AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

Maryanne Maddoux for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Anthropology presented on May 6, 2019.

Title: At River's Edge: An Examination of Overseas Chinese Settlements in Northern Oregon during the Exclusion Act Era.

Abstract approved:

_____

David Brauner

The written history of Oregon spanning the late 18th and early 19th centuries lacks evidence of the contributions made by the Overseas Chinese communities who existed in Oregon during this period. The purpose of this examination is to study the Overseas Chinese communities which resided in the cities of The Dalles, Portland, and Astoria during the Exclusion Act Era (1882-1943). The examination of these communities in Oregon will enhance the historical record by adding an in-depth examination of Overseas Chinese populations and occupations in these northern cities, as well as, describing the typical experiences of Overseas Chinese individuals. Previously, little information was examined in an effort to connect or compare Exclusion Act Era Overseas Chinese communities in Oregon, and less information was compiled to examine the daily lives of the individuals whom comprised these communities. By contrasting and comparing these specific Exclusion Act Era Overseas Chinese communities in Oregon, it is probable to provide more accurate estimates of population size and population composition. Further, from this

examination, it is possible to identify evidence of social and economic networks in these communities which are otherwise not apparent in the written record.

At River's Edge: An Examination of Overseas Chinese Settlements in Northern Oregon during the Exclusion Act Era

by
Maryanne Maddoux

A DISSERTATION

submitted to

Oregon State University

in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the
degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Presented May 6, 2019
Commencement June 2019

Doctor of Philosophy dissertation of Maryanne Maddoux presented on May 6th, 2019

APPROVED:

Major Professor, representing Applied Anthropology

Director of the School of Language, Culture, and Society

Dean of the Graduate School

I understand that my dissertation will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my dissertation to any reader upon request.

Maryanne Maddoux, Author

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author expresses sincere appreciation to my doctoral committee, comprised of Dr. David Brauner, Dr. Elaine Pedersen, Dr. Leah Minc, Dr. Bryan Tilt, and Dr. Marie S. Harvey, for continually providing support and guidance throughout the research and writing process. Each member of my doctorial committee was instrumental in the progression and supposition of this dissertation. Without the contribution of their valuable time and considerable advice, this project was otherwise not possible.

Many local historians, archivists, and archaeologists were also fundamental to this project. Eric Gleason and Jacqueline Cheung provided the initial research and excavations for The Dalles Chinatown site. Connie Lenzen shared research advice and introductions to a wealth of connections. Dr. Jonathan Lipman provided advice regarding researching the history of China and a beginning bibliography. Archivist Liisa Penner provided guidance regarding the history of Astoria and assistance in navigating the Clatsop County archives. A huge thank you to National Archives volunteer, Trish Hackett Nicola who contributed advice via direct correspondence and her online blog. I also wish to thank my fellow graduate students for all of their support and advice throughout graduate school.

Lastly, I wish to thank my family for supporting me unconditionally through this project. I could not have done this project without my loving husband Steven who supports me emotionally, and serves as my first draft editor. Thank you to my amazing daughter Bailey who gives her time, patience, and support, by coming with

me on numerous museum and site visits. And to my mom and dad, Fey and Jim, who did not let me give up, no matter how impossible this task may have seemed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF FIGURES (Continued)

LIST OF FIGURES (Continued)

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter One - Introduction

The settling of the western United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is an important part of American History. Fictional tales and historic accounts of the California Gold Rush, the Continental Railroad, and the Oregon Trail continue to spark the imaginations of people worldwide. This rugged and unpredictable period of history is recounted in history books, movies, on television, and throughout fictional novels. These historic accounts tend to provide details concerning only large-scale events and/or wealthy individuals; precluding the day to day lives and experiences of those early Euro-American explorers and settlers. Even today, written history focuses primarily on the experiences of the wealthy Euro-American settlers.

History books have a powerful impact on how Americans view their history and their surroundings. There are countless parks, museums, and works of art which celebrate American history. Historic preservationists continuing working to protect buildings and sites associated with those Euro-American settlers who envelope the pages of American history books. The ability to interact with physical historic reminders provides individuals with connections to the past, reinforces the history personal to them, and provides a common bond for all Americans. The preservation and re-creation of sites which celebrate only Euro-American ancestry tell an incomplete story of the past, and by the exclusion of those who are not of European ancestry, damage minorities by exclusion (Saito 2009; Takaki 2008).

The contributions of Overseas Chinese communities and the accomplishments of individuals in the western United States are significantly absent from written history. Additionally, the historic preservation of sites associated with Overseas Chinese influences are not prevalent in the western United States. Prior academic attempts to fill in our lack of knowledge have primarily focused on Overseas Chinese workers who provided labor to the railway and mining industries (Baxter & Allen 2015; Chace & Evans 2015; Chen 1980; James 1995; Lai, Yung and Chang2006; LaLande 1981; Mead 1994; Polk 2015; Tsai 1983; Wegars 1993). Research concerning Overseas Chinese laborers is only a starting point. While being an important first step, the research is incomplete and may support the portrayal of Overseas Chinese individuals in the West as being male sojourners with little incentive to invest in their temporary homes.

The written history of Oregon follows this pattern of historical exclusion, barely examining and reporting on the contributions of Overseas Chinese populations in the State during the Exclusion Act Era (1882 – 1943). Despite the written history of Oregon generally failing to document the contributions of the Overseas Chinese, the archaeological record and primary documentation do not discriminate. For instance, the American Born Chinese brigade of the National Guard is rarely noted in historical accounts of Oregon. Fortunately, the Oregon Historical Society has maintained photographic evidence of their presence in Portland in 1898 (Figure 1.1). The brigade is believed to have had a unit of 43 men who practiced together but were never involved in active duty (Stobridge 1994:103). Examination of the archaeological record and primary documentation indicate Overseas Chinese individuals were essential community

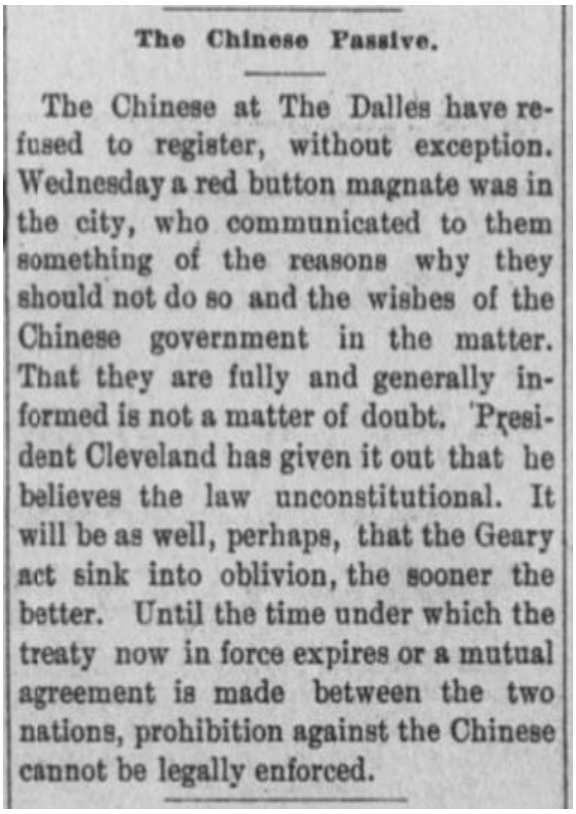
members that helped to establish businesses, provided essential services, and participated in their local communities and governments (Harrington 2010; Lalande 1993; Maddoux 2016; Wernz 2001).

FIGURE 1.1 American Born Chinese Brigade, Portland Oregon. ORHI Negative No. 310. (Oregon Historical Society Research Library, 1901.)

During the Chinese Exclusion Act Era Overseas Chinese individuals were subjected to continually restrictive legislation and a hostile social environment. These impacts were far reaching and included limiting types of employment, places of residence, and family composition through the restricted admittance of women and children (Greenwood 1993; Soennichison 2011). These factors all influenced the material record as communities made adjustments to endure difficult economic and social factors (Figure 1.2). These factors, despite their impact, are generally absent in commonly used archival resources such as the United States Census and Sandborn Insurance maps. Although these resources are valuable, they often times provide only limited information such as presence or absence. Language barriers, discriminatory practices, and an unwillingness to disclose information on the part of the Overseas Chinese communities and individuals, may have contributed to these omissions. Despite restrictive legislation, it is my opinion, that many Overseas Chinese individuals and communities were resistant to external social and legal pressures. Ultimately, the Overseas Chinese were resilient against these influences by utilizing family name associates and tongs to maintain social ties.

FIGURE 1.2 Portland's Chinatown at the intersection of 2nd & Washington. ORHI Negative No. 8356. (Oregon Historical Society Research Library, 1890.)

Overseas Chinese communities, to varying degrees, were able to communicate with one another regardless of geographical distance and support individuals despite relocations and loss of income. I originally found evidence of this through archaeological research associated with site 35WS453 in The Dalles, Oregon. Immigration documentation for the inhabitants of the site demonstrates that at least a few individuals traveled frequently through Oregon and Washington (Maddoux 2016). In addition, the local newspaper, The Dalles chronicle noted political alliances between communities (Figure. 1.3).



The Chinese Passive.

The Chinese at The Dalles have refused to register, without exception. Wednesday a red button magnate was in the city, who communicated to them something of the reasons why they should not do so and the wishes of the Chinese government in the matter. That they are fully and generally informed is not a matter of doubt. President Cleveland has given it out that he believes the law unconstitutional. It will be as well, perhaps, that the Geary act sink into oblivion, the sooner the better. Until the time under which the treaty now in force expires or a mutual agreement is made between the two nations, prohibition against the Chinese cannot be legally enforced.

FIGURE 1.3 *The Chinese Passive*. (The Dalles Daily Chronicle, 1893.)

Objectives and Purpose 1.1

At this point in time a comprehensive resource does not exist pertaining to the Overseas Chinese population of Oregon during the Exclusion Act Era. The purpose of this examination is to further enrich the written record by researching a sampling of sites, and historic materials in order to identify common indicators of Overseas Chinese settlements (Figure 1.4). The methodology utilized for identification will also be useful in standardizing methods and terminology for identifying sites and curating artifacts in the future.

FIGURE 1.4 Girls in Chinese Home S.W. 14th and Nell St. Portland, OR August 30, 1890. ORHI Negative No. 45702. (Oregon Historical Society Research Library, 1890.)

Research Questions 1.2

- How did the Overseas Chinese community in northern Oregon cope with Exclusion Era laws and restrictions?
- What was social life like in Guangdong Province, China during the Exclusion Act Era in comparison to the daily life of Overseas Chinese individuals living in the United States?
- Where were Overseas Chinese communities located in northern Oregon, and what was the population size and demographics of these communities in both rural and urban settings? Did these communities change in size and location during the Exclusion Act Era due to restrictive legislation and inhospitable environments?
- Given inconsistencies in otherwise reliable sources such as the United States Census, is there material archaeological evidence that will help determine population size and composition?
- Did social and economic networks exist among Overseas Chinese communities to aid individuals in obtaining and keeping work despite adversity?

Approach 1.3

In order to rectify these omissions for future research three cities were chosen to represent a sample of different geographic regions, types of industry, and population sizes. The cities of Astoria, Portland and The Dalles Oregon were chosen for their northern locations and close proximity to the Columbia River, as well as, there varying degrees of historic preservation. All three of the chosen cities allow for relatively easy

access to the Pacific Ocean, and somewhat free movement along the Columbia River and railways for people traveling through California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, British Columbia, and later on Mexico.

Theoretical Background 1.4

A few theoretical concepts have been commonly utilized for examination of Overseas Chinese archaeological sites. The theoretical concepts of agency, acculturation, and practice theory are mentioned only briefly here. However, given their importance they will be more thoroughly examined in the next chapter. Beginning in the 1970s the construct of acculturation has been applied to the interpretation of Chinese archaeological sites (Baxter & Allen 2015; Chace & Evans 2015; James 1995; LaLande 1981; Mead 1994; Polk 2015; Wegars 1993). "Acculturation is a process in which either a group or individual experience "culture change" (Teske and Nelson 1974: 352). Due to the isolated nature of railway construction work and mining, the material record from these sites lends itself well to the concept of acculturation. However, this construct although useful at times doesn't leave much room for individual concepts or free-will.

The construct of agency can therefore be added to the concept of acculturation to fill in gaps in the historical record. Agency "is the ability of individuals to affect change, make autonomous and independent choices, and act is self-determining way" (O'Leary 2007:6). Agency often focuses in on the individual and free-will however the Overseas Chinese community is historically seen to act collectively and somewhat passively. Although, agency is often associated with brazen individuals and individual actions, it

can also be found in quiet assertiveness and in groups (Rosenberger 2014). For this examination, agency provides authority to individuals and communities that have otherwise been presented as powerless bystanders.

Practice theory is the overarching concept that binds this research together and provides context. Acculturation and agency do answer many questions, but they do not present a vivid three-dimensional portrait of past life experiences. However, practice theory brings together the actions and motivations, and social capital (habitus) of individuals and combines them within the broader context of the space (field) in which they occur (Bourdieu 2018). When Overseas Chinese individuals left mainland China they brought with them their own social capital, which most likely was not accepted in the United States to the same degree that it was accepted in their homeland. How these individuals navigated this new field, and their success in doing so, may help to provide valuable information.

Significance 1.5

Visions of history which portray wealthy European Americans as the dominant actors involved in the building of western America and reduces minorities and people of lower socioeconomic status as underlings, or worse as helpless victims are harmful to our understandings of the past (Wolf 2010). There is an old saying that history is written by the victors, and it is so common place that it seeps into the general consciousness of many Americans. This famous adage implies that the people who are written into history are the winners, and further infers that the losers are the ones forgotten by history. The

implication robs settlers of their agency and depicts them as helpless bystanders or victims and it relegates these individuals to a history of "immobility and silence" (Young 1990:120).

The topic of Overseas Chinese settlements in the state of Oregon is important because it covers aspects of Oregon's history, and it impacts living populations of Chinese Americans. It is imperative that the history of Overseas Chinese communities is documented and that important landmarks are preserved. As of yet, there is no comprehensive source which outlines the history of Overseas Chinese settlements in the state of Oregon. Basic information such as geographic distribution and demographic composition of Overseas Chinese communities should be established from reliable sources prior to further research being conducted (Figure 1.5). The written historic record regarding Overseas Chinese settlements in Oregon should be broadened to include: cultural practices, economic contributions, social structure and kinship networks, and personal experiences.

FIGURE 1.5 Oregon Native Sons. ORHI Negative No. 12612. (Oregon Historical Society Research Library, n.d.)

The representation of the Chinese community in Oregon during the Exclusion Act Era as being solely male sojourners is detrimental to our history. This false understanding excludes permanent residents, as well as, elders, women and children from the historic record (Figure 1.5). In order to properly represent the past and accurately interpret Overseas Chinese archaeological records and historic sites, it is necessary to create a reliable source. An examination of the three cities of Astoria, Portland, and The Dalles provide a research model of settlement from which future researchers may build. The study provides the groundwork for further examination of more complex relationships between individual agency and acculturation, social networks and community building, as well as political activism.

Chapter 2 – Methods and Theory

Overview 2.1

The turn of the 20th century is a tumultuous time in American history. The industrialization of the United States, combined with a growing population, and westward expansion resulted in Euro-Americans being exposed to various new concepts and unfamiliar people. This combination resulted in a volatile outcome. Political and social instability was especially turbulent during this period as an economic downturn occurred towards the end of the 19th century. The western half of the United States, which was originally seen as a land of opportunity, quickly became the setting for racial and ethnic exclusion, as well as providing an atmosphere fostering political grandstanding. There is no evidence more apparent of the radical social-economic changes during this period than that which is found in the restricted admittance of Chinese individuals into the western United States. Leland T. Saito (2009) notes, "understandings of race are directly translated into public policy" (2). Existing fears of foreign cultures and the pressures of a shrinking economy quickly resulted in a long list of local, state, and federal exclusionary laws.

Individuals, communities, and societies are all impacted by the legal restrictions that are placed upon the people of which each faction, large or small, is comprised. Overseas Chinese individuals and communities were restricted in the types of work that they could obtain, the places that they could live, and even their social and demographic composition (Soennichen 2011). The built environment and archaeological record show signs of these restrictions (Maddoux 2016; Ooligan Press 2007; Wong 2004). Although

there are few written accounts from the individuals themselves, the combination of examining the built environment and archaeological record, along with legal restrictions and documentation provide a clearer picture of what life was like in the past for Overseas Chinese individuals attempting to make a life in the western United States.

There are a few published books and theses about Chinese laborers in the western United States set during the close of the 19th Century. These interpretations of the past are written about the presence of Chinese laborers who mined for gold, worked on the railways, and supported the fishing industry. Additionally, archaeological excavations throughout the state of Oregon reveal the existence of several Chinese occupations in both rural and urban settings (French 2016; Lalande 1993; Maddoux 2016; Smits & Fagan 2014; Wernz 2001). As of yet, there are no comprehensive resources to provide a detailed account of what life was like for Overseas Chinese settlers living within the state of Oregon during this time period. There are many reasons for the lack of published historical information concerning Overseas Chinese settlers in Oregon. The most prominent reasons for the deficiency in this area of history, include: (1) racial bias against the Overseas Chinese settlers as maintained by the western communities predominantly comprised of Euro-American ancestry; (2) language barriers between the Overseas Chinese and those of English speaking and/or European language speaking societies;, and (3) the nomadic nature of many of the early Chinese settlers in Oregon. To fill in these gaps in written history a historical method is utilized which includes: primary and secondary documentation, photographs, artwork, dress, extant structures, and archaeological excavations. The analysis of these physical resources is then combined

with a theoretical foundation which incorporates the concepts of agency, acculturation, and Pierre Bourdieu's practice theory.

It is agreed upon by historians and considered to be of general knowledge that a short-term influx of Overseas Chinese laborers in the state of Oregon occurred during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Despite the consensus that the influx occurred, the documented size, and demographic composition, of these populations, as derived from the popularly cited United States Census data is inconclusive. Upon review of both primary and secondary sources, it is my estimation that the composition and size of the Overseas Chinese population in Oregon is underrepresented in the census (Greenwood 1993; Ooligan Press 2007; Soennichen 2011). Utilizing a historical method, beyond mere reliance on census data, will assist to reveal this hidden population and expose a prominent, yet forgotten history of the impact of 19th Century Overseas Chinese communities in Oregon.

Theoretical Foundation 2.2

In the early years of archaeological inquiry most researchers stuck with one aspect of theory. This led to partial information at its best and biased unbalanced research at its worst. There was a dichotomy established between processual and post-processual theories which forced researchers to pick a side that either emphasized the individual or the community as a whole. For this research the theoretical concepts of acculturation, agency, and practice theory will all be utilized. There is no one theoretical basis that will answer all of the questions about what life was like in the past. There are many inquiries

that remain to this day regarding the presence of Overseas Chinese individuals in the state of Oregon. At this point there is no collection of history books or biographies that can answer even simple questions, such as, where the Chinese populations were located in Oregon or what was the composition of these communities? These are all questions that historical archaeology may be able to help answer. However, the broader question of why these populations were ignored and how history disappears or become forgotten needs to be answered utilizing a multitude of methods, the foremost of which is theoretical inquiry.

Acculturation is a concept that has been utilized by many archaeologists studying Chinese sites in the Western United States since the 1970s (Baxter & Allen 2015; Chace & Evans 2015; James 1995; LaLande 1981; Mead 1994; Polk 2015; Wegars 1993). According to Raymond H.C. Teske and Bardin H. Nelson (1974) "Acculturation is a process in which either a group or individual experience "culture change" (352). One of the reasons that archaeologists originally found Chinese archaeological sites so interesting is that railway sites have a fairly isolated artifact collection of Chinese artifacts that were supplied by the companies that employed Chinese workers (LaLande 1981). These isolated collections made it fairly easy to compare and contrast Chinese artifacts from Euro-American artifacts of the same time period and surmise whether or not Chinese individuals were experiencing acculturation and taking on Euro-American habits and methods.

It is extremely problematic to attempt to demonstrate culture change through material culture without first having a comprehensive understanding of the cultures which are under examination. While most historical archaeologists have a working knowledge of Euro-American material culture, a clear understanding of Chinese material culture has been the exception rather than the rule in examinations of Overseas Chinese archaeological sites in Oregon. This has led to instances in which a single item, such as a Euro-American medicinal bottle in a Chinese site, is utilized to demonstrate acculturation. Was a Chinese individual experiencing culture change because they consumed Euro-American stomach bitters to relieve an ailment? Possibly, acculturation was occurring but it is also equally probable that a Chinese individual utilized the medicinal bottle for other purposes, or the bottle was left behind by a Euro-American. The medicinal bottle alone is most likely not evidence of acculturation. Acculturation may seem somewhat predetermined and inevitable, as if a person who is exposed to a new culture will inevitably take on parts of that culture. It is also somewhat dangerous to imply a person's intentions purely through a lone artifact.

All of the gaps in historical knowledge may not be filled in by the use of acculturation, but when the concept of agency is applied, it can result in a more thorough explanation which provides for an individual's own thoughts and will. Agency is "the ability of individuals to affect change, make autonomous and independent choice, and act in self-determining ways" (O'Leary 2007:6). The concept of agency can be associated with free will. Free will can manifest in many different ways. Agency can be expressed by an individual in a brash act of independence such as a protest, or it can be the quiet

resistance of a small group of individuals acting collectively (Rosenberger 2015:7). Even though agency adds to the concept of acculturation, the two concepts alone do not describe the social interactions of a community.

Practice theory provides a theoretical framework in which to better understand the motivations and restrictions that individuals and communities have, what happens when individuals change environments (or fields), and how individuals navigate personal interactions and conflicts. Most importantly, practice theory provides the opportunity to examine how individuals interact with their overarching social structure, and how this structure in turn is impacted by the individuals themselves. It is difficult to try to figure out what exactly motivates and controls a human being's actions. This is where practice theory can become especially useful. By taking a look at what life was like for Chinese individuals in mainland China during the 1800s and 1900s and comparing and contrasting it with life for Chinese individuals living in the United States during the same time period, it may be possible to determine which cultural and social aspects the person held on to and which ones changed in their new homeland.

Pierre Bourdieu (1977) introduced the broad concept of practice theory to help researchers better understand what motivates people, how they interact with each other, and the structure in which they live. Bourdieu's (1977) concepts of habitus, doxa, practice, and field can be applied when different cultures come in contact with one another, such as the Chinese and Euro-Americans in the western United States. Bourdieu's (1977) concept of habitus is defined as "the attitudes that actors internalize

while being conditioned by past experiences, and re-enact in present everyday practices, through a certain degree of freedom" (Maggio 2017:11). Habitus, "which allows social actors to unconsciously adjust between their internal subjectivity and the external objective influences", provides the basis for individuals' to experience acculturation, exercise their agency, and make their own decisions relying upon an informed background (Maggio 2017:79). Doxa, another important component of practice theory, adds the aspect of preconceived assumptions that individuals may carry (Maggio 2017:76). Archaeologist Craig Cipolla (2014) asserts that "archaeology is particularly well positioned to address issues of doxa given its long view perspectives of human history" (2).

Bourdieu's theory of practice, although insightful, is limiting in its' concept of agency as an unconscious behavior. To add to the theory of practice Anthony Giddens (1979) applies the concept of structuration which among other things allows for agency to occur willfully and with personal knowledge (5-8). The foundation for practice theory is built upon many of the principles introduced by Bourdieu and Giddens and it continues to grow and change over time. One of the most influential additions was introduced by Sherry Ortner in 1984, who added the concept of the historic turn which addresses how shifts in power occur (Cipolla 2014:2).

The first anthropologist to argue for the application of practice theory in archaeology was Ian Hodder (1982) in his article *Theoretical Archaeology: a Reactionary View*. As archaeologists have worked with the concepts of practice theory,

the theory itself has expanded. Timothy Pauket (2001) contended that the use of practice theory in archaeology allows for a focus on historical context (Cipolla 2014:4). Although practice theory wasn't originally developed with the field of archaeology in mind, it has added depth to historical archaeological investigations. The concepts of habitus and doxa in particular provide multiple lenses in which to view social interactions that were occurring within and outside of the Chinese community in southeastern China and the United States during the late 19th century and early 20th century. When Overseas Chinese individuals encountered Euro-Americans, and vice-versa, each group had a preconceived idea of what the other group was like and which rules they followed. These individuals acted differently depending upon their situation, personal experience, and interpretation of the rules of not only their culture, but also the new culture that they came in contact with (Cipolla 2014:3-4).

Archival Research of Primary and Secondary Sources 2.3

Federal, State and County Population Records

Federal Census records are the most commonly cited sources for Overseas Chinese population estimates at the turn of the 20th century. This information can be useful in demonstrating where Chinese populations were primarily located in the state of Oregon. This is especially true when researching a specific person or family. It is important to consider that the Census estimates are just that, estimates. There are inconsistencies and inaccuracies within these early records due to faulty and/or lax record keeping methods, language barriers, racial bias, and an unwillingness to participate in the

census (Greenwood 1993; Ooligan Press 2007; Soennichen 2011). In addition, the records themselves are housed in multiple locations with varying degrees of accessibility and preservation. It is not uncommon to discover missing, damaged, or misplaced records. For instance, the 1890 U.S. Census (arguably the most important decade when studying the early impact of the Chinese Exclusion Act) was lost due to fire. For these reasons, the Census records are utilized sparingly in this examination only when other sources are not available. The Census records can be helpful when used in conjunction with immigration paperwork.

The National Archives has an abundance of immigration documentation that contains specific information regarding an individual's movement in and out of the United States. The files may contain information regarding immigration investigations which include but are not limited to: family composition, business practices, monetary resources and interviews with local acquaintances. When this information is combined with other resources such as Census data and Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, it is certainly possible to ascertain a person's residence, place and type of business, as well as, family connections and business networks. The immigration documentation when properly utilized can show where an individual was traveling to, where they resided, and who their close personal connections were. This type of information is seldom found elsewhere.

Federal, State, County, and City Laws and Regulations

Laws and ordinances have multiple impacts on individuals and communities. These impacts include, but are not limited to: changes in demographic composition,

geographic marginalization, building limitations, travel limitations, and restricted economic activities. During the Chinese Exclusion Act Era there were many local and national laws and ordinances created in an attempt to limit and eventually eject the Chinese population from the western United States. Although, personal written histories from Chinese individuals are either rare or non-existent, there is a paper trail of these legal restrictions in city, county, state, and federal records (Merritt 2011; Maddoux 2016; Ooligan Press 2007; Wong 2004). These legal restrictions provide evidence of what the social climate was like in different areas of Oregon during the Exclusion Act Era.

Historical Societies, Gardens, and Local Museums

The degree of historic preservation and community recognition of early Overseas Chinese populations varies widely depending upon the city. The size, financial backing and community involvement of the local descendant populations, as well as knowledge in the general population and funding opportunities all impact the availability of information. The cities of Portland and Astoria have invested in gardens and monuments recognizing the contributions of Overseas Chinese populations. In addition, both of these cities have publicly accessible historic records and displays in local museums. The city of The Dalles, has a privately maintained historic site and a small amount of information available for research in its local museum.

Sandborn Fire Insurance Maps

During the 1800s the Sanborn Insurance Company recorded detailed maps of many populated areas across the United States. The Sanborn Fire Insurance maps were

usually recorded every 10 years, however new maps were created after catastrophic events such as widespread fires or flooding events. The maps often times provide detailed information for both residential and commercial properties. This information generally includes street addresses, types and sizes of buildings, uses of building, and occupants of buildings. In addition to the essential information found on most maps, these maps of areas populated by Overseas Chinese populations may also convey instances of researcher bias (Maddoux 2016; Merritt 2011). Instances of map bias may include limited reference only made to an occupant's ethnicity and be devote of an individual or business names as found on maps of other commercial and residential locations in the same city.

