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ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF 委李架埠 Yreka's Chinese Community





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Sarah C. Heffner *Historical Archaeologist*

Publications in Cultural Heritage Number 36, 2019



Series Editor
Christopher Corey
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Department of Parks and Recreation
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Archaeological Investigations of 委李架埠: Yreka's Chinese Community
By Sarah C. Heffner!
Editorial Advisor, Richard Fitzgerald; Series Editor, Christopher Corey

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Front cover:

Selection of Chinese artifacts in the Yreka Collection. Courtesy of Brian Baer, Department of Parks and Recreation. From background to foreground: 1) Chinese brown glazed stoneware liquor jar or wine bottle; 2) Bamboo bowl; 3) Opium pipe bowl with Chinese characters.

Back cover:

Photograph depicting a young girl in traditional dress during Chinese New Year Celebrations in Yreka, ca. 1900. Photograph use permission courtesy of the Siskiyou County Museum, Yreka, CA.

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Women and Children of Yreka's Chinese Community, circa 1900. Photograph use permission courtesy of the Siskiyou County Museum, Yreka, CA.

PREFACE

We are proud to present the 36th volume in our *Publications in Cultural Heritage* series, *Archaeological Investigations of Yreka's Chinese Community*, composed by Sarah Heffner. This report is the second volume in our series on Chinese archaeological sites, the first being *The Chinese Laundry on Second Street: Papers on the Archaeology at the Woodland Opera House Site* published in 1984. That study and the current volume join what is becoming a growing body of archaeological literature on the Chinese presence in California. As summarized by Stanford Professor Barbara Voss, historical archaeologists were initially sluggish to conduct research at overseas Chinese sites despite the attention Chinese-produced objects were given in non-Chinese contexts. According to Dr. Voss, this began to change in the 1970s, and today it is one of the most rapidly growing subfields in historical archaeology.

Not surprisingly, California is at the forefront of this trend. In the last three decades, several important and diverse Chinese settlements have been studied up and down California. These include San Bernardino (Costello et al. 2008), Los Angeles (Costello 1999; Greenwood 1996), Santa Barbara (Greenwood 1999), San Jose (Allen and Hylkema 2002; Baxter and Allen 2002; Voss 2004; Voss and Allen 2008; and Yu 2001), Oakland (Praetzellis 2004; Praetzellis and Stewart 2001), China Camp in Marin County (Schulz 1984a, 1984b), Sacramento (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1990, 1997), and Walnut Grove (Costello and Maniery 1988).

Significantly, this report represents one of the earliest excavations of a Chinese community in California. In 1969, the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans) was building Interstate 5 (I-5) which runs the length of the state and was slated to pass through the small town of Yreka located in Siskiyou County. Although the old Yreka Chinese neighborhood had long been abandoned, its former location was documented on historical maps and aerials. This knowledge, and the recently passed National Historic Preservation Act, persuaded Caltrans to hire California Department of Beaches and Parks (now California State Parks) to conduct salvage excavations. This was not uncommon in the era before CEQA (California Environmental Quality Act, enacted in 1970) and at a time when State Parks was the only State agency to employ archaeologists. In the spring of 1969, a hardy crew excavated 73 units and 2 trenches and recovered more than 13,000 artifacts. Lacking adequate funding, the collection languished until 1978 when Federal Title II funding allowed for a basic inventory and stabilization and analysis of the collection, which resulted in an unfinished excavation report. Portions of that report were used for a history of the Chinese in Siskiyou County (Watson et al. 1990) and further work was done on the collection by a graduate student at San Francisco State University (Liu 2006).

Fortunately, Sarah Heffner has pulled together the disparate pieces of this 50-year-old project into this single volume and, as such, has added another narrative to the history of the Chinese diaspora in California.

Richard Fitzgerald Editorial Advisor

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS!

