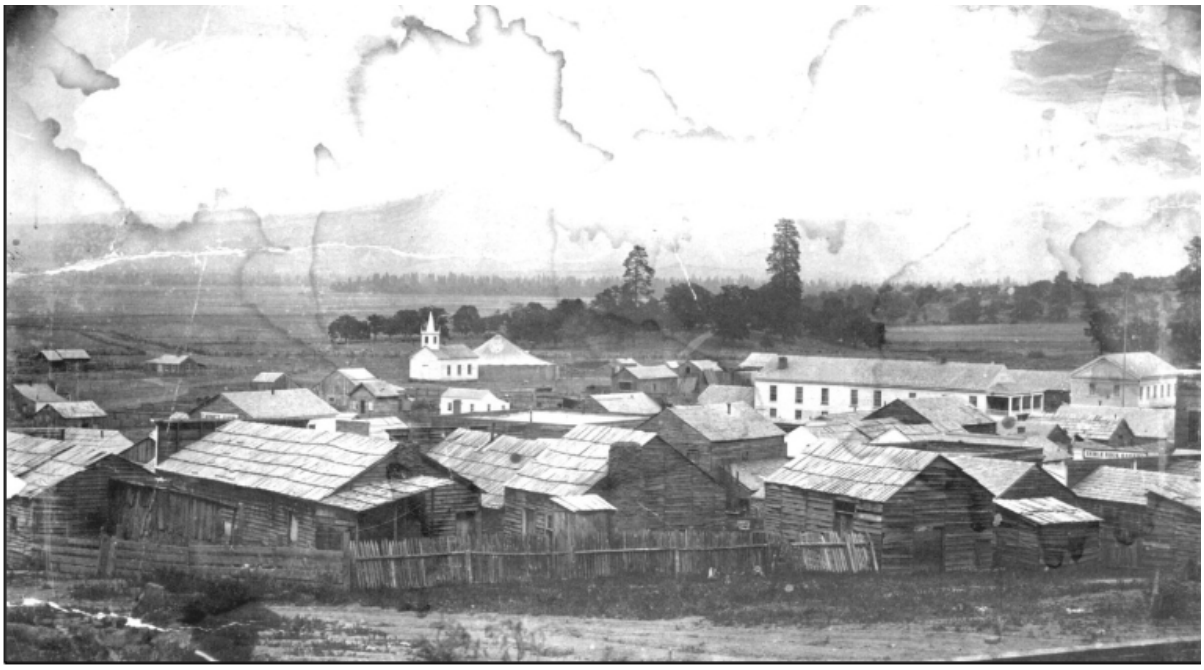


Figure 3. View north of the back side of the Jacksonville Chinese Quarter, Oregon, ca. 1855-1858 (Southern Oregon Historical Society. Negative no. 5692).

The northern portion of the Chinese neighborhood burned on September 11, 1888, when a nearby warehouse caught on fire (*Democratic Times* 13 September 1888). Several tenement houses and the Chinese Quarter were all impacted, and ultimately fire destroyed the northern block of the Chinese Quarter including the building at site 35JA737. As a result, part of the material assemblage is burnt and preserved *in situ*. Despite the fire, the Jacksonville Chinese community continued. Today, the area of the Jacksonville Chinese Quarter Site is a Veteran's Memorial Park constructed in the 1990s. By 1890, the Chinese population in the entire county had dropped to 223, a third of the population in 1870 (Chung 2011). Anti-Chinese legislation and sentiments drove the Chinese population to pursue employment opportunities elsewhere. Unfortunately, the decline in hydraulic mining also

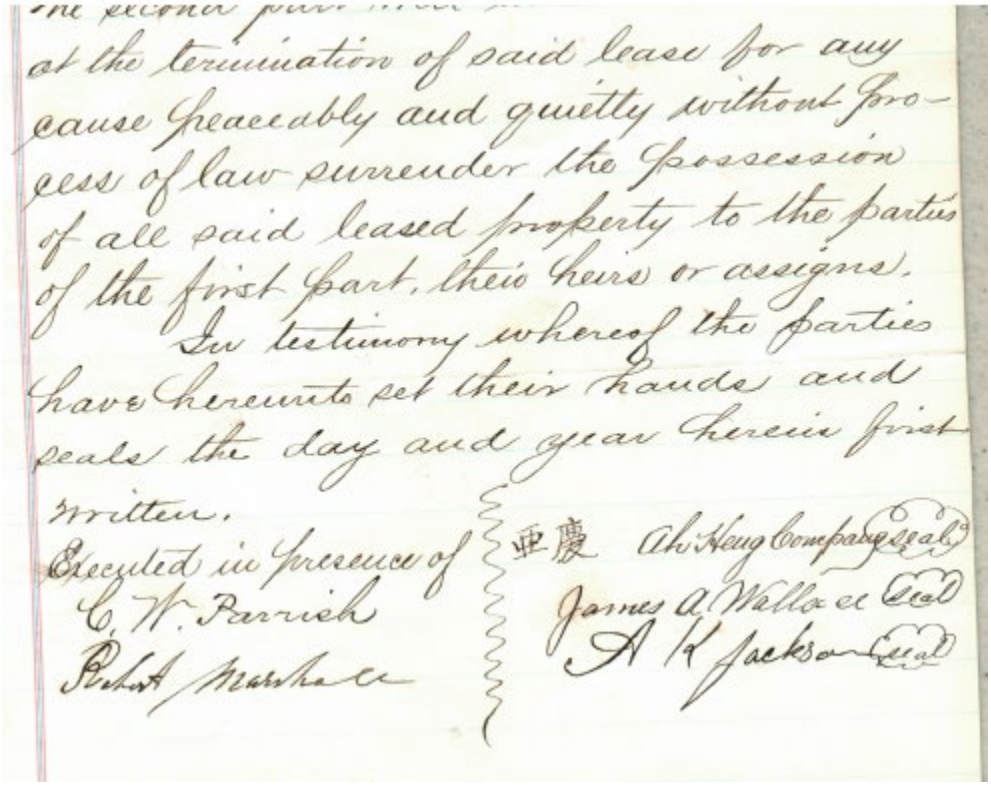
caused a decline in the Chinese population of southwestern Oregon, as restrictive legislation barred them many other local economic opportunities (LaLande 1981: 33). As early as the 1860s Chinese miners had begun to leave Jacksonville *en masse* for gold mines in John Day and elsewhere (LaLande 1981:26).

John Day and the Malheur National Forest

In 1862, the discovery of gold brought miners to the upper John Day River in the southern Blue Mountains of Oregon. Written and archaeological records show that Chinese miners active in the areas of the Susanville Mining District, which is located on the drainages of Middle Fork John Day River. According to federal mining reports in 1872 and 1880, most of the mining in Grant County Oregon had been done by the Chinese. Similarly, according to census records of Grant County, in 1870, Chinese people constituted 42% of the population and 69% of all miners. By 1880, although the Chinese population had dropped to representing 21% (357) of the population, Chinese mining presence increased to 80% (298) (Chung 2011:59). The 1870 census indicates that the oldest Chinese miner was 70 years old, the youngest was 10, and most were in the 21- to 25-year-old range. A decade later, the range would increase to 26-30 years old, indicating the aging population. By this time, the area and hydraulic mining were left to the Chinese while EuroAmericans were mostly employed in farming and ranching (Chung 2011:59).

One of the tributaries of the Middle Fork John Day is Big Creek, which was mentioned specifically in a mining lease dating to 1887. According to the lease (Figure 4), Ah Heng 亞慶, likely a consortium of Chinese investors, had purchased the mining claim for $4,000. By June 1888, Grant County news had reported that the Chinese miners had moved

on, illustrating the impermanence of mining camps (Chung 2011:69). The area is marked by mining ditches, tailings, placer cuts, a dam, walls, and washpits. Incomplete documentation, scale, dense vegetation, and the complexity of mining camps in this area has prevented majority of the mining history from being properly surveyed. Today this area is part of the Malheur National Forest, and archaeology presented here is under the supervision of the Forest Services. In 2014, the Malheur National Forest began using LiDAR-based modeling to locate and map placer mining features, revealing the extent of the mining complex in the Malheur (Hann 2016).


at the termination of said lease for any cause peaceably and quietly without process of law surrender the possession of all said leased property to the parties of the first part, their heirs or assigns.

In testimony whereof the parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year herein first written.

Executed in presence of

C. W. Parrish

Robt A Marshall

亞慶 Ah Heng Company Seal

James A Wallace Seal

A H Jackson Seal

Figure 4. Lease showing signature of Ah Heng Company (Kam Wah Chung & Co. Museum).

The Chinese community in Canyon City had approximately 400 residents, and the main street of what was then Chinatown is now called Canton Street. In 1880, ten Chinese merchants lived in John Day including Kam Wa Chung (likely the original store Kam Wah Chung and Company 金華昌), Ah Ong, We Lem and We Gun, Ah Bongie, Ah Hop, Get Lee, Ah Bog, and Kit Lee who was the youngest merchant and lived next to two miners (Chung 2011:60). In addition, Chinese physicians were likely hired by Chinese mining companies or associations in order to serve the miners. These physicians would serve not only the Chinese population but also the non-Chinese patients as well. Although White Americans also had White American physicians, the Chinese physicians attracted women in particular (Chung 2011). Other employment options for the Chinese included work as blacksmiths, laundrymen, shoemakers, hog dealers, laborers, cooks, gamblers, tailors, and jewelers (Chung 2011:66).

Because of the proximity of the two towns, Chinese people would often travel between John Day and Canyon City. According to the 1880 Canyon City census, the Chinese population had merchants, physicians, opium dealers, cooks, gardeners, restaurant owners and workers, woodchoppers, and miners who resided there (Chung 2011:67). This demonstrates the diversity of Chinese occupation in Canyon City in comparison to John Day. The Chinese communities in these two cities thrived such that one miner spent nine years as a miner in Canyon City, not speaking a word of English, and stayed completely within the Chinese community (Chung 2011). This type of lifestyle is not unusual in urban cities with well-established Chinatowns even to the present day, but for a Chinese person to be able to

do the same in a rural mining town indicates the ability for the local Chinese community to provide all his needs and satisfy his lifestyle while mining for gold.

Mining in John Day continued to rise into the early 1900s. The use of hydraulic equipment allowed the town's economy to flourish, and in 1892, the Chinese had produced 14.4% ($150,000) of the gold and silver found in Eastern Oregon (Chung 2011). In 1899, the gold and silver in Grant County totaled $303,681 (*Blue Mountain Eagle* 8, Feb 1901).

Kam Wah Chung and Company (Figure 5) was established in 1871, and by 1883 there were advertisements for the business in *Grant County News* in 1883 (Chung 2011:72). Records show that the Kam Wah Chung and Company was bought by Lung On 梁光榮 and Ing Hay 伍予念 (Figure 6) in 1887. The business quickly became not just a store but provided a series of services for local Chinese residents. These included a hiring hall for Chinese labor, a religious shrine for a Buddhist sect, a social center for discussing topics related to the homeland, a post office, a place to arrange loans and gamble, and an apothecary for Ing Hay to run his Chinese herbal practice (Chung 2011; Powell 1990). With the exception of the apothecary, in a comparative sense, such roles do not differ much from the Chinese store in German Gulch, Montana; the store also held mining claims, served as a place to arrange employment, as well as providing goods to local miners (Merritt 2017: 199).

Figure 5. Kam Wah Chung building.

Figure 6. Photo of Ing Hay (left) and Lung On (right) (Kam Wah Chung & Co. Museum).

Ing Hay, also commonly known as Doc Hay, quickly became renowned for his medicinal skills and served not only Chinese patients but non-Chinese patients as well. Ing Hay treated patients in person as well as via mail and eventually by phone from California to Texas (Chung 2011:78). Kam Wah Chung has one of the best collections for Chinese herbs to this day because of the combination of dry-desert climate and the building left *in situ* (Merritt Personal Communication 2019).

Lung On spoke fluent English and took on the business duties for the store, running as the intermediary between the Chinese and EuroAmerican community and was part of the international network that provided information about employment and loans for transportation to the U.S. (Chung 2011). In addition to Kam Wah Chung, Lung On also started the first automobile dealership east of the Cascades and even provided temporary partnerships in the store for individuals seeking the status of "merchant" so they could travel freely between China and the U.S. under the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act (McCunn 1988:57-61). Lung On also dated EuroAmerican women, "rode with white buckaroos," and had an outgoing personality that contrasted Ing Hay (Chung 2011:72; McCunn 1988:57-61). Together, the two allowed the Kam Wah Chung to offer a variety of different services and changed it based on population needs. Lung On stayed in John Day until his deaths from natural causes. Ing Hay visited Portland for medical reasons and ultimately passed away in Portland. Both Lung On and Ing Hay are buried in the John Day cemetery, where their gravestones remain well preserved and clean, indicating the important role they played in this town.