Books and Academic Writing

Standard Oregon history books merely mention a line or two about the presence of Chinese laborers, or leave out their presence entirely (Lockley 1928). The information which does exist might provide a good starting point for additional research. In recent years a resurgence of interest in Chinese immigration to the United States during the 1800s and 1900s resulted in research being conducted in California, Idaho, Washington, Montana, Nevada, and British Columbia. Early anthropological investigations do provide some assistance in determining what social and economic life may have been like in mainland China (Bodde 1966; Freedman 1958). Ethnographic research centered in San Francisco provides many clues as to how Chinese individuals may have navigated restrictive legislation (Yung, Chang, and Lai 2006). Comparing and contrasting these

multiple resources helps to provide a baseline of what life may have been like in mainland China and how things both changed and stayed the same when individuals moved to the United States.

Newspaper Articles and Photographs

Local newspapers provide the rare opportunity to examine pertinent events and local attitudes towards the Chinese population in Oregon during the Exclusion Act Era as described from the people of the same time period. All of the towns under examination had local newspapers which occasionally reported on the activities of their Chinese communities. Not only do these accounts provide details of notable events but they also provide the interpretation of the authors and editors who composed the newspapers. Photographs for the time period under investigation are limited in quantity, but they can provide many essential details that are not available elsewhere. These details include; cultural festivals and practices, social associations, prominent individuals, locations, styles of dress, natural disasters, and even architecture.

Built Environment 2.4

For this examination both extant historical buildings and historic monuments and gardens were studied. Low and Lawerence-Zuniga (2007) assert that "transnational space" is created by people who are geographically and culturally in transition (26). Further anthropological research suggests that immigrants of Chinese origin reconstructed to some degree their communities in their new host lands in both physical and social structures (Rains 2013; Watson 1975). Extant buildings exist in The Dalles,

and Portland, but unfortunately due to a series of fires Astoria lost most of its early historic buildings that were occupied by Overseas Chinese laborers and merchants. The extant buildings that are available in the cities do demonstrate physical changes due to legislative restrictions, and social activities. In addition, although written documentation is limited, the monetary investment of community organizations is demonstrated by the building of structures utilized for family name associations and societies, particularly in the city of Portland. The later addition of "Chinese style" gardens in both Astoria and Portland also demonstrate current community interest and involvement.

Archaeological Excavations and Artifacts 2.5

The three cities under examination vary in their historical resources. Although, Astoria has a wealth of written documentation, the archaeological record of the Overseas Chinese community has not been extensively documented or explored. Whenever possible, archaeological data including site reports and artifact collections were examined for this project. Archaeological sites ORMUS57 in Portland, Oregon and site 35WS453 in The Dalles, Oregon were examined both for archaeological content and also for field methodologies (Maddoux 2016; Smits and Fagan 2014; Wernz 2001). Site ORMU57 provides a sampling of information for the early Overseas Chinese occupation in Portland between 1870 and 1920, prior to the Chinese community moving to its more permanent location to the north (Wernz 2001). Site 35WS453, provides evidence of a business and boarding site that was occupied between 1880 and 1910 (Maddoux 2016). Artifacts

housed in The Clatsop County Historical Society and The Oregon Historical Society were also studied.

Summary 2.6

This combination of historical materials and methods provides an opportunity for an in-depth examination of what life may have been like for Overseas Chinese settlers in Oregon during the Exclusion Act Era. The mobility of the communities and the use of social networks are apparent in both documentation and the built environment. In particular, the immigration records at the National Archives provide perspective of the level of scrutiny potential which Chinese immigrants faced when attempting to live and remain in the United States. Despite this finding not being the original intention of the immigration investigations, the way in which the information was collected and the extended time span over which information was collected, allows for further anthropological research.

Chapter 3 – Lifeways in Southeastern China

Overview 3.1

To compile a complete history of southeastern China in a single chapter is an impossible task. Nevertheless, it remains important to consider what life was like in southeastern China during the Great Chinese Diaspora when thousands of Chinese sojourners traveled in and outside of China during the late 1800s and early 1900s. The majority of Chinese sojourners and immigrants resided in southeastern China prior to their departure to foreign countries. In the field of historical archaeology, it is essential to the interpretation of material remains to possess some understanding of the social and political structures of the culture being studied. For more than 30 years archaeologists have searched for evidence of acculturation in western U.S. archaeological sites without having a solid baseline for lifeways in southeastern China occurring at the turn of the century.

There is a commonly held misbelief that cultural practices and daily routines in China during the late 19th and early 20th centuries were stagnant and traditional. There are several reasons for this misrepresentation of the past. First and foremost, prior to the 21st century most accounts of Chinese history that were accessible to western researchers are written from a biased western perspective. This biased western perspective is attributable to what Edward Said (1994) refers to as Orientalism which is "a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience" (1). In order, to gain a more representative idea of what daily life

was like in southern China during the 1800s and 1900s it is necessary to consider what information is missing from past interpretations and try to determine why this information was not accounted for earlier. Most significantly it is necessary to utilize a historical method as the means to gather the information necessary to fill in these noticeable gaps in written history.

At this point, it is important to acknowledge that the term "Orient" is derogatory and perhaps Edward Said (1994) purposefully utilized the terminology of Orientalism to spark debate (Hill 2017). Prior to Said's (1994) book *Orientalism*, American activists fought to remove the use of the term Oriental noting that it "connotes exoticism and inferiority" (Yung 1999: xiii). However, with the lack of a commonly identified alternative term to describe this concept, it will be utilized in this discussion. Historic western interpretations of Chinese history have a tendency to be deeply entrenched in Orientalism. This has previously led to a multitude of errors and misrepresentations, such as the conglomeration of multiple ethnicities under one label, simplifying family hierarchies and gender relations, and/or assuming that certain cultural traditions have remained in place since time unmemorable (Siu and Chan 2010: 2).

Furthermore, the concept of time in Chinese history differs greatly than the way in which western historians traditionally track time. This differing perception is in a large part due to the vast expanse of time that is documented in written Chinese history, compared to the minute period of America's written history, and the types of sources that are utilized by historians to trace time (Wilkinson 2015: 598-599). Rather than focusing

on decades, centuries and millenniums, historians prior to the 21st century have recorded China's past in multiple ways depending on whom is writing about time and what aspects of time they are addressing in their writings. In fact, researchers interested in Chinese history often argue about how time should be divided. Historians have recorded Chinese time according to ages of antiquity, dynasties, political movements, and ancient versus modern times (Wilkinson 2015: 1-4).

In recent years historians have primarily relied upon the division of dynasties into eras and modern times into political movements (Figure 3.1). A brief history of the most historically recent Chinese Dynasties is helpful in interpreting the economic and political events that unfold during the 1800s. The Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) ended with far reaching incidents of corruption (Soennichsen 2011:2). With the end of the Ming Dynasty, the Qing Dynasty (1636-1912) began under the authority of northern Manchu rulers, but the Manchu were considered to be outsiders by many people in southern China (Soennichsen 2011: 2). In response to Manchu rule, there were many uprisings starting in the 1700s and continuing through the 1800s (Soennichsen 2011:3). After the fall of the Qing dynasty the resulting political reigns of The Republic of China (1912-1949) and The People's Republic of China (1949-present) resulted in sweeping social and economic changes, as well as, varying degrees of access Western access to China.

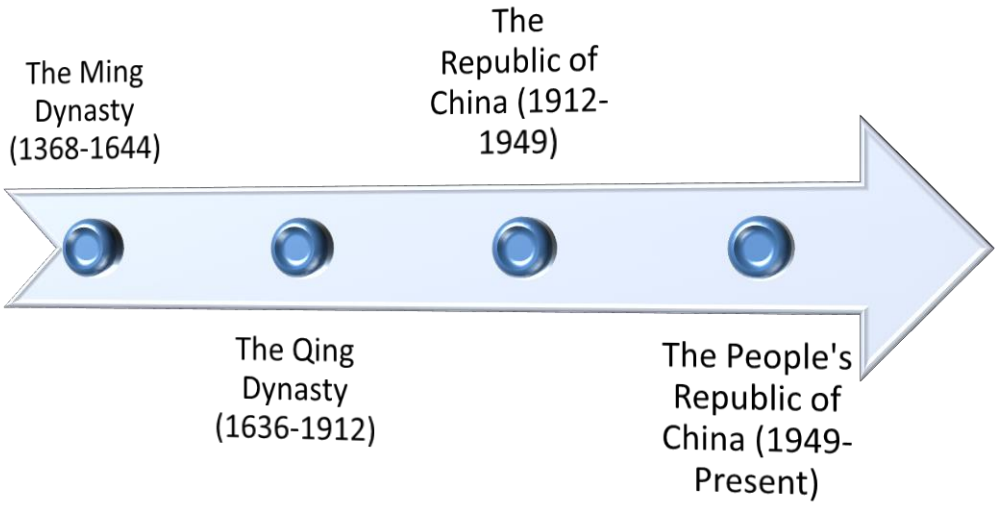


FIGURE 3.1. Timeline of Recent Chinese Time Periods (illustration by author, information from Wilkinson 2015: 4).

Needless to say, it is difficult to gain an idea of what life in the past was like in a particular location in China during a specific year. Despite the increase in publishing during the 19th century it remains virtually impossible to browse a library or bookstore in the United States and find a book, written in or translated to English, recounting what life was like in Guangdong Provence during the 1880s (Faure 2007). The books which do exist often provide an etic perspective of lifeways in China after the 1920s and prior to 1949; resulting from a surge of interest from western anthropologists, and China was more open to foreigners prior to the political transition in China from the Republic of China to the People's Republic of China (Figure 3.1) (Freedman 1958; Watson 1975; Wolf 1968).

A few researchers have attempted to gain information after 1949 by studying groups outside of mainland China in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Despite the usefulness of this information, it may also be misleading as it does not incorporate the experiences of individuals from mainland Guangdong province (Freedman 1958; Watson 1975; Wolf 1968). This gap in knowledge has not gone unnoticed by historians, and researchers who are working to increase published histories in English. In recent years, dedicated historians have begun focusing on areas of Chinese history where primary documentation is available, including court documents, educational institutions, and exam records (Faure 2007; Faure and Siu 1995; Miles 2006; Wilkinson 2015). Given the large geographic area of China and the great expanse of recorded time, historians are currently taking a regional approach to reconstructing Chinese history (Faure and Siu 1995: 1).

Historians do know that there was a large degree of instability in southeastern China by the mid-1800s that contributed to the Great Chinese Diaspora (Daniels 1998: 12-14; Miles 2006: 221). The province of Guangdong was especially hard hit by multiple factors including: political instability, foreign intrusions and attacks, a faltering economy, and a decline in agriculture due to extreme weather conditions (Felton, Frank, and Schulz 1984: 38-43; Lai 2004:11-14; Miles 2006: 220-222; Soennichsen 2011: 2-4; Zhu 1997: 14-16). Western scholars are probably most familiar with Britain's opium war with China, which began in 1839 and ended in 1860, and it is oftentimes cited as the main factor in the economic downturn in the region (Lai 2004:14; Soennichsen 2011:4-6). There was a lot of confusion for those individuals that left China in the late 1800s for foreign countries and returned home to mainland China in the 1900s (Figure 3.2) (Jorae

2010). Sweeping political changes in China occurred during the early 20th century, and there were also fundamental social changes, such as, a shift away from the importance of family lineage, and a focus on increasing women's rights (Faure 2007: 323-345).

FIGURE 3.2. Canton Street. (A. Chan (Ya Zhen), 1870.)

Geography and Population 3.2

The majority of Overseas Chinese laborers and settlers entering the United States during the Great Chinese Diaspora (1850-1950) originated from Guangdong Province within the Pearl River Delta region (Figure 3.3) (Lai 2004; Miles 2006; Yung, Chang and Lai 2006). According to Faure and Siu (1995), "Inhabitants of the Pearl River delta recognize by common agreement three ethnic divisions broadly placed within the category of Han people: the Punti (bendi), the Hakka (kejia), and the Dan (or danjia; popularly referred to in the English-language literature as the Tanka)" (11).

Although, many Chinese immigrants may have traveled into the central Pearl River Delta on their way to the United States, it is considered that many immigrants originated on the western side of the delta, within the Four Counties region of Guangdong which is known as Siyi (Figure 3.3) (Miles 2006: 221). According to Winston Ho (2016) the four counties of Siyi are comprised of "Taishan (Toishan, Hoishan, Sunning) county 台山縣, Kaiping (Hoiping) county 開平縣, Enping (Yanping) county 恩平縣, and Xinhui (Sunwui) county 新會縣" (para.1). With the introduction of railroads and road systems throughout Siyi it was easy to travel to and from the countryside to larger cities and ports (Ho 2016: para.6).

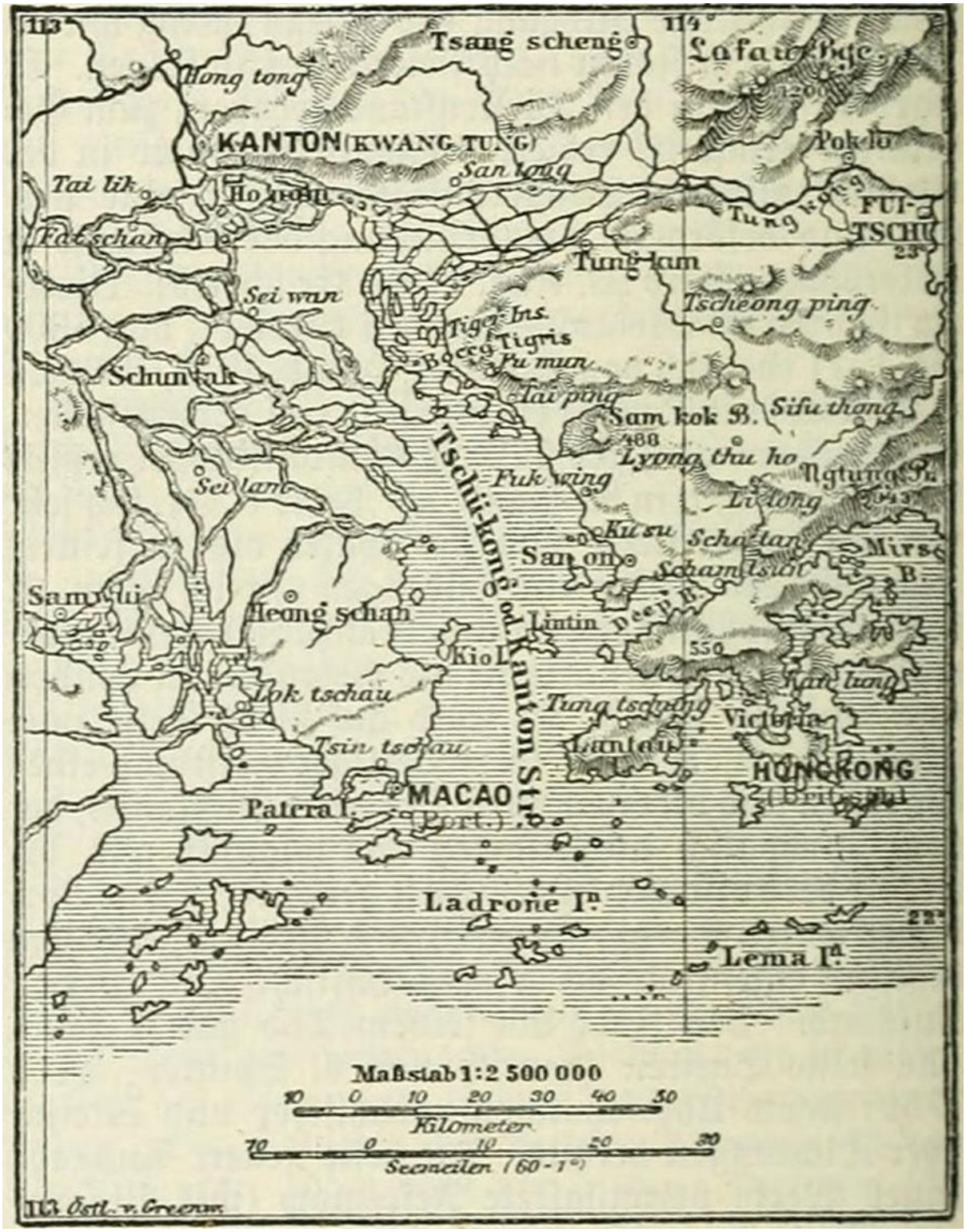


FIGURE 3.3. Pearl River Delta Map. (Meyers Konversations-Lexikon, 1890.)

Three major events impacted the Pearl River Delta region: the fall of the Ming dynasty, the Taiping Rebellion, and later on the 1929 Great Depression (Faure 2007: 5). According to Miles (2006), as resources dwindled and ultimately became more and more strained in the region, countless families adapted "migration as a family strategy" (221). In many instances this migration strategy resulted in the younger men in a family traveling both within and outside of China in search of work and advancement opportunities. Although, many individuals left their small hometowns for larger cities and distant lands these actions do not necessarily mean that these individuals left their social networks behind (Faure 2007: 312; Watson 1975: 211). In addition, there is evidence to suggest that many women began to take on work outside of the home and travel (Siu and Chan 2010: 4).

Canton, also known as Guangzhou, is the largest city in Guangdong and one of the largest cities in the world (Figure 3.4). The City is situated along the Pearl River in the Pearl River Delta close to the South China Sea. According to Steven B. Miles (2006), the early population of Canton moved seasonally as people responded to life along the river. After the fifteenth century Canton became a center for trade (Faure 2007: 5). For hundreds of years Canton has been one of the primary ports in China, and it has remained somewhat open to foreign trade and travel (Ho 2016: para.5-7).

FIGURE 3.4. “Shipping off Canton 1849.” (Wikimedia Commons, 2019.)

Whether or not sojourners originated in Canton, the majority of Chinese travelers left from this port on their way to the Americas. During the late 19th century labor became one Canton’s greatest exports (Faure 2007: 311). The City became known as both a center of trade, and also as a crowded and treacherous port. Crime became so rampant that the police force created rooftop walkways to patrol dangerous neighborhoods at night (Figure 3.5) (Underwood and Company 1900).

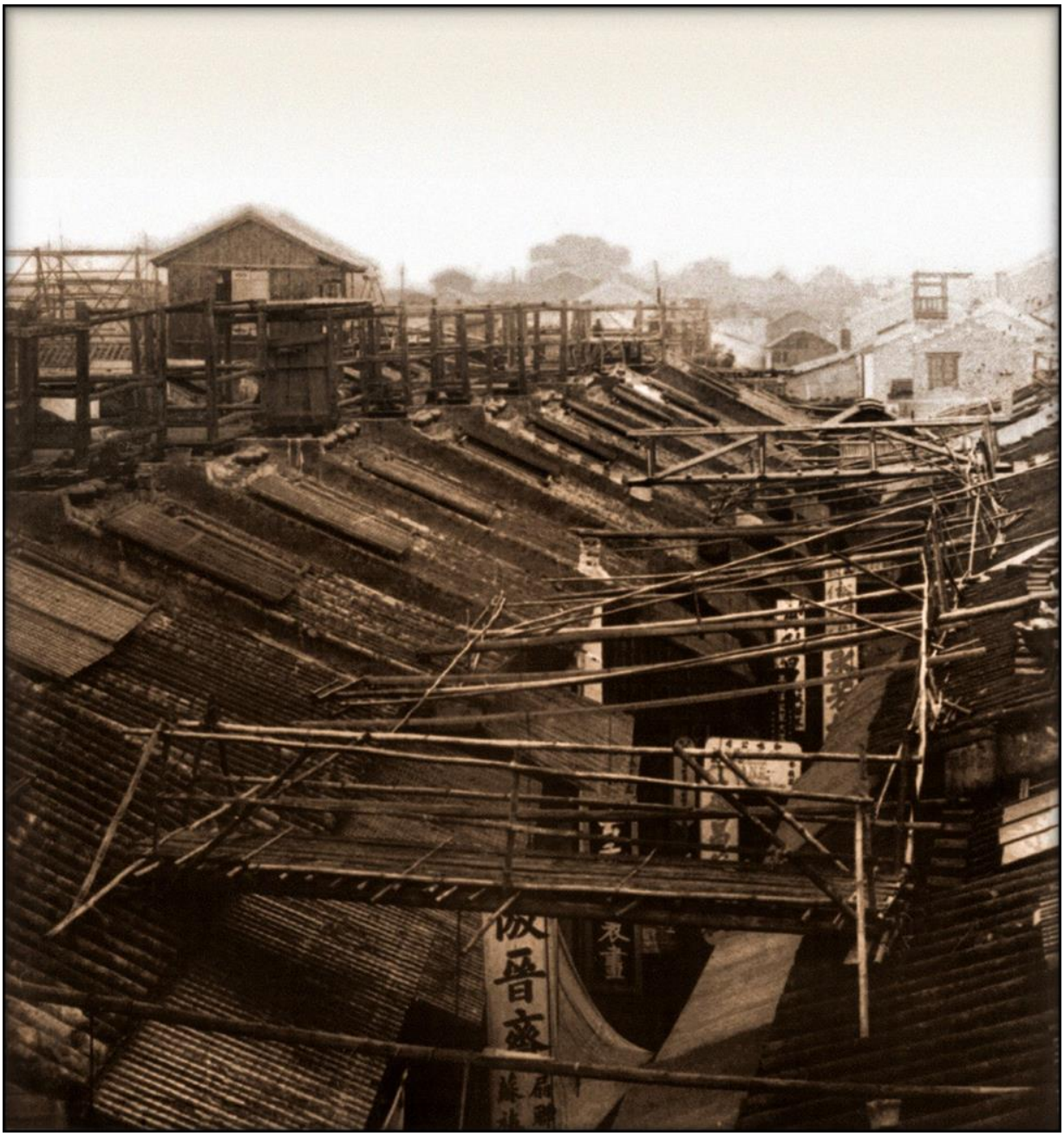


FIGURE 3.5. Bridges by which the night police of the roofs cross the streets, Canton, China. (Underwood and Company, 1900.)

Lineage and Social Networks 3.3

It is reasonable to surmise that on average people living in southern China developed close networks within their own family lineages. These networks thrived over time and often provided stability when the overarching governmental system was either unstable and/or unjust (Faure 2007: 2; Wolf 1968: 12). In mainland China during the time of initial diaspora in the mid-1800s, the family was the most important factor both economically and socially (Faure 2007; Gates 1996; Ooligan Press 2007; Tsai 1983; Wolf 1968; Wong 2004; Yung 1999). Maurice Freedman's (1958) book *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China* outlines the hierarchal composition of southern Chinese family networks including some variations by region and time period (1).

Despite variation there are a few consistent patterns within the lineage system. According to Freedman (1958), "Lineages of the kind we see in south-eastern China are of course essentially political and local organizations" rather than "inflated families" (2). The land of the village was traditionally portioned off and owned by individual households, while still reserving some common lands for the entire village (Freedman 1958: 12). One lineage's lands could be divided into portions for peasants to utilize, school land, and land for ritual use (12). Freedman (1958) notes that "a lineage may have landlords, merchants, craftsman, and peasants (17).

Villages

In the 1800s it was not uncommon to have one family lineage which comprised an entire village (Faure 2007: 1; Freedman 1958: 7). According to Freedman (1958) these villages could trace their lineages for up to 700 years with a generation range of anywhere between 9 to 25 generations (7). It is conceivable that daily life within the villages remained somewhat unchanged over this 700-year time period. The land size, population, and design of the villages varied depending on the wealth of the village and geographic location. Family villages were economic and political hubs where individuals were able to commune with family members, conduct business, and protect their assets from outsiders. Until the 1800s, it was common for villages to protect themselves from outside political forces or unruly neighbors by building walls around their community and arming themselves against military threats (Freedman 1958: 8). Freedman (1958) asserts that "From the functional point of view we can say approximately that the family is an economic unit. The compound a political and social unit, and the branch a religious and worshipping unit, while the heads of the lineage and the various sub-lineages, that is, the ancestral hall association, constitute a combined economic, political, social, religious, educational, and military (&c) unit." (35-36).

Household

A household or family revolves around the hearth of the home and the size of the household varies and depends on the economic situation of the family (Figure 3.6) (Freedman 1958: 19). For example, a peasant family may only have a small number of

individuals (from 4-7 people), whereas a wealthy family may consist of multiple generations and siblings (8-20 people) (Freedman 1958: 20-21). Commonly a wealthy family would house one set of grandparents, adult brothers and their wives, grandchildren, and servants (Freedman 1958: 20-21). On average the strongest familial bonds were between father and son, and a husband and wife (Freedman 1958: 28; Wilkinson 2015: 95; Wolf 1968: xiv).

FIGURE 3.6. "Chinese Family including Female Members, a Rare Scene as Strict Confucian Families Did Not Allow Women to be in the Company of Guests or Out of Their Homes. China, 1874-75." (Wikimedia Commons, 2019.)

Women and Children

Although, Freedman's (1958) work on lineage systems is considered by many to be the seminal resource for the topic, it does not provide an in-depth discussion of women's roles (Siu and Chan 2010: 2). There is no dispute that the lineage system in China is based upon a hierarchy of patrilineal descent (Freedman 1958: 20). Still, it is important to note that women within a lineage had varying degrees of influence (Figure 3.7). Exactly how strong this influence could be is unclear, but there is enough evidence to assert that women were essential contributors to their households and villages (Siu and Chan 2010: 4-7).

A held belief is that traditional Chinese women of good standing did not travel outside of China during the great diaspora. Shin-Shan Henry Tsai (1983) notes that in the early to mid-1800s, "it was a Chinese tradition that a respectable woman should not leave her home even with her husband" (17). Yet, by the 1880s this tradition was coming to an end and many women of good standing made decisions to travel both within China, as well as abroad (Siu and Chan 2010: 3; Tsai 1983: 19).

Figure 3.7. "Chinese Family c. 1875." (Wikimedia Commons, 2019.)

Diaspora 3.4

There are a multitude of reasons why families would encourage young Chinese men to look for advancement away from their local villages or townships. Social mobility was limited with one of the only possibilities for upward movement found through education, the passing of examinations, and eventually entering into government service (Miles 2013:102). Over hundreds of years competition for access to education and government appointments became more restricted and young men would travel long distances to take exams far from home in the hopes of gaining entry into the government system (Miles 2013: 102). Eventually, local townships became wary of outsiders registering for examinations and young men attempted to hide their backgrounds and even change their family surnames in an attempt to gain access to exams (Miles 2013: 111).

According to James L. Watson (1975),

> "Women rarely emigrated, and in some parts of China the local lineage councils did not allow wives to leave the village for fear of losing the entire family. The ideal pattern of emigration was for the males to work hard and defer material gratification while abroad in hopes of striking it rich in the shortest possible time. Successful Chinese emigrants were expected to return in triumph and retire in their home villages. Not all of the emigrants, of course, were able to attain this ideal, but whenever possible they did return to their families upon retirement. The typical sojourn abroad lasted approximately twenty years, although ideally it was broken up by a number of brief visits home. Meanwhile, the emigrant supported his family as best he could by remittances. These are the basic elements of what is referred to in this study as the "classic pattern" of Chinese emigration." (6).