First and foremost, I would like to thank Richard Fitzgerald, Senior State Archaeologist, for reaching out to me regarding turning this research into a State Parks Publications in Cultural Heritage volume, and Heather Baron, who did all the document formatting for this report. I also wish to thank Christopher Corey, who is the Series Editor for the Publications in Cultural Heritage for assisting in the editing process. I am indebted to Peter Hanchett, Heather Martin, and Abigail Schmenk for all their time spent helping me with this project. I also wish to thank the Society for California Archaeology for providing me with funding to conduct my research and complete this project through their Orphaned Archaeological Collections Grant and California State Parks for their Cultural Resources Management Program (CRMP) grant. I also extend my thanks to Larry Felton for serving as peer reviewer for this report and helping me with interpreting the field maps and additional archival information from the project. I am grateful to Kimberley Wooten and Russell Adamson, Caltrans Archaeologists, for sending me as-builts, ROW maps, and other historical maps, relevant to the Yreka excavation. Additionally, I would like to thank Eric Ritter, Jeanne Goetz, and Chelsea Rose for sending me comparative data and reports. Special thanks to Claudia East, Yreka Preservation Society, for sending me photographs and a Power Point presentation on Yreka's Chinese community. I also appreciate the wonderful volunteers at the Siskiyou County Museum and Historical Society for assisting me in completing archival research on Yreka's Chinese community. Andrea E. Maniery, Senior Archaeologist at PAR Environmental Services, Inc. generously donated her time to analyzing the lithic materials from the collection and preparing the Prehistoric Artifacts discussion of this report and Appendix F. Huge to thanks to Mary L. Maniery, President of PAR Environmental Services, Inc., for her thorough editing of my draft report and for letting me borrow all of her wonderful sources on Chinese history and archaeology! I am also grateful for Amber Rankin, GIS Specialist and Graphics Designer with PAR Environmental Services, Inc., for creating the map overlays that have aided with understanding building layout. Finally, I would like to thank all of those who have helped and supported me along the way, especially my husband, Jason Neilson.

> Sarah C. Heffner Historical Archaeologist

ABSTRACT

This report presents the results of an excavation of a Chinese community in Yreka conducted nearly 50 years ago by archaeologists with the Department of Beaches and Parks (now, the California Department of Parks and Recreation) working for the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans). The 1969 excavation of Yreka's third Chinatown is one the earliest archaeological investigations of a Chinese community in California and one of the first large-scale historical archaeological salvage projects in the State. While the collection has been cataloged and is currently housed at the State Archaeological Collections and Research Facility in McClellan, California, the report of the project findings has never been finalized. The goal of this report is to share the results of this excavation with the archaeological community and interested members of the public, particularly those who worked on the project from start-to-end and descendants of Yreka's Chinese community.