In the mid-20th century, when Ing Hay started to grow too old to manage the business by himself, he turned the business to his nephew Bob Wah and his wife, Rose. However, Bob Wah ran an office across the street and did not manage the business. Before Bob's death, he turned Kam Wah Chung over to the city of John Day who then, in turn, gave it to the state. Today, Kam Wah Chung is an Oregon State Park Heritage Site and museum that houses all the artifacts from the Kam Wah Chung building itself, including thousands of archival records in Chinese and English. The building has since remained relatively untouched by outsiders (city and state employees aside) and serves as a time capsule of how Ing Hay had left it. The records left behind include everything from medical prescriptions, business and personal letters, various inventory records, business transactions, Chinese-English dictionaries, Chinese novels, and postcards. Based on the inventory conducted by Chia-Lin Chen in the 1970s, the museum contains over 1500 documents. Out of these, five are general Chinese store ledgers and an unidentified number of opium/tobacco account books. Because the Kam Wah Chung came to serve as a storage facility for all local Chinese records, hundreds of Chinese records not associated with Kam Wah Chung are also present. For this study, only the store ledgers from Kam Wah Chung dating to 1887 were analyzed.

CHAPTER 4

METHODS AND DATA

Data used in this project consist of material and written assemblages. Material data includes archaeological investigations of the Jacksonville Chinese Quarter Site (35JA737) excavated in 2013 by Southern Oregon University Laboratory of Anthropology (SOULA), and a total of four Chinese mining camps (Happy Camp 2, Happy Camp 3, Ah Yee, Ah Heng1) in the Malheur National Forest, excavated by SOULA and Malheur National Forest's Passport In Time (PIT) in the summer of 2018 (Figure 7). While material records from Kam Wah Chung are also part of this analysis, no archaeological excavation data from there was used in this project; instead, all material records are from the museum itself when the building was reopened and ownership turned to the Oregon Department of Parks and Recreation **(**Schablitsky et al 2007). Material analysis from Kam Wah Chung is based on an amateur curation catalog created by volunteers of Kam Wah Chung. Written records used in this project consists of store ledgers from Kam Wah Chung, a series of English stores in Grant County, and a single inventory request from Jacksonville. All of the English store ledgers were held by the Grant County Oregon Historical Museum, all the Kam Wah Chung ledgers were found in Kam Wah Chung, and the inventory from Jacksonville was consulted in the archives of Southern Oregon Historical Society.

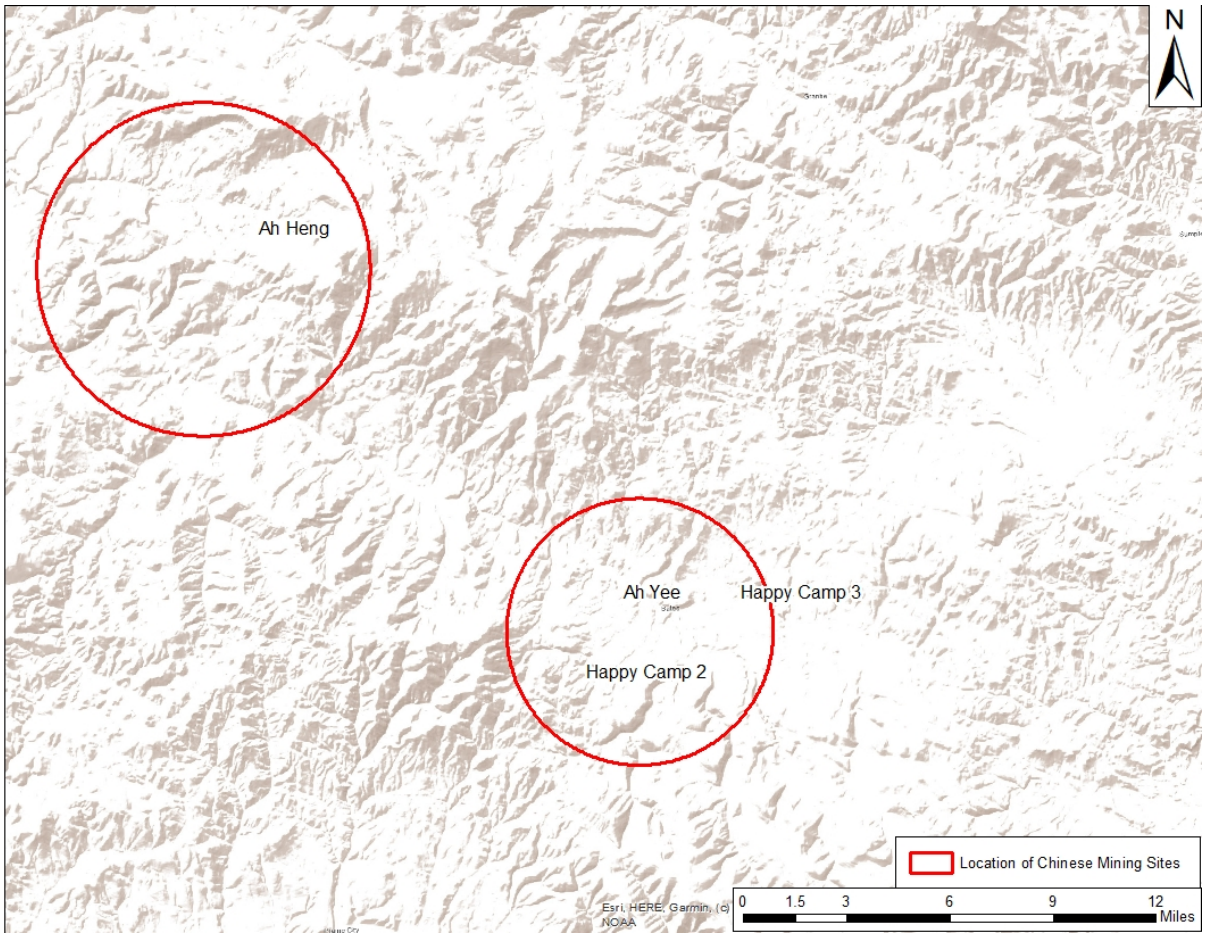


Figure 7. Malheur National Forest Chinese mining sites.

Archaeological Data

Artifacts from both the Jacksonville Chinese Quarter Site and the Chinese mining camps of Malheur National Forests were processed and catalogued by SOULA staff according to a slightly modified version of the Sonoma Historic Artifact Research Database (SHARD) (Rose and Johnson 2016). In order to create standardization and maintain consistency across the different datasets, the SHARD classification system was applied to the Kam Wah Chung material assemblage as well as the store ledgers. This classification system

categorizes artifacts and items into four broad functional groups: Activities, Domestic, Personal, and Structural, followed by subcategories. For a complete list of items under each classification see Appendix A. Additional categories such as "Indefinite Use," "Unidentified," and "Lithics/Others" are also part of the original catalogue; however, as they do not pertain to the analysis, they are excluded. "Others" include Sample, Bulk Sample, and Botanicals. Structural groups have the highest representation in the two archaeological assemblages due to presence of durable artifacts such as nails and brick fragments. This study specifically focuses on categories related to foodways within Domestic and outerwear (clothing and footwear) within Personal to maintain a more manageable dataset and understand the differences consumer choice[5]. Table 2 demonstrates the relative percentage of all three areas including functional groups not used in the analysis.

Table 2. Relative percentage of all functional groups

	Archaeological		Documentary		Other	
Artifact Function	**35JA737**	**Mining Camps**	**EuroAmerican Ledgers**	**Kam Wah Chung Ledgers**	**Kam Wah Chung Material**	**Jacksonville Document**
Activities	1.47%	4.03%	9.41%	2.61%	10.10%	20.27%
Domestic	11.42%	19.77%	17.60%	31.68%	14.32%	70.27%
Personal	10.80%	37.48%	31.92%	21.04%	10.63%	4.05%
Structural	42.06%	38.65%	3.41%	0.90%	1.11%	-
Indefinite Use	32.68%	-	-	-	-	-
Unidentified	0.05%	-	37.65%	43.78%	63.84%	5.41%
Lithics/Others	1.53%	0.07%	-	-	-	-

[5]Domestic and Personal categories are capitalized in this analysis as specific reference to these categories while lower case when addressing them generally.

Excavated in 2011 and 2013, the Jacksonville Chinese Quarter Site (35JA737) was a building dating to 1860s and abandoned in 1888 when it burned. The building sits on the section of Main Street known as the Chinese Quarter (Rose and Johnson 2016). The Phase II excavation in 2011 and Phase III excavation in 2013 yielded more than 60,000 artifacts, of which 23,659 are from the intact remains of the Chinese building (Rose and Johnson 2016). This dataset excludes additional bulk samples and botanicals, or any artifact not catalogued as "Historic," and the numbers have been extracted from the 2016 archaeological report.

The total artifact counts for the four mining camps in the Malheur National Forest (MNF) are significantly lower (n=1,366). The difference is due to site density between urban and short term occupations from high mobility as well as excavation sample size. In 2018 excavations were conducted at four mining camps (Happy Camp 2, Happy Camp 3, Ah Yee, and Ah Heng 1) in the Malheur National Forest (Louma 2014). Excavation methods involved primarily site clearing, surface artifact identification, feature mapping, metal detector survey, and test excavations of both 1-x-1 m test units and 50-x-50 cm units (Louma 2014).

Happy Camp 2 consists of a single rectangular structure as a shallow depression near the head of two larger placer cuts and associated head races and lateral ditch (Hann and Rose 2018). A scatter of metal cans, miscellaneous metal fragments, ceramics, and glass fragments are visible on the ground. The structure likely was a sill log cabin. Happy Camp 3, on the other hand, was one relatively substantial structural that likely had an additional 2-3 ephemeral structures based on the artifact scatter (Rose and Hann 2018). One of the walls of the structure includes the remains of a dry-stacked stone fireplace or similar feature which

consists of several large slabs of flat basalt. In contrast to proximity to head races, Happy Camp 3 is near the outlet of tail races from several large placer cuts. In the 1980s, two courses of logs were still visible as well as significant impacts from looting (Louma 2014).

The Ah Yee Mining Company Site is located a few miles away from the Happy Camp sites and is situated at the head of two placer cuts and an associated ditch network. Mine claim sales dating to 1867 place this mining camp as the earliest Chinese mining site in the Malheur National Forest (Dickenson 2016). According to the early 1990s records, sill logs from a cabin structure were present, but they have completely deteriorated since (Rose and Hann 2018). Instead, still visible is the scatter of surface artifacts and two rock features, one of which is similar to the rock hearth feature in Happy Camp 3.

Lastly, Ah Heng 1 is located several miles downstream from Happy Camp and Ah Yee sites. Ah Heng 1 is part of a larger mining camp with Ah Heng 2; however, within this mining camp only the archaeological collections from Ah Heng 1 are part of this analysis due to time constraints. As the name suggests, Ah Heng 1 and 2 are part of the Ah Heng mining lease mentioned above. Ah Heng 1, similar to the other sites, is situated along with a placer cut. Site records from the 1990s reveal that four structures were measured and described based on heavily deteriorated logs and light scatter of artifacts. Similar to Happy Camp 3, significant looting was also observed (Louma 2014). Figure 8 shows the location and proximity of the mining camps with one another as well as with John Day. Due to the proximity and size, Canyon City is not shown on the map.