Future Research 3.5

A possible source for future research includes areas which many archaeologists have overlooked, the areas of fashion and design. Design in particular is an area that is often under-utilized by historical archaeologists. Although, China is considered to be largely closed off from trade with the western world prior to the 1800s, European clothing manufacturers and designers were able to obtain materials from China and also gain design inspiration from Chinese artisans and craftsman for centuries (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 101). Silk production is a thriving industry which reached westerners via the trading route known as the Silk Road as early as the second century AD (Harris 2010: 134). Although written documentation may be sparse, there are many extant garments, photographs, and pieces of artwork that can provide information about the past. Not only is this information valuable for establishing what life may have been like in China prior to the diaspora, but recognizable changes in dress in both China and the United States during the turn of the 19th century can also provide details regarding social changes and acculturation (Figure 3.8) (Yung 1999: 307-324).

FIGURE 3.8. “1900 Chinese Woman’s Slippers for Bound Feet.” (The Smithsonian National Museum of American History, 2017.)

Chapter Four – Overseas Chinese in the United States

Overview 4.1

In the 1800s many Chinese immigrants chose to travel to the United States in search of work and citizenship. Initially, few Chinese immigrants sought entrance to the United States, and the United States was a somewhat unbiased and welcoming new home (Barth 1964: vii). Small numbers of immigrants traveled to large cities in the East, South, and West (Figure 4.1). In the 1860s the number of immigrants changed drastically with the announcement of gold in California and the lifting of Chinese travel restrictions in mainland China (Barth 1964:66-67). The United States was in need of skilled laborers, and the people from Guangdong Province, China were in need of work (Soennichsen 2011:7). By 1865, the railroad companies started recruiting thousands of Chinese workers to build American railroads in the United States. The result of this demand for labor, which had initially brought a small influx of laborers, quickly resulted in tens of thousands of new migrants (Chang and Fiskin 2015:1; Voss 2015:4). The large number of Overseas Chinese individuals who entered the United States during this period, known as the "Great Diaspora", had a long lasting impact on the economic, social, and political future of America.

FIGURE 4.1 "Mr. Lee behind the counter (in the center) of the Quong Yuen Shing & Co.store, c. 1917". (Smithsonian Institute, 2017.)

The Western United States 4.2

The majority of Chinese men who came to the western United States after 1850 worked, for at least a short period of time, as laborers in transportation related fields such as the railroads (Figure 4.2) (Voss 2015:15). Men who did not work in transportation could also find employment in fishing, logging, mining, and agriculture. Many men who were successful laborers were later able to diversify their work and invest in their own businesses (Voss 2015:18). The overall trend for the Chinese population in the United States was considered to be a bachelor society, having a far higher ratio of men than women (Greenwood 1993:380-381). Roberta Greenwood (1993) notes, "the national male/female ratio for Chinese was 13 to 1" in 1870 (381).

FIGURE 4.2 "Across the Continent. The snow sheds on the Central Pacific Railroad in the Sierra Nevada Mountains". (Joseph Becker, 1870.)

It is estimated that at least 6,000 Chinese women were brought to the United States between the 1850s and 1870s, primarily to work as prostitutes or provide companionship as concubines (Simmons 1989:15-17; Wegars 1993:231). The early influx of Chinese women working as prostitutes and brought into California ports, primarily San Francisco, raised concerns in the local Euro-American population. These local concerns eventually resulted in the limitation on the number of Chinese women allowed into the United States (Ahmad 2007:4; Soennichsen 2011:12; Tsai 1983:19). A number of the Chinese women working as prostitutes had children, and a few of these women married and established families (Simmons 1989:19). According to Priscilla Wegars (1993) a lesser percentage of Chinese women had various jobs, employed with job titles of "laundress or washerwoman, gardener, fisherwoman, laborer, storekeeper, clerk, and tailoress" (237). Towards the end of the 19th century, married Chinese women of higher social standing also entered the United States (Figure 4.3) (Siu and Chan 2010: 3; Tsai 1983: 19). Although seldom mentioned, there is evidence to suggest that Chinese families were also present in the United States during this time, especially among those individual Chinese men laboring at the merchant level (Wegars 1993:241-249).

FIGURE 4.3 Photograph of Goon Dip and family in 1911 standing in front of the Milwaukie Hotel in Seattle, Washington. (The Wing Luke Museum of the Asian Pacific American Experience, 2017.)

Rural and Urban Settlement

With the 1880 United States Census documenting 75,132 Chinese individuals, California was home to the largest population of Overseas Chinese (Tsai 1983:23). Oregon, Nevada, Washington, and Idaho had smaller numbers of Chinese individuals, but still reported substantial Chinese populations (Tsai 1983:23). Large Chinatowns did develop to offer services to traveling Chinese workers and provide more permanent homes for Chinese merchants and laborers working in large metropolitan areas. San Francisco, California quickly became the largest Chinatown along the west coast; large Chinese settlements were found to the north in both Portland, Oregon, and Seattle, Washington (Figure 4.4).

The majority of male Chinese laborers did not reside within western cities for extended periods. Rather these laborers migrated throughout the West following railroad and mining work, and often times working in isolated rural areas (Voss 2015:4-5; Wegars 1993:1). These migrant camps are the subject of extensive archaeological inquiry, as no written accounts from the Chinese laborers themselves were documented during this time period (Chang and Fiskin 2015:1). The railway and mining camps, although intended to be temporary, have left numerous archaeological sites, which demonstrate isolated material collections.

FIGURE 4.4 Toy Vendor, Chinatown, San Francisco c. 1900s. (Genthe, 1900.)

Oregon 4.3

It is believed that the first Chinese permanent resident in Oregon arrived in 1851 (Ooligan Press 2007:23). Within just a few decades the Overseas Chinese population in Oregon would boom (Ooligan Press 2007:24). According to the Unites States Census, Oregon in 1880 had the second largest Chinese population in the United States with 9,510 individuals recorded (Table.1) (Lee 2018; Tsai 1983:23). The cities in Oregon were a primary destination for Overseas Chinese individuals and these cities were also hospitable stopping points for Chinese individuals traveling between California and Washington, and for those seeking to visit Idaho and Montana. There are several Chinatowns which sprung up in Oregon, including settlements in Astoria, Portland, The Dalles, John Day, Salem, and Jacksonville (Figure 4.5).

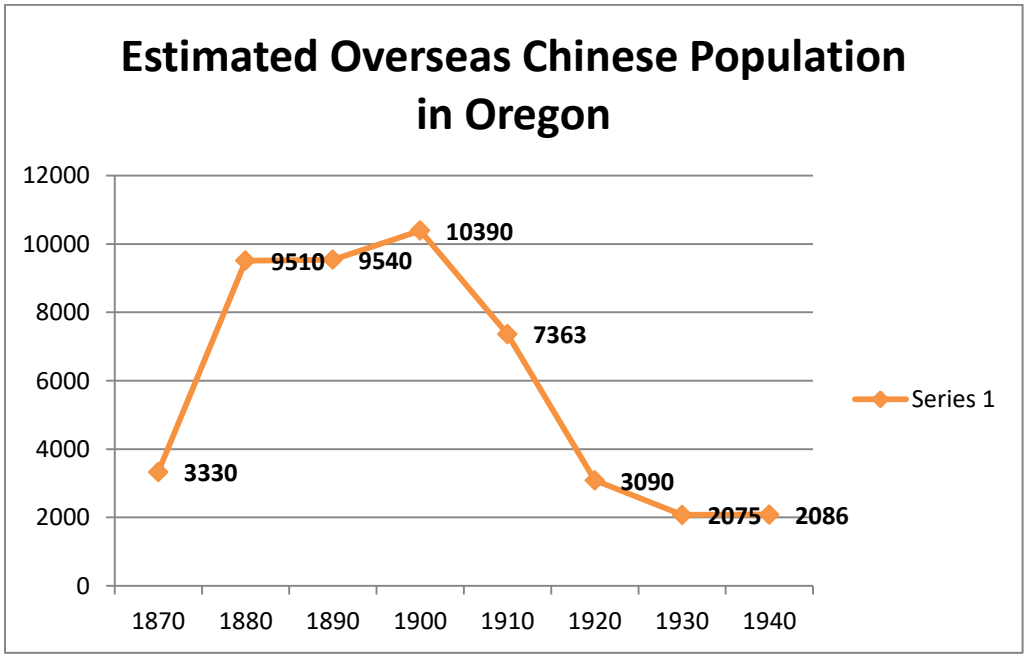


Table 4.1 Estimated Overseas Chinese Population in Oregon. (Table by author with figures from Lee, 2018.)

The primary occupations for Overseas Chinese men in Oregon during the 1800s were: mining, railway work, agriculture, and work found in canneries (Ooligan Press 2007:29-52). These occupations varied greatly by region with the majority of Chinese laborers in southern and eastern Oregon working in mining. Whereas work available in central Oregon had more of an agricultural focus, and the northwestern portion of the State focused on fishing and canneries. Much like the overall population in the United States during this period, there was a far higher population of Chinese men than Chinese women in Oregon (Ooligan Press 2007:24).

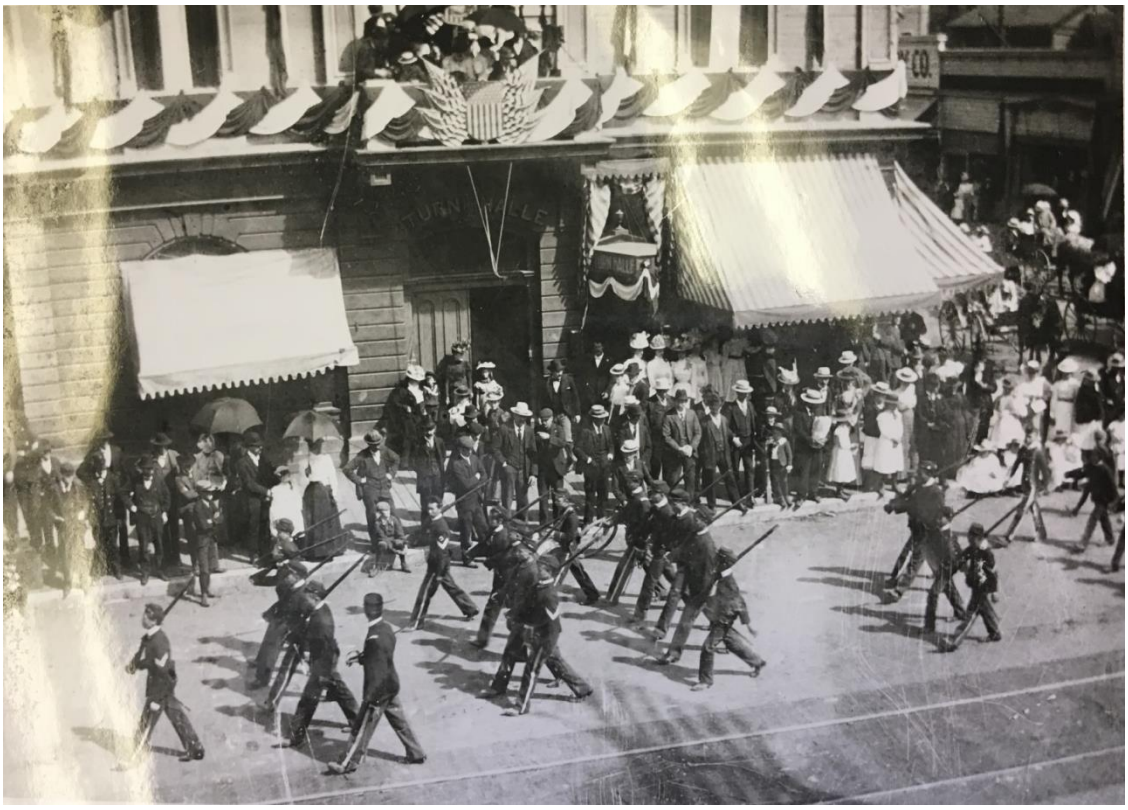


FIGURE 4.5 Chinese Brigade, Portland, Oregon 1900, ORHI 27104. (Oregon Historical Society Research Library, 2019.)

Summary 4.4

The following three chapters on Astoria, Portland and The Dalles demonstrate examples of what life was like in Oregon during the Exclusion Act Era. Each city was chosen based on its geographic location in northern Oregon and its importance as a hub of travel and commerce for the Overseas Chinese population during the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Figure 4.6). The size of the population and available industries varied between these cities, but the combined data of these cities provide an example of what life for Overseas Chinese men and women may have been like in Northern Oregon during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. An examination of these cities is critical in gaining a three-dimensional understanding of the life led by the Overseas Chinese occupants of cities in Oregon.

FIGURE 4.6 Columbia River Map. (Wikimedia Commons, 2018.)

Chapter Five – Political and Social Aspects of Life in the United States

Overview 5.1

There are many events that led up to the United Stated adoption of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act (Soennichsen 2011:60-62). Although not all of these events occurred in or pertain directly to Oregon, these events did impact the social and economic decisions made by Overseas Chinese individuals within Oregon. Similarly, the general publics' perception of Overseas Chinese communities also impacted Overseas Chinese communities and individuals (Wunder 1983: 208). During the early settlement of the West there were few conflicts between Chinese sojourners and U.S. citizens. In fact, Chinese sojourners were sought after as a source of labor for railroads, mines, and agriculture (Soennichsen 2011:7; Tsai 1983:13). Conversely, when there was a downturn in the economy many U.S. laborers began to blame their troubling economic status on the influx of Chinese workers (Ahmad 2007; Soennichsen 2011; Tsai 1983).

When the railroad was reaching Western expansion, scouts from the railroads traveled to China to procure inexpensive skilled laborers (Soennichsen 2011:20). The scouts' procurement procedures were not always ethical and they brought back droves of laborers to the United States (Tsai 1983: 13). With the large influx of foreigners and declining economy, many Americans began to grow uneasy. In the late 1800s common knowledge of China and Chinese customs was entrenched in the exoticism of Orientalism (Young 1990:126-140). When Overseas Chinese people in the United States did not "perform" in such a way as to conform to American expectations, there was a strong

public backlash which resulted in wide spread anti-Chinese sentiment (Lee 2003; Saito 2009; Soennichsen 2011; Wunder 1983).

Leland T. Saito (2009) contends that "understandings of race are directly translated into public policy" (2). It was not long before American's uneasy feelings towards unfamiliar sojourners were expressed through legal action. Within the state of California there were over 20 statewide laws that taxed or restricted the admittance and/or activities of Overseas Chinese individuals (Soennichsen 2011:60-62). With restricted admittance to California, which was the main port of entry in the western United States, many Overseas Chinese men and a few women travelled further north to ports in Oregon, Washington, and Canada (Simmons 1989:17). Although, Overseas Chinese settlement did occur in Oregon, the State was far from hospitable. Oregon's Constitution contained exclusionary language that restricted the ownership of land and types of work allowable for Overseas Chinese men (Nokes 2014). Even if Chinese individuals were protected under the law, they found an increasingly hostile legal environment after 1883 (Wunder 1983: 211). During the Exclusion Act Era Overseas Chinese individuals actively negotiated a complex legal network in an effort to remain and prosper within the State of Oregon (The Dalles Daily Chronicle 1893).

There is no doubt that Chinese Exclusion Era laws impacted Overseas Chinese communities. During the Exclusion Era the recorded population of Overseas Chinese individuals within the United States dropped dramatically (Lee 2003). There were limitations placed on types of employment, land ownership, and marriage (Ahmad 2007;

Lee 2003; Nokes 2014; Soennichsen 2011; Tsai 1983, Wunder 1983). In addition, the State of Oregon implemented taxation practices that made it financially difficult to reside within the State (Oregon Department of Education 2017; Paulson 2015). These legal measures impacted where Overseas Chinese individuals lived, what types of jobs they undertook, how they utilized their space, and even the composition of their families and communities (Wunder 1983: 204).

Legislation 5.2

The Exclusion Act Era in the United States is commonly referred to as the time period between 1882-1943. It started with the passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 and ended when Chinese individuals became eligible for citizenship in 1943. Large scale National acts are not usually the first step in legal action within the United States. The national reaction to the influx of potential Chinese immigrants was prompted by continuing legal action on the part of the States. The State of California began targeted and aggressive legal action against Chinese settlers beginning in the early 1850s and the State of Oregon began adopting anti-Chinese laws and ordinances by the mid-1850s (Soennichsen 2011, Wunder 1983). The following list does not provide every racially motivated instance of legal action within the State of Oregon; however it is a comprehensive list of prominent legislation that impacted Overseas Chinese individuals throughout the State (Figure 5.1).

1859 Oregon Constitution

The Oregon Constitution was drafted in 1857 and it was officially adopted in 1859. The constitution differs from the constitutions of many other states in that it has an exclusion component as part of its body (Nokes 2014). The Constitution states that " No Chinaman not a resident of this State, at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall ever hold any real estate or mining claim, or work any mining claim therein (Ooligan Press 2007:84; Oregon Bluebook 2017:Oregon Constitution Article XV section 8). According to Greg Nokes (2014), "Oregon thus became the only free State admitted to the Union with an exclusion clause in its constitution" (para. 8).

1862 Oregon Chinese Tax

The Oregon Chinese Tax was established in 1862 and it required a tax of $5 per year for individuals residing in the State who were of Chinese, Hawaiian, African American, or interracial ancestry (Oregon Department of Education 2017). According to the Oregon Department of Education (2017) if individuals were unable to pay the $5 tax they were required to work for the State at a reduced wage of 50 cents per day until the tax was repaid.

1866 Ban on Interracial Marriage

In 1866 an Oregon ban on interracial marriage was approved that limited marriage between races. Although it was not the first ban on interracial marriage in Oregon, it did add the categories of Chinese and Hawaiian to the restrictions (Paulson 2015). It appears

that the ban was limiting to the extent that it was enforced, and the ban was rarely enforced. Paulson (2015) notes one case of enforcement in which a widow's brother in-law sued for her property by contesting the lawfulness of her marriage union of over twenty years, due to the interracial restrictions presented within the 1866 ban on interracial marriage, the brother in-law was able to take possession of all his brother's valuable assets.

The Naturalization Act of 1870

The Naturalization Act of 1870 essentially was an amendment to the initial 1790 Naturalization Act. The 1870 Act made it possible for African Americans to be naturalized citizens of the United States (Paulson 2015). This Act is often times overlooked in the documentation of Chinese Exclusion Era Laws. Nonetheless, it is important to understand that the Act excluded people of Chinese descent from naturalization. In turn, it became one of the main elements that allowed for the Exclusion Act of 1882 to exclude immigrants on the basis of race, as race was utilized as a determining factor within the Naturalization Act. Restrictions were also put in to place that restricted the entrance of the wives of Overseas Chinese men in the United States and Chinese women into the United States.

The 1875 Page Act

The Page Act of 1875 limited which Chinese individuals were allowed into the United States. Diana L. Ahmad (2007) contends that it was the Page Act that set the standard for limiting Chinese women from entrance into the United States. The Act was

depicted as an effort to limit the entrance of criminals, prostitutes and cheap laborers (Soennichsen 2011:12; Tsai 1983:19). The regulations set forth in the Page Act led to a higher level of scrutiny for Chinese women who tried to pass through U.S. Immigration and the enforcement of the Page Act resulted in a decrease of Chinese women in the Country (Ahmad 2007:4; Tsai 1983:19). The combination of the principals of exclusion based on race outlined in the Naturalization Act of 1870 and the scrutiny of "undesirables" authorized through The Page Act of 1875 provided the basis for discrimination and exclusion based on race (Ahmad 2007; Soennichsen 2011).

The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act

The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act limited the admittance of Chinese individuals into the United States. The Exclusion Act did not allow male Chinese laborers or Chinese women into the United States for a period of 10 years. It further reinforced the premise that anyone of Chinese ancestry could not become a citizen of the United States regardless of profession or economic standing (Soennichsen 2011:131). In addition, the Exclusion Act required Chinese individuals within the United States to carry papers and register with the government (Soennichsen 2011:131).

Reinforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Act

For the next twenty years Congressional Acts were passed to prolong the initial ten year hold on immigration of individuals from China. The Geary Act of 1892 reinforced the limits on immigration provided in the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and added the requirement for all Chinese individuals residing within the United States to

carry a government issued I.D. card (Soennichsen 2011:137). The 1904 Chinese Exclusion Act further extended the requirements and restrictions of the two prior Exclusion Acts and made them permanent (Soennichsen 2011: xiv). The Asian Immigration Act of 1917 or Immigration Act of 1917 increased the severity of exclusion by barring anyone from Asia (excluding the Philippines and Japan) and limiting entrance based upon literacy, education, and economic status (Soennichsen 2011:141). The Immigration Act and the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924 established quotas for U.S. immigration that limited the number of individuals allowed to enter the U.S. from foreign countries (Soennichsen 2011:143-144). These Acts also required individuals seeking entrance into the United States to obtain visas prior to traveling to the U.S (Soennichsen 2011:144).

Nuisance Laws

Notwithstanding, the far reaching acts of congress, many cities and counties introduced what John Soennichsen (2011) refers to as nuisance laws (34). These local laws made daily life difficult for Overseas Chinese business owners and communities. The laws varied and targeted elements of businesses that were primarily operated by Overseas Chinese owners, or targeted cultural practices associated with the Overseas Chinese. Soennichsen (2011) details that these targeted nuisance laws included; the slaughter of pigs within city limits, setting off fireworks, living within close proximity to a white person, and Chinese individuals being on city streets at night (34).

Nuisance laws were certainly present within the State of Oregon. Marie Rose Wong (2004) notes that in 1873 the City of Portland, Oregon passed a "Cubic Air Ordinance" that required at least "550 cubic feet of air space for each and every person" (39). This ordinance was designed in response to fears that the overcrowding seen in San Francisco's "Chinatown" would spread to downtown Portland (Wong 2004: 38). An 1873 ordinance was in response to anti-Chinese protests in the City of Portland. The City adopted an ordinance that prohibited the employment of Chinese labor for City projects (Wong 2004:40-41). There were also numerous ordinances passed in the City of Portland to restrict and tax Overseas Chinese businesses such as laundries, in an attempt to reduce or eliminate the Overseas Chinese population from the City (Wong 2004:35-43).

Despite several nuisance laws in the City of Portland, Overseas Chinese communities in California, Montana, and Washington were experiencing far more severe Anti-Chinese protests (Ooligan Press 2007:84, Wunder 1983: 207). According to Ooligan Press (2007) "Many Chinese were driven out of their towns by violent protesters and their homes destroyed by Anti-Chinese groups in the West. Between 1880 and 1900, many who were driven out of cities in California, Washington, and other parts of Oregon fled to Portland…Portland became a safe haven for Chinese driven out of other areas"(84).

Year	Law, Act, or Ordinance	Details
1857/59	Oregon Constitution	Article XV Section 8, ban on the purchase of property, purchase of mining rights, or activity of mining which prohibited for any one of Chinese descent.
1862	Oregon Chinese Tax	Oregon: $5 a year tax for being of Chinese Ancestry and residing in Oregon
1866	Oregon Ban on Interracial marriage	Oregon: The ban of marriage between races
1870	Naturalization Act	United States: Prohibits the entrance of Chinese female spouses and denies citizenship to Chinese
1875	Page Act	Ban on the importation of labor and prostitutes.
1882	1882 Chinese Exclusion Act	United States: Denies entrance to, or travel in and out of the United States by both skilled and unskilled men of Chinese ancestry
1892	1892 Geary Act	United States: Further enforces Chinese exclusion act of 1882
1904	Chinese Exclusion Act	United States: Exclusion Act made permanent by Congress
1917	Asian Immigrant Act	United States: Banned immigrants of Asian Ancestry
1924	Immigration Act and The Oriental Exclusion Act	United States: Banned individuals who were ineligible for immigration from entering the United States.

TABLE 5.1 Table of Exclusion Era Laws Impacting Oregon. (Table by author, 2019.)

Prior Research 5.3

Cultural anthropologists, historians, and political scientists have paid attention to the impacts that anti-Chinese legislation had within the Chinese American community (Ahmad 2007; Henkin 1987; Lu 2010; Ooligan Press 2007; Saito 1998, 2009; Saito 2003; Soennichsen 2011; Takaki 2008; Tsai 1983; Wong 2004; Yung, Gordan & Lai 2006; Yung 1999; Zhu 1997). Generally, scholarly articles and books on this topic began in the 1980s. There is a slow transition from informative broad spectrum books and articles in the 1980s to detailed accounts based on primary sources in the 1990s and 2000s. Despite their research focus, authors appear to have reached a consensus that Chinese Exclusion Era laws impacted the daily lives of Overseas Chinese individuals and communities. These impacts affected the way that Americans viewed potential immigrants from China, confined the configuration of Overseas Chinese communities by limiting the admittance of women, and restricted the economic decisions made by Overseas Chinese individuals.

Louis Henkin (1987) wrote "The Constitution of the United States Sovereignty: A Century of "Chinese Exclusion" and Its Progeny" for the *Harvard Law Review*. According to Henkin (1987) there really were not any immigration laws in the United States prior to the Chinese Exclusion Act. The federal government did not have established authority to control immigration into the Country until the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act (Henkin 1987:856). It was in response to the Chinese Exclusion Law that the Supreme Court justified the use of federal power to control the economic well-being and safety of its borders (Henkin 1987:856). Henkin (1987) argues that the Exclusion

Laws set the precedent for immigration law and federal sovereignty to keep foreign nationals out of the country if they desired (861). Immigration law within the United States is still based on many of the principals established in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (Henkin 1987: 861).

In his book *China and the Overseas Chinese in the Unites States, 1868-1911* Shih-shan Henry Tsai's (1983) addresses Exclusionary Laws in the United States and the legal impacts on the Overseas Chinese in the western United States. Tsai (1983) demonstrates numerous impacts that Exclusionary Laws had on the Overseas Chinese population during the Exclusion era and the focus of researchers during his time. He contends that a majority of the early studies on Overseas Chinese in the United States were grounded in Marxist theories with a focus on labor and production (Tsai 1983:12). Gunther Barth's (1964) book *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States 1850-1870* is a prime example of this focus on labor. Tsai's (1983) statement regarding the focus of research on labor is ahead of its time considering that it would take almost ten years before researchers diversified their research methods. The focus on Chinese individuals as laborers has been problematic for Chinese American communities to this day.

By the 1990s many anthropologists switched from a focus on the distribution of labor to a focus on acculturation and agency. Books such as Marie Rose Wong's (2004) *Sweet Cakes, Long Journey: The Chinatowns of Portland Oregon* and Judy Yung's (1999) *Unbound Voices: A Documentary History of Chinese Women in San Francisco,*

provide ethnographic research in combination with collections of primary and secondary documentation. These approaches provide evidence of daily life and avoid sweeping generalizations of entire populations or time periods.

One constant theme within studies of Overseas Chinese communities during the Exclusion Era is the idea that a bachelor society was formed in the United States due to restrictions placed on the admittance of Chinese women after legislation such as the introduction of the Page Act of 1875 (Ahmad 2007; Ooligan Press 2007; Soennichsen 2011; Wong2004; Yung 1999). There is also a social aspect in China to consider that has received very little attention, and that is the restriction and/or social stigmatization of travel to the United States. Tsai (1983) notes that prior to 1880 "few Chinese women came to the United States. It was a Chinese tradition that a respectable woman should not leave her home even with her husband" (17). However, opinions in mainland China regarding life in the United States softened considerably in the 1880s (Tsai 1983:19). It is possible that more women chose to travel with their husbands to the United States, but they did not enter the Country legally.

Over the past seventy-five years there is a slow shift in the way that Overseas Chinese settlers and sojourners are portrayed in written history. Initially the Chinese in mainland China were depicted as being locked into staunch traditions, with very little economic, political, or social change occurring within China (Tsai 1983). This depiction is found within western European ideals and fascination with "orientalism". Tsai (1983) argues that the earliest studies on Overseas Chinese focus on the laws within the United

States and Chinese men as solely laborers. It is important to also consider the political and social climate in China during this time period. As our knowledge base grows it becomes apparent that during the mid to late 19th century there were many changes occurring within China that impacted the Chinese population located in the United States (Lee 2003; Tsai 1983).