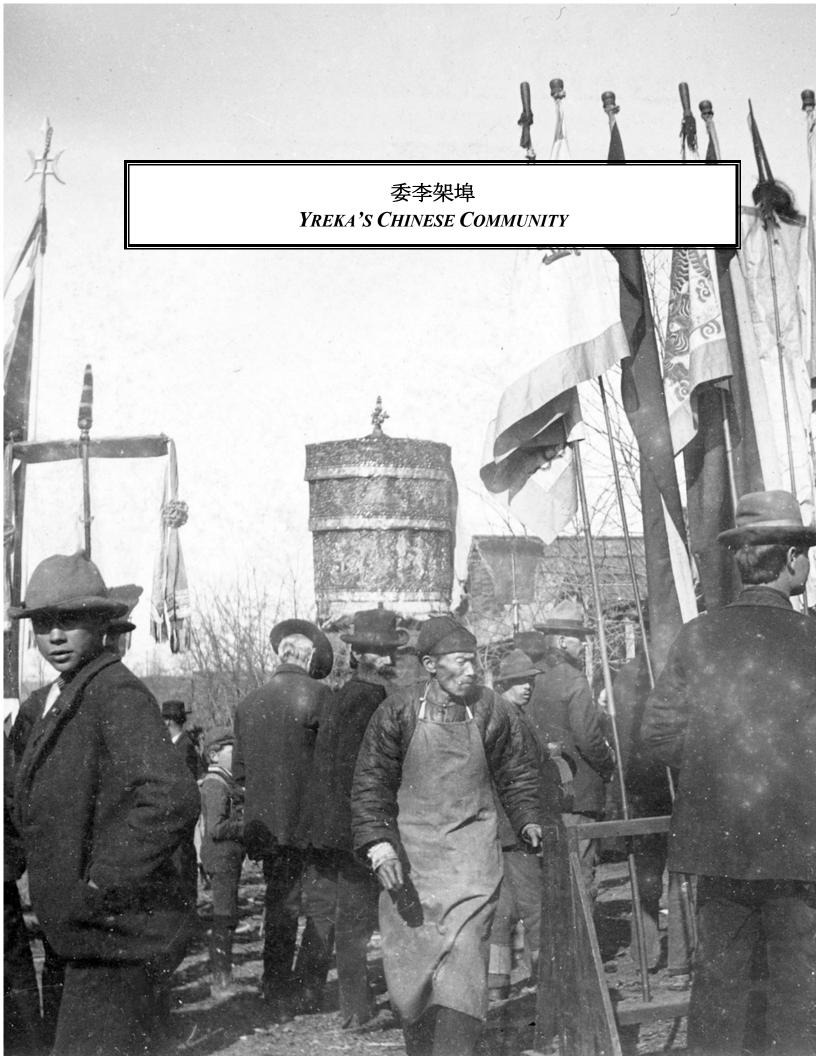


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Photograph Depicting Chinese New Year, circa 1900.

Photograph use permission courtesy of the Siskiyou County Museum, Yreka, CA.

Introduction

In 1969, the construction of Interstate 5 (I-5) through Yreka threatened to destroy the ruins of former Chinese homes and businesses occupied from 1886 through the 1940s. In the Spring of that year, archaeologists with the Department of Beaches and Parks (now, the California Department of Parks and Recreation) working for the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans), conducted a salvage excavation of the former Yreka Chinatown. This was the earliest excavations of a Chinese community in California and represents a very early collaborative effort between State Parks and Caltrans. Archaeologists excavated 73 units and two trenches, recorded nine features, and recovered more than 13,000 artifacts.

Analysis of the Yreka materials begun in 1978, almost a decade following the excavation, when money had become available through Federal Title II funding. A total of 13,194 historical artifacts were analyzed, including numerous entries containing multiple catalog numbers. Distribution of artifact groups (e.g., medicine bottles, stove parts, buttons) by area and feature were plotted on graphs in an attempt to determine activity and use areas. Separate studies on various classes of artifacts such as Chinese and Euro-American ceramics, coins and tokens, buttons, and opium paraphernalia were conducted but were primarily limited to identification and artifact description. Researchers took professional black and white photographs of many of the diagnostic artifacts but did not label the photos or negatives with the corresponding catalog number or publish a photo log.

A draft archeological report was prepared for the Yreka Chinatown project, but it was never finalized and remains incomplete (Helvey and Felton 1979). The existing draft report is 223 pages long and consists of an extensive, 100-page-long historical context (which was later expanded upon and published—see Watson et al. 1990); a section on methods; feature descriptions; brief interpretation of features based on artifact types; and graphs of artifact classes by area and feature. The report is lacking an introduction, discussion of general environmental setting, research design, previous archaeology, comparative studies, and references cited. There are no artifact photos included in the report, and historical maps and photographs of Yreka's Chinatown are blurry and difficult to read.

Introduction 3

In 2006, Danny Liu, a master's student in Anthropology at San Francisco State University, published his thesis on *The Archaeological Collection of Yreka Chinatown*. His thesis provided a good summary of artifacts by function and detailed descriptions of diagnostic artifacts as well as translations of Chinese characters on medicine bottles, opium pipe bowls, and ceramics.

As of date, no attempt has been made to gather all of the various field notes, report drafts, and artifact studies, into one coherent and complete report. The Yreka Collection contains many complete or nearly complete Chinese artifacts and it is an excellent comparative collection of Chinese material culture. Certain artifacts, such as opium pipe repair holes made from European American buttons, are particularly unique to the collection.

The Yreka Chinatown collection is currently housed at the State Archaeological Collections and Research Facility in McClellan, California, which is directed by Senior State Archaeologist Richard Fitzgerald with his staff, Associate State Archaeologist Peter Hanchett and Assistant State Archaeologist Heather Martin. In addition to the collection of artifacts from the Yreka excavations, State Parks also has all the documents associated with the original excavation and later research efforts including site photos, site records and notes, lab forms, and maps showing distribution of artifacts.