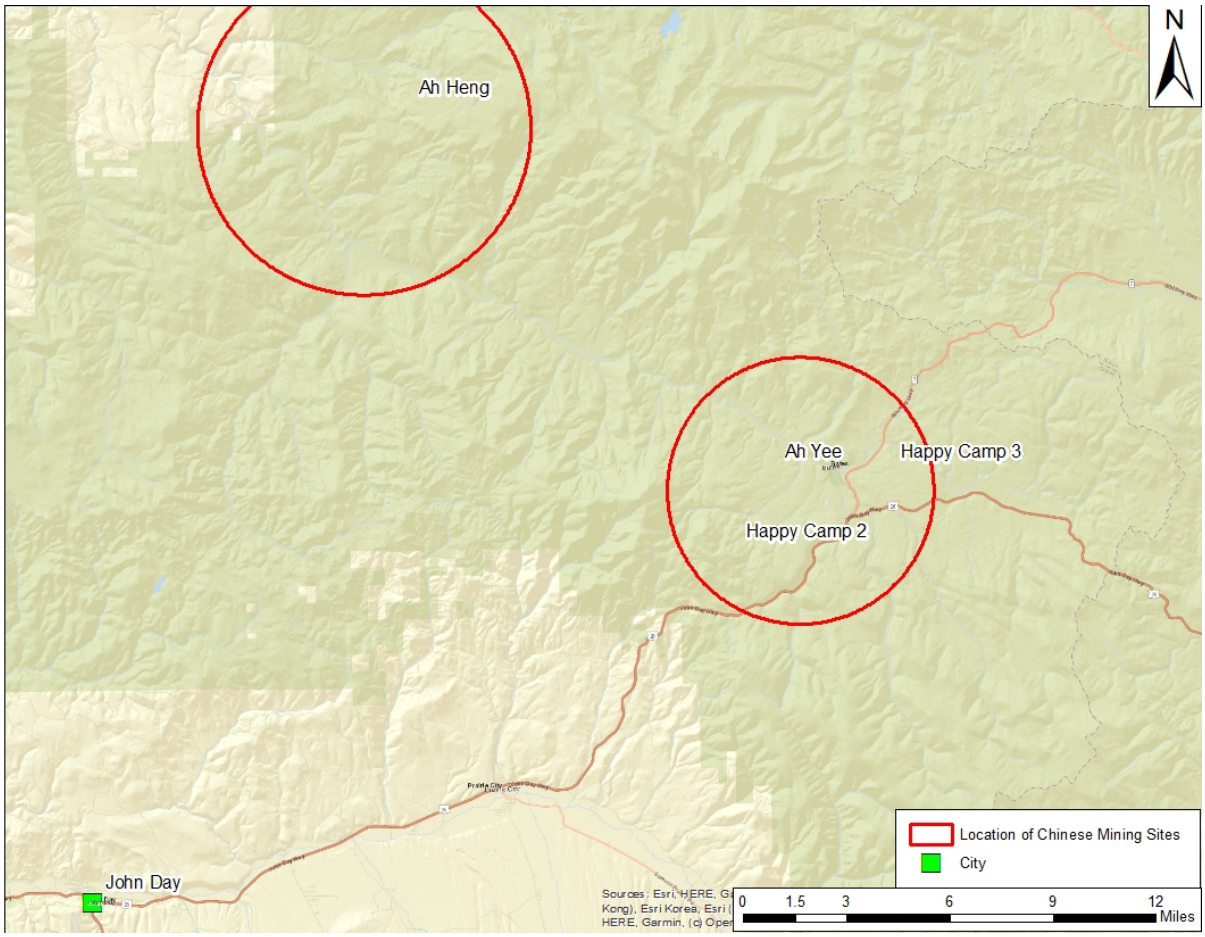


Figure 8. Malheur National Forest Chinese mining sites and John Day.

A total of 1,366 artifacts and associated fragments was found across the four sites. Difference in the artifact count is due to the excavation strategies. While the Jacksonville Chinese Quarter Site was an intensive phase III data recovery, the mining camps were a combination of metal detection, strategic 1-x-1 m test units, and quarter test pits (50-x-50 cm). Because this analysis seeks to understand the difference in material assemblage across different geographical and site function, the four mining camps are used as one unit of analysis to compare with the Jacksonville Chinese Quarter Site and Kam Wah Chung. In

addition, the proximity, size, and similarity in function permits the grouping of the four sites as one analytical unit.

Unlike the mining camps, the material assemblage from Kam Wah Chung (KWC) is relatively large (n=5,692). Because the collection at Kam Wah Chung is a time capsule dating to when the building was abandoned in the 1940s, the material assemblage includes material from the late 19th century to mid-20th century. Everything in the store was catalogued including different types of storage containers such as boxes, cans, jars, and others. In addition, volunteers catalogued other items that commonly do not normally exist in archaeological assemblages such as complete furniture, paper decoration, and calendars.

Local historians believe that both Lung On and Doc Hay saw themselves as keepers of history, curating a wide variety of documents. This is demonstrated by the hundreds of business and personal letters found in the museum that have no relations to either store owners or the store. A total of 3,634 out of the 5,392 artifacts from the Kam Wah Chung are not part of this analysis; these artifacts vary from medicine, all paper goods-including letters, accounting records, calendars, greeting cards, photos and other similar documents, to any unidentified objects such as wood, plastics, pipes, and containers. Unlike archaeological assemblages, the material assemblage at Kam Wah Chung varies greatly from Jacksonville and the mining camps. In this assemblage, the functional group that dominates the assemblage is Domestic (39.55%), followed by Personal (29.45%), Activities (27.94%), and lastly Structural (3.06%).The high percentage of Domestic material goods is likely because Kam Wah Chung served as a store and not everything was for household use. Meanwhile the

fact that the building was still functioning contributes to the low percentage of Structural materials.

All archaeological sites produced ceramics commonly associated with Chinese immigrants – such as *mín yáo* 民窑 (folk ware) porcelain and Chinese Brown Glazed Stonewares (CBGS) that contained a variety of goods. CBGS is used to describe multiple vessel forms including large shipping containers, globular jars for holding soy sauce, wine, or vinegar, spouted and wide mouth shouldered jars for fermented soybean sauces, liquor, soy sauce, vinegar, or oil, and liquor bottles containing distilled spirits of over 90 proof (Choy 2014). *Mín yáo* porcelain includes the four typical patterns of Bamboo, Double Happiness, Winter Green, and Four Season Flower. Out of these four patterns, Double Happiness may be a temporal marker and was no longer imported by the beginning of 20th century. Most sites with Double Happiness bowls tend to have an earlier date (Choy 2014). In addition, Winter Green and Four Season Flowers come in more vessel variety types such as plates, spoons, cups in comparison to Double Happiness and Bamboo, which are only seen on bowls in export wares (Choy 2014). These porcelains are not only found in the context of Chinese diasporic sites in the U.S but were also used in China and are distinct from the fine Chinese porcelain produced in the imperial kilns of Jingdezhen 景德镇 (Choy 2014).

Archival Data

Kam Wah Chung (KWC) contains four store ledgers that date from February of 1887 to August of 1889; however only three (Books 1-3; October 1887 to May 1888) have been translated and transcribed by the author in this project. These ledgers are written entirely in

traditional Chinese because Simplified Chinese was not formally put in place until the 1950s by the People's Republic of China. However, as cursive traditional Chinese formed the basis for many Simplified Chinese characters, some of the characters can be misunderstood and interpreted as Simplified Chinese. Kam Wah Chung volunteers throughout the last two decades have created a manual to help the understanding of these documents including the general information recorded on the ledgers. Among them are the following: the dates (often only the day of the month, with the month explicitly noted on the first of each month), the content/lists of items purchased, and purchaser, count of items, and the price of items. The last three are not always provided in these documents. In addition, some accounts listed at the beginning of each date show those who have paid as well as monthly totals calculated at the end of each month. Lastly, an additional "X" or "入" rù appears on some of the items. However, the purpose of this has yet to be identified. It is possible that they represent the same idea and "X" was a more cursive way of writing "入". If X is meant to be 入, then based on the definition of 入, the purpose of this marking could indicate that the item was entered or accounted for (Figure 9).

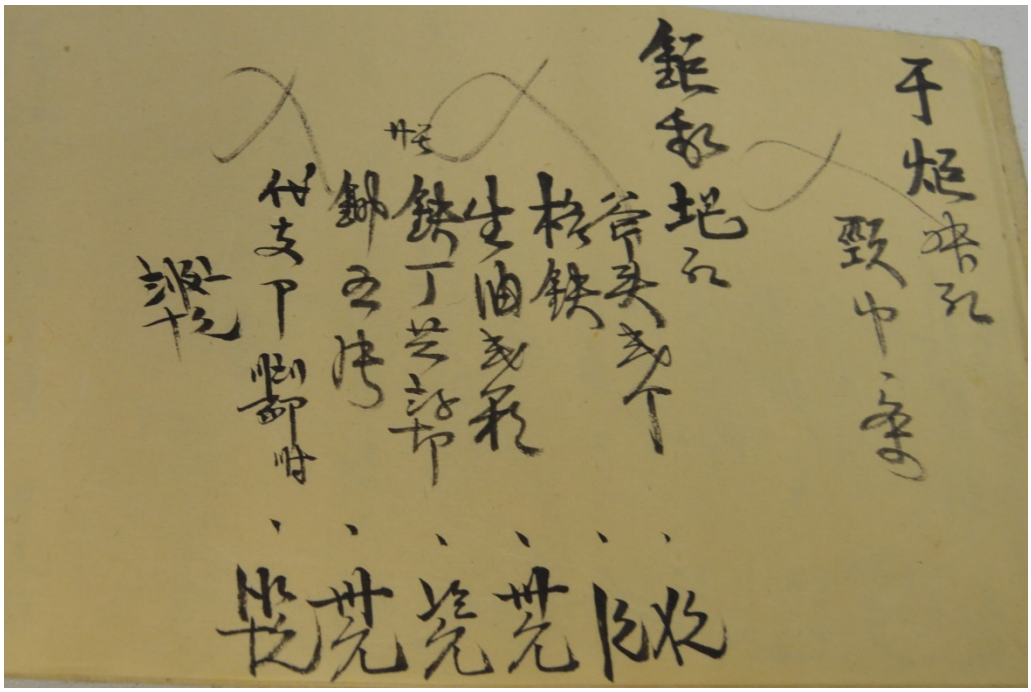


Figure 9. Example of "X" Marks in Ledgers (Kam Wah Chung & Co. Museum).

In addition to the Simplified and Traditional Chinese dynamic, these texts have other complexities. One is that most Chinese immigrants spoke either Cantonese or a form of dialect within Cantonese. As a second-generation Chinese American Mandarin speaker, I needed to consult with Cantonese speakers about certain listings. For example, 番梘 *pān jiǎn* (in Mandarin) is listed quite often and an item that the average 21st-century Mandarin-speaking Chinese American would have no knowledge of. Upon consultation with several individuals, we determined that this item is the Cantonese word for soap *faan1 gaan2*. In addition, as these are business documents, the numbers for prices were documented in a specific accounting style. Fortunately, the manual also shows the translation of business numbers to standard Chinese characters (Kam Wah Chung Heritage Site 2013).

Lastly, one of the biggest challenges is the inability to directly translate items due to various naming conventions. This creates problems for food such as the types of animals or plants. For example, one of the most commonly consumed fish is chāng yú (鯧魚) but it is likely written as cāng yú (倉魚) in the ledgers. Based on appearance, this type of fish could be referring to a variety of species, but most likely the white pomfret. Similarly, we know that Chinese immigrants (and Chinese people from the southern region today) consume a lot of cuttlefish and squid. The translation for *qiū yu* (qiuyu 鰍魚) includes loach, lizard, squid, and eel. Previous Chinese diaspora research has indicated that the squid translation is most probable due to the naming cultures and conflation of squid and cuttlefish, and the common appearances of cuttlefish (Harrod and Kennedy 2019; Schulz 2002). However, squid/cuttlefish is more commonly known as *yóuyú* (魷魚) today, further demonstrating the complexities of translation. These problems also exist for objects such as bowls and plates. Though the four main types of *mín yáo* are commonly known and have records in other Chinese sources, the Kam Wah Chung ledger also refers to a variety of other tableware with the word *méi* (梅 plum) in it. Fortunately, the Kam Wah Chung Museum also houses an immense collection of printed Chinese catalogs that have not been translated and transcribed. Future analysis of these items will help create a better understanding of the handwritten data. For a complete list of translated items, see Glossary.

These store ledgers were likely kept by Lung On or Ing Hay themselves using traditional Chinese brush and ink. An important detail about the store ledger is the continued use of the Chinese calendar system. This includes not only the Sexagenary Cycle but also the

era- such as the emperor and reign year. For example, those in 1887 are marked with *dīng hǎi guāng xù shí sān nián* (丁亥 光緒十三年 dīnghài, 13th year of Emperor Guangxu). In addition, this means that the ledgers are on the lunar calendar and not the Gregorian calendar. Because of this, these ledgers have a "second" April/fourth month. Therefore, though translated as both "April X" dates between the Chinese and English store ledgers are not actually the same date. These years are written on the bottom of the pages with Chinese brush and ink.

In addition, while the purchaser can often be recognized in the English ledgers, the Chinese ones often remain unidentified. To the author's knowledge, the distinction between Chinese or non-Chinese purchasers is not possible, especially since all names are written in Chinese. Historical records indicate that Kam Wah Chung was visited by both Chinese and local non-Chinese residents. This is especially true for the clinic that Ing Hay ran when people from all backgrounds would visit the Kam Wah Chung (Hann and Rose 2018). Therefore, it is likely the purchasers include both Chinese and non-Chinese people. In addition, it is also possible some of the accounts listed as *zuò gong* (做工, workmanship) are references to mining companies. More research based on other documents in the Kam Wah Chung is necessary in order to confirm. A total of 2,453 accounts of items are listed in the Kam Wah Chung ledgers.