In addition, there are many changes that occurred within the Exclusion Act Era and there are differences between States. The idea of the Exclusion Era laws were enforced the same by every State, or the assumption that all Overseas Chinese people were impacted in the same way, is flawed (Wunder 1983). As Erika Lee (2003) notes, researchers have had a "prior history of explaining the Exclusion Era as one block of time" (9). Furthermore, early Western writings have a tendency to group all Asian groups together regardless of geographic regions of origin, cultural affiliations, or socioeconomic groups (Takiki 2008).

Gaps in Knowledge

The differences in legislation along the western coast of The United States and Canada, as well as the general publics' acceptance or rejection of immigrant communities may be apparent in the archeological record and built environment. These differences may even be apparent in the social organization of Overseas Chinese settlers. There are two main sources of documentation currently utilized to show Overseas Chinese population composition and distribution within the United States during the late 19th and early 20th century. These sources are the United States Census and U.S Immigration

Records. Although, both of these sources can be helpful in interpretation of the past each can be misleading and inaccurate.

It is important to note that U.S. Census records are missing for the 1890 census (United States National Archives 1996). This is arguably the most important time period when studying the impacts of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The census records existing both before and after 1890 display bias against Chinese immigrants; often times only referring to Chinese blocks and not providing thorough details. Seemingly, census agents did not want to go into undesirable neighborhoods or were challenged by language barriers. A great deal of scholarly work has been based off of what census information was available. Another factor to consider is that individuals that were not supposed to be in the Country were more likely to avoid participating in the census (Simmons 1989:85). This hidden population would most certainly have included women and children. There is no doubt that the Overseas Chinese population in the western United States had a higher proportion of men than women, but evidence suggests that there were more women present than the census or immigration documentation would suggest (Gardener 2000:69). Descendants from women who entered into the United States illegally have shared family information supporting the assertion that there were more Chinese women present in the United States during the Exclusion Act Era than immigration or Census numbers would suggest (Simmons 1989; Wing Luke Museum of the Asian Pacific American Experience 2017; Yung 1999). Support or rejection of this information may be found within the archaeological record.

The United States Immigration records do contain the vital details regarding the entrance of Overseas Chinese individuals into the United States. There are two main assumptions that researchers make while utilizing these records to support their research of Overseas Chinese settlements in the United States. First, there is the assumption that all immigrants entered the United States legally and through legal ports. The second assumption is that the information contained in the United States immigration records is accurate. In Judy Yung's (1999) book *Unbound Voices* she provided numerous examples of coaching manuals that were used by women to deceive U.S. immigration officials. There is also evidence to suggest that many individuals falsified family trees in order to be admitted into the United States, entering the Country as "paper sons" or "paper daughters" (Lau 2007; Yung 1999; The Wing Luke Museum of the Asian Pacific American Experience 2017).

Evidence in the material record 5.4

Exclusion Era laws had an impact of Overseas Chinese individuals and communities in the United States. The census records indicate that in 1882, prior to the enforcement of the 1882 Exclusion Act, 39,579 Chinese individuals entered the United States (Lee 2003:43). In 1887 only 10 Chinese individuals entered the United States (Lee 2003:44). According to Lee (2003) immigration records also indicate that there was a mass exodus from the United States with "11,312 departures of Chinese residents in the first fourteen months after the Exclusion Act was passed" (44). Given the magnitude of Exclusion Era Laws it is entirely plausible that the impact can be seen within the material

record. Furthermore, Anti-Chinese sentiment and Anti-Chinese legislation within the United States may have caused massive movements of settlers from one area to another as is demonstrated by the influx of Overseas Chinese individuals from Washington into Portland (Ooligan Press 2007:84). This type of large scale movement may be apparent in the material record.

An examination of Exclusion Era Laws will aid in a clearer understanding of what life was like for Overseas Chinese individuals in the past. There are many inaccuracies and gaps in the written record and the people that lived during this time period are no longer able to tell their own stories. Historical archaeology provides a series of valuable tools that can aid in interpretation of the past when combined with primary and secondary sources. The material culture left behind by early Overseas Chinese settlers may provide answers that demonstrate how legal action impacts immigrant communities and individuals within the United States. The prominent gaps that exist in the current knowledge base impact the interpretation of Overseas Chinese archaeological sites in the United States and in Oregon. This gap in knowledge in turn impacts the daily lives of Asian Americans both in their perception of their own past within the United States, and also within the preservation of important historic buildings and monuments within the western United States (Saito 2003; Tsai 1983).

Summary 5.5

How did Overseas Chinese individuals cope with an ever changing legal environment? The formation of small companies may have allowed businesses to rent or

lease, or purchase land that would have otherwise been inaccessible. An example of such an instance can be found in the East Kong Yick Building in Seattle, which was erected in 1910 on land purchased by a group of Chinese American Investors under the Corporation Kong Yick Investment Company (Wing Luke Museum of the Asian Pacific American Experience 2017). During the Exclusion Act Era Overseas Chinese men were no longer allowed to participate in manual labor or skilled labor and remain within the country. It thus became necessary to become an owner or partner in a business that was considered to be professional. However, what immigration officers and law makers considered to be professional was constantly changing. Through immigration documentation it is apparent that government officials quickly changed activities that they considered to be illicit in an attempt to deport the individuals (Maddoux 2016: 108-112). The changing functions of business may be apparent in the built structure as activities changed and regulations and ordinances became restricted (Ooligan Press 2007; Wing Luke Museum of the Asian American Experience 2017).

An interesting aspect to consider is the effectiveness of the Exclusionary laws. Archaeological evidence may be the only way to provide an answer to this question. The general understanding of the presence of Chinese sojourners and Overseas Chinese individuals is that the first waves of settlers, starting in the 1850s, were primarily young men working as miners (Lee 2003). The miners are thought to have been nomadic traveling where there was gold or work (Lee 2003). Archaeological studies in Montana, Southern Oregon, Utah, Nevada, and California largely support this assumption (Maddoux 2016). It is what happens after this first wave of immigration that is hard to

pinpoint. By the 1860s Overseas Chinese settlers began forming permanent settlements in many major urban areas in Western United States. Although women were restricted from entrance to the United States there is ethnographic evidence to suggest that many women and thus families were present in the United States prior to the end of the Exclusion Act Era despite their absence in the census and immigration records (Wing Luke Museum of Asian Pacific American Experience 2017; Wong 2004; Yung 2006).

There is little verified information regarding the presence of Overseas Chinese communities within the state of Oregon. This research will help to determine whether the population estimates and geographic locations presented in the US Census and within US Immigration records is accurate or inaccurate. These sources are utilized repeatedly in academic studies. If this information is inaccurate, which I believe there is a high probability that it is; archaeological research should help to determine questions such as population density and demographic composition.

Furthermore, there has been very little research into the impact of Anti-Chinese legislation on the material record. Preliminary research indicates that there should be material remains which demonstrate the impact that these laws had on Overseas Chinese populations residing in Oregon during the Exclusion Act Era (Maddoux 2016). These material remains are vital to gaining a better understanding of what occurred in the past and Oregon's history. With an examination of Oregon's material record, in comparison with similar areas in Washington, California, and British Columbia, it may be possible to

gain insight regarding the daily lives and contributions of Overseas Chinese individuals and communities within the State of Oregon and the impacts of Anti-Chinese Legislation.

Chapter Six – Astoria

Overview 6.1

The City of Astoria, Oregon is the county seat for Clatsop County and it is located on a peninsula in the Northwestern corner of Oregon where the mouth of the Columbia River meets the Pacific Ocean (Figure 6.1). Astoria has a rich written history dating back to the turn of the 19th century, when early Euro-American explorers such as Captain Robert Gray, and Lewis and Clark, led expeditions up the Columbia River in search of the Pacific Ocean (Lockley 1928:225; McArthur 1952:22). In 1810, John Jacob Astor, working for the Pacific Fur Company, set out to establish a trading fort in the Pacific Northwest (McArthur 1952:22). Fort Astoria was established in 1811 and this fort became the United States first permanent settlement in Oregon. Fort Astoria received the name "Astoria" after its chief factor (McArthur 1952:22; Schwantes 1996:66-67). The British took control of Fort Astoria in 1813 and for a brief period re-named it as Fort George (McArthur 1952:22-23; Schwantes 1996:68). The British occupation of the fort only lasted for a few years and when pioneer settlers took over the area they restored the name of the area to Astoria (McArthur 1952:23; Schwantes 1996:68). The City of Astoria's prominent location on the pacific coast made the town ideal for trade and commerce.

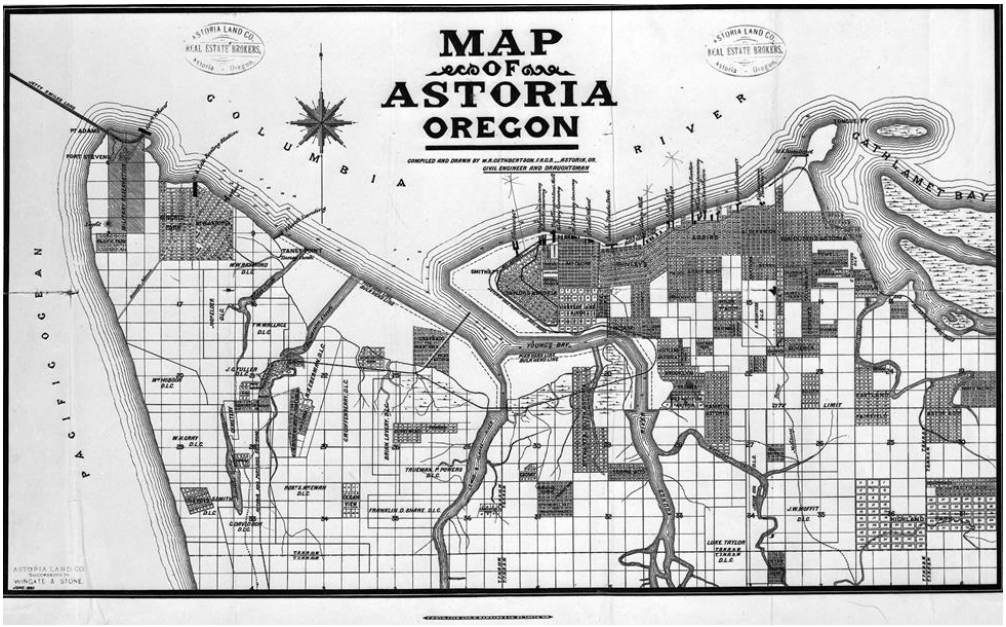


FIGURE 6.1 Map of Astoria, Oregon. (Astoria Land C., 1892.)

Location and Population 6.2

By the mid-1800s, the City of Astoria's main industries were fishing, canning, and shipping. Large numbers of immigrants from various backgrounds arrived in Astoria to provide labor for fishing and canning. According to Fagan (1993) in 1876 "seventeen canneries were in operation, and by 1883 there was a record high of thirty-nine canneries along the Columbia River" (215). The exact number of Chinese immigrants living and working in Clatsop County is a matter of some dispute. Reputable sources are at odds as with the actual 1880 Clatsop County Census and The United States Census results. Many Chinese workers were employed seasonally in the canning industry, with the number of Chinese residents in Astoria increasing during canning season and decreasing in the off season (Figure 6.2) (Penner 1995:43; Wong 2004:156-157). Wong (2004) notes only 306 Chinese workers were listed in the 1880 Clatsop County Census (156, 296). Whereas,

Penner (2013), working with the Clatsop County Historical Society, maintains that the 1880 County Census identifies 2,317 Chinese individuals residing within the county (30-31). Tucker (2003) provides a different number of Chinese individuals than the data cited either by Wong or Penner, stating that "An 1880 Clatsop County, Oregon, census, taken at the peak of salmon season, showed that out of a total population of 7,055 people, 2,045 were Chinese" (para.2).

FIGURE 6.2 Salmon Cannery – Columbia River. (Andrews, n.d.)

Coe (2011) provides further detail, specifically noting that the census records and immigration records are missing pages, and often times are undecipherable (37). In addition to the missing pages, there is evidence to suggest the individuals participating in the census and supplying immigration paperwork provided dishonest responses, such as incorrect familial associations, wrong names, or incorrect birthplace, and/or other incorrect information (Coe 2011:89; Hsu 2000:68,206; Lau 2007:69). While reviewing company registers and local census numbers, Coe (2011) also noted a higher proportion of Chinese workers employed in the area than the corresponding census data provides (103). Penner (2013) notes an example of inconsistencies in the written biographical information of Soo S. Linn, a local Chinese Astorian who made National news as a "Railway Expert" (37):

> It is hard to determine exactly where Soo S. Linn was born, whether it was Astoria, China, or California. According to the 1930 census, he was a railroad draftsman, living in Omaha, Nebraska, born in China and immigrated to the U.S. in 1910. On the 1940 census, Soo S. Lin, locomotive designer, was a widower, was born in California and living in Omaha, Nebraska with his seven-year-old daughter. The California death index shows that he was born in California 11 October 1886 and died in 21 May 1963 in Alameda at the age of 76.

Although, census records and immigration records are disputable: personal memoirs and photographs provide evidence of a sizeable and longstanding Chinese population from the 1870s through the 1890s in Astoria (Figure 6.3) (Penner 2013:32).

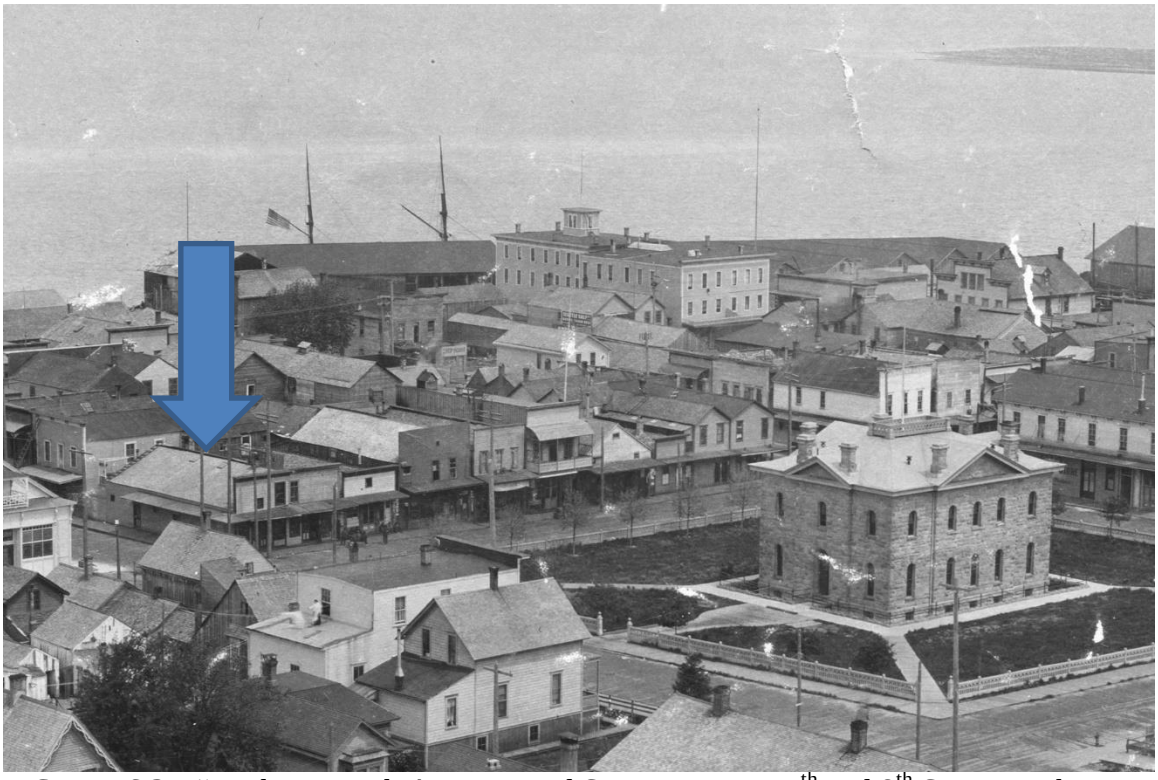


FIGURE 6.3. "Looking North Across Bond Street Between 7th and 8th Streets at the Western Half of Astoria's Chinatown". CCHS image #30324.900 (Clatsop County Historical Society, 1896.)

The canning industry had considerable impacts on the size of the Chinese population in Astoria, but also the areas in which the Chinese workers resided. Fagan (1993) notes "Throughout history of the salmon canning industry on the Columbia River, Chinese laborers provided the work force and performed all of the operations necessary for the processing of the salmon once they were caught and delivered to the canneries by Scandinavian fisherman" (216). The work was grueling and many Chinese men worked exceptionally long hours standing on the cannery floor, cleaning fish and canning. Somedays in the cannery were so intense that there are reports of workers having to cut their boots off at night because there feet and ankles swelled to such a degree that the boots could not be removed in any other way (Marconeri 1993:22-23).

Differing from other cities located in the Western United States, in which solitary Chinatowns were located in a specifically designated area, the Chinese population of Astoria worked and lived in multiple locations around town (Figures 6.4-6.6). Many of the canneries in Astoria were logically located on the northwestern end of town by the water, with cannery buildings, such as mess houses and bunk houses, designated specifically for use by Chinese workers (Figure 6.6). Penner (2013) notes "There were also Chinese gardens in various parts of Astoria" (32). The areas designated for Chinese living quarters, restaurants, laundries and mercantiles were located centrally in town, a short distance from the canneries, and concentrated heavily on Bond street between 7th street and 9th street (Penner 2013:32). In later years wealthy Chinese merchants did purchase homes in different locations around town.

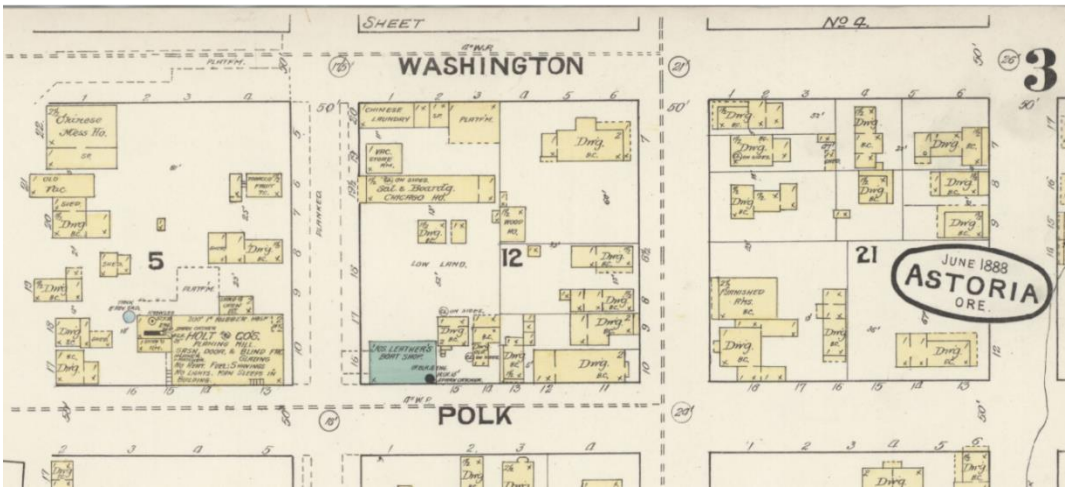


FIGURE 6.4 Astoria, Oregon. (Sandborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1888.)

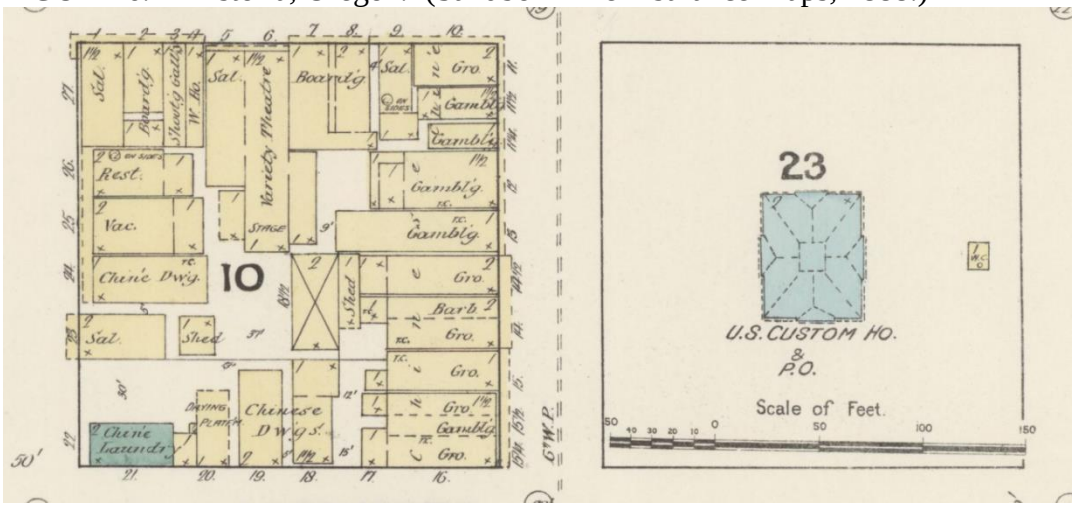


FIGURE 6.5 Astoria, Oregon. (Sandborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1888.)

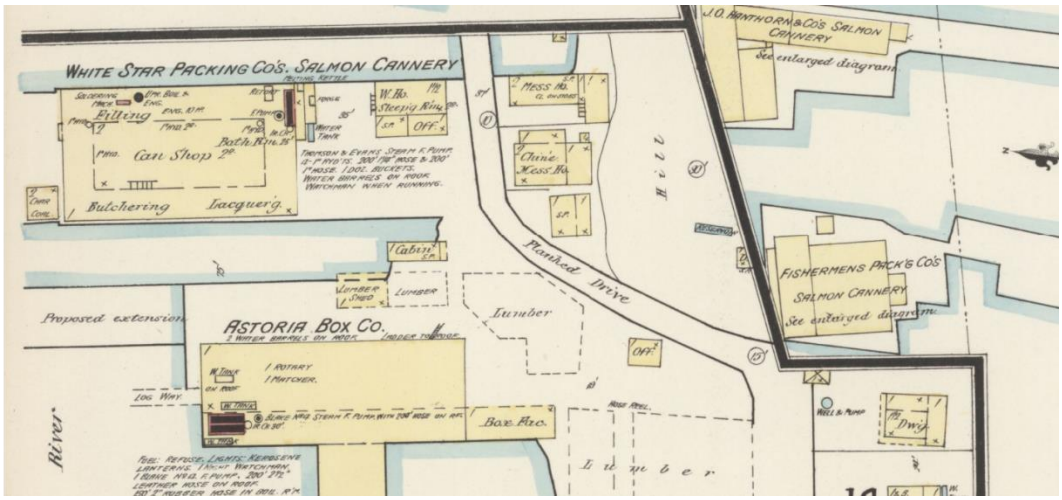


FIGURE 6.6 Astoria, Oregon. (Sandborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1888.)

As is shown on the 1888 Sandborn Fire Insurance Maps, although the majority of businesses were located along Bond street, there were also Chinese businesses located slightly outside of these areas (Figures 6.4-6.6) (Marconeri 1993:33). Sandborn maps for Astoria are helpful for determining locations occupied by Chinese businesses and residents, but they can be lacking in details. For instance, the 1888 Sanborn Fire Insurance map only lists Euro-American businesses in its index despite Chinese businesses and dwellings being marked on the map itself (Figure 6.7).

INDEX.

STREETS.

SPECIALS.

* Indicates only one side of Street shown.

Figure 6.7 Astoria, Oregon Index. (Sandborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1888.)

By combining the information available in the Sandborn Fire Insurance maps, along with the local Polk business directory, it is possible to ascertain which Chinese businesses were present in downtown Astoria and where they were located. The 1904 Polk business directory specifically lists thirty Chinese businesses that were present at the time and their locations (Table 6.1) (Penner 2013:33). The table below illustrates the diversity of business types in the main Chinatown. Notably absent from the directory are gambling halls and boarding houses, which appear to have been numerous on the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map (Figure 6.5). The directory does demonstrate that many Chinese businesses served multiple functions. For instance, the Ark Wo & Co. located at 302 Bond street is listed as a general merchandise store and as a labor contractor

Type of Business	**Drug Store**	**Grocery Store**	**Labor Contractor**	**Laundry/Tailor**	**Mercantile**	**Restaurant**
Number of Businesses	1	2	7	9	8	3

Table 6.1 1904 Polk Businesses Directory for Astoria, Listing of Chinese Businesses (Table created by author with information obtained from Penner, 2013:33.)

Class Distinctions and Public Acceptance 6.3

Aaron Coe (2011) contends that in Astoria the general public opinion of the Overseas Chinese population changed from unfavorable to favorable as the composition of the Chinese community transformed from a large group of laborers to a small community of middle class merchants (1-2). The canneries provided the main line of work for Chinese men. The introduction of an automated fish cutting machine had a dramatic impact on the industry and by 1905 most laborers found themselves without work. The introduction of automation had such a long-lasting impact on the Chinese community in Astoria that it is commemorated by the existing marker located in The Garden of Surging Waves in downtown Astoria (Figure 6.8). As is evidenced in the photo, attempts to scrub away the derogatory nickname of the canning machine have occurred (Figure 6.8). Most cannery workers, Chinese and others, were forced to leave Astoria and look for work elsewhere. The exact number of the Chinese population in Clatsop County is debatable, The Garden of the Surging Waves markers note that in 1910 the Clatsop County Chinese population is a mere 541 individuals, as opposed to the potential 2,000-3,000 Chinese workers who lived in Astoria during peak season in 1890 (Figure 6.9)(Penner 2013:34).

FIGURE 6.8 Fish cutting machines replace Chinese laborers. (Photo by author, 2018.)

FIGURE 6.9 Clatsop area Chinese population-541. (Photo by author, 2018.)

Although, the Chinese labor force was devastatingly impacted by the introduction of the new canning machine, Chinese merchants were able to continue business and remain in Astoria. The Chinese merchant class of Astoria was successful in many ways. In the early years prior to 1903 the local immigration office handled all local issues. According to Coe (2011) the immigration officers were lenient on the Chinese locals even after the first 1882 Exclusion Act laws were enacted, meaning there was little enforcement of immigration laws in Astoria, which impacted not only Astoria, but most of Northern Oregon (37). A possible reason for this leniency in enforcement, is the local immigration officers were well aware of the financial importance of the canneries and thus the need for Chinese laborers. Chinese merchants and business owners who were in good standing were given quite a bit of leniency (Coe 2011:37-38). In 1903 the Portland Immigration office took over operations in Astoria and there was a drastic change in immigration enforcement (Coe 2011:39).

Despite changes in immigration enforcement the Chinese merchant class in Astoria became more and more generally accepted within the community. Violet Keeney (2013), who was born in Astoria in 1895, fondly remembers visiting the Chinatown shops and attending annual New Year's festivals every winter (20-26). Chinese American children were welcomed into the local schools, and went on to attend prestigious colleges by the 1920s (Coe 2011 55-68; Penner 2005:2-16). Local Euro-American churches began to open their doors to Chinese Americans, and overall the community in Astoria became more integrated in the early 20th century. A few influential Chinese families, The Lum and Sing/Chan families in particular, became respected and influential community

members. In 1920 Quong Chan (pictured below), son of Wah Sing, returned home as a World War I veteran and went to attend college, unfortunately he passed away later that same year (Figure 6.10) (Penner 2005:10). At that time Chinese burials were not allowed in the local Oceanview Cemetery (Penner 2005:10). When the family was denied burial for Quong there was a protest and the City permanently lifted its restrictions (Penner 2005:10).