ENVIRONMENT

Yreka is located in the far northern edge of the State, just 22 miles south of the Oregon border and is the county seat of Siskiyou County (Figure 1). It is nestled between the Klamath Mountains to the north and south on the west and Shasta Valley on the east. The site of Yreka's Chinatown is currently dissected by the I-5 exit ramp onto West Center Street in Yreka. It is bordered by West Center Street/Oregon Boulevard to the North, vacant land to the South, South Foothill Drive to the East, and I-5 to the West (Figure 2). A railroad depot, tracks, and rail cars associated with the Yreka Railroad (later, the Yreka Western Railroad) are located east of Chinatown on the eastern side of South Foothill Drive. The nearest source of water is Yreka Creek, located 250 feet to the west. Yreka's Chinatown sat at the base of Butcher Hill, which has an elevation of approximately 3,156 feet.

PREHISTORY

Yreka is located within the lower portion of the Klamath Basin, a vast network of mountains, forests, wetlands, lakes, and rivers, which spans the Oregon/California border and encompasses 16,400 square miles (Oregon History Project 2018; Figure 3). The Klamath Basin includes several prominent lakes and marshes including Agency Lake, Klamath Marsh, Upper and Lower Klamath Lakes, Rhett (or Tule) Lake, Clear (or Wright) Lake, Goose Lake, Albert Lake, and many others. Major rivers that cross through the Basin are the Williamson, Sprague, Klamath, Link, Sycan, and Wood Rivers (North State Resources, Inc. [NSR] 2011:3).

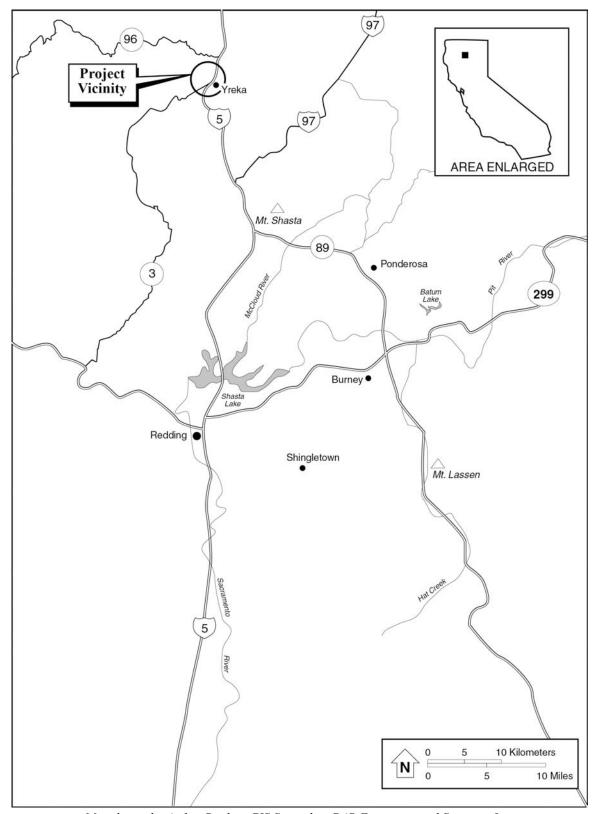
The prehistory of the Klamath Basin can be divided into four major periods (NSR 2011):

- Paleoarchaic (12,000 to 7000 BP)
- Early Archaic (7000 to 4500 BP)
- Middle Archaic (4500 to 2500 BP)
- Late Archaic/Late Prehistoric (2500 to 200 BP)

The main characteristics of each of these four periods is discussed below.

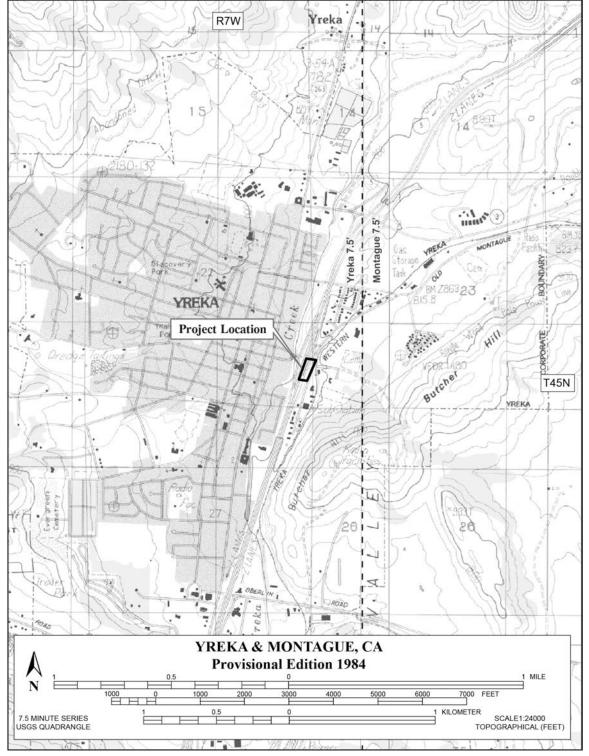
Paleoarchaic (12,000 to 7000 BP)