The store ledgers found in Grant County's Historical Museum date from 1878 to 1880 and 1888. None of the three ledgers have specific stores listed in the document but are likely all located within Grant County, Oregon. According to the museum, the 1879 ledger is

also likely from John Day. While these store ledgers listed everyone who purchased goods, due to time constraints only accounts with Chinese names such as those that included "Ah" or specifically noted as "Chinaman," were documented and transcribed. Similar to the store ledgers found in Kam Wah Chung, these documented daily activities and included information such as the account number and purchaser (though more than one purchaser can have the same account number), items purchased, count of items, and price. These store ledgers also documented those who paid, including how much and through what means (gold dust, cash, or labor). In the case of the 1888 ledger, an "Ah Toy" appeared multiple times and he seemed to have worked for the store and exchanged "washing" for goods.

The 1878 store ledger was scanned by the archaeological interns from Malheur National Forest in the summer of 2019, who also preliminarily transcribed specifically the name, account number, and page number of the Chinese customers. In addition, they had grouped all the names with the same account number. For example, account number 550 is listed as Tack Fang & Co, Tack Fang, and S.M. James. The remaining English store ledgers were photographed by a combination of Chelsea Rose, Jacqui Cheung and myself during our visits to the museum in August of 2019. Due to time constraints, similar to the 1878 ledger, only those pages with specifically Chinese names were photographed and used here.

Due to the nature of historical documents, the Chinese and English store ledgers are inconsistent and not standardized. Inconsistencies in counts, measurement word for counts, and spelling/writing of the purchasers are common problems in both types of ledgers. Some listings do not have counts listed at all, whereas some list it with some form of measurement

such as “lbs.” For example, though tobacco is commonly listed as number of pounds, multiple instances occur where the ledgers also simply note “tobacco” without any indication of quantity. For English ledgers, some have the same account number, but multiple spellings such as Tack Fang and Company is likely the same as Tak Fang and for Chinese ledgers Lǐ Shuāng (李雙) is likely the same person as Lǐ Shuāng Xiōng (李雙兄). In addition, similar to the material assemblages “Unidentified” items exist due to the inability to decipher the writings themselves. In order to maintain consistency for the documents and to allow the data to be comparable to the material records, “count” is represented by each line of the item purchased; each item purchased represents a count for the type of item. Additional research in the future may include creating a better standardization of the counts.

The single inventory request from Jacksonville dates to February 15, 1881 and is currently curated by Southern Oregon Historical Society (Figure 10). The document serves as an additional archival record of how the Chinese community in Jacksonville was connected to larger Chinese networks that controlled the markets. However, the context of this document remains unclear. The inventory is potentially an item request to San Francisco. A red stamp with “Gold Mountain, Bao Yao Chang” (金山寶藥昌 *jīn shān bǎo yào chāng*) is evident in the lower left-hand corner with the date of the document. The document lists a total of 74 items, ranging from food to miscellaneous tableware, tools, and others.

Figure 10. Jacksonville Item Request.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS

Comparisons of artifacts within the categories of Domestic and Personal functional groups provide a deeper understanding of the variations in Chinese diasporic sites in Oregon. Items related to foodways are present in all assemblages, and they allow the exploration of Chinese immigrants' purchasing power and understanding of how network and mobility may have impacted the availability and kinds of goods and, correspondingly, the archaeological assemblages. In contrast, categories within the Personal group help to accentuate individual preference as the driving force for purchasing certain items.

Domestic Artifacts

Various foodways categories dominate all the assemblages while the remaining categories of Cleaning, Clothing Maintenance, Furnishing, and Heating/Lighting represent on average under 4% of the Domestic group (Table 3). Cleaning, Furnishing, and Heating/Lighting are likely low across both material and written evidence due to their durability and slow rates of replacement compared to Food. Meanwhile, the Clothing Maintenance category may be represented differently in the material and written record. Scraps of leather and textile could be represented in larger quantities (e.g., in yards), which is not represented accurately in this analysis due to standardizations with the count. In contrast, these items are often not well preserved in the archaeological record. Similarly, small pins and needles are often harder to catch in the archaeological record. The archaeological record

reflects materials and tools that were used, lost, or thrown away by people whereas the written reflects materials purchased, meaning that archaeological assemblages should have a lower count of this category in comparison to the written.

In Jacksonville, Food has the lowest representation of all Domestic artifacts, followed by Food Storage, and Food Preparation/Consumption with the largest representation encompassing various ceramics, glass, and metal artifacts. Food artifacts include meat cans and soda, condiment, and peppersauce bottles. Based on the botanical analysis, the residents at the Chinese Quarter Site were able to consume Chinese cuisine through a combination of local gardening, orchard crops, and imported goods from California and China (Popper 2016). Similarly, the faunal assemblage at the Chinese Quarter Site demonstrates Chinese practices such as bone marrow extraction, and consumption of a variety of meat products including beef, pork, mutton, various fowl, and imported fishes (Johnson 2017). In contrast, Food Preparation/Consumption includes a wide range of tableware, serving ware, and kitchenware such as a wok, pots, pans, and cleavers. Within this category, 66% of which are ceramics that are *mín yáo* porcelain including Four Season Flowers, Bamboo, Winter Green, and Double Happiness. Winter Green is the most common (MNV=9), followed by Four Season Flowers (MNV=9), Bamboo (MNV=10), and Double Happiness (MNV=6). Both Winter Green and Four Season Flowers had more vessel forms including alcohol cups, teacups, spoons, bowls, and sauce dishes. Due to the uncertainty of glass vessel forms and purpose with only limited analysis to date, only Chinese Brown Glazed Stoneware is categorized as Food Storage.

Table 3. Relative percentage and count of functions and categories used in analysis.

Artifact Classifications	35JA737		Mining Camps		EuroAmerican Ledgers		Kam Wah Chung Ledgers		Kam Wah Chung Material		Jacksonville Document	
	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Domestic	**11.42%**	**2703**	**19.77%**	**279**	**28.23%**	**129**	**56.35%**	**777**	**39.55%**	**815**	**75%**	**52**
Cleaning	-	-	0.74%	2	0.78%	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Clothing Maintenance	0.30%	8	-	-	6.20%	8	5.28%	41	5.90%	48	-	-
Food	3.03%	82	4.07%	11	75.97%	98	87.39%	679	32.06%	261	54%	28
Food Prep/Consumption	37.22%	1007	31.48%	85	4.65%	6	2.19%	17	31.94%	260	37%	19
Food Storage	54.20%	1465	61.11%	165	-	-	-	-	4.18%	34		-
Furnishing	1.37%	37	0.37%	1	3.88%	5	0.64%	5	16.22%	132	9%	5
Heating	3.85%	104	2.22%	6	8.53%	11	4.50%	35	9.71%	79	-	-
Personal	**10.80%**	**2554**	**37.48%**	**512**	**51.20%**	**234**	**37.42%**	**516**	**29.45%**	**605**	**4%**	**3**
Accoutrements	1.64%	42	-	-	1.71%	4	-	-	5.78%	35	-	-
Clothing	11.04%	282	2.93%	15	34.62%	81	10.85%	56	7.92%	48	-	-
Footwear	14.13%	361	18.36%	94	23.08%	54	9.88%	51	4.62%	28	-	-
Grooming/Health	5.01%	128	0.39%	2	1.71%	4	10.85%	56	15.51%	93	100.00%	3
Social Drugs	65.50%	1673	78.32%	401	38.89%	91	68.41%	353	66.17%	401	-	-
Toys	0.03%	68	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Activities	**1.47%**	**348**	**3.78%**	**55**	**15.10%**	**69**	**4.64%**	**64**	**27.94%**	**575**	**21%**	**15**
Structural	**42.05%**	**9950**	**58.37%**	**528**	**5.47%**	**25**	**1.60%**	**22**	**3.06%**	**63**	-	-

Neither the Kam Wah Chung ledgers nor EuroAmerican Grant County ledgers have any items that would be classified as Food Storage. This is due to the fact that ledgers represent the food within instead of the containers themselves. Dried and preserved Chinese imported goods likely had CBGS as a packing byproduct. Similarly, Food Preparation/Consumption is also relatively low (2.19%) at Kam Wah Chung and EuroAmerican Grant County stores (4.65%). At Kam Wah Chung, the majority of the Food Preparation/Consumption items are *mín yáo* porcelain, specifically Winter Green. However, none of the other typical three types of *mín yáo* porcelain are mentioned. *Méi wǎn* (梅碗, Plum-bowl) is also mentioned once but with an order of a dozen. Out of the two remaining vessels, "plate" has no additional descriptors, whereas the other bowl is unlikely of Chinese origins due to the descriptor *pān* (番 foreign). *Pān dié* (番碟) has also been referenced in Kwong Tai Wo's inventory and translated as "barbarian plate," therefore non-Chinese tableware (Sando and Felton 1993). The presence of both Chinese and non-Chinese tableware at Kam Wah Chung store ledger indicates the store stocked up on a variety of goods possibly for a larger audience and greater financial gain. A total of six Food Preparation/Consumption purchases were listed in the EuroAmerican Grant County ledger, with two saucers, one plate, "small dishes," a butcher knife and a frying pan. None of these items have been specifically labeled with a type and therefore unclear as to manufacture origins. However, these were purchased by Chinese immigrants, demonstrating the choices types of goods and places that Chinese immigrants exercised their purchasing power.

In comparison, Food is 87.39% of all Domestic goods in the Kam Wah Chung ledgers. Items include flour, sugar, eggs, tea, fish, various types of meat, rice, seeds (for snacking), and various condiments. With groceries like soy sauce, rice, salted meats, sesame oil, glutinous rice, salted plum, water chestnut, and mooncake labeled as Chinese food, non-Chinese grocery represents 44.18% of all purchased food. This represents the use of non-traditional Chinese food in their diet. Of particular interest in the food listed in these ledgers include the mention of mooncake on October 14, 1887, a date that is not associated with any Chinese holidays and approximately two months after Mid-Autumn Festival, the holiday that is associated with eating mooncakes. The exact reason for this is uncertain and the purchaser may have very well not have been Chinese. Future analysis into the various purchasing accounts will provide more insight. In addition, aside from "salted fish," the only other specific type of fish mentioned is *cāng yú* (倉魚 cang fish) or what is likely *chāng yú* (鯧魚 chang fish), a common name possibly referring to the white pomfret as one of the most commonly consumed fish by Chinese communities even to the present (Schulz 2002). These Chinese-specific food purchases at Kam Wah Chung as well as purchases of "old fudge," coffee, "sugar lemon," and "candy" at the EuroAmerican Grant County stores further demonstrate Chinese immigrants maintaining traditional Chinese diet while incorporating EuroAmerican or non-Chinese traditions. The presence of non-traditional American treats shows the purchasing power Chinese immigrants had in a larger anti-Chinese context as dictated by various federal, state, and local legislation.

Food represents a relatively small portion of the total Domestic assemblage at the mining camps, followed by Food Preparation/Consumption, and Food Storage. Similarly, to

Jacksonville Chinese Quarter, Food is represented in the assemblage with an assortment of cans and soda bottles (Table 4). Food Preparation/Consumption is largely represented with Chinese manufactured wares (70%) and also includes the typical types of ceramics. Out of this assemblage, Winter Green has the largest MNV (n=4), mirroring the representation at Jacksonville Chinese Quarter. However, Double Happiness is not present, which may be a temporal marker rather than use or preference for the design. Only one Bamboo pattern vessel and one Four Season Flower bowl were found across the four mining camps. The presence of the typical *mín yáo* porcelain at these mining camps but not in the Kam Wah Chung ledgers shows that Chinese miners may have brought these tablewares over from previous network nodes and that these tablewares were not purchased locally. Some Chinese miners were seasonal and traveled region to region following mining resources. Therefore, it is possible some of material remains at these mining camps are not from local purchases. Except for a metal lunch pail at one of the mining camps, all the remaining Food Storage are also CBGS. Food Storage represented by only CBGS is once again because of the uncertainty of many glass containers. CBGS as the dominant Food Storage artifact indicates the extensive Chinese networks in place across various Chinese diasporic communities. Various Chinese communities were likely using the established Chinese networks to move materials across geographic locations including transferring food through these jars. Unfortunately, due to the limitations of preservation, excavation, and time, only one botanical analysis has been conducted across the four camps, of which the only findings are local plants (Popper 2019). Instead, insight into what they were purchasing for consumption is provided by the store ledgers at Kam Wah Chung and various Grant County stores.