FIGURE 6.10 "Wah Sing and his wife Quan Tai are seated, with their children, standing l. to r.: Lillian, Tong, Quan (Joe), Quong, and Helen. Smallest child is Rose. Behind her is Hattie and at right is Edith, ca. 1900. Helen was not in the original photo bur her image was added in later." CCHS Photo # 139-00S. (Clatsop County Historical Society, 1900.)

Conclusion 6.4

It is considered that at its peak at the turn of the 19th century that Astoria had over 20 stores and restaurants in Chinatown (Penner 2013:33). Most of the businesses were two story wooden structures with carts and vendors on the streets (Keeney 2013:20-21). Astoria's Chinatown was one of the largest Chinese settlements in Oregon, rivaled only by Portland. Unfortunately, on December 8th, 1922 a devastating fire broke out that leveled most of the City including the Chinatown (Figure 6.11). Approximately 2500 residents were left homeless and 30 city blocks were destroyed (Bodendorfer 2015).

FIGURE 6.11 1922 Astoria, Oregon Fire. (Woodfield, 1922.)

Most of what is known about Astoria's early Chinese population is due to the written record, the work of local historians, and photographs. In particular, Clatsop County archivist Liisa Penner has collected a wealth of written information over the years regarding the Chinese population in Astoria. There is no doubt that archaeological inquiry could improve knowledge on certain areas of Astoria's past, such as the uncertain size and composition of the Chinese population. Many questions still remain regarding the number of Chinese women and children who may have been present. It would be interesting to determine by archaeological inquiry if there are intact archaeological deposits from Chinese occupations in Astoria and to examine any intact deposits. Unfortunately, the ability of future archaeologist to locate and examine these potential deposits is unlikely. The local newspaper indicates that most of the occupied areas were heavily disturbed by construction projects occurring in the mid-19th century. The August 9th, 1941 *Evening Astorian Budget* reported that "the Astor-Bond street highway rerouting job is crunching though the last remnants of one of the most colorful portions of the Astoria of an earlier day – old Chinatown" (Penner 2013:34).

Thankfully, the local Clatsop County Historical Society Heritage Museum still houses a few precious artifacts from the past (Figure 6.12). In addition, the City, local philanthropists, and community members are investing in creating monumental architecture and artwork to commemorate the important impact that Chinese Americans had on the founding of Astoria (Figure 6.13). Without the hard work and dedication of these local historians it is probable that little would be known today about the existence of this once thriving community

FIGURE 6.12 Chinese artifacts in Clatsop County Heritage Museum, Astoria, Or. (photo by author, 2018)

FIGURE 6.13 The Garden of the Surging Waves Astoria, Oregon. (Photo by author, 2018.)

Chapter Seven – Portland

Overview 7.1

Portland, Oregon is located in Multnomah County and rests along the banks of the Willamette River, just a short distance from the Willamette River's confluence with the Columbia River. Portland is the most populous city in the State of Oregon. There is some dispute over the earliest Euro-American settlers in the area, but it is believed that Etienne Lucier lived in the vicinity where Portland is located as early as 1829 (McArthur 1952:494). William Johnson is also considered to have established residence around the current Portland area by 1842 (McArthur 1952:494). In 1843 William Overton and A.L. Lovejoy filed a 640 acre land claim for the area and named this land claim Portland (McArthur 1952:494). Due to Portland's prime location along main waterways, Portland garnered the rare distinction in the Pacific Northwest of growing into a prominent city before the transcontinental railway arrived (Schwantes 1996:236). Portland quickly became the center of trade for the area and an important harbor for seafaring ships (Schwantes 1996:112).

FIGURE 7.1 Map of Portland, Oregon. (Wood, 1890.)

Location and Population 7.2

The Chinese population presence in Portland started as early as 1851 when *The Oregonian* advertised the opening of a boarding house/restaurant known as the Tong Sung House (Wernz 2001:10). Portland's Chinatown began in the southwest area of downtown Portland (Figures 7.2-7.3). Douglas Lee (2018) notes "The initial Chinese community was bounded by Front and Second Streets and Market and Jefferson Streets. It later expanded to include several square blocks bordered by Front and Third Streets and stretching from Clay to the south and to Ash to the north." (para.30).

The settlement included a theater, school, boarding houses, restaurants, gaming halls, and merchants (Figures 7.2-7.3). The Sandborn Fire Insurance Maps (1889) indicate that there were over 70 buildings occupied by the Chinese community in downtown Portland. Most of the buildings were old two story wooden structures but there were also a few brick structures (Figures 7.2-7.3). Many of the businesses are clustered together with merchants and grocers bordering the outside of a city block and gaming houses tucked discreetly behind the buildings in the center of the block (Figures 7.2-7.3). The 1889 R.L. Polk business directory for the City of Portland provides specific information for thirty businesses and churches within Portland's Chinatown (Table 7.1).

Type of Business	Number of Businesses
Barber	1
Cigar and Tobacco Shop	3
Church or Joss House	4
Clothing Store and/or Shoe Shop	2
Drug Store	1
Furniture Repair	1
Grocery, Fish House, and/or Butcher	6
Labor Contractor	2
Laundry	4
Mercantile	5
Restaurant	1
Theater	1

Table 7.1 1889 R.L. Polk Businesses Directory for the City of Portland, Oregon, Listing of Chinese Businesses. (Polk, 1889.)

FIGURE 7.2 Stark St. to Ash. St. between Second Avenue and Third Avenue. (Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1889.)

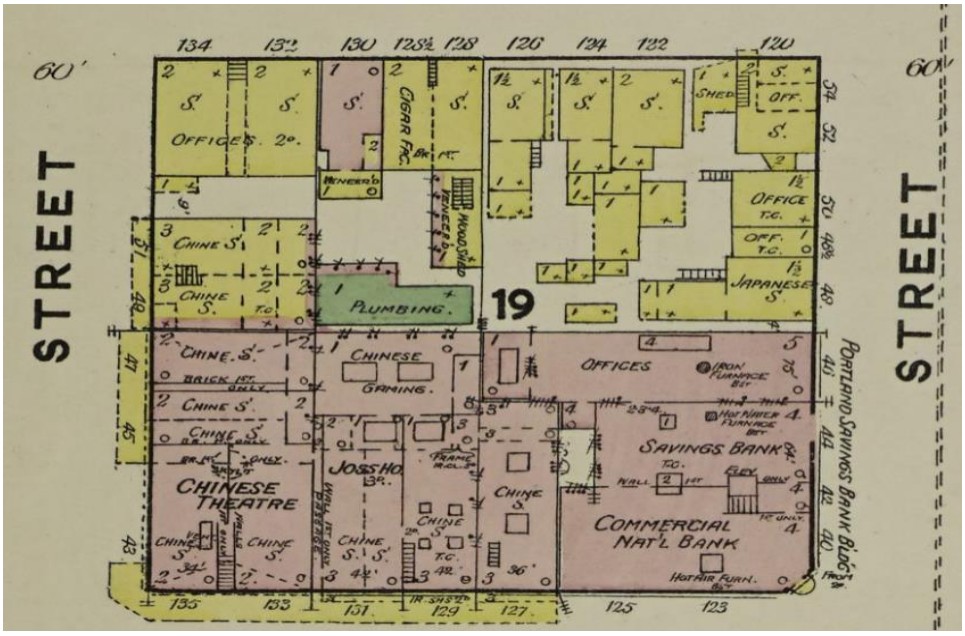


FIGURE 7.3 Washington Street to Alder Street, between Second Avenue and Third Avenue. (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1889.)

According to the National Park Service (2019) “In 1873, the most devastating fire in Portland's history began in a Chinese laundry in Chinatown. The fire burned 20 city blocks before it was brought under control.” (para.6). Some of the businesses stayed in their original locations after the fire, however many businesses chose to move north of Burnside Street. A major flood in 1894 wiped out or damaged many of the remaining buildings in old Chinatown (National Park Service 1894). By 1900 the majority of the original Chinatown relocated to the new Chinatown area to avoid further flooding and escape increasing property prices valuable (National Park Service 2019). The new Chinatown is located between Burnside Street on the south and Glisan Street to the north, with 5th Avenue to the west and 3rd Avenue to the east (Figure 7.4).

FIGURE 7.4 Chinatown Portland, Oregon. (Wikimedia Commons, 2010.)

The Overseas Chinese population in Portland was among the largest on the West Coast during the turn of the 19th century. Despite the restrictions pressed upon the Chinese population during the Exclusion Act Era, contrary to reasonable assumptions, the Chinese population in Portland did not decrease as restrictions increased. On the contrary, the Chinese population continued to increase, and in fact doubled during the decade that the 1882 Exclusion Act was introduced (Table 7.2)(Wong 2004:166). In 1880 the Chinese population was 1,612 individuals and by 1900 the population had grown to 7,841 individuals (Wong 2004:166). Women were a smaller proportion of the overall population, but there was a much higher ratio of Chinese women to Chinese men living in Portland than in other cities and rural areas (Wong 164-165)

These population numbers give a good general idea of the size of the Chinese population in Portland during the Exclusion Era, and any fluctuations that occurred. Experts debate about the exact census numbers. For instance Wernz (2001) lists the population in Portland "In 1880, the Portland population had risen to 1,668, and by 1890 it was at 4,438", as opposed to Wong's (2004) accounting of 1612 Chinese individuals in 1880, and 4,539 Chinese individuals in 1890 (Wernz 2001:11; Wong 2004:166). The Chinese census counts were compiled from the United States Census and the Portland City Census and may reflect inaccurate accounting, researcher bias, and unwilling participants (Wong 2004:166). During this time period it is also important to consider that city and county lines were redrawn and changed, which may impact the accuracy of the numbers. Given the amount of illegal and/or illicit activities occurring in Portland which involved some of the Chinese population, it was to the benefit of many Chinese

individuals (especially women) to avoid census accessors. Wong (2004) notes that City of Portland census accessors complained of the difficulties involved with taking counts in Chinatown (164).

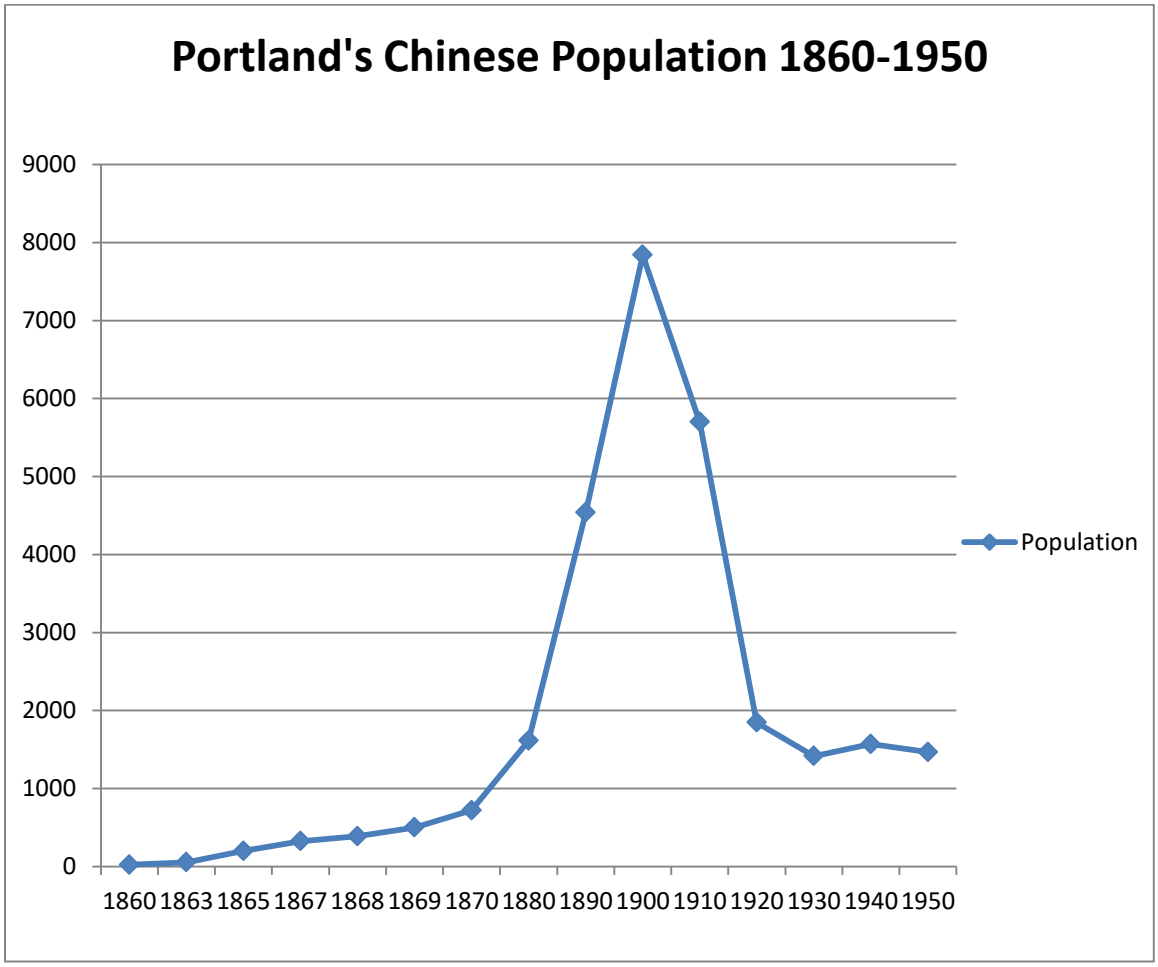


TABLE 7.2 Chinese Population in Portland, Oregon 1860-1950. (graph by author, figures by Wong 2004:166.)

Class Distinctions and Public Acceptance 7.3

Originally the majority of the Chinese population in Portland was composed of laborers, combined with a small minority of business owners. The Overseas Chinese found the City of Portland to be favorable and welcoming as there was a high demand for cheap labor (Wong 2004:154). In addition, as the economy in Oregon took a downturn more rural areas were expelling the Chinese from their communities and violence was not uncommon (Wong 2004:160). The pull of jobs, and protection of strong networks, was further enforced by the push of rural communities and threats of violence. There was protection and employment within the city and Portland's Chinese population grew rapidly. Ooligan Press (2007) explains that "The Chinese of Oregon were able to find strength and solidarity through the religious, social, and cultural traditions they brought with them from their former country" (64). At the beginning of the 20th Century the need for labor significantly decreased and many Chinese laborers moved elsewhere. However, the merchant population grew during this time. Wong (2004) notes "The number of merchants also grew, from 39 in 1880 to 153 in 1910".

FIGURE 7.5 New Year (Lion Parade), OHS Negative Number 58755. (Oregon Historical Society Research Library, n.d.)

In many instances the Chinese merchant class developed long standing relationships within the broader Euro-American population (Figure 7.5). Good relations are evident both in the written record, and also in the material record, as Chinese businesses continued to be somewhat integrated through the Portland downtown area. This semi integration of Chinese merchants differed from the more common form of segregation found in cities like San Francisco, where the Chinese population was marginalized into one area. This access to the broader community enabled many Chinese individuals and families to circumvent Exclusion Era laws, such as the inability to own land, by forming friendships and partnerships with Euro-Americans. The ownership of the Hung Far Low restaurant is a prime example of local Euro-Americans working to

promote the livelihood of their Chinese neighbors (Figure 7.5). According to the National Park Service (2019):

> …the historic "Chop Suey Hung Far Low Cocktails" sign, located on the corner of the Hung Far Low (Cantonese for "Red Flower Restaurant") building at NW 4th Avenue and NW Couch Street. The building, constructed in 1916, was owned by the Stubbs family until 1936 when it was purchased by Jack Wong, proprietor of the Hung Far Low Restaurant. Because Chinese could not become U.S citizens until 1943, they could not legally own property, so the purchase of the building had to be kept secret. The Wong family still owns the building today. In 2008, the sign was removed when the building was being re-roofed, and through the efforts of neighborhood businesses, the Old Town Chinatown Business Association, and the Portland Development Commission the sign was restored and rehung in 2010.

FIGURE 7.6 Hung Far Low sign, chop suey and cocktails - Old Town Chinatown - Portland, Oregon. (Daderot, 2017.)

Today, there are Chinese American political and social organizations in Portland which work to protect Chinese individuals, educate members, maintain commerce, and promote and strengthen social community networks. Perhaps the most well-known association in Portland is the Oregon Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA). The CCBA notes that it "was formed in the late 19th century to assist Chinese individuals in their struggle with discrimination in employment, business, and citizenship" (2019: para.1). The CCBA continues to advocate for Chinese Americans especially in the area of immigration.

Conclusion 7.4

Of the cities under examination, Portland has retained the largest population of Chinese Americans and the most prominent signs of historical preservation. The old Chinatown is still present in the archaeological record (Wernz 2001). Although, most of the area was replaced by high rise buildings, there is still reason to consider that intact deposits remain in the downtown area. The preservation of New Chinatown/Japantown is of interest, because although there was a decline in the Chinese population during the Exclusion Act Era, there was an increase in the Japanese population (National Park Service 2019). With the arrival of the new Japanese immigrants, many Japanese owned businesses and tenements soon opened. This may have allowed the historic district to retain its current location despite a drop in Chinese occupation.

The history and growth of the Chinese population in Portland is visibly evident today. The New Chinatown/Japantown district is still in place, it is growing and being painstakingly revitalized by the CCBA. The CCBA is especially active in revitalizing the

New Chinatown/Japantown area by contributing efforts to restore public monuments, including the Chinatown Gateway (Figure 7.4). In addition, the CCBA continues restoration and tourism efforts by restoring lampposts, posting street signs in Chinese and English, running a small museum, and by continuing to hold cultural festivals (CCBA 2019). The Oregon Historical Society has also maintained museum exhibits about the Chinese presence in Oregon and maintained several website pages dedicated to promoting the history of the Chinese population in Portland. The Lan Su Chinese Garden opened in 2000 and it is within the new Chinatown/Japantown district (Figure 7.6). The Lan Su Chinese Garden has become a tourist destination and meeting place for the Chinese community.

FIGURE 7.6 Lan Su Chinese Garden, Portland, Oregon (photos by author, 2018.)

Chapter Eight – The Dalles

Overview 8.1

The Dalles, Oregon is the county seat for Wasco County. The Dalles is located at a large bend in the Columbia River to the north and the Cascade Mountain range to the South (Figure 8.1). Native American's had long term settlements along this portion of the river for thousands of years prior to exploration by Euro-Americans and many remain in the area to this day (Berg 2007:296; French & French 1998:360). The area was first noted by Euro-American explorers in 1805 when the Lewis & Clark expedition navigated the Columbia River (Moulton 1988a:340). In later years Gabriel Franchere, a fur trader for the Pacific Fur Company, named "The Dalles" on one of his journeys (Klindt 2011:20). In 1837, the first permanent Euro-American settlement was established as a mission by Methodist ministers Rev. Daniel Lee and Rev. H.K.W. Perkins (Lockley 1928:557). Although, the mission was short lived, in 1847 the United States military used the old mission to establish Camp Drum which by 1850 would officially become Fort Dalles (McNeal 1953:2). The City of The Dalles built up around the Fort and by 1857 the City officially became incorporated.

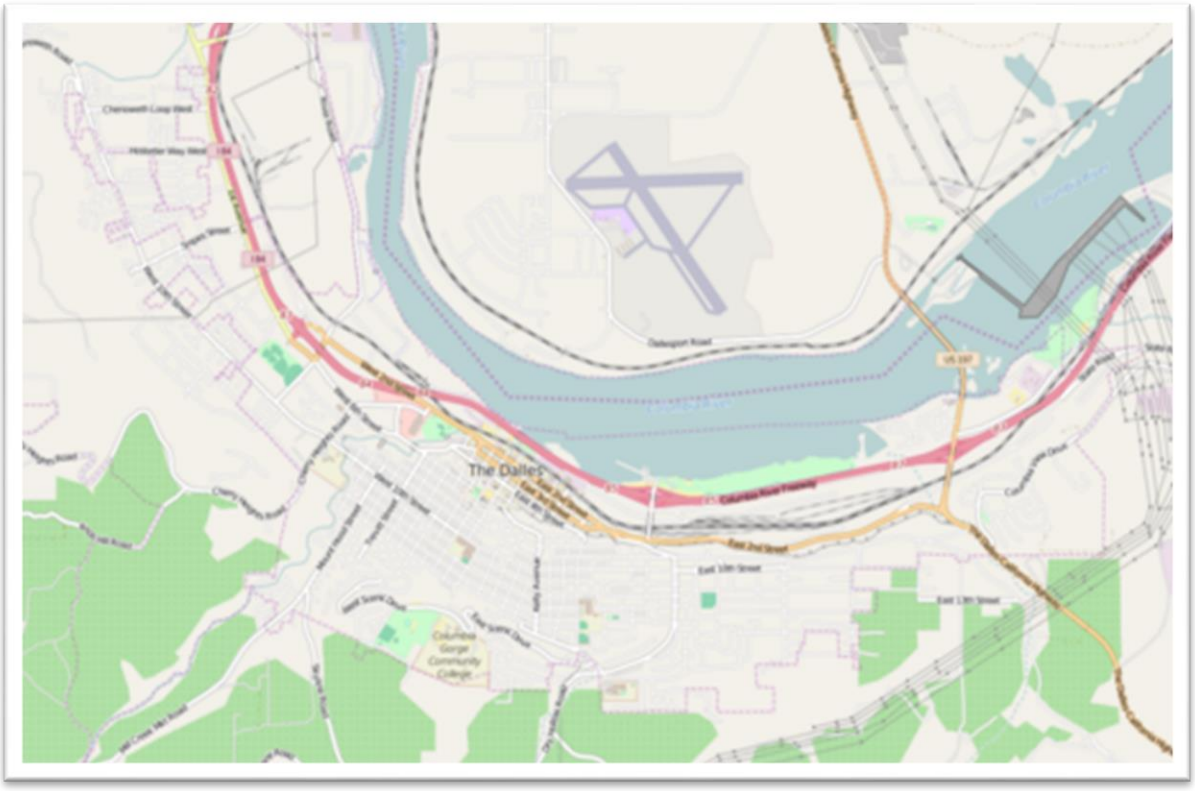


FIGURE 8.1 Street Map of The Dalles, Oregon. (Open Street Maps, 2016.)

Location and Population 8.2

The Dalles Chinatown at its peak in the 1890s encompassed approximately a three block area on the northeast side of town along northeast First Street between Federal and Union (Figure 8.2) (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps 1889). Jamie French (2016) notes that the Chinese population residing in The Dalles was somewhat small, in 1870 there were only 23 Chinese individuals listed in the United States Census, and the population grew to a mere 116 Chinese individuals by 1880 (26). The Chinese population consisted primarily of men. These numbers do not reflect the level of activity in the town or the large numbers of travelers and Chinese laborers who frequently came through the City (Lockley 1928:930).

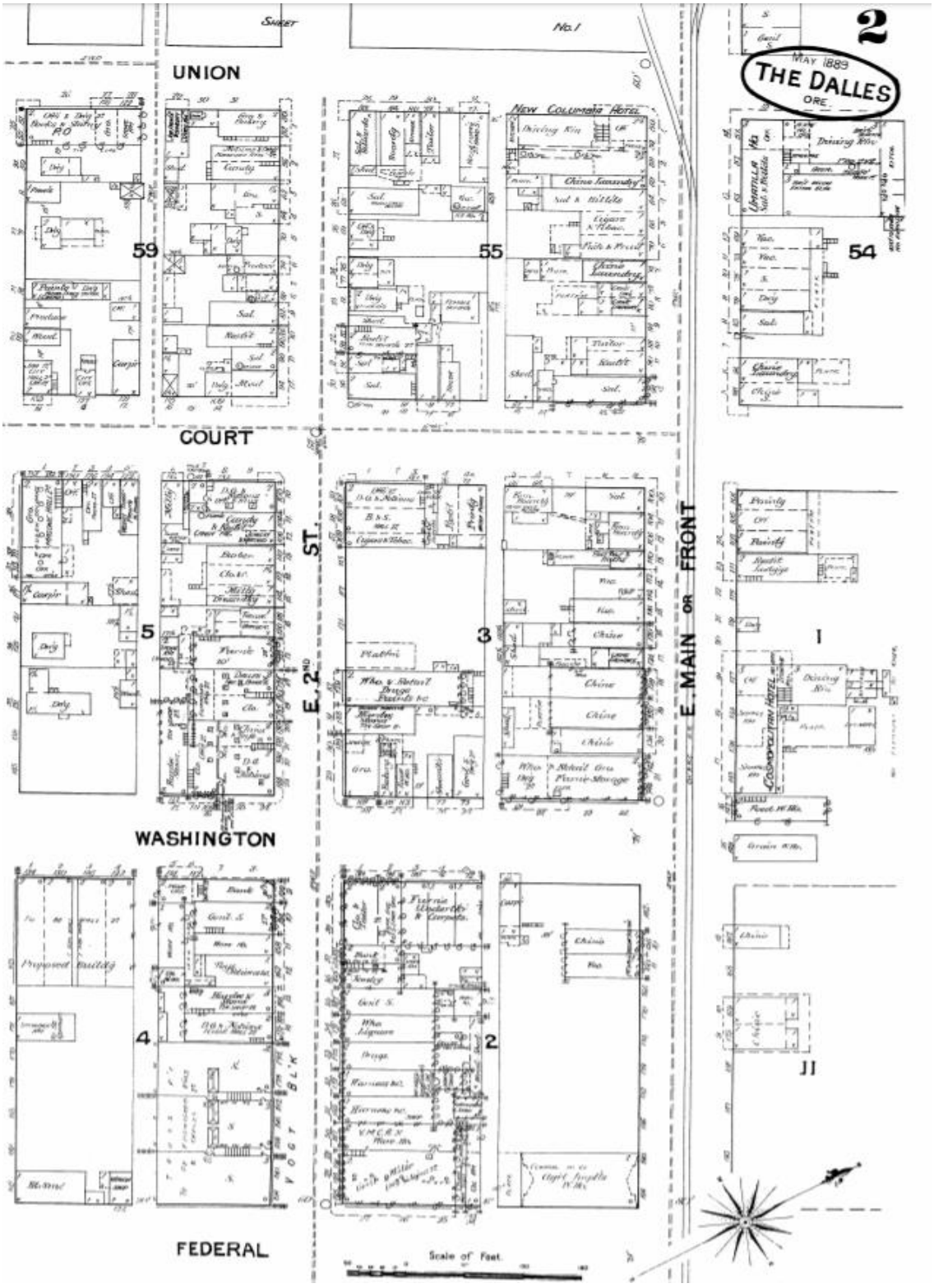


FIGURE 8.2 The Dalles Chinatown Main Street. (Sandborn Fire Insurance Map, 1889.)

The Dalles became a hub for people traveling along the Columbia River, as well as, individuals traveling north and south between eastern Oregon and Eastern Washington. The small Chinatown that developed along east First Street catered to marginalized travelers who were not served within the main Euro-American downtown. Miners, cannery employees, railway workers, and general laborers sought the comforts that The Dalles Chinatown provided which included: boarding, food, laundries, mercantiles, gambling, and brothels. Unfortunately, there is not enough information available at this time to comment on class distinctions that may have been present within the Chinese community of The Dalles. However, it is known that the merchant class appears to have been generally accepted and liked by the majority Euro-American population (The Dalles Daily Chronicle 1912).