Table 4. Table indicating presence and absence of certain food items across assemblages

Category	Chinese				EuroAmerican				
Item	Rice	Seeds (snacking)	Tofu	Misc. Chinese Condiments	Coffee	Candy/ "Treats"	Honey	Misc. EuroAmerican Condiments	Soda
35JA737	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	X
Mining Camps	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X
Kam Wah Chung Ledgers	X	X	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
EuroAmerican Ledgers	X	X	-	-	X	X	X	X	-
Kam Wah Chung Material	-	-	-	-	X	X	X	X	-
Jacksonville Document	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-

Category	General							
Item	Sugar	Tea	Egg	Shrimp	Misc. Fish	Misc. Meat	Misc. Vegetables
35JA737	-		-	-	X	X	X
Mining Camps	-		-	-	-	X	-
Kam Wah Chung Ledgers	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
EuroAmerican Ledgers	X	X	X	-	X	X	X
Kam Wah Chung Material	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Jacksonville Document	-	X	-	X	X	-	X

Comparison of vessel ware type within ceramics indicates variation and access to the different types of ceramics at each site. Within the EuroAmerican ceramics, Jacksonville has nine different vessel types including: bowl, cup, plate, saucer, soup bowl, soup plate, teapot, teapot lid and pitcher. Plate has the highest MNV (n=25) followed by cup (n=19), with teapot lid and soup bowl having only an MNV of 1 each. The mining camps, with a total MNV of 12 EuroAmerican ceramics, only have two vessel types identified: cup and soup plate, each with an MNV of 1. The remaining MNV are identified as "vessel," presumably an indefinite vessel type. This mirrors the Grant County purchases of listing only plate, cups, and saucers. In contrasts, bowls seem to be largely of Chinese origin represented by both the ledgers and material assemblage in the mining camps.

In comparison, the proportions of *mín yáo* porcelain vessel types are slightly inverted for Jacksonville and Kam Wah Chung. In Jacksonville, a total of ten vessel types are present including alcohol cup, bowl, cup, dish, handle, shallow dish/pan, spoon, teacup, teapot, and teapot lid. The majority of these are bowls, with a dish, handle, and teapot lid having much lower vessel counts. While the mining camps have a higher percentage of *mín yáo* porcelain compared to the EuroAmerican ceramics, the vessel types are also low in diversity. The only identified vessel types are bowl, cup, and spoon. Bowl has the largest representation and spoon has the least. The low vessel type variation in the mining camps may indicate the emphasis on using only absolutely necessary tableware, such as bowls, cups, and spoon. In Chinese culture, alcohol is also sometimes consumed with a bowl; therefore, the bowl may have served multiple functions in situations where they are moving around a lot and therefore able to carry less. The same reason may also explain the few vessel types in EuroAmerican

ceramics; the fewer Chinese miners had to carry, the easier it was for them to move around. Future analysis of glass containers may reveal more of this practice. Due to time constraints and the status of the catalogs, an analysis of ceramic ware type is much more difficult. A more in-depth analysis on the ceramics in the future across these sites will be able to provide a better interpretation of the types and sets of ceramics these communities may have access to and specific consumer choices reflected in tableware.

Personal Artifacts

Across the four assemblages, Toys and Accoutrements are the least represented. Out of the four assemblages, only Jacksonville has evidence of toys, specifically dolls and tea sets. Accoutrements are represented by pocketknives, purses, belt buckles, or jewelry such as bracelets, beads, brooches, and clasps. Grooming/Health is represented by various medicine bottles, toiletry objects such as soap, combs, toothbrushes and toothpaste, razors, and towels. Jacksonville includes both EuroAmerican-style medicine bottles that contain a variety of prescription and patent medicine as well as small Chinese single-dose medicine bottles. Single-dose rectangular or tear-dropped vials are 19th-century Chinese medicine bottles that stored a variety of pills, powders, or oils (Heffner 2012:249). In the Kam Wah Chung store ledgers, multiple listings of *shén wán* (神丸; directly translated as “miracle pill”) are present, which likely refers to the Chinese medicine *sì shén wán* (四神丸) or *liù shén wán* (六神丸), which are used for treating digestive problems, reducing infection, and pain management (Heffner, personal communication, 2020).

In contrast to these categories with relatively few items in the assemblage, the large category of goods within Personal group is Social Drugs. These are represented by both

opium and tobacco paraphernalia, as well as alcohol stored in Chinese Brown Glazed Stoneware jars and olive bottle glass fragments. Mentions of opium and tobacco occur relatively often in the Chinese Kam Wah Chung ledgers and the EuroAmerican Grant County ledgers. Sake is occasionally mentioned in the Kam Wah Chung ledgers. In addition, social drug activities are further represented by opium/tobacco-specific accounting documents located in the archives in the Kam Wah Chung Museum. Due to time constraints, these are not analyzed and the relationship between the purchases shown in the ledgers and these additional documents is not clear.

Finally, Clothing and Footwear, the remaining two categories within Personal, vary in representation across the assemblages. In Jacksonville, Clothing is 11.04% of the assemblage, and Footwear is 14.13% of the assemblage. Clothing is represented largely through fasteners such as buttons, buckles, or rivets, and textiles. In total, 5.7% of them are Chinese Ball-type copper alloy buttons. Footwear includes eyelets, boot/shoe parts made of leather bits, copper-alloy, ferrous metals, and rubber soles.

Similarly, the Kam Wah Chung ledgers have a relatively low assemblage of Clothing (10.85%) and Footwear (9.88%). Silk scarves (絲巾, *Sī jīn*) dominate the Clothing assemblage, whereas various types of boots (warm or leather) dominate the Footwear assemblage. The presence of silk scarves may be the store targeting an audience that is beyond the immediate Chinese community. Footwear in the Kam Wah Chung ledgers consists of a variety of shoes including cloth shoes (布鞋 *bù xié*), warm boots (暖靴 *nuǎn xuē*), and leather boots (皮靴 *pí xuē*). In contrast, Clothing is 34.62% of the EuroAmerican

stores in Grant County and 23.08% of Footwear. The larger representation of Clothing and Footwear at EuroAmerican stores may indicate the availability of these types of goods at EuroAmerican stores in contrasts to Kam Wah Chung. Clothing in this assemblage is represented by various overalls, jumpers, flannels, denim/blue jeans, undershirts, cashmere, and gloves. Footwear is represented almost exclusively by boots with the occasional mention of slippers. “Boot tacks” are also mentioned specifically in these ledgers, which may indicate the hobnails found in many Chinese mining camp sites. In addition, multiple purchases of clothing and footwear may be indicative of the need to purchase these items due to use and need for replacement due to wear and tear.

The majority of the Footwear assemblage at the mining camps (n=54) are hobnails. Footwear comprises a total of 18.36% at all the mining camps, while Clothing is comparatively low at only 2.93%. The higher representation of Footwear in this assemblage must take into account the fact that each boot likely used a fair number of hobnails into account. In addition, rivets and leather shoe bits are also part of the Footwear assemblage. Out of these Footwear objects, hobnails have been proposed as a practice of Chinese miners (Steeves 1984:141). These nails were put into the soles of EuroAmerican manufactured rubber boot soles and heels in order to provide traction while working in the muddy grounds. This practice has been observed in multiple Oregon Chinese mining sites such as Shanghai Gulch in Baker County as well as the mining camps in Malheur National Forest. Clothing in the mining camps are largely represented with buttons and rivets made of miscellaneous metal. Tables 5 and 6 show the presence and absence of Clothing and Footwear items across the different assemblages.

Table 5. Clothing items across assemblages.

Item	Silk Scarves	Gloves	Jumpers	Overalls	Undershirts	Flannel	Jeans
35JA737	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mining Camps	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kam Wah Chung Ledgers	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
EuroAmerican Ledgers	-	X	X	X	X	X	X
Kam Wah Chung Material	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jacksonville Document	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 6. Footwear items across assemblages.

Item	Misc. Clothing Fasteners	Leather Boots	Hobnails/Boot Tacks	Misc. Shoe Fastener
35JA737	X	X	-	X
Mining Camps	X	X	X	X
Kam Wah Chung Ledgers	-	X	-	-
EuroAmerican Ledgers	-	X	X	-
Kam Wah Chung Material	X	-	-	-
Jacksonville Document	-	-	-	-

Although no ledger equivalent document exists for the Chinese Quarter, there is a Chinese inventory record in Jacksonville. This document is an item request for *Bǎo Róng Chāng* (寶榮昌) in Chinatown, San Francisco and dates to the 7th year of Guang Xu Emperor on February 15, or 1881. A total of 73 listings range across cooking supplies, food, incense, bamboo mats, locks, and various tableware. Most notably, a total of 16 tablewares

including bowls, plates, tea containers, spoons, and cups were listed. The variety of wares listed in this document far exceeds the amount listed in the Kam Wah Chung ledgers, including plates with a specific diameter listed, various sizes of a *hǎi wǎn* (海碗 sea bowl), and *táo huā wǎn* (桃花碗) each blossom patterned bowl). *Dōng qīng* (冬青 Winter Green) bowl and spoon are also listed, paralleling the ones mentioned in the Kam Wah Chung ledgers as well as the material records that exist in all three sites.

A total of 25 types of food are listed in the inventory request to *Bǎo Róng Chāng*, almost all of which are likely Chinese imported. Squid/cuttlefish is listed twice, with one of them listed as specifically Japanese squid/cuttlefish. Cuttlefish is also one of the identified fish species in the Jacksonville Chinese Quarter Site, corresponding with this document (Johnson 2016:31). Other food include *mì zǎo* (蜜棗 honey dates), *dà hóng zǎo* (大紅棗 dates), two different types of *guā zǐ*(瓜子snacking seeds)- *hóng* (紅 red) and *wèi* (味 flavored), *jīn jié* (金桔 kumquat), *fǔ zhú* (腐竹 tofu skin), various types of *táng* (糖sugar) - *bīng tang* (冰糖 crystal), *shān táng shàng bái tang* (山唐上白糖 “Shan Tang” brand white), and *xīn huáng tang* (新黃糖 new yellow). Due to the nature of this document as a request from a store in Chinatown, it is therefore not surprising that the items listed are almost exclusively Chinese. This document provides insight into the variety of goods available to Chinese immigrants even in rural small towns. Similar documents exist in Kam Wah Chung, but they have not yet been transcribed, translated, and analyzed. Future research

may serve as a comparison of the variations between these two small rural mining towns and whether or not there were discrepancies between them.

Material Collections at Kam Wah Chung

The unique state of the material collection at Kam Wah Chung also provides an understanding of a different type of Chinese American material assemblage, although more of a palimpsest spanning the late 19th to mid-20th centuries. Kam Wah Chung was preserved in 1948 when Ing Hay thought he would be temporarily leaving. The material collection at Kam Wah Chung reflects the livelihood of Ing Hay and his nephew's family in the mid-20th century. Within the Domestic group, Food is one of the larger representations (32.06%) and includes tea, coffee, fruit juice cans, seasoning and spices, chocolate, canned foods, honey, peanut butter, mayonnaise, and mustard (Table 4). Food Preparation/Consumption goods comprise 31.94% of the assemblage, of which only a third are ceramic (n=78) and consists of kitchenware, tableware, bottles, and serving ware.

Out of the ceramics in this category, *mín yáo* porcelain is 32.05% of the assemblage, with the rest being a combination of ironstone, US-manufactured porcelain, and miscellaneous/unidentified ceramic. This assemblage contains 15 different vessel types including bowl, dessert bowl, serving bowl, coffee cup, butter dish, candy dish, sherbet dish, mug, plate (general), butter plate, dinner plate, salad plate, saucer, teacup, and teapot. Out of these, the dinner plate has the highest MNV (n=13) followed by plate (n=5). Remaining vessel forms only have one of each. The Kam Wah Chung material assemblage has a greater diversity due to the completeness of vessels but fewer overall count. A total of 30 pairs of chopsticks, two large woks, an "old fashion" toaster, teakettles, and tumblers are listed in the

Food Preparation/Consumption category. This material assemblage is especially indicative of a combination of both traditional Chinese and American cooking utensils. Lastly, Food Storage (4.18%) is exceptionally low in comparison to other categories, due to the fact that most of the Food Storage have been labeled as Food in this analysis.

Personal items at Kam Wah Chung vary largely across the categories of Accoutrements, Clothing, Footwear, Grooming/Health, and Social Drugs. Accoutrements include a variety of belts, jewelry, purses, wallets, wallets, and umbrellas. Grooming/Health is overly represented at Kam Wah Chung due to Ing Hay's apothecary. There are hundreds of different types of tools and Chinese herbs, many of which have been preserved so well that Chinese medicine researchers from China have been conducting research at Kam Wah Chung. Social Drugs include opium and tobacco as well as cigar paraphernalia. Chinese-related alcohol is present in few quantities in addition to a combination of beer and whiskey bottles.

Kam Wah Chung has a significantly smaller assemblage of Clothing and Footwear in comparison to other assemblages. Clothing (7.92%) is represented by various jackets, shirts, hats, cuff links, scarfs, and pants, while Footwear (4.62%) is represented by shoes, slippers, socks, and shoelace. Out of the nine socks present in the catalog, five are described with "Sole is dirty Red and black Chinese characters written and stamped interior of the sock, near the upper edge." A similar description is also used in some of the slippers. It is unclear whether or not these are actually manufactured in China or that they were some form of personalization (if hand-written) by Lung On or Doc Hay. However, since the Footwear items are actually whole items, the numbers are actually reflective of the assemblage, as

opposed to having individual hobnails to skew the data. One undershirt is specifically described with "Chinese style with brass buttons and toggles," while one jacket is specifically described with "Chinese symbol pattern." The brass buttons on the undershirt may be similar to the Chinese Ball-type buttons found in Jacksonville.