It is unclear exactly how many Chinese businesses existed in The Dalles in the late 1800s and early 1900s. There are fifteen Chinese businesses and dwellings along Front Street which are illustrated on the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map (1889). However, the only businesses clearly marked are Chinese Laundries (Sanborn Fire Insurance Map 1889). The 1910 R. L. Polk business directory for The Dalles contains more detailed information for the town's Chinese businesses such as business name and types of business but this information is only available for five Chinese businesses.

Type of Business	Labor Contractor	Mercantile	Restaurant
Number of Businesses	1	3	1

Table 8.1 1910 Polk's Wasco, Hood River, and Sherman County Directory Listing of Chinese Businesses (Polk, 1910.)

Archaeology 8.3

Writings about the history of The Dalles, Chinatown is limited. Most of the existing information was discovered through primary sources and archaeological investigations at site 35WS453. This location known as The Dalles Chinatown site includes 210 East First Street, The Wing Hong Tai building, which once served as an Overseas Chinese boarding house in the 1880s, and then in the 1890s and 1900s as a combined laundry, mercantile, and gambling hall. The Wing Hong Tai/Hai Company was operated by a group of four Overseas Chinese men who pooled their resources, established themselves as merchants, and worked within the Chinese community as well as the larger European American community in The Dalles (Maddoux 2016). There are many things that are now known about this archaeological site and the lives of its prior inhabitants. Nevertheless, when the site was purchased the history surrounding it had been lost to time.

Archaeologists Eric Gleason and Jacqueline Cheung purchased the property believing that it was a component of a Chinatown (Gleason 2008). Gleason and Cheung's belief that the area had been a Chinatown was not through known history within the City, but rather through personal research of primary documentation. What

researchers have come to find is that the area surrounding the site was a Chinatown that expanded to three city blocks (Smits & Fagan 2014). The Dalles Chinatown was an important hub for Overseas Chinese individuals travelling through Oregon and between California, Washington, Idaho, and Montana. The dense artifact collections discovered on this block certainly suggest the existence of a long-term occupation of Chinese American settlers (Figure 8.3) (French 2016; Smits and Fagan 2014). If the actions of the business owners of the Wing Hong Tai company provide any indication of what life was like in The Dalles during the late 19th Century, it is probable that residents of the Chinatown migrated frequently, coming and going depending on the season and the types of work available (Maddoux 2016:108-111). It is unclear what types of work the Chinese population was able to obtain. It is known that there were merchants, launderers, boarding house proprietors, and cooks.

FIGURE 8.3 Artifacts from The Dalles Chinatown Site 35WS453. (Photo by author, 2015.)

Conclusion 8.4

Preservation of The Dalles Chinatown has occurred only recently. Archaeologists and property owners Eric Gleason and Jacqueline Cheung have painstakingly made attempts to educate the public about the Chinatown and encourage preservation. Their preservation efforts are the epitome of grassroots preservation. Gleason and Cheung purchased the former Wing Hong Tai building (built in 1879) and they are currently in the process of restoring it (Figure 8.4) (Gleason 2008). The building is one of the only remaining extant buildings from The Dalles Chinatown. Despite this building's

significance to the history of The Dalles, the site is continually under threat of urban development.

FIGURE 8.4 The Wing Hong Tai Building, The Dalles, Oregon. (Photo by author, 2015.)

The City of the Dalles has attempted to purchase or condemn the building on multiple occasions in efforts to build new businesses on the lot in which the Wing Hong Tai/Hai Building currently resides (Maddoux 2016; Smits & Fagan 2014). The demolition of historic buildings in an effort at urban renewal is not a new scenario. Leland T. Saito (2009) has outlined multiple instances during urban renewal efforts in the 1960s where historic buildings were destroyed. Nonetheless, this is an interesting position for the City of The Dalles to take as there has been a tremendous amount of interest in the historic building at site 35WS453 and the archaeology beneath it. The Discovery center in The Dalles contacted Gleason and Cheung regarding their historic research and they established a temporary museum exhibit centered on The Dalles Chinatown (Figures 8.5-8.6).

Currently, with an increase in public knowledge The Dalles Chinatown site has managed to escape demolition. This site still faces an uncertain future. There has been a change of direction for The City of The Dalles upon the recommendations of archaeologists that the archaeological site is significant and expansive (Smits & Fagan 2014). Essentially, significant and expansive translates to expensive. Regardless, there is no doubt that public interest and intervention has helped to preserve this historic site in The Dalles.

FIGURE 8.5 210 E. First Street: Bunsiness Owners and Residents circa 1900-1910. (photo by author; Gleason and Cheung, 2015.)

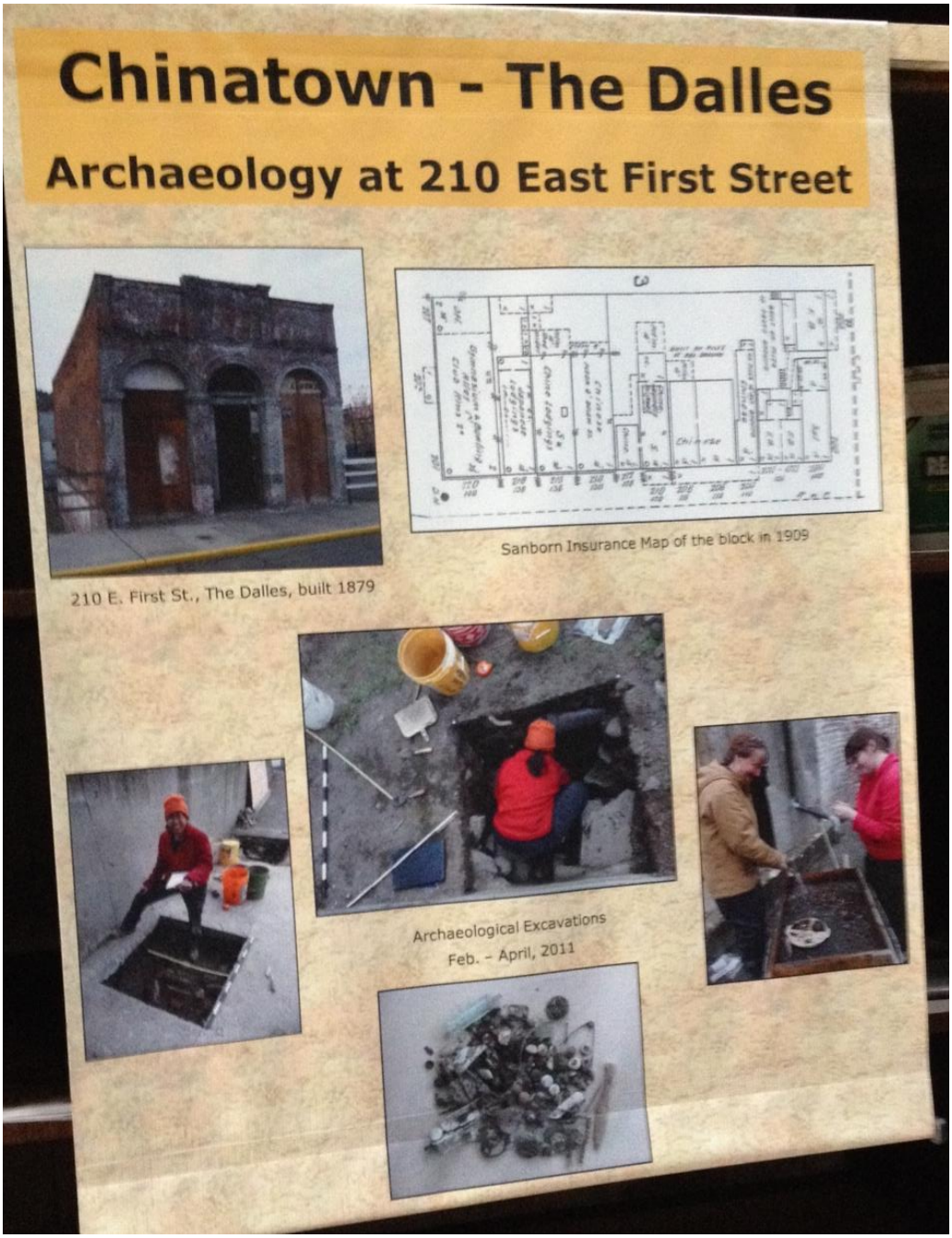


FIGURE 8.6 Chinatown – The Dalles Archaeology at 210 East First Street. (Photo by author; Gleason and Cheung, 2015.)

The preservation of the archaeological record and extant environment of The Dalles Chinatown is of the utmost importance. Further research of primary sources such as immigration records is also essential to broadening the historic record. Without this information the past lives of important individuals will be lost. As previously mentioned, there are no comprehensive books detailing the main industries of the Chinese individuals in The Dalles, or detailing these individuals' day to day lives. Preliminary research suggests that The Dalles Chinatown, albeit small, was well connected through social networks with other Chinese communities located in other cities.

Chapter Nine – Community Organization and Networking

Overview 9.1

Kinship networks were of paramount importance in 19th century China (Freedman 1958:1). Not only did families provide emotional support, but they also served multiple functions by dictating social hierarchies, assigning types of employment, allocating inheritance, and providing physical safety from outside forces (Faure 2007:1-2; Freedman1958:1-17). The Overseas Chinese population in Oregon is frequently referred to as a bachelor society of sojourners. This term provides the impression of men without social networks, solitary, and alone. Additionally, this term indicates the bachelor society was devoid of women, children, and elders. Certainly the majority of the Chinese population in Oregon, towards the turn of the 20th century, was male (Figure 9.1) (Lau 2007:21). However, there is evidence to suggest that despite census numbers and immigration paperwork, more women, children, and elders were potentially present than prior reports indicate (Simmons 1989; Yung 2006).

FIGURE 9.1 Seid Back, Portland, "Leading Chinese Merchant and Capitalist" from Oregonian Handbook 1894, p.120, ORS Negative Number 46459. (Oregon Historical Society Research Library, 2018.)

Whether the family was physically present in Oregon, or still residing in mainland China, it is probable that many kinship networks stayed in place despite geographical distance (Faure 2007:312). There is a wealth of immigration paperwork to support the assertion that Overseas Chinese men traveled home to China frequently to spend time with their families, and in many cases they also worked diligently to bring their immediate family to the United States (Figure 9.2) (Nicola and Chung 2019; Nicola 2019). Not all Overseas Chinese who came to the United States were fortunate enough to maintain the kinship networks that existed in China. In some instances, immigrating Chinese individuals developed new social networks by creating fictitious family lineages in order to bring on apprentices, or strengthen their own local network (Lau 2007; Wang 2016). Overseas Chinese men also formed social networks by creating organizations based on their trades, their family surnames, or their region of origin in China (Reynolds 1935:613-615).

Immigration Enforcement and Altered Family Composition 9.2

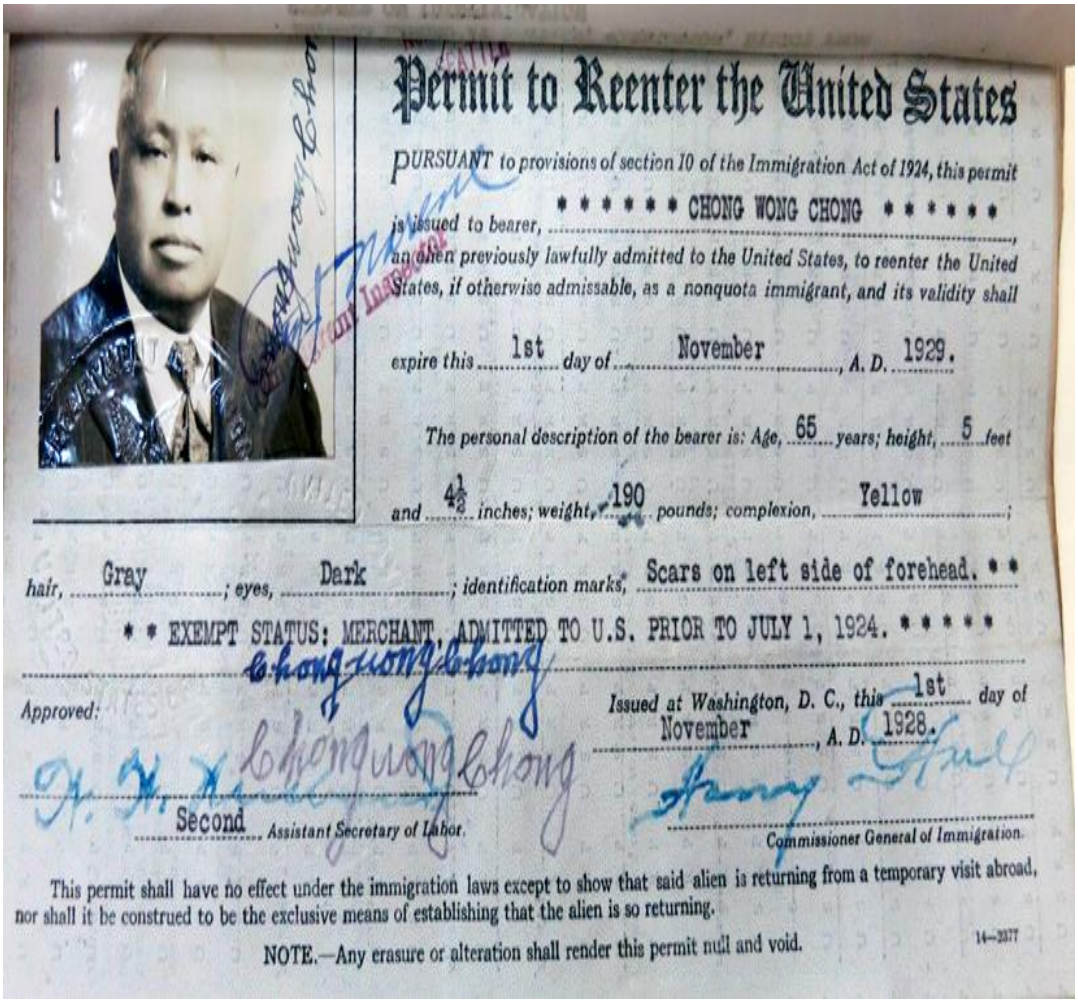
Today, immigration policy appears to be standardized and enforced using a set of strict guidelines and protocols. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was the first federal mandate adopted in the United States to control immigration. At the inception of the Chinese Exclusion Act, enforcement was governed more by guesswork and experimentation, rather than standardized policy and procedure. Initially, the federal government relied on the individual states to enforce immigration practices (Lau 2007:19). Lau (2007) notes that “agents developed their gate-keeping tasks and practices

through trial and error in constant negotiation and struggle with the objects of their administration" (5). In the instance of Astoria, Oregon, immigration policy was enforced to varying degrees based on immigration accessors awareness of Oregon's need for laborer, and in some cases the accessors friendship with the employers of the Overseas Chinese or the Overseas Chinese themselves (Coe 2010:37-38). As the larger port of San Francisco, California, became stricter Oregon's port was more lenient (Coe 2010:37-38). When the main immigration office in Portland overtook operations in Astoria, the standards changed drastically and became far more restrictive (Coe 2010:38-39). Oregon was not the only state that transitioned to more stringent immigration enforcement. Lau (2007) notes the increasing difficulty that both the inspectors and the Overseas Chinese entrants faced (6):

> Immigration inspectors could not verify the responses given by the Chinese, given their limited understanding of the language, customs, and life in China. Nor given common perceptions of Chinese as "all looking alike," could they easily distinguish between individuals. At the same time, the Chinese- the vast majority of whom were legally not entitled to enter- had a strong motivation to use any means to argue that they fit within the few exceptions to exclusion, and in particular, to argue that they were U.S. citizens or children of U.S. Citizens.

The motivation to forge documents and create false lineages was high, especially for women (Wong 2004:142-174). The immigration laws and how they were enforced impacted the composition of the Overseas Chinese community. Overseas Chinese individuals wishing to stay in the United States dealt with an ever increasing level of scrutiny during the Exclusion Act Era (Wong 2004:75-148).

Chinese merchants and students were favored over laborers for entry into the Unites States, and men were favored over women (Lau 2007:5). By the 20th century this led to an unbalanced community composed mostly of immigrants who were middle aged educated Chinese men, and young Chinese children who were born on American soil (Lau 2007:5). There were disparities between age groups and genders. To regain balance and shape their communities Overseas Chinese individuals created new networks in the United States that were often based on familiar systems in China. Family name associations, and social (sometimes criminal) organizations known as tongs, supported their members and provided services and protection. As in China, migration also became a strategy in the West. Overseas Chinese individuals moved often between cities in efforts to obtain employment and avoid immigration scrutiny. The immigration records in the Seattle, Washington National Archives demonstrate that many Overseas Chinese individuals moved frequently between cities, used multiple names, and conducted multiple types of business. In the instance of Chong Wong Chong, he was originally listed as a laborer who worked all along the West Coast. However when his wife and children were denied admission to the United States, he regrouped and returned to Portland, Oregon as a merchant (Figure 9.2) (Nicola and Chung 2019).



Permit to Reenter the United States

PURSUANT to provisions of section 10 of the Immigration Act of 1924, this permit is issued to bearer, * * * * * * CHONG WONG CHONG * * * * * *, an alien previously lawfully admitted to the United States, to reenter the United States, if otherwise admissable, as a nonquota immigrant, and its validity shall expire this 1st day of November, A. D. 1929.

The personal description of the bearer is: Age, 65 years; height, 5 feet and 4½ inches; weight, 190 pounds; complexion, Yellow; hair, Gray; eyes, Dark; identification marks, Scars on left side of forehead. **

** EXEMPT STATUS: MERCHANT, ADMITTED TO U.S. PRIOR TO JULY 1, 1924. * * * * *

Approved:

Second Assistant Secretary of Labor.

Issued at Washington, D. C., this 1st day of November, A. D. 1928.

Commissioner General of Immigration.

This permit shall have no effect under the immigration laws except to show that said alien is returning from a temporary visit abroad, nor shall it be construed to be the exclusive means of establishing that the alien is so returning.

NOTE.—Any erasure or alteration shall render this permit null and void.

14—2377

FIGURE 9.2 Chong Wong Chong –"Permit to Reenter the United States for Chong Wong Chong, expiring November 1, 1929". (Nicola and Chung, 2019.)

Coe (2010) notes that it became somewhat common practice in Astoria for Overseas Chinese to enter Oregon under the premise of attending school, only to drop out shortly after admittance and go to work in the canneries (81). In The Dalles, the partners of the Wing Hong Tai Company, were often absent during inspection of the premises and reported to be elsewhere, either in Portland or in Washington (National Archives, n.d.). There is a vast difference between the immigration records of respected merchant Lum Sin Yeun in Astoria, and the partners of the Wing Hong Tai Company in The Dalles. Primarily Lee Yip Tai, a partner of the Wing Hong Tai Company, was suspected of illicit activities and performing labor, which was a prohibited occupation (National Archives, n.d.). The inspector in Lee Yip Tai's case had an "unfavorable impression" of him and the inspector did not hesitate to recommend denials of Lee Yip Tai's travel requests (National Archives, n.d.). Conversely, although immigration documents do exist for Lum Sin Yeun, the investigations were more limited in scope and somewhat favorable (National Archives, n.d.).

Invented Families and Business Partnerships 9.3

How individuals coped with the lack of a strong kinship network in the United States is certainly worthy of investigation. During the 20th century the Overseas Chinese population in Western America began to grow old. Thus it became necessary for these elder Overseas Chinese men and women to find ways to deal with issues usually handled within the family structure, such as inheritance. There were also Overseas Chinese individuals seeking entrance to the United States who faced ever increasing restrictions

upon their admittance being in need of employment and family networks. Lau (2007) surmises there were only two ways to try to get around exclusionary laws (33-35). The first way was to illegally cross the Mexican or Canadian borders, which was dangerous, time consuming, and difficult (Lau 2007: 33-35). The second way was to navigate the loopholes in the exclusionary laws by either appearing as a partner in a business, or the close relative of an immigrant or natural born citizen (Lau 2007:33-35). "Paper lineages" developed as a way to circumvent immigration restrictions and provide social networks to individuals with limited opportunities (Lau 2007:5).

Wang (2016) details Christine Devillier's family story (para.5-9):

> My earliest documented ancestors, my great-grandfather Ow Jiu Lim and his wife, left China for the United States well before the Geary Act, commonly known as the Chinese Exclusion Act, of 1882. They immigrated legally from Taishan county, Guangdong province, China, and settled in San Francisco.
>
> Fast Forward to 1905. In an effort to circumvent the only U.S. law ever enacted to bar immigrants and impose quotas based on race, Ow Jiu Lim's grandson, Seh Gay Lim, makes his first voyage to San Francisco, claiming to be returning to his native U.S. after living in China most of his life.
>
> Seh Gay Lim was born in 1876, Ow Jui Lim was born circa 1840. It was plausible enough that Seh Gay Lim could be the son of his grandfather, and he would take advantage of this assertion in ways that would make permanent changes to the Lim family line.
>
> In 1921, Seh Gay Lim, now settled in Texas, would orchestrate the immigration of his nephew, my grandfather Bong Woon Lim, then age 10. Entry would only be granted if he was sponsored as the son of a Chinese man already living in the United States. But his father never come to the United States.
>
> The Family purchased a "paper" identity for my grandfather, making him supposedly the son of another man from the same village. Upon his landing in the United States, his "father" would collect him and pass him to his uncle, Seh Gay Lim. My grandfather had become one of many in

> the "paper son" immigration system, living with a false identity for the majority of his natural life.

By 1950, approximately 25 percent of Chinese Americans had entered the United States by using similar methods to Devillier's family (Lau 2007:5). As is apparent, it took a collaborative effort from many individuals to create a "paper lineage" (Lau 2007:7). In addition, the "paper son" would assume a new identity that they would frequently keep for the rest of their lives.

Secret Societies and Tongs 9.4

The presence of secret societies and tongs is common in most 19th century Chinatowns. It is difficult to distinguish between these forms of social networks because many of them evolved over time from one form to another. The most notorious of these organizations are the tongs, which gained the attention of the general public during a series of tong wars that erupted across the United States and even into Canada during the early 20th century. In many instances tongs were instrumental in bringing Chinese workers into the United States (Simmons 1989: 17). Rarely did a person's association with the tong end following the individual's admittance into the United States. The earliest mention of tongs in the United States dates back to 1851 in San Francisco (Reynolds 1935:615). C.N. Reynolds (1935) provides a good overall description of the tongs in America (612):

> The Chinese who came to America after the gold strike soon formed the first units of the so-called companies. One of the first societies formed included the whole Chinese population in America. This was gradually broken into smaller groupings. Trade or craft organizations also developed. It is uncertain when true fighting tongs first made their

> appearance. The real nature of the groups was frequently hidden, or fighting developed from a more legitimate and honorable purpose. The earliest protective tongs began as American forms of an Old China semi-political, semi-religious organization. Economic motives or the motives of group existence were the most important forms of tong violence. The tongs have long since modified their criminal activities and have developed benevolent-protective functions.

Whereas, the traditional kinship network in China was controlled by the male elders of the lineage, the new emerging merchant class in the United States elected leaders from amongst themselves to control tongs and secret societies (Reynolds 1935:615).

There are several prominent tongs that operated on the West Coast. *The Astorian* noted in 1888, at least five main tongs existed in Astoria: The Boo Leong Hong Tong , the Hip Sing Tong, the Hop Sing Tong, the Hung Sing Tong, and the Sue Sing Tong (Bronson and Ho 2018). Boo Leong Hong is undoubtedly either a misinterpretation of the Bow Leong Tong, or there was a transition of name at some point. The Bow Leong Tong has a long history in Astoria. Although its original functions may have been criminal in nature as *The Astorian* asserts, the Bow Leong Tong transitioned into a friendlier more community oriented presence in the town (Bronson and Ho 2018). The altar pictured below was donated by the Bow On Tong to the Clatsop County Heritage Museum (Figure 9.3.)

The strong organization of the tongs allowed Overseas Chinese men to collectively act as active agents while there individual voices were remained passive and somewhat protected (Rosenberger 2014: 7). Friday (2010), notes that "The formation of tongs, political parties and religious organizations, in Astoria created some chances to voice dissent" (64). Needless to say, not all of the tongs were vigilant protectors of the

people. According to Friday (2010) “It [Astoria] also had tongs that depended heavily on the vice industry for income. Keeping Chinese laborers in a perpetual state of indebtedness through gambling, drug trafficking, and prostitution assured those who controlled these activities their revenues. Nonetheless, the tongs could also act in workers’ interests” (64). A complex relationship existed between the tongs and the community in Astoria.

FIGURE 9.3 1904 altar from Bow On Tong Hall - Clatsop County Historical Society Heritage Museum. (Photo by author 2018)

Portland became the epicenter of tong involvement during the 1910s and 1920s. Portland is known to have had several tongs including: the Bing Kung Tong, the Bow Leong Tong, Bow Won Tong, the Chee Kung Tong (also known as the Chinese Free Masons), the Hip Sing Tong, the Hop Sing Tong, the Sam Yup Company, the Suey Sing Tong, and the Wong Chee tong (Figure 9.4) (Bronson and Ho 2018; Wong 2004:197-199). Over 300 members of tongs in California's major cities of San Francisco and Los Angeles were forced out of their cities due to increased police presence, and relocated to Portland (Reynolds 1935:622; Wong 2004:199). An increase in "vice industries" soon followed the sudden boom in tong membership in Portland. As gambling, prostitution, drinking, and opium use increased, so did reported instances of bribery, extortion and violence (Wong 2004:199-200). As different tongs began to compete for territory, violence exponentially increased, and the tong wars erupted and lasted in Portland for upwards of thirty years.

FIGURE 9.4 Hip Sing Association Building, Portland, OR. (Wikimedia Commons, 2013.)

The Dalles does not have any officially reported tongs, but the city did create and enforce ordinances as early as the mid-1860s restricting “Bawdy Houses”, and it encouraged Portland to do the same. This act certainly infers a connection between to the two cities, although under-reported (Wong 2004:229). Astoria and Portland had a number of the same tong associations and it is fair to surmise these tongs and their members were connected. Most tongs were influential in their respective communities whether or not they were involved in illicit activities. The tongs arranged for jobs, residences, and they provided protection from the outside community and competing tongs.

Conclusion 9.5

Secret societies and tongs in some instances did form more cohesive communities and provide a degree of protection to their members. However, when the needs of the tongs out-weighed the needs of the community, crime rose and violent outbreaks became more common. Associations such as the Oregon Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) were formed to assist Overseas Chinese individuals navigate the United States legal system and organize peace amongst competing groups (Kunze 2014; Oregon Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association 2019). For instance, during a conflict between competing tongs in Astoria, members of the CCBA stepped in and mediated the conflict for a peaceful resolution (Friday 2010: 64).

Overseas Chinese communities were different in composition than communities of the same time periods in southeast China. Many of the same principles of kinship networks that were in place in China, which allowed villages to survive despite external conflict, were successful to varying degrees within the United States (Table 9.1). Despite extreme anti-Chinese sentiment in many Western cities, the Chinese associations and merchants in Astoria, Portland, and The Dalles, created networks with fellow Chinese individuals and also actively negotiated relationships with moderate Euro-Americans. These actions provided more security for Overseas Chinese individuals. This was particularly true in the instance of Portland, where the Chinese population was somewhat valued and protected by the overarching political structure of the City, as well as, the protection that tongs and associations provided.

	Physical Protection	**Employment**	**Property/ Residence**	**Social Stratification**	**Allocation of Inheritance**	**Legal Protection**
Kinship Network	X	X	X	X	X	X
Invented Families		X	X	X	X	X
Business Partnerships		X	X			X
Tongs and Secret Societies	X	X	X	X		X

TABLE 9.1 Comparison of family kinship structure in southeast China and new social structures in the western United States.

Chapter Ten– Summary and Future Research

Overview 10.1

An Examination of Astoria, Portland, and The Dalles, Oregon, during the turn of the 19th Century reveal different aspects of daily life of the Overseas Chinese residents living in each city. There are many notable similarities between these cities despite their geographic distances and various population sizes. Additionally, some of the cities share similar types of industry, but differ greatly as to demographic distribution. Each city is the county seat for its particular county. All of the cities reside along, or are in close proximity to the Columbia River (Figure 10.1). There are instances occurring in each of the cities which demonstrate social networks were of paramount importance for Overseas Chinese communities. Prior to 1903, Astoria, Oregon maintained ties with most of the Chinatowns across the state of Oregon, as the majority of potential Chinese immigrants passed through Astoria on their way inland, and many individuals came back to Astoria seasonally for work.

FIGURE 10.1 The Columbia River between The Dalles and Portland (photo by author, 2015.)

Implications and Consequences 10.2

Chinese exclusion laws were created, enforced, and impacted the Overseas Chinese population in Oregon to varying degrees. Each of these aspects of Chinese Exclusion Era Laws is paramount to the history of Overseas Chinese communities (Lau 2007:22). The general population in the United States was in support of the exclusion laws for Overseas Chinese communities during the early Exclusion Act Era (1882-1920). The nomadic nature of railway and mining work, combined with the majority of Overseas Chinese population being male, was not well received by Victorian Era Americans (Ooligan Press 2007). Furthermore, Overseas Chinese individuals did not conform to American ideals of personhood, masculinity or purity (Molenda 2015).

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was the first immigration legislation adopted by the Federal Government of the United States (Henkin 1987). The Exclusion Era Laws were hastily created and based on public opinion, rather than fact. At the time, Congress did not even possess the authority to create and pass the Exclusion Act of 1882, but it was later granted the power (Henkin 1987). The general sentiment of the time was that immigration should be handled at the state level, and immigration enforcement reflects this standard up until the turn of the 20th century (Lau 2007:19). The Federal government, prior to 1882 had passed no laws addressing immigration into the United States (Henkin 1987). Yet, the Exclusion Laws were quickly accepted, implemented, and enforced. The Exclusion Laws had far reaching consequences for Overseas Chinese residents in the United States and the Laws helped to justify Anti-Chinese sentiment

across the western United States (Soennichsen 2011; Tsai 1983; Wong 2004). The family structure of Overseas Chinese men was disrupted because Chinese women were rarely allowed in the United States, occupations were limited in many cases forcing men to restructure their business practices, and living spaces as ownership of land was restricted forcing Overseas Chinese settlement into specified area (Soennichsen 2011).

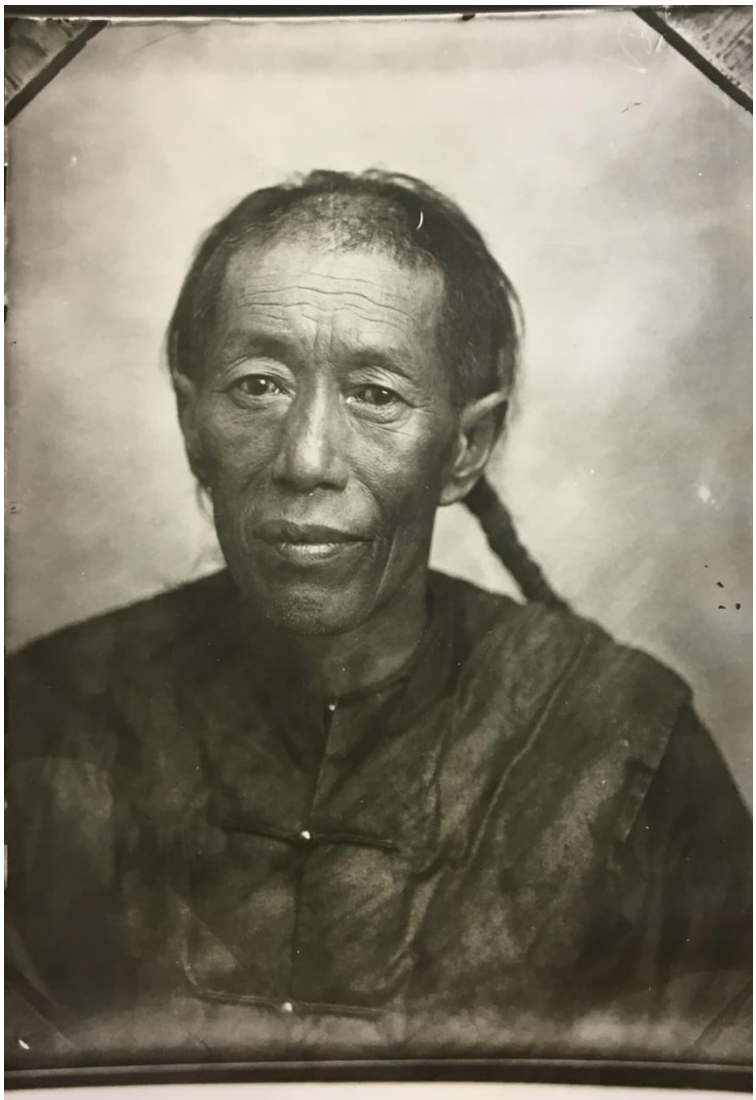


FIGURE 10.2 Chinese in Oregon: Negative Number: 12954. (Oregon Historical Society Research Library, n.d.)

Disturbingly, at the time of Louis Henkin's (1987) article "The Constitution and United States Sovereignty: A Century of Chinese Exclusion and Its Progeny", current immigration law in the United States was still based on the original Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The Acts that led up to the Federal Exclusion Act were racially biased and this bias has been passed down for generations of legislation (Lau 2007; Soennichsen 2011). Evidence of this racial bias can be found within the racially targeted city and state ordinances of California prior to the introduction of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act (Soennichsen 2011). Racially biased motivation is an important factor to consider. The idea that public opinion based off of preconceived notions of other cultures and ethnicities, resulted in federal legislation that became the law of the land, should be a cautionary tale for future generations in the United States. Preconceived notions of the Chinese in the 19th Century resulted in hurried legislation and eventually a large omission in written history and historical preservation. The fervor of anti-Chinese sentiment that swept through the western United States was based primarily on racial bias and fearmongering. What was perceived as a giant wave of unwanted immigrants in all actuality only accounted for "4.3 percent of the entries into the United States" during the peak of Chinese immigration in 1882 (Lau 2006:22).

Public perception of Oregon's past impacts which landmarks are chosen for preservation and where funding for research projects is allocated in the future. Leland T. Saito (2009) addresses the impact of public policy on preservation. Saito (2009) highlights preservation efforts in three major United States cities during federal rejuvenation projects that occurred in the 1960s and he argues that culturally significant

landmarks were targeted and intentionally destroyed by project managers (4-5). The publics' lack of knowledge regarding the targeted properties made it possible for the landmarks to be destroyed without protest.

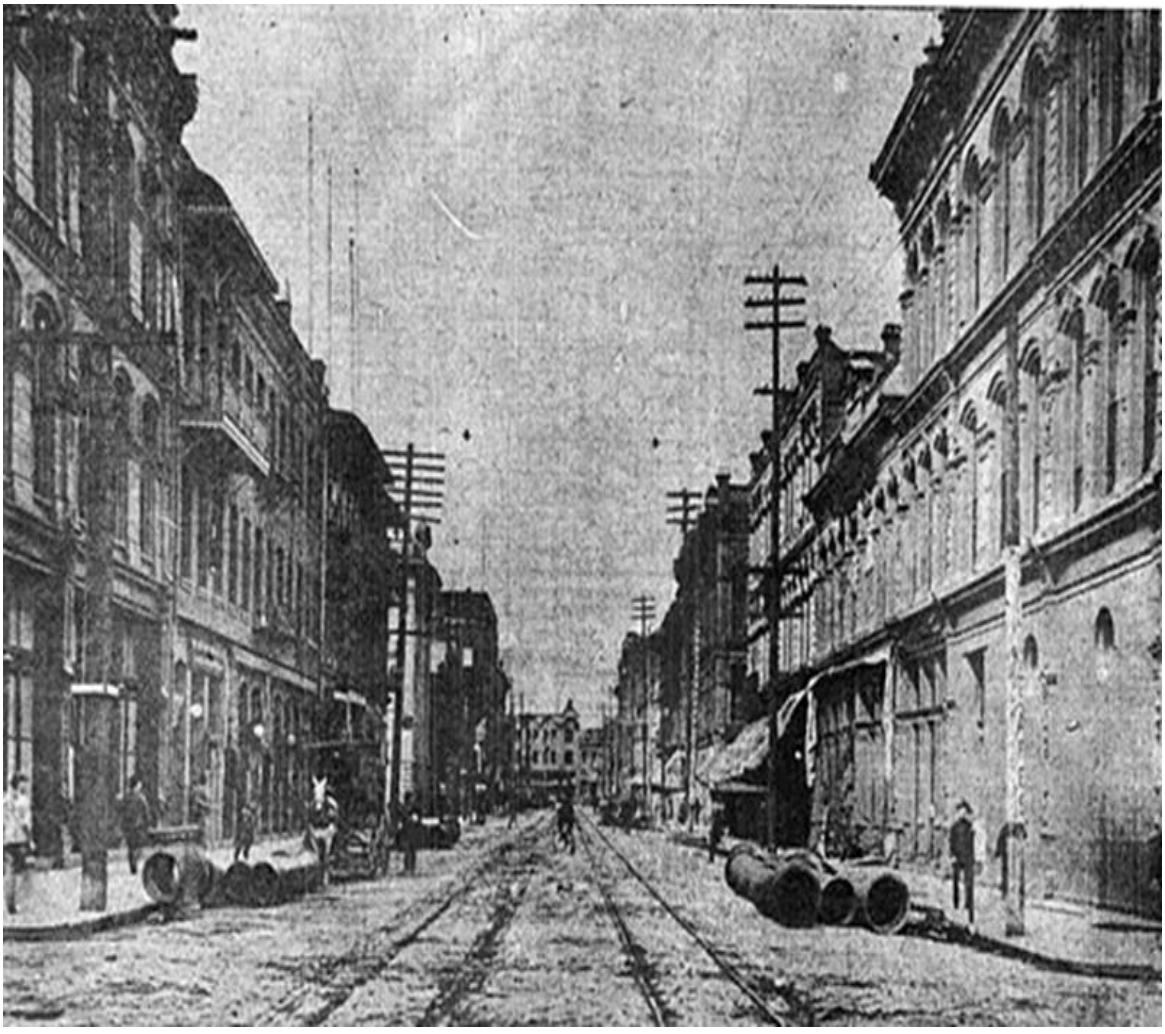


FIGURE 10.3 *1905 Portland Chinatown. Second street between Stark and Oak streets in Portland, Oregon's Chinatown in 1905*. (The Oregonian, 1905.)

Overseas Chinese Occupations 10.3

Astoria

Descendants of the original Overseas Chinese settlers of Astoria have lived in Oregon for over 120 years (Penner 2005:14). Oregon's early Chinese population is responsible in large part for the success of the State's canning industry (Fagan 1993). The immigration department in Astoria demonstrates another interesting aspect of the City's history. It is clear that local immigration accessors made decisions based on personal experience with Chinese individuals and their employers rather than federal mandates (Coe 2011:37). These decisions demonstrate a human aspect whereby individuals exercised their personal agency despite the established bureaucracy. Whether or not these decisions were made for personal gain, or a matter of personal ethics, remains to be determined. The large Chinese merchant class made a lasting impression which is evident in Astoria today. Long standing Chinese American families have established businesses and educational centers, such as Lum Auto Center, and Duncan Law Seafood Center, which remain present in the area. The history of Astoria's early Chinese population is celebrated in public parks, artwork, and museums (Figure 10.4).

FIGURE 10.4 *Decorative Incense Burner*. The Garden of Surging Waves, Astoria, OR. (Photo by author, 2018.)

Portland

Of the three cities examined, Portland has the largest permanent Chinese American population and the only extant and active Chinatown/Japantown (Peterson-Loomis 2016). Where Astoria has a wealth of primary documentation, and The Dalles, has an established archaeological record, Portland maintains both. Activist organizations such as the Oregon Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Society are working towards preservation of the area and historical education. Portlanders are reminded of the importance of the Chinese American population in the City by cultural festivals, works of

art, and a traditional Chinese garden (Figure 10.5). Additionally, archaeological excavations in Portland, such as site ORMU57 the United States Courthouse site, have enhanced our understandings of the areas material record (Wernz 2001). There is still much to be discovered both archaeologically and in the written record.

FIGURE 10.5 *Lan Su Garden, Portland, Oregon*. (Photo by author, 2018.)

The Dalles

The Wing Hong Tai/Hai Company site 35WS453 fits into the description of central shops and mercantiles that were the center of the neighborhoods in which they resided, such as a mercantile described by Margery Wolf (1968), and demonstrated by the shops at Kam Wah Chung in John Day, Oregon and the East Kong Yick building in Seattle Washington (Wing Luke Museum of the Asian Pacific American Experience 2017). The mercantile was a place to commune with neighbors, play games of chance, collect and send mail, purchase essentials, and sometimes sleep. The extant building that resides at site 35WS453 is an important landmark not only for the people of The Dalles, but also for anyone interested in the movement of Overseas Chinese people between cities in the West (Figure 10.6). Still, the building is under constant threat despite the fact that it is owned by archaeologists who aim to preserve its rich history.

The archaeological record in combination with primary and secondary documentation have provided evidence that demonstrate many aspects of the daily lives of the individuals that lived and worked at The Wing Hong Tai/Hai Company site. The partners' response to external factors such as economically limiting laws is apparent in the material. The partners diversified their business due to a changing legal environment and this diversification left a mark on the physical environment (Maddoux 2016). It is noteworthy that the business was advertised as a mercantile and laundry at different points in time, but the gaming hall was a more hidden aspect of the business (Maddoux 2016).

FIGURE 10.6 35WS453 210 East First Street. The back of the Wing Hong Tai building and a portion of the abandoned Granada block. (Photo by author, 2015.)

Research Questions Revisited 10.4

- How did the Overseas Chinese community in northern Oregon cope with Exclusion Era laws and restrictions?

The Overseas Chinese population in northern Oregon was able to create and maintain social networks despite adversity. The structure of these networks was responsive to the needs of the Chinese community, as well as, the external pressures of racial discrimination. Tongs, family name or trade organizations, "paper families", and businesses partnerships provided opportunities for Overseas Chinese individuals who were bound by an ever increasing torrent of restrictive legislation and unfavorable general public opinion. Through the establishment of social organizations such as tongs and family name associations, Chinese individuals were able to obtain work and protection. The establishment of business partnerships allowed for merchants to bring their families into the United States and purchase property. Finally, the creation of "paper families" provided the opportunity for citizenship in the United States, the restructuring of households, and the transfer of wealth from one generation to the next.

The sudden Overseas Chinese population peak in Portland during the early 1900s may be an indicator of just how powerful the City's tongs and community organizations had become (Table 7.2). During this same period there was a substantial decrease in the Overseas Chinese population in smaller cities such as Astoria and The Dalles due to many factors, including loss of work and racial tensions. It is possible to surmise the tongs and community organizations within Portland did provide physical and financial

protection from outside dangers; protections not available elsewhere. "Paper Families" required a great deal of cooperation in both southeastern China and northern Oregon. Witnesses were required to confirm an individual's identity in the potential Chinese immigrant's home village, as well as, in the U.S. town of their family member(s) (Lau 2006). Business partnerships provided the opportunity to establish social connections with the broader business community and to establish oneself within the somewhat safeguarded Chinese merchant class. These are only a few examples of how individuals interacted with their social structure to navigate seemingly impossible obstacles.

- What was social life like in Guangdong Province, China during the Exclusion Act Era in comparison to the daily life of Overseas Chinese individuals living in the United States?

In the late 1800s social life in Guangdong Province, China, relied heavily on the structure of the kinship network. This network had been in place for hundreds of years and provided stability for families (Freedman 1958). Kinship networks established a social hierarchy, helped to distribute land and wealth, and provided protection from outside threats (Freedman 1958). Towards the beginning of the 20th century the structure of the kinship system began to change as families adapted to economic pressure and political instability. Migration became a family strategy to overcome financial and political obstacles (Miles 2006). Social changes were also occurring as women began to work and travel outside of the home (Siu and Chan 2010: 3; Tsai 1983: 19).

In the United States Overseas Chinese communities adapted to the lack of kinship networks by creating "paper families" and/or forming social organizations such as trade associations, family name associations, and tongs. These social networks provided many of the same advantages of the kinship networks found in southeastern China (Table 9.1). Furthermore, many Overseas Chinese individuals maintained strong ties with their kinship networks in mainland China, by corresponding and visiting whenever possible. Migration also became a strategy for success in the western U.S. as workers traveled frequently between towns depending upon the availability of work and the social environment.

- Where were Overseas Chinese communities located in northern Oregon, and what was the population size and demographics of these communities in both rural and urban settings? Did these communities change in size and location during the Exclusion Act Era due to restrictive legislation and inhospitable environments?

The Overseas Chinese population in northern Oregon during the late 1800s was located primarily in the cities of Astoria, Portland, and The Dalles. However, there were many small temporary settlements along the Columbia River in proximity to canneries, and located along the railways (Fagan 1993). Astoria's Overseas Chinese population was directly impacted by the fishing industry calendar, with the population swelling during peak seasons and decreasing over the winters (Fagan 1993). Portland's Overseas Chinese population was the second largest in the country and fairly permanent despite being a hub for travelers (Wong 2004). The Dalles on the other hand had a small semi-permanent

Overseas Chinese population, combined with a discernible large number of travelers frequented the area for rest and supplies.

The initial impact of the Exclusion Act Era was minimal as the enforcement of the Act was discretionary with the State of Oregon and individual immigration officers who understood the demands for labor in both the fishing, lumber, and railway industries (Coe 2011). By the early 1900s work in rural communities and smaller towns became harder to obtain and racial tensions continued to increase. The cities of Astoria and The Dalles demonstrate a sharp decrease in population, whereas Portland has a rapid increase in population; statistics possibly indicative of a rural to urban migration in northern Oregon. At the same time immigration practices transitioned in Astoria and enforcement became increasingly stringent and standardized (Coe 2011). With an aging population, decreased immigration, and a low proportion of women to men, the Overseas Chinese population continued to decrease in Oregon until the end of the Exclusion Act Era in the 1940s.

- Given inconsistencies in otherwise reliable sources such as the United States Census, is there material archaeological evidence that will help determine population size and composition?

Before further archaeological examinations are undertaken, it is important that baselines for lifeways and material culture of Oregon's Chinese community be properly documented in order to provide a solid foundation for theoretical examination. There is reason to consider the existence of many undocumented Overseas Chinese archaeological sites throughout the state of Oregon. When these sites are excavated each will

undoubtedly reveal many aspects of Overseas Chinese life in Oregon. At this point in time there is a sizeable amount of archival data yet to be processed in regards to the Overseas Chinese population in Oregon. This data is present at the National Archives in Seattle, Washington, The Oregon Historical Society, local historical societies, and possibly even family collections. The density of materials at The Dalles Chinatown site (35WS453) and the Portland Courthouse site (ORMUS57) indicate larger populations were present than previously documented (French 2016; Wernz 2001). In my opinion archaeology provides the best possible source for answering questions regarding the true population size, composition, and distribution of the Overseas Chinese community in Oregon.

- Did social and economic networks exist among Overseas Chinese communities to aid individuals in obtaining and keeping work despite adversity?

There is a substantial amount of historical evidence to suggest that many social and economic networks did exist within and between Overseas Chinese communities in northern Oregon. Perhaps the most clearly evident social networks are tongs and family name associations. These associations were organized and often times socially and politically active. Many Overseas Chinese individuals were brought to the United States by the tongs, and relied upon them for work, entertainment, and housing. In the city of Astoria, records reveal a particular tong activities included bringing in workers, and also fighting for the rights of these workers similarly to the advocacy as a labor union (Friday 2010:64). The tongs were often registered organizations and caught the attention of local

newspapers, producing a paper trail of social interaction. Many of the tongs struggled over power and territory, and these struggles escalated into what is known as The Tong Wars (Lee 2018:para.19-21). The Tong Wars were centered in Portland, but the towns of Astoria and The Dalles were also impacted.

Although, only one example of a social organization, the tongs in Oregon demonstrate organized social networks which spanned more than one Oregon community. These networks protected and provided for their members. However, when the risks and drawbacks of these social organizations outweighed the needs of their communities, each was dismantled or reorganized as more peaceful and community minded organizations. A few of these organizations still exist in Oregon to this day and still fight to protect the legal rights of Chinese Americans. In addition, these organizations often times offer school programs in Chinese culture, conduct cultural festivals, and work towards historic preservation and public education.

Research Observations 10.5

Academic researchers at the University of Idaho, Stanford, The University of Montana, The University of Nevada Reno, and the University of Washington have started compiling and rebuilding their local histories to include Overseas Chinese communities, and the experiences of Chinese immigrants (Jolly 2012; Merritt 2010; Voss 2015; Wegars 1993; Wong 2004). However, there has not been a large scale investigation into the Overseas Chinese settlers in Oregon. What is Oregon's history? The history of Overseas Chinese settlers in Oregon is primarily missing from the state's written history and it is missing for a multitude of reasons. One of the main potential reasons for this missing

history, is that it was common for Overseas Chinese settlers not to remain in the United States, but rather to return to China (Tsai 1983). Many of the Chinese American settlements that are present today were established by Chinese immigrants towards the end of the Exclusion Era, leaving few descendants to research and promote their history (Ooligan Press 2007; Wong 2004). Consequently, written histories which include the first Overseas Chinese settlers are rare. Perhaps another reason is that the general public is unaware of the contributions of Overseas Chinese communities in Oregon, and accordingly do not know to endeavor to further discover the history. Finally, state and local universities lack significant funding and time to combat the lack of education regarding Overseas Chinese settlers, and they have not initiated widespread research to document the settlements or to provide public education programs

The European American settlement of the western United States during the mid-1800s has caught the imagination of history buffs for generations. Overseas Chinese laborers and entrepreneurs came to the United States in the early 1800s and 1900s during the great diaspora (Barth 1964). These individuals helped to shape the Western United States yet their presence is frequently stereotyped, marginalized or forgotten entirely. For those of us who are curious about the past, a series of half-truths and omissions left unchallenged, lack solid facts, on which to construct an accurate history. Concepts of the American Dream are directly tied to interpretations and written histories of the past, foreshadowing what it means to all that desire to be an “American”.

I have not given a presentation on the topic of Overseas Chinese settlements in Oregon without receiving multiple questions and comments from the audience. In my experience, the general public has had only a brief exposure to the important role that Chinese Americans played in the settlement of the western United States. While conducting research in Oregon towns I have even come across local residents having no knowledge that they live in an area which was settled by Overseas Chinese communities. Furthermore, audience members are often surprised to discover the existence of, and are stunned by the impact, the Chinese Exclusionary Laws had during the late 1800s and early 1900s.

Sometimes it is not what is said about history that is troubling, but rather the omissions that occur. The trouble with a focus on solely European Americans in Oregon's written history is that it portrays "Americanness as Whiteness" (Saito 1998). The lack of written history suggests that the creative depictions of a "wild west" tamed by sophisticated and civilized whites are accurate. These stories keep us from a true understanding of our past, a past that includes immigrants from various countries and ethnicities. Overseas Chinese communities in the 1800s not only provided labor for railways and mines, but community members were integral to the growth of the fishing industry in the Pacific Northwest and started community organizations that remain active today. Further the Overseas Chinese communities contributed to the establishment of many of the present communities existing in Oregon (Ooligan Press 2007; Wong 2004). Ignoring the rich history of Overseas Chinese communities in Oregon condones the legislative discrimination which occurred during the Chinese Exclusion Act Era (1882-

1943), but also commits the secondary offense of prejudice, by depriving an entire immigrant community of proper recognition in the written history of Western expansion.

This invisible history or gap in knowledge prevents people from learning a more complete history of Western settlement. Oregonians may have no personal aversion to the history of Chinese Americans, but they live within a political system that has a history of inequality and favors dominant Euro-Americans in western concepts (Figure 10.7). For the Chinese American community in Oregon, lack of a written history of contributions made, makes it difficult to preserve landmarks of importance, acknowledge past generations, and gain credit and acceptance as founding members of the western United States (Saito 2009).

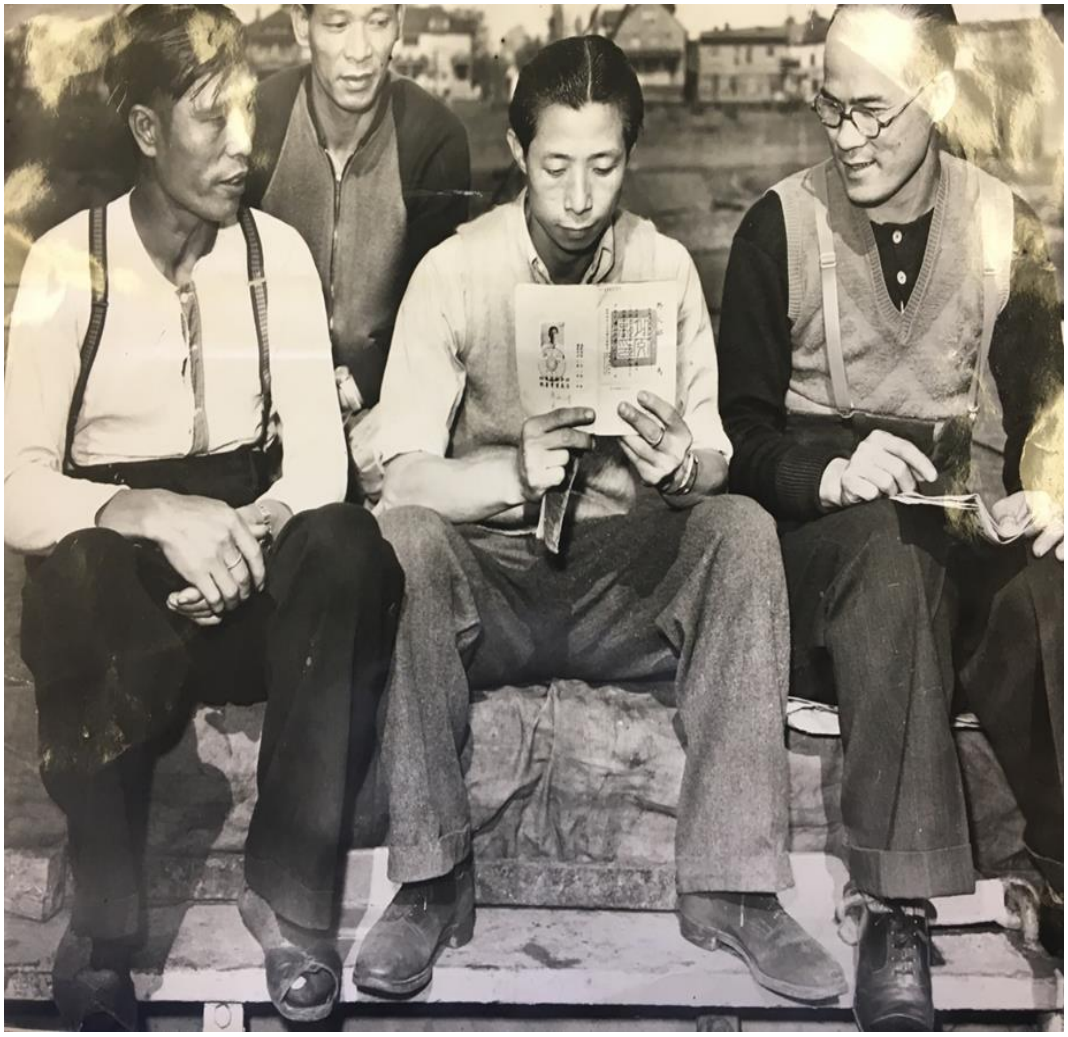


FIGURE 10.7 Chinese Sailors Portland, Oregon 1946, ORHI# 79034. "Sit-Down Yip Lam, center, Chinese crewman on the Dutch motorship Vanderheist, and two deck mates look at Lam's "useless" passport. All of the 46 Chinese aboard the ship are on a sit-down strike after immigration officials banned shore leaves. Men have been aboard the ship since February 28". Oregonian Photo April 15 1946. (Oregon Historical Society, 1946.)