Comparative Research

The tableware listed in the Kam Wah Chung ledgers and the Jacksonville inventory request also differs from a general store in northern California called Kwong Tai Wo Company. The document dates to 1881 and listed the four standard types of *mín yáo* porcelain: *Dōng qīng* (冬青 Winter Green), *zhú huā* (竹花 Bamboo), *shuāng xǐ* (双喜 Double Happiness), and *sì jì huā* (四季花 Four Season Flowers) (Sando and Felton 1993). Similarly, in his research, Choy has found *sì jì huā* (四季花 Four Season Flowers) and *Dōng qīng* (冬青 Winter Green) to be listed in a merchant's catalog (Choy 2014:8). Specifically, the name *sì jì huā dà hǎi wǎn* (四季花大海碗 Four Season Flower large sea bowl) is listed, which may indicate that the *hǎi wǎn* (海碗 sea bowl) listed in the Kam Wah Chung ledgers is actually a vessel type reference as opposed to pattern reference. Comparatively, the Kwong Tai Wo Company ledger also has generic listings of *wǎn* (碗 bowl) and *bēi* (杯 cup), as well as specific variations such as *fàn wǎn* (飯碗 rice bowl), *chá bēi* (茶杯 teacup), and *jiǔ bēi* (酒杯 alcohol cup) (Sando and Felton 1993). These are not present in either the Kam Wah Chung ledgers or the Jacksonville inventory request.

In addition, although no known Chinese store ledgers exist in Jackson County, the Kubli store ledger has been transcribed and analyzed. The Kubli trading post was located near the confluence of the Applegate River and Thompson Creek in operation from 1859 until 1872 when Kaspar Kubli purchased a hardware business in Jacksonville (LaLande 1981:233). According to inventory records, Kubli imported items through Tung Chong and Company in San Francisco. Between 1866 to 1868, the business had purchased $4,270 worth of goods. In total, 106 Chinese accounts listed items ranging from tableware and cutlery to food, as well as clothing. The invoice book from 1869-80 indicates that Kubli had bought $1,600 worth of merchandise from Levi Strauss and Co. in San Francisco, but the records show few Clothing purchases by EuroAmericans, implying that these items were meant for the Chinese miners (LaLande 1981:233). The purchasing pattern according to the Kubli ledgers corresponds to the purchasing pattern in the English ledgers in Grant County, specifically with regards to clothing. Common items include undershirts, flannels, as well as various types of boots including “gumboots” or leather boots (LaLande 1981:252). The clothing purchasing pattern further demonstrates clothing consumption was not a choice based solely or perhaps even partially in the cultural identity of the object but rather in the utility of the garment.

Despite the large presence of Chinese ceramics in the nearby mining camps, similar to the Grant County ledgers, Chinese tableware or tableware are only listed a few times. This may indicate that either the Chinese miners were able to get access to these goods in Jacksonville Chinese Quarter through an inventory request or via other places within the region. Alternatively, much like how the variety of tableware found in the Malheur mining

camps is not mirrored in the Kam Wah Chung ledgers, the Chinese miners in Jackson County may have curated these tablewares from previous travels. In addition, the Kubli ledger has an extensive list of 30 Chinese foods ranging from soy sauce to various spices, tofu, to various types of dried vegetables, bamboo, and "vermiselles" (vermicelli), which is not unlike another description of Chinese food sales on the Merced Railroad in the 1870s (LaLande 1981:236-7; Kennedy 2015). This list is much more extensive than the English stores in Grant County, likely due to the fact that this trading post was much closer in proximity to the local mining camps and therefore stocked up on Chinese food ingredients necessary for the Chinese customers. In contrast, the stores in Grant County had an entire Chinatown for miners to make their necessary food purchases. LaLande (1981) also described the purchasing of rice and wheat flour. Wheat flour was purchased far more common in comparison to rice due to the cost of rice as six times per-weight of flour. Flour was most likely used to make *mán tóu* (饅頭 steamed buns) and variations of steamed bread. Similarly, the Chinese customers at Kubli also purchased American sweets such as "rock candy" and "mintz," paralleling the purchasing patterns of "old fudge," "sugar lemon," and various candies in the English stores at Grant County.

Summary

Items within the Domestic group that are specifically related to foodways show that due to preservation, food and food storage items are represented inversely between archaeological and documentary records. Food in the archaeological records have a lower representation than the documentary records, while Food Storage has a lower representation

in the documentary records than the archaeological records. Preservation allows for CBGS to survive while this is invisible in the documentary records, while the detailed food lists in ledgers illustrate dietary details that can be lost in the archaeology. Analysis into ceramic tableware under Food Preparation and Consumption demonstrates the variations of assemblages and how Chinese networks can also help create different assemblages. As reflected in both the archaeological assemblage of the mining camps and the Kam Wah Chung ledgers, Chinese miners had a significantly smaller proportion of tableware that was more homogenous in comparison to the variety found in the Jacksonville Chinese Quarter Site. In addition, the assemblages associated with Chinese miners had a higher proportion of Chinese manufactured *minyao* porcelain in comparison to EuroAmerican manufactured tableware. This demonstrates the market access as well as the emphasis of impermanence in these mining camps as opposed to the permanence of the Jacksonville Chinese Quarter Site. The high variety in the Kam Wah Chung material assemblage provides additional evidence of the temporary and permanent divide in sites. Chinese miners were a transient community and moved from camp to camp, region to region, on a regular basis and brought with them the goods they accumulated in other regions. This is demonstrated by the absence of typical *mín yáo* porcelain designs in the Chinese ledgers but its presence in the mining camps. Finally, the overlap and consistency of Chinese manufactured items including the *mín yáo* porcelain and CBGS illustrates the extent of Chinese networks and connection to larger urban centers.

Within the Personal group, variation exists across the different assemblages. Based on the representations in the Kam Wah Chung Chinese ledgers and the EuroAmerican ledgers,

Chinese miners likely purchased more of their clothing and footwear from EuroAmerican stores possibly due the availability of goods. Both the archaeological assemblages from the mining camps and the Jacksonville Chinese Quarter had more footwear than clothing. However, these data are skewed by the presence of individual hobnails. In addition, leather shoe bits and fasteners tend to preserve better in the archaeological record in comparison to the different types of fabric for clothing. Both the archaeological and documentary records indicate the practice of hobnails which allows rubber boots to survive longer and increase efficiency in the muddy mining landscape. Together, analysis of specific categories of items within Domestic and Personal groups reveal the similarities and differences in Chinese immigrant consumption practices across different communities of class and permanence of location.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Ultimately these different assemblages, from material to written, from rural Chinatowns to rural mining camps, demonstrate that Chinese diaspora sites can have a variety of goods. Under the 19th-century anti-Chinese legislation, Chinese immigrants became racialized. In part as a result of this racialization, Chinese organizations formed networks across the globe in part to combat the variety of hardships Chinese immigrants faced, which then created different levels of market access for each class. Chinese merchants at more permanent locations had a certain level of control to the access of goods in comparison to Chinese miners, impacting Chinese miner's consumption. Within this narrative, the resiliency of Chinese immigrants must also be acknowledged. Chinese immigrants were aware of the anti-Chinese sentiments that existed but believed that financial gains outweighed the risks. In addition, although consumption was limited by market access, Chinese miners still maintained purchasing power and executed it as they saw fit. Chinese immigrant lived experiences needs to be examined through the framework of racialization, while understanding the intersections of accessibility, class, nature of labor, size of community, and permanence of location.

In Grant County, both Chinese and EuroAmerican store ledgers indicate that purchases were likely made based on access. Chinese goods were purchased in Kam Wah Chung, whereas traditionally EuroAmerican goods including clothing, footwear, and

American treats like fudge and coffee were purchased at the EuroAmerican stores. Selections such as fudge and coffee in comparison to clothing and footwear likely show a distinction between preference and utility. Clothing and footwear were purchased for utility; EuroAmerican stores had the proper mining attire stocked for a greater variety of customers. Fudge and coffee were likely purchased based on choice. Within the limits of their access in a rural mining town, Chinese immigrants had the purchasing power and were executing it in accordance to job necessities, practicality of item in terms of durability and size, and desire.

The Kubli store in Jackson County provides a different perspective on market access for Chinese mining consumers when Chinese stores are not immediately available. Kubli had purposefully imported Chinese goods in order to serve these customers, possibly based on customer request. The larger Chinese trading company played a role in the Chinese consumption narrative through the accessibility of certain goods. Chinese miners had the purchasing power to purchase traditional Chinese goods and non-Chinese goods such as various sweets. The purchase demonstrates Chinese immigrants having the financial power and therefore choice in what to purchase from the goods available in these stores. It is unclear how many Chinese, as opposed to EuroAmerican, goods were in stock at the Kubli store, or even if those goods changed over time depending on the population of miners. It is possible that EuroAmerican stores that had served Chinese laborers provided something comparable to the "ethnic food" aisles in modern grocery stores. Similarly, Chinese businesses also developed relationships with the EuroAmerican community. Kam Wah Chung was well known to have EuroAmerican patients, and it is therefore also possible for them to have purchased goods. Kam Wah Chung, similar to other Chinese businesses at the

time, listed their shops in local newspapers, as well as advertised their business in the form of cards (Figure 11) (Fosha and Leatherman 2008). By extending the variety of goods available in the store, Kam Wah Chung could target a wider variety of customers, creating more revenue. Although the exact date of these cards is uncertain, the White women depicted indicates the desire of Lung On and Ing Hay to appeal to a larger group of customers.

Figure 11. Kam Wah Chung card advertisement (Kam Wah Chung & Co. Museum).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, anti-Chinese legislation was ignored when it was financially profitable for EuroAmericans. However, race and racialization extend beyond a small-scale economic relationship. While EuroAmerican stores may have had a cordial relationship with local Chinese consumers because it was financially beneficial, Chinese

immigrants were still seen as foreigners. Although Kubli had a relationship with local Chinese miners, his son eventually became a politician who advocated against Chinese immigrants (Neal 1985). Chinese immigrants were still seen as foreigners regardless of their financial relationship with White Americans. Racialization cannot be summed up with financial relationships with White Americans. Within this complicated relationship, Chinese merchants had a different level of racialization than the miners. As merchants, Lung On and Ing Hay had more freedom from the legislation, permanence in the community, and financial ability to be active members in a community, including creating an ad that appealed to a wider non-Chinese audience.

Material assemblages at the Jacksonville Chinese Quarter Site and Kam Wah Chung both indicate a combination of materials associated with Chinese as well as non-Chinese. EuroAmerican goods in Jacksonville were also likely purchased in EuroAmerican stores, similar to the pattern in Grant County. According to ledgers from 1870s in Jacksonville, a few EuroAmerican stores sold Chinese goods to the Jacksonville Chinese community. Kam Wah Chung is listed a total of 11 times in the three EuroAmerican store ledgers. The items vary across food (sugar, sugar bits, lobster), tools (different types of files), and footwear (boots and boot tacks). It is unclear whether these purchases were for the store or for individuals, but it is possible that Kam Wah Chung also purchased goods from EuroAmerican stores to provide customers with goods they would not normally find at Chinese stores or through Chinese means. However, the dates of the Grant County ledgers predate Lung On and Ing Hay's ownership of the store. Although the company was established by 1871, the earlier history of the company is a little unclear in comparison to

after turning the ownership to Lung On and Ing Hay. The items purchased by Kam Wah Chung in these EuroAmerican stores overlap entirely with the type of goods purchased by other Chinese immigrants in the same stores.

Based on the presence of "foreign bowl" in the Kam Wah Chung ledgers as well as "foreign plate" in Kwong Tai Co., these Chinese stores were also stocking non-Chinese materials. However, without additional information, the exact type of tableware referenced remains uncertain. Who was the target audience for those, and why were they there? According to Voss (2019), Chinese immigrants would purchase larger EuroAmerican serving wares due to their size and ability to serve larger portions to greater number of people. Could these "foreign" tableware be referencing similar items, or are they something else entirely? The material assemblages across the four mining camps do not indicate the presence of larger serving wares, so if the non-Chinese were buying EuroAmerican serving wares, the targeted customer would certainly not be the mining laborers. In contrast, the material assemblage at the Jacksonville Chinese Quarter does have evidence of serving wares. The John Day Chinese community consisted of more than just miners; therefore, it is possible that miners were not the targeted audience for "foreign tableware." Additional research in the future that expands into personal accounts of other Chinese members in the community or additional Chinese documents may further illuminate more information about these items including racialization of different class and consumption. Foreign tableware may either have been used to navigate the racial boundary through gentility or simply for pragmatic reasons of serving size.

The Jacksonville Chinese item request, as well as the Kam Wah Chung ledgers, reveal the accessibility of these towns in importing goods from San Francisco or other urban cities with a large Chinese community. Lung On and Ing Hay were members in at least one of the associations or secret societies as evidenced by the manual on secret societies in the Kam Wah Chung Museum. This meant that Kam Wah Chung contributed to the network that controlled the types of Chinese goods Chinese immigrants in the area had access to and were purchasing. Kam Wah Chung and Jacksonville were part of the rural nodes in the larger Chinese Diasporic network, and the miners working in the general region depended on these rural nodes for all kinds of support. CBGS as the main form of food storage across all archaeological assemblages and the availability of various imported fishes and vegetables contribute to the extent various Chinese networks controlled market access. Based on the Jacksonville item request document and additional records in Kam Wah Chung and the Kubli Store, both Jacksonville and John Day had access to the larger Chinese network that provided a wide variety of material goods. These networks in part dictated the market availability and therefore what Chinese immigrants could purchase and permitted Chinese immigrants of all classes to maintain material connections to the homeland. This connection assisted Chinese immigrants in their efforts to persist through than any hardships including racialization.

The *mín yáo* porcelain types which are so prevalent in typical Chinese diaspora assemblages, but not available in the Kam Wah Chung ledgers, is further evidence of this network and market access. However, the absence of *mín yáo* porcelain in the ledgers can indicate these items were brought to the mining camps from previous locations or that they were purchased in a different location. These *mín yáo* porcelain traveled with the Chinese

miners through the Chinese networks, emphasizing that mining camps were temporary, and the miners were moving from place to place, changing their own material collection as necessary. They brought with them only what was considered the most vital or most protectable. The small variety in ceramic vessel types furthers this argument by demonstrating that miners were likely carrying the least number of items possible and a single ceramic vessel type may have had multiple uses. For instance, a bowl could be used for eating and drinking. This contrasts with the tableware assemblage at Jacksonville Chinese Quarter which had greater amounts of vessel types. As the Jacksonville Chinese Quarter was more permanent, they had the ability to have a larger set of goods and were not as bounded by the need to travel and uproot every few months. The high percentages of clothing and footwear purchases at the stores reveal the necessity in replacing these items due to wear and tear. Future in-depth analysis that tracks the timing and purchaser accounts of these purchases may reveal how often these items needed to be replaced. While Jacksonville Chinese Quarter also had a large representation of clothing and footwear, most of the clothing are represented by singular buttons and leather bits, or nails, skewing the data to seem larger than it actually is.

The Jacksonville Chinese Quarter, the mining camps in the Siskiyou Mountains, Kam Wah Chung, and the mining camps in the Malheur National Forests were temporary nodes in a larger network of the Chinese Diaspora that a Chinese immigrant would travel between in order to follow employment opportunities. In recent years, more archaeologists have begun to also narrate the Chinese Diaspora through the idea of various forms of networks. Both Kennedy (2015) and Sunseri (2020) use market networks to understand the accessibility of

meat consumption, Merritt (2010, 2017) uses multisite analysis to understand the Chinese Diaspora networks through the lens of various secret societies and organizations, and Yu (2020) uses network analysis, describing urban and rural centers as types of nodes to connect the narrative of Chinese immigrants with the larger transnational networks. Chinese organizations were literal networks that moved people and goods to stores to connect Chinese consumer preferences. Organizations moved people based on job opportunities and connected Chinese immigrants with the larger Chinese diasporic community through various branches across regions. These organizations and networks played such a crucial role that even in places where Chinese immigrants settled, the organizations most definitely continued to impact their lives through market access, creating social environments, and maintaining connections to China. The connections and networks grew in part out of the necessity to protect Chinese immigrants from the anti-Chinese racism that was becoming apparent across the U.S. in the mid-19th century.

Within smaller communities, individual racism and assessment of danger between each purchase and interaction may have been more pertinent in instances between strangers or newcomers to the community. Chinese immigrants were often integrated with the larger EuroAmerican community in the rural mining communities where positive relationships between the two populations occurred frequently, despite the larger context of anti-Chinese legislation and violence (Fosha and Leatherman 2008). Chinese organizations that were also present in these smaller rural communities likely played a larger role in fostering these positive relationships as they were able to help bring economic success to a town through the movement of people and goods.

Chinese immigrants were also well aware of the dangers prior to arriving in the U.S. and may have assessed danger with financial gains, ultimately deciding that the potential gains were worth the danger. Various Chinese idioms and the folk songs demonstrates the resiliency of Chinese immigrants and the belief that the financial rewards outweighed discrimination. Chinese immigrants were also not complacent during these moments in history, and historical written records have indicated Chinese immigrants finding ways to fight the system at varying levels when necessary. The degree of racialization, danger, and resistance varied across the types of communities.

Multisited analysis such as this one allows the understanding of a wider range of Chinese immigrant experience and well as begin to recognize the connections each site may have with one another. Every site must be interpreted with an understanding of the intersection of labor types, demographics, and the urban-rural divide. With this contextualization, individual case studies of specific sites can also begin to see how individual sites play into the larger Chinese diaspora. Even bearing in mind the preservation and archaeological survey and data recovery differences, Jacksonville Chinese Quarter Site, Kam Wah Chung, and Malheur National Forest have both similarities and differences.

Jacksonville Chinese Quarter had a wide range and high count of goods representative of a permanent possible residential assemblage. Based on count and variety, Kam Wah Chung is similar to Jacksonville Chinese Quarter. However, these two sites are sixty years apart, served different purposes, and preserved very differently. The majority of the material assemblage at Kam Wah Chung is related to the health clinic Ing Hay ran,

whereas the medicinal material assemblage at Jacksonville Chinese Quarter is much more limited. Residents of Jacksonville Chinese Quarter Site would have had a different level of access and purchasing power not necessarily available or appealing to Chinese miners, creating a non-mining, more permanent assemblage. Durability of outerwear was likely not as important to these permanent locations.

In contrast, the mining camps have far fewer counts and varieties of items. Insights into their lives are supplemented with the ledgers from various stores. These mining camps represent an impermanent assemblage because of the nature of this labor. Archaeological material remains are the items Chinese miners lost, broke, or thrown out intentionally. Miners needed to travel long distances regularly and therefore the necessities dictated consumption. They would have carefully curated their material assemblage, or replaced with cheaper, disposable items on an as-needed basis. Outerwear such as clothing and footwear were chosen for durability and foodways vessels were chosen for maximizing functions. They brought with them items from previous areas with different levels of market access, thereby impacting the archaeological assemblage left behind. Their final destinations may be a small town, or a larger urban center, or even China.

Additional in-depth analysis of the variability of ceramic types between these sites, as well as more translation and contextualization through further documentary research, will allow a deeper understanding of the lives of a Chinese miner in the mid-19th century and early 20th centuries. Future research that focuses on the interaction of Chinese immigrants and other racialized groups such as indigenous communities will also allow for recognition

of the role of other non-White communities in the landscape and the various "triangulations" of racialization. Social relationship and dynamics between these communities are an important aspect in understanding racialization in Oregon in the mid-19th century. Studies such as this one contributes to a more nuanced understanding of Asian American history and further reiterates why Asian American history is important in the modern age when anti-Asian sentiment is still pervasive.

Xenophobia: Then and Now

"Spit On, Yelled At, Attacked: Chinese-Americans Fear for Their Safety"- The New York Times, March 23, 2020.

"NYPD: Man Wanted For Anti-Asian Harassment On Subway In Midtown"- CBS New York News, May 4, 2020.

"Over 30 percent of Americans have witnessed COVID-19 bias against Asians, poll says"- NBC News, April 28, 2020.

"The pathology of American racism is making the pathology of the coronavirus worse"- The Washington Post, April 11, 2020.

"Americans who are biased against Asians are more likely to fear the coronavirus"- The Washington Post, April 1, 2020.

Since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak in January 2020, various media outlets have released a series of news articles reporting on the increased anti-Asian sentiments. In the age of the COVID-19 pandemic, it is now more relevant than ever for archaeologists to understand racialization and racism against Chinese Americans in the past. Critical Race Theory helps recognize the structural racism that was put in place restricting Chinese immigrants' lived experiences.

While current legislation on the pandemic has demonstrated an effort to prevent hostile environments for Chinese Americans and Asian Americans as a whole, the rhetoric

used by the media and the president including “Kung Flu” and “Chinese Virus” is not dissimilar to the anti-Chinese rhetoric used in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Even in early stages, mass media in cities such as New York Post used images with Asian Americans in headlines related to the COVID-19 in articles that were not necessarily related to the Asian American population (Figure 12) (Chan 2020). These terms and images are used with the intention to scapegoat and deflect, mirroring tactics in the 19th century.

Figure 12. New York Posts Tweet on Coronavirus (Photo source: AsAmNews).

Anti-Asian sentiments have created threats to financial and livelihood of Asian American communities due to boycotts of Asian restaurants and violent physical hate crimes. Nevertheless, Asian Americans have once again stood their ground, and Asian American

organizations, public figures, and others have not just begun movements to empower the Asian American community, but repeatedly given back to the larger community. Chinese Americans across the country have organized and donated hundreds of thousands of personal protective equipment. Asian American celebrities such as Jeremy Lin and co-founders of Panda Express have donated millions of dollars to battle the virus; a team of “guardian angels” surfaced in New York Chinatown after the early phases of the pandemic to protect Chinatown from vandalism; and campaigns such as #washthehate have encouraged people to post videos of themselves washing their hands while telling a story about how COVID-19 has impacted their lives. Asian Americans are fighting the virus on every platform, from serving the "frontlines” of the virus as medical professionals, to community organizers and artists helping create awareness, documenting the stories of anti-Asian activities.

In addition, local Asian Americans have been encouraged to voice and share their own stories of the COVID-19 xenophobia through a variety of platforms, such as organizations or school projects. These stories are not only in English but sometimes a combination of Asian immigrants’ own native language. The incorporation of native language into personal stories creates an even more powerful narrative that allows a greater range of people to understand these stories. In addition, these stories show individual narrations of inequality, marginalization, and resilience, contributing to the larger database of Asian American stories (Tang 2017). As a whole, these efforts not only remind Asian American communities of the resiliency of our communities and the histories we have survived but also continue to educate the larger public about our stories.

Various types of organizations and networks in the larger Chinese community such as the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association or various Tongs have always served to protect Chinese immigrants. Local to Oregon, the Portland Women's Mianshan Society (勉善會) helped raise money for non-Chinese victims from the 1903 flood in Heppner, Oregon (Bronson and Ho 2015: 176). The building of Kam Wah Chung itself is a testament to the significant role two Chinese Americans had in the small majority White community. Eastern Oregonians credit Kam Wah Chung's Ing Hay to helping protect Eastern Oregon from the1918 flu pandemic (Chung 2011:78). Although Ing Hay was already 56 by 1918, his commitment to the community beyond the Chinese community, which would have been in decline by that point, is an important act that needs to be remembered.

As COVID-19 has often been compared with the 1918 flu, Ing Hay provides one of many direct examples of Chinese Americans standing out in times of need to help the general American public. During the Great Depression, Lung On and Ing Hay kept their money in local banks to prevent the local economy from crashing. Dozens of uncashed checks valued at $23,000 (over $356,000 today) are in the Kam Wah Chung Museum. Lung On had an automotive dealership whose target customers were EuroAmericans. Many residents to this day have fond memories of Ing Hay and Lung On, as well as the larger Chinese community in John Day. According to oral histories conducted by Friend of Kam Wah Chung, Chinese people in John Day also helped local EuroAmerican children who were being bullied by neighbors (The Friends of Kam Wah Chung 2019). These residents described the importance of Chinese miners to their community and emphasize the fact that without the Chinese

population, John Day would not have been able to be as successful of a mining town. When Bob Wah, Ing Hay's nephew arrived in John Day, they were embraced by the remaining largely White community.

This thesis illustrates variations in 19th- and 20th-century Chinese diasporic assemblages, paralleling the notions of recognizing the diverse identities of Asian Americans. This recognition is crucial in preventing homogenization of Asian Americans and permits a more nuanced representation of Asian American narratives. Although anti-Chinese sentiments were prevalent across the U.S., Chinese miners from mining camps had a level of accessibility and consumption habits different from Chinese merchants or other classes of labor in more permanent locations. Similarly, although all Asian Americans are currently aware of the increased anti-Asian sentiments, specific labor groups are more impacted than others. Chinatowns across the nation have been severely impacted by COVID-19 in ways that those living in other communities are not. For example, businesses in urban Chinatowns are currently concerned about their ability to survive COVID-19, whereas white-collar Asian Americans do not necessarily have to be as concerned about their livelihoods (Kuschner 2020). In addition, this thesis uses Chinese store ledgers and highlights resiliency in the Chinese diasporic narrative. This resiliency is similar to the efforts by Asian American communities to document anti-Asian stories in their own native languages. Just as archaeological assemblages should be understood and interpreted with Chinese perspectives through documents and folk sayings, anti-Asian sentiments are also recorded in Asian languages in order for people to fully express their experiences and represent these experiences in a more meaningful way to themselves and their community.