Future Research 10.6

In the field of historical archaeology it is important to have accurate written histories whenever possible. Written history aids in the interpretation of the material record and inaccurate information can impede rather than benefit research. Many of the histories that include Overseas Chinese communities have a tendency to group different ethnic groups together, generalize the demographic composition of the population, and focus purely on the impact that these communities had on European Americans (Barth 1964). In particular there has been a lack of attention paid to the lifeways of Chinese individuals in southeastern China during the late 1800s and early 1900s. It would be beneficial to our historical knowledge to enlist the help of historical archaeologists, who either reside in China or who are experts in Chinese history and language, to further enrich the historical record. Studies into religious practices, food-ways, and material culture would be especially beneficial to the study of Overseas Chinese communities in the United States. Without additional studies in these areas it is virtually impossible to discuss the theoretical concept of acculturation in regards to the Overseas Chinese population in the western United States.

Over the past few years there has been an increase in the effort to document Overseas Chinese communities in Oregon and acknowledge the importance of these communities. Local historical societies and historians have begun preserving and presenting information on Overseas Chinese settlement in Oregon. Recent documentaries have even acknowledged the importance of Overseas Chinese individuals

in the settlement of the Pacific Northwest (Harrington 2010). Nonetheless, written documentation will not provide an entirely accurate picture of what life was like for Overseas Chinese settlers in the State of Oregon. Archeological excavations and studies of material culture are essential to gaining a good understanding of this important period of history. Not only will filling in gaps in knowledge regarding Overseas Chinese occupations provide information about the past, but it will also help researchers gain a more thorough understanding of why immigration laws were created and considered necessary, as well as the impacts that these laws had on the targeted individuals and communities (Figure 10.8).

FIGURE 10.8 Astoria, Oregon, ORHS 23144. (Oregon Historical Society Research Library, n.d.)

References

Ahmad, Diana L.
2007 *The Opium Debate and Chinese Exclusion Laws in the Nineteenth-Century American West.* University of Nevada Press. Reno, NV.

Astoria Land C.
1892 Map of Astoria Oregon. Gallery of Oregon Maps. *The Oregon Historical Society*. Retrieved from, https://oregonhistoryproject.org/media/uploads/bb011928_map_of_Astoria_later_small.jpg

Baxter, R. Scott and Rebecca Allen
2015 The View From Summit Camp. *Historical Archaeology*, edited by Barbara Voss 49(1):34-45.

Barth, Gunther
1964 *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States 1850-1870*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, MA.

Becker, Joseph
1870 Across the Continent. The snow sheds on the Central Pacific Railroad in the Sierra Nevada Mountains. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, Vol. 29, February 6, 1870, p. 346. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chinese_railroad_workers_sierra_nevada.jpg

Berg, Laura (ed.)
2007 *The First Oregonians*, 2nd ed. The Oregon Council for the Humanities. Portland, OR.

Bodde, Derk
1966 *China's Cultural Tradition*. Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. New York, NY.

Bodendorfer, Jam
2015 Oregon Historical Photo: Astoria Fire, #ba008057. Oregon Historical Photo of the Week. *Oregon Public Broadcasting*.

Bourdieu, Pierre
2018 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 3rd ed. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, United Kingdom.

Bronson, Bennet, and Chuimei Ho
2018 Secret Societes: The Beginnings of the chief Secret Societies of California and the Northwest . *Chinese in Northwest America Research Committees*. Retrieved from https://www.cinarc.org/data-1.html#anchor_79

Chace, Paul G. and William S. Evans, Jr.
2015 Celestial Sojourners in the High Sierras: The Ethno-Archaeology of Chinese Railroad Workers (1865-1868). *Historical Archaeology* edited by Barbara Voss 49(1):27-33.

Chan, A.
1870 *Canton Street*. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sheung-mun-tai_street_in_Canton,_A._Chan,_1870.jpg

Chang, Gordan, and Shelley Fisher Fiskin
2015 Fragments of the Past: Archaeology, History, and the Chinese Railroad Workers of North America. *Historical Archaeology* edited by Barbara Voss 49(1):1-3.

Chen, Jack
1980 *The Chinese of America*. Harper & Row Publishers. New York, NY.

Cippolla, Craig N.
2014 Practice Theory in Archaeology. *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology* edited by Claire Smith. Retrieved from http://www.springerreference.com/index/chapterbid/40080

Clatsop County Historical Society
1896 *Looking North Across Bond Street Between 7th and 8th Streets at the Western Half of Astoria's Chinatown.* CCHS image #30324.900. Astoria, OR.
1900 *Wah Sing and his wife Quan Tai are seated, with their children, standing l. to r.: Lillian, Tong, Quan (Joe), Quong, and Helen. Smallest child is Rose. Behind her is Hattie and at right is Edith, ca. 1900. Helen was not in the original photo bur her image was added in later.* CCHS Photo # 139-00S. Astoria, OR.

Coe, Aaron Daniel
2011 *Chinese Merchants and Race Relations in Astoria, Oregon, 1882-1924*. Dissertations and Theses, paper 422. Master's Thesis, Department of History, Portland State University. Portland, Oregon.
2013 "well and favorably known" Deciphering Chinese Merchant Status in the Immigration Office of Astoria, Oregon 1900-1924. *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 114(2):142-173. Oregon Historical Society.

The Dalles Daily Chronicle
1893 *The Chinese Passive*. May 5:3.
1912 *Lee Hong Death*. October 3.

Daderot
2017 Hung Far Low sign, chop suey and cocktails - Old Town Chinatown - Portland, Oregon . Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hung_Far_Low_sign,_chop_suey_and_cocktails_-_Old_Town_Chinatown_-_Portland,_Oregon_-_DSC01202.jpg

Daniels, Roger
1988 *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850*. University of Washington Press. Seattle, WA.

Fagan, John
1993 The Chinese Workers of Warrendale, Oregon, 1876-193. *In Hidden Heritage: Historical Archaeology of the Overseas Chinese*, (Baywood Monographs in Archaeology Series) (375-398). Priscilla Wegars (ed.). Baywood Publishing Company, Inc. Amityville, NY.

Faure, David
2007 Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China. Stanford University Press. Stanford, CA.

Faure, David and Helen Siu (eds.)
1995 *Down to Earth: The Territorial Bond in South China.* Stanford University Press. Stanford, CA.

Felton, David L., Frank Lortie and Peter D. Schulz
1984 *The Chinese Laundry on Second Street: Papers on Archeology at the Woodland Opera House Site*. State of California Department of Park and Recreation: Cultural Resource Management Unit Resource Protection Division, Report No. 24.

Freedman, Maurice
1958 *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China*. London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology No. 18. University of London, The Anthlone Press. New York, NY.

French, David H. and Katherine S. French
1998 *Wasco, Wishram, and Cascades*. In Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 12, Deward E. Walker, Jr., general editor, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

French, Jamie
2016 *Just Beneath the Surface: Analysis of Excavations at 35WS453, The Dalles Chinatown*. Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University. Corvallis, OR.

Friday, Chris
2010 *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942*. Temple University Press. Philadelphia, PA.

Gardner, Albert Dudley
2000 *Two Paths One Destiny: A Comparison of Chinese Households and communities in Alberta, British Columbia, Montana, and Wyoming, 1848-1910*. Dissertation Doctor of Philosophy History. The University of New Mexico. Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Gates, Hill
1996 China's Motor: A Thousand Years of Petty Capitalism. Cornell University Press. Ithaca, NY.

Genthe, Arnold
1900 *Toy Vendor, Chinatown, San Francisco c.1900s, LC-USZ62-68252*. Library of Congress. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Toy_Vendor,_Chinatown,_San_Francisco_(c1900s)_Arnold_Genthe_(RESTORED)_(4079377018).jpg

Giddens, Anthony
1979 *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. University of California Press. Berkeley, CA.

Gleason, Eric
2008 *Site form for 35WS453*. On file, State Historic Preservation Office, Salem, Oregon.

Greenwood, Roberta
1993 Old Approaches and New Directions: Implications for Future Research. In *Hidden Heritage: Historical Archaeology of the Overseas Chinese* (Baywood Monographs in Archaeology Series) (375-398). Wegars, Priscilla (ed.). Baywood Publishing Company. Amityville, NY.

Harington, Beth (prod.)
2010 Kam Wah Chung. *Oregon Experience*. Oregon Public Broadcasting. Retrieved from http://www.opb.org/television/programs/oregonexperience/segment/kam-wah-chung/

Harris, Jennifer (ed.)
2010 5000 Years of Textiles. Smithsonian Books. Washington, DC.

Henkin, Louis
1987 The Constitution of the United States Sovereignty: A Century of "Chinese Exclusion" and Its Progeny. *Harvard Law Review*, 100(4), 853-886.

Hill, Christopher
2017 *What's the matter with saying 'The Orient'? About Japan: a teacher's resource*. Japan Society. Retrieved from http://aboutjapan.japansociety.org/content.cfm/whats_the_matter_with_saying_the_orient

Ho, Winston
2016 The Siyi Region. Researching Chinese American History in New Orleans. *Winston Ho's Research Website*. Retrieved from https://nolachinese.wordpress.com/2016/08/07/the-siyi-region/

Hodder, Ian
1982 Theoretical Archaeology: a Reactionary View. *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*, 1-16. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, UK.

Hsu, Madeline
2000 *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration Between the United States and South China, 1885-1943*. Stanford University Press. Redwood City, CA.

James, Ronald L.
1995 *Ruins of a World: Chinese Gold Mining at the Mon-Tung Site in the Snake River Canyon*. United States Department of the Interior: Bureau of Land Management. Idaho Cultural Resource Series IV.

Jolly, Elyse
2012 *Chinese Gaming in the Nineteenth-Century American West: An Ethnic and Cultural Reassessment*. Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Nevada, Reno.

Jorae, W. R.
2010 The Limits of Dress: Chinese American childhood, fashion, and race in the exclusion era. *Western Historical Quarterly*, *41*(4): 451-471.

Keeney, Violet
2013 Chinatown. *CUMTUX: Clatsop County Historical Society Quarterly* 33(2):20-26.

Klindt, Phillip
2011 *Win-Quatt: A Brief History of the Dalles, Oregon*. Wasco County Historical Museum. The Dalles, OR.

Kunze, Ariane
2014 *Oregon Historical Photo: Portland Chinatown's Dark Secret*. Oregon Public Broadcating. Retrieved from https://www.opb.org/artsandlife/series/historical-photo/oregon-historical-photo-portland-chinatowns-dark-secret/

Lai, Him Mark
2004 *Becoming Chinese American: a history of communities and institutions.* Altamira Press. Walnut Creek, CA.

Lai, Him Mark and Judy Yung, Gordon Chang
2006 *Chinese American Voices: From Gold Rush to the Present*. University of California. Berkeley, CA.

Lau, Estelle T.
2007 *Paper Families: Identity, Immigration, Administration, and Chinese Exclusion.* Duke University Press. Durham, NC.

LaLande, Jeffrey Max
1981 *Sojourners in the Oregon Siskiyous: Adaptation and Acculturation of the Chinese Miners in the Applegate Valley, CA. 1855-1900.* Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University. Corvallis, Oregon.

Lee, Douglas
2018 Chinese Americans in Oregon. The Oregon Encyclopedia. *The Oregon Historical Society*. Retrieved from https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/chinese_americans_in_oregon/#.XKVw3ZhKhPY

Lee, Erica
2003 *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era*. The University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill, NC.

Lockley, Fred
1928 History of the Columbia River Valley from The Dalles to the Sea. Volume 1. S. J. Clarke Publishing Company. Chicago, IL.

Low , Setha M. and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga
2007 *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*. Blackwell Publishing. Malden, MA.

Lu, Alexander
2010 Litigation and Subterfuge: Chinese Immigrant Mobilization During the Chinese Exclusion Era. *Sociological Spectrum*, 30(4), 403-432.

Maggio, Rodolfo
2017 *An Analysis of Pierre Bourdieu's Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Macat Library. Rutledge Press. New York, NY.

Maddoux, Maryanne
2016 *A Game of Silent Irreverence: Passive Resistance in The Dalles, Oregon*. Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University. Corvallis, OR.

Marconeri, Cynthia J.
1993 Chinese-Americans in Astoria, Oregon 1880-1930. *CUMUTUX: Clatsop County Historical Quarterly* 13(3):31-37.

McArthur, Lewis A.
1952 *Oregon Geographic Names*. Binford & Mort Publishers for the Oregon Historical Society. Portland, OR.

McNeal, Wm. H.
1953 *History of Wasco County, Oregon*. Transcript on file, William G. Dick Research Library, The Dalles, OR.

Mead, George R.
1994 *Two Dragon Camp: A Chinese Settlement in the Camp Carson Mining Area, Union County, Oregon*. Heritage Program Report. La Grande Ranger District, Wallowa-Whitman National Forest.

Merritt, Christopher William
2010 *"The Coming Man from Canton": Chinese Experience in Montana (1862-1943*). Doctoral Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Montana.

Meyers Konversations-Lexikon
1890 Pearl River Delta Map. *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*. 9: 474. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=43213

Miles, Steven B.
2006 Expanding the Cantonese Diaspora: Sojourners and Settlers in the West River Basin. *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, 2(2):220-246.

Molenda, John
2015 Moral Discourse and Personhood in Overseas Chinese Contexts. In *Historical Archaeology*, edited by Barbara Voss, 49(1):46-58.

Moulton, Gary E. (ed)
1988a *The Definitive Journals of Lewis & Clark: Through the Rockies to the Cascades*. Volume 5 of the Nebraska edition. University of Nebraska Press. Lincoln, NB.

National Archives
n.d. *Wong Chong. Portland, Oregon*. Immigration Case File #1966. Seattle, WA.
n.d. *Lum Sin Yuen. Portland, Oregon*. Immigration Case File #1928. Seattle, WA.
n.d. *Lee Yip Tai. The Dalles, Oregon*. Immigration Case File #2206. Seattle, WA.

National Park Service
2019 *Portland New Chinatown/Japantown Historic District Portland, Oregon*. U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, DC. Retrieved from https://www.nps.gov/places/portland-new-chinatown-japantown-historic-district.htm

Nicola, Trish Hackett and Sue Fawn Chung
2019 "Chong Wong Chong, Permit to Reenter the United States for Chong Wong Chong, expiring November 1, 1929". *Chinese Exclusion Case Files Blog.* Retrieved from https://chineseexclusionfiles.com/2018/12/21/chong-wong-chong-portland-import-export-merchant/

Nicola, Trish Hackett and Sue Fawn Chung
2019 Chong Wong Chong – Portland Import Export Merchant. *Chinese Exclusion Case Files Blog.* Retrieved from https://chineseexclusionfiles.com/about/

Nokes, Greg
2014 *Black Exclusion Laws in Oregon*. The Oregon Encyclopedia. Oregon Historical Society. Retrieved from https://oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/exclusion_laws/#.WS5L-WjytPY

O'Leary, Zina
2007 *The Social Science Jargon-Buster: The Key Terms You Need to Know*. Sage Publications. Thousand Oaks, CA.

Ooligan Press
2007 Dreams of the West: A History of the Chinese in Oregon 1850-1950. Portland State University. Portland, OR.

Open Street Maps
2016 *Street Map of The Dalles, Oregon*. Retrieved from https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/7/73/The_Dalles_OR_-_OpenStreetMap.png/512px-The_Dalles_OR_-_OpenStreetMap.png

Oregon Blue Book
2017 *Original 1857 Oregon Constitution*. OregonBlueBook.com. Retrieved from, http://bluebook.state.or.us/state/constitution/orig/const.htm

Oregon Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association
2019 *History of CCBA*. Retrieved from https://www.oregonccba.org/about/history-of-ccba/

Oregon Department of Education
2017 *Oregon Racial Laws and Events 1844-1959*. State of Oregon. Retrieved from, http://www.ode.state.or.us/opportunities/grants/saelp/orraciallaws.pdf

Oregon Historical Society Research Library

n.d. *Astoria, Oregon*. ORS Negative Number 23144.

n.d. *Chinese in Oregon*. OHS Negative Number 12594.

n.d *Chinese New Year (Lion) Parade*. OHS Negative Number 58755.

n.d. *Oregon Native Sons*. OHS Negative No. 12612.

1890 *Girls in Chinese Home S.W. 14th and Nell St. Portland, OR August 30, 1890*. ORHI Negative No. 45702.

1890 *Portland's Chinatown at the intersection of 2nd & Washington*. ORHI Negative No. 8356.

1894 *Seid Back, Portland, Leading Chinese Merchant and Capitalist*. The Oregonian Handbook 1894, p.120. ORHI Negative No. 46459.

1901 *American Born Chinese Brigade, Portland Oregon*. ORHI Negative No. 27104.

The Oregonian

1905 *Portland Chinatown 1905. Second street between Stark and Oak streets in Portland, Oregon's Chinatown in 1905.* Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1905_Portland,_Oregon_Chinatown.jpeg

1946 *Chinese Sailors Portland, Oregon 1946.* ORHI Negative No.79034.

Paulson, Sara

2015 *Act to Prohibit the Intermarriage of Races, 1866*. The Oregon History Project. The Oregon Historical Society. Retrieved from, https://oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/act-to-prohibit-the-intermarriage-of-races-1866/#.WT9T0WjytPY

Penner, Liisa

1995 Fishing Town. *American History* 29(6):42-52.

2005 The Chan/Sing Family. *CUMTUX: Clatsop County Historical Society Quarterly* 25(4):2-16.

2013 The Chinese in Clatsop County. *CUMTUX: Clatsop County Historical Society Quarterly* 33(2):29-39.

Peterson-Loomis, Jackie

2016 *6 Portlanders' family stories of exclusion for being Chinese*. OregonLive: The Oregonian. Retrieved from https://www.oregonlive.com/history/2016/02/oregon_chinese_exclusion.html

Polk, Michael
2015 Interpreting Chinese Worker Camps on the Transcontinental Railroad at Promontory Summit, Utah. *Historical Archaeology* 49(1):59-70.

Polk, R.L.
1889 R.L. Polk Company's Portland City Directory. Polk and Company Publishers. Portland, OR. Ancestry.com. Retrieved from https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/2469/40407_1821100517_0966-00000?backurl=&ssrc=&backlabel=Return#?imageId=41199_2221301230_7478-00002
1910 Polk's Wasco, Hood River, and Sherman County Directory. Polk and Company Publishers. Portland, OR. Ancestry.com. Retrieved from https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/2469/40407_1821100517_0966-00000?backurl=&ssrc=&backlabel=Return#?imageId=40407_1821100517_0966-00014

Rains, Kevin
2013 Doing business: Chinese and European socioeconomic relations in Early Cooktown. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 17:520-545.

Reynolds, C.N.
1935 The Chinese Tongs. *American Journal of Sociology* 40(5):612-623.

Rosenberger, Nancy
2014 *Dilemmas of Adulthood: Long-Term Resistance among Japanese Women*. University of Hawaii Press. Honolulu, HI.

Said, Edward
1994 *Orientalism.* Vintage Books. New York, NY.

Saito, Leland
1998 *Race and Politics: Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites in a Los Angeles Suburb.* University of Illinois Press. Champaign, IL.
2009 *The Politics of Exclusion: The Failure of Race-Neutral Policies in Urban America*. Stanford University Press. Redwood City, CA.

Saito, Natsu Taylor
2003 The Enduring Effect of the Chinese Exclusion Cases: The Plenary Justification for On-going Abuses of Human Rights. *Asian American Law Journal*, 10(1), 13-36.

Sanborn Map and Publishing Company (Sandborn)
1888 *Insurance Maps of Astoria, Oregon*. Sandborn Map and Publishing Company, New York. Library of Congress. Retrieved from https://www.loc.gov/resource/g4294am.g4294am_g073191888/?st=gallery
1889 *Insurance Maps of The Dalles, Oregon*. Sanborn Map and Publishing Company, New York. HistorictheDalles.org. Retrieved from http://historicthedalles.org/schoolhouse/research/sanborn-maps/
1889 *Insurance Maps of Portland, Oregon*. Sandborn Map and Publishing Company, New York. Library of Congress. Retrieved from https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn07439_002/

Schwantes, Carlos Arnaldo
1996 *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History*. The University of Nebraska Press. Lincoln, NE.

Simmons, Alexy
1989 *Red Light Ladies: Settlement Patterns and Material Culture on the Mining Frontier*. Anthropology Northwest No.4. Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University. Corvallis, OR.

Siu, Helen and Wing–hoi Chan
2010 Introduction: Gender, Regional Culture, and Women's Positioning. In *Merchants' Daughters: Women, Commerce, and Regional Culture in South China*, edited by Helen Siu, 1-24. Hong Kong Press. Hong Kong, China.

The Smithsonian National Museum of American History
2017 1900 Chinese Woman's Slippers for Bound Feet. Clothes and Heritage: Chinese American clothes in *The Virginia Lee Mead Collection*. Retrieved from http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah_1362083
2017 Mr. Lee behind the counter (in the center) of the Quong Yuen Shing & Co. store, c. 1917. Clothes and heritage: Chinese American clothes in *The Virginia Lee Mead Collection*, Retrieved from http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/object-groups/clothes-and-heritage-chinese-american-clothes-from-the-virginia-lee-mead-collection

Smits, Nicholas and John L. Fagan
2014 *Archaeological Testing and Evaluation of Site 35WS453 for the Proposed Granada Block Redevelopment, The Dalles, Oregon*. Archaeological Investigations Northwest, Inc. Report No. 3191. Prepared for The City of The Dalles, Oregon.

Soennichsen, John
2011 *The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882*. Greenwood. Santa Barbara, CA.

Strobridge, William F.
1994 Chinese in the Spanish-Cuban/American War and the Philippine War. *The War of 1898 and U.S. Interventions 1898-1934: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Benjamin R. Beede. Garland Publishing. New York, NY.

Takaki, Ronald
2008 *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America*. Back Bay Books. New York, NY.

Teske, Raymond H. C. and Bardin H. Nelson
1974 Acculturation and Assimilation: A Clarification. *American Ethnologist* 1(2):351-367.

Tortora, Phyllis G. and Keith Eubank
2010 *Survey of Historic Costume (5th ed.)*. Fairchild Books. New York, NY.

Tsai, Shin-Shan Henry
1983 *Chinese and the Oversees Chinese in the United States, 1868-1911*. University of Arkansas Press. Fayetteville, NC.

Tucker, Kathy
2003 *Chinese Cannery Workers near Astoria, Oregon*. Oregon History Project. The Oregon Historical Society. Retrieved from https://oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/chinese-cannery-workers-near-astoria-oregon/#.XKj4P-hKhPZ

Underwood and Company
1900 *Bridges by Which The Night Police Of The Roofs Cross The Streets, Canton, China.* Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bridges_By_Which_The_Night_Police_Of_The_Roofs_Cross_The_Streets,_Canton,_China_(1900)_Underwood_%26_Co._(RESTORED)_(4075052965).jpg

United States National Archives and Records Administration
1996 *First in the Path of Firemen: The Fate of the 1890 Population Census: Part One*. Prologue: Selected articles, 18(1). Retrieved from https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1996/spring/1890-census-1.html

Voss, Barbara
2015 The Historical Experience of Labor: Archaeological Contributions to Interdisciplinary Research on Chinese Railroad Workers. *Historical Archaeology* 49(1):4-23.

Wang, Amy
2016 *6 Portlanders' family stories of exclusion for being Chinese*. OregonLive. The Oregonian. Retrieved from https://www.oregonlive.com/history/2016/02/oregon_chinese_exclusion.html

Watson, James L.
1975 *Emigration and the Chinese Lineage: The Mans in Hong Kong and London*. University of California Press. Berkley, CA.

Wegars, Priscilla (editor)
1993 *Hidden Heritage: Historical Archaeology of the Overseas Chinese* (Baywood Monographs in Archaeology Series). Baywood Publishing Company. Amityville, NY.

Wernz, Maralee L.
2001 *A Study of Acculturation: ORMU57, Portland's Old Chinatown, ca. 1870-1920.* Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University.

Wikimedia Commons
1849 *Shipping off Canton.* Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Shipping_Off_Canton_RMG_BHC1777.tiff
1874 *Chinese Family including Female Members, a Rare Scene as Strict Confucian Families Did Not Allow Women to be in the Company of Guests or Out of Their Homes. China, 1874-75*. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chinese_Family_including_Female_Members,_a_Rare_Scene_as_Strict_Confucian_Families_Did_Not_Allow_Women_to_be_in_the_Company_of_Guests_or_Out_of_Their_Homes._China,_1874-75_WDL1914.png
1875 *Chinese Family c. 1875*. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chinese_Family_(c1875)_Attribution_Unk_(RESTORED)_(4072832049).jpg
2000 *Chinatown Portland, Oregon*. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chinatown_in_Portland,_Oregon.jpg
2013 *Hip Sing Association Building.* Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hip_Sing_Association_(Portland,_Oregon).jpg
2018 *Columbia River Map*. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_rapids_of_the_Columbia_River#/media/File:Columbiarivermap.png

Wilkinson, Endymion
2015 *Chinese History: A New Manuel (4th ed.).* Harvard University Asia Center. Cambridge, MA.

The Wing Luke Museum of the Asian Pacific American Experience
2017 *Photograph of Goon Dip and family in 1911 standing in front of the Milwaukie Hotel in Seattle, Washington, Object ID: 1991.200.112*. Retrieved from http://db.wingluke.org/document.php?cat=photographs&id=1991.200.112
2017 *Wing Luke Museum Governor Gary Locke Library and Community Heritage Center*. Seattle, WA. Retrieved from, http://db.wingluke.org/

Wolf, Eric R.
2010 *Europe and the People without History*. University of California Press. Berkeley, CA.

Wolf, Margery
1968 *The House of Lim: A Study of a Chinese Farm Family*. Meredith Corporation. New York, NY.

Wong, Marie Rose
2004 *Sweet Cakes, Long Journey: The Chinatowns of Portland, Oregon*. University of Washington Press. Seattle, WA.

Wood, James McI.
1890 *Map of Portland Oregon*. Retrieved from https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/b/b6/Portland_Oregon_in_1890.gif/512px-Portland_Oregon_in_1890.gif

Woodfield, Frank
1922 *1922 Astoria, Oregon Fire*. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1922_Astoria,_Oregon_fire_(1).jpeg

Wunder, John R.
1983 The Chinese and the Courts in the Pacific Northwest: Justice Denied? In *Pacific Historical Review* 52(2): 191-211. University of California Press. Oakland, CA.

Young, Robert
1990 *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*. Routledge. London, England.

Yung, Judy
1999 *Unbound voices: a documentary history of Chinese Women in San Francisco*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Yung, Judy, Gordon H. Chang, and Him Mark Lai
2006 *Chinese American Voices: From the Gold Rush to the Present*. University of California Press. Berkley, CA.

Zhu, Liping
1997 *A Chinaman's Chance: The Chinese on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier*. University Press of Colorado. Niwot, CO.