The stories of Chinese immigrants in mid-19th- and early 20th-century Oregon demonstrate the continuity of early Chinese immigrants with the present Asian American community. A Cantonese proverb *cin4 jan4 zung2 miu4, hau6 jan4 sau1 gwo2* (前人種苗, 後人收果, "The generation in front sows the seeds; The generation behind harvests the fruit") further illustrates this idea. Chinese immigrants in the 19th and 20th centuries understood the hardships that were necessary for them to accomplish their goals. The resiliency of 19th- and 20th-century Chinese immigrants paved the way for not just future generations of Chinese Americans but also contributed to all the mining communities that flourished. White residents of those communities, even ones tied mainly to mining as the town's heritage foundation rather than its current economic activity, to this day remember and acknowledge the role of Chinese miners in their local community.

APPENDIX A. LIST OF ALL ITEMS WITHIN EACH FUNCTION AND CATEGORY.

Group	Categories	Item Description
Activities	Agriculture	Pipe
	Animal Husbandry/Butchering	Gastrolith
	Commerce	Abacus
		Asian Coin
		Dime
		Dong
		Nickel
		One Mil
		Penny
		Quarter
		Scale
		Wen
	Firearms	Ammunition Box
		Cartridge
		Lead Shot
		Musket Balls
	Gaming	Bone Disc
		Dice
		Gaming Piece
		Tokens
	Instrument	Flute
	Tool	Carpenters Plane
		Chisel
		Crowbar
		Drill Bit
		Drill Tip
		Etched Bone Scale Rod
		File
		Forceps
		Gold Pan
		Grinding Wheel
		Grizzly
		Knife
		Lock
		Pedal
		Pen Stock

		Pick
		Pocket Knife
		Scale Rod
		Scissors
		Shovel
		Spade
		Tool
		Triangle File
		Umbrella
		Wedge
		Weight
		Wrapped Cylindrical Tool
	Transportation	Horseshoe
		Horseshoe Nail
	Writing	Book
		Bowl with Seal Paste
		Brush
		Ink Bottle
		Ink Stone
		Ink Well
		Paper
		Pencil
		Pencil Lead
		Seal Paste
		Slate Pencil
Domestic	Cleaning	Broom
		Wash Basin
	Clothing Maintenance	Black Silk Ribbon
		Bluing
		Fabric
		Large Scissor
		Leather
		Silk
		Spool and Thread
		Tacks
		Thread
	Food	Abalone
		Apple
		Bacon
		Bean

Brown Sugar
Cabbage
Cabbage seed
Can
Candy
Cathedral Bottle
Ch Tea
Chang Fish
Chang Fish egg
Chicken
Cinnamon
Codfish
Coffee
Condiment Bottle
Cookie
Cracker
Dark Sugar
Dates
Dried Food
Dried Fruit
Druid Plum
Egg
Evaporated Milk Can
Figs
Fine Sugar
Fish
Flour
French Mustard
Fresh Peaches
Fudge
Ginger
Glutinous Rice
Ham
Honey
Large Oyster
Lobster
Lotus
Meat
Meat Can
Mooncake

Noodles
Oil
Old fudge
Onion
Oyster
Peanut
Pear
Peppers
Peppersauce Bottle
Pickles
Pineapple
Plum
Rice
Salt
Salted Chang Fish
Salted Egg
Salted Egg Noodles
Salted Fish
Salted food
Salted Shrimp
Sardines
Sauce Bottle
Seed (snack)
Sesame
Sesame oil
Shrimp
Small oyster
Smoked Fish
Smoked Meat
Smoked Turkey
Soda
Soda Bottle
Soy Sauce
Sugar
Sugar Lemon
Tea
Tofu
Vegetable
Vinegar
Water Chestnut

	White sugar
	Wide Mouthed Bottle
	Yeast Powder
	Yuan Xin Tea
Food Prep/ Consumption	Alcohol Cup
	Bowl
	Bowl or Mortar
	Chopstick
	Cleaver
	Covered Dish
	Cup
	Dish
	Fork
	Goblet
	Handle
	Hollowware
	Knife
	Pan
	Pitcher
	Plate
	Pot
	Pot/ Pail
	Saucer
	Shallow Dish
	Shallow Dish/ Pan
	Shot Glass
	Small Dish
	Soup Bowl
	Soup Plate
	Spoon
	Stemware
	Strawberry Jam Jar Lid
	Tableware
	Teacup
	Teapot
	Teapot Lid
	Tumbler
	Vessel
	Wok
Food Storage	Barrel Jar

		Crock
		Globular Jar
		Lid
		Lid Liner
		Lunch Pail
		Shouldered Jar
		Shouldered Vessel
		Spouted Jar
		Utilitarian Vessel
		Vessel
		Wide Mouthed Jar
	Furnishing	Blanket
		Bulb Planter
		Chest
		Clock
		Mattress Spring
		Mirror
		Picture Frame
		Quartz
		Rug
		Wood
	Heating/ Lighting	Burner
		Chimney
		Coal
		Lamp
		Lamp Burner
		Light Bulb
		Oil Lamp
		Opium Can Lamp
		Stove
		Wick Burner
		Wick Burner and Key
Personal	Accoutrement	Applique
		Bead
		Brooch
		Buckle
		Carved Flower
		Chain
		Flower Clasp
		Fob

	Jewelry
	Purse
Clothing	Belt Buckle
	Black Hat
	Blue Cashmere Shirt
	Blue Denim
	Blue Jeans
	Blue Jumper
	Blue Leather Gloves
	Blue Overalls
	Blue Shirt
	Brown Gloves
	Brown Pants
	Buckle
	Button
	Cashmere Green shirt
	Clasp
	Cotton Flannel
	Cotton Flannel Undershirt
	Cotton Shirt
	Denim Overalls
	Fastener
	Flannel Shirt
	Gloves
	Hat
	Jumper
	Long Flannel
	Overalls
	Pants
	Rivet
	Riveted Button
	Safety Pin
	Scarf
	Shirt
	Silk Scarf
	Snap
	Stemmed Rivet
	Strap Adjuster
	Suspender
	Suspender Buckle

	Suspender Clip
	Textile
	Tong Gu Hat
	Undershirt
	Vest
Footwear	(Cloth)/Fabric Shoes
	Boot
	Boot Tacks
	Boot/ Shoe
	Boots
	Eyelet
	Hobnail
	Leather
	Leather and boot screws
	Leather boots
	Nailed boots
	Rivet
	Shoe
	Shoe tack
	Shoes
	Slippers
	Snap
	Socks
	Sole
	Tacks
	Warm Boots
	Wool Sock
Grooming/ Health	Apothecary Jar
	Bear Claw
	Chamber Pot
	Chamber Pot Lid
	Comb
	Homeopathic Vial
	Incense
	Medicinal Paste
	Medicinal Tea
	Medicine
	Medicine Bottle
	Oriental soap
	Pitcher

		Porous Plaster
		Razor
		Soap
		Toiletry Bottle
		Toothbrush
	Social Drugs	Alcohol Bottle
		Alcohol Jar
		Beer Bottle
		Bitters Bottle
		Can
		Case Bottle
		Flask
		Label
		Lager Bottle
		Lamp Chimney
		Needle
		Opium Can
		Opium Lamp
		Pipe
		Pipe Bowl
		Pipe Bowl Fitting
		Pipe Saddle
		Pipe Stem
		Screen
		Stout Bottle
		Tobacco Can
		Water Pipe
		Wine/ Champagne Bottle
	Toys	Cap Gun
		Clock
		Doll
		Head
		Horseshoe
		Marble
		Saucer
		Teacup
		Teapot
		Whistle
Structural	Electrical	Skirted Insulator
		Tube Insulator

Hardware	Bolt
	Bracket
	Brads
	Cut Nail
	Cut Nail Spike
	Dead Bolt
	Door
	Doorknob
	Doorknob Plate
	Door Latch
	Drawer Pull
	Finishing Nail
	Handle
	Hinge
	Key
	Latch
	Lock Plate
	Nail
	Pipe
	Rim Lock
	Roofing Nail
	Screw
	Spike
	Staple
	Tack
	Washer
	Wire Nail
	Wrought Nail
Material	Asphalt
	Beam
	Beam
	Brick
	Cement
	Cement Rubble
	Concrete
	Floorboards
	Grout
	Linoleum
	Milled Wood
	Mortar

	Paint Pane Glass Plaster Tile Wood Wrapped Wire

APPENDIX B. GLOSSARY OF TRANSLATED ITEMS.

English	Chinese (Traditional)	Variations
Abalone	鮑魚	
Alcohol	酒	三蒸酒
		五區加皮酒
		保天堂鞭三酒
		木瓜酒
		雪梨酒
		白糯酒
		黑糯酒
		玫瑰露酒
		白茅根酒
Sake		振酒
Alcohol Cup	花酒杯	
Black Silk Ribbon	黑絲帶一條	
Boots	靴	
Leather Boots		皮靴
Warm Boots		暖靴
Bowl	碗	中海碗
		大丁海碗
		桃花碗仔
		番碗
		梅碗
		號二海碗
Bamboo		竹花碗
Double Happiness		雙喜
Four Season Flower		四季花
Winter Green		冬青碗
Candy	糖果	
Carpet/Fur Rug	毛毯	
Chicken	生雞	
Cinnamon	玉桂	
Cloth/Fabric Shoes	布鞋	
Coin	幣	上極貢幣
		上油桶幣
		上玉扣幣
		上福川幣
		號大 X 幣
		金銀幣

Cookie	餅乾	
Dates	棗	
Dried Fruit Peel	果皮	
Dried Plum	乾梅	
Egg	蛋	
	生鷄蛋	
	鷄蛋	
Fabric	布	毛布
Fireworks		三益炮
		生源炮
		紅溪炮
		大花炮
		杜丹炮
Fish	魚	
	上甲勿魚	
	新大蠔鼓	
	南魚	
	河魚	
Fillet Cuttlefish/Squid		吊片鰂魚
Japanese Cuttlefish/Squid		日本鰂魚
Chang Fish		倉魚
Chang Fish Egg		倉魚蛋
Salted Chang Fish		倉鹹魚
Flour	麵粉	
Ginger	生薑	
Glutinous Rice	糯米	
Ham	火腿	
Hat	帽	同古帽
Incense	香	品息香
		白花香
		茄楠香
Knife	九江菜刀	
Leather	牛皮	
Lotus	蓮子	
Matches	火柴	
Medicine	藥材	
"Miracle Pill"		神丸
Mooncake	月餅	
Nail	鐵釘	
Noodles	麵條	

Peanut	花生	
Pear	雪梨	
Pipe	烟斗	
Foreign Pipe	洋烟斗	
Plate	碟	5 寸花碟
		7 寸花碟
		花味碟仔
		良碟
Rice	米	新宣粘米
		新锦米
		劉白米
		耕米
		良米
		苗米
Salted Fish	鹹魚	
Salted Shrimp	鹹蝦	
Seeds (Snacking)	瓜子	
Flavored Seeds	味瓜子	
Red Seeds	紅瓜子	
Sesame	芝麻	
Sesame Oil	麻油	
Shirt	衫	
	布衫	
Brown Shirt	棕色織衫	
Shovel	鏟	
Shrimp	蝦肉	大蝦
		洋粗蝦米
Silk	絲布	
Silk Scarf	絲巾	什色絲巾
Smoked Meat	烟肉	
Smoking: Opium/Tobacco Variations	煙	洋烟
		正舊源麗煙
		正舊隆福煙
		舊土煮煙
		舊城利哆煙
		如思煙
		染煙
Soap	番視	
Soy Sauce	生油	字别号生油
		生东和生油

		欠生油
Spatula	鍋鏟	
Medium Spatula		中鍋鏟
Large Spatula		大鍋鏟
Sugar	糖	
Brown Sugar		黃糖
White Sugar		白糖
Spoon	花匙羹	
Tea	茶	車茶
		上烏龍茶
		六安茶
		冲茶
		本茶
		正信遠香茶
		涼茶
		遠信茶
Tofu	腐竹	
Toothbrush	牙刷	
Vest	背心	
Water Chestnut	馬蹄	
(Wine)pot	花酒壺	
Wool Sock	毛織襪	
Workmanship	做工	

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