At this time, the Klamath Basin was occupied by hunter-gatherers with a diverse subsistence economy geared towards large game mammals



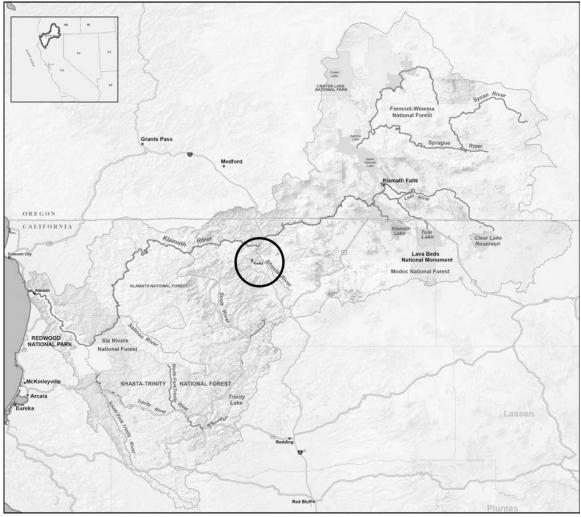
Map drawn by Amber Rankin, GIS Specialist, PAR Environmental Services, Inc.

Figure 1. Project Vicinity Map.



Map drawn by Amber Rankin, GIS Specialist, PAR Environmental Services, Inc.

Figure 2. Project Location Map.



Map drawn by Amber Rankin, GIS Specialist, PAR Environmental Services, Inc.

Figure 3. Klamath Basin.

and supplemented by fish, birds, and plants. These individuals practiced high seasonal and annual mobility, had low population densities, and utilized a diverse toolkit. Tools included Great Basin Stemmed projectile points, large bifacial knives, gravers, scrapers and, in rare cases, handstones and millingslabs (King et al. 2016:34). The oldest identified site in the Klamath Basin is the Fort Rock Cave site, excavated by Luther Cressman in 1938 (Cressman and Williams 1940; Cressman 1956). Cressman and his crew uncovered several pairs of flat twined sandals under a layer of volcanic ash. Radiocarbon dating of these sandals produced an age of more than 9000 calibrated (cal) years BP. Additional work by Cressman and his graduate student, Stephen Bedwell, at Fort Rock Cave from 1966 to 1967 uncovered additional sandals and a set of tools, including a handheld grinding stone, chipped stone scrapers, and a stemmed projectile point, associated with a small hearth that had a radiocarbon age of more than 15,000 years BP (Bedwell 1970; PSU and OHS 2018). Paisley Caves, located to the southeast of Fort Rock, was also excavated by Cressman and yielded dates between 14,500 and 14,100 calibrated (cal) BP (King et al. 2016:72).

More recent work by Jenkins and colleagues at Paisley Caves confirmed the presence of human DNA in coprolites dating to pre-Clovis Age (Jenkins et al. 2012). Radiocarbon assays from 190 samples of artifacts, coprolites, bones, and sagebrush twigs that were removed from layers of silt in the cave and "blind tested" in independent labs provide evidence that Western stemmed projectile points were present at least 13,200 calendar years before present (ybp), possibly before the Clovis period (Science Daily 2012). Jenkins suggests that the Clovis culture may have developed in the southeastern United States and moved west, while the Western Stemmed tradition began, perhaps earlier, in the western United States and moved east (Science Daily 2012). This indicates that Western Stemmed points found in the northern Great Basin of Oregon and in other areas of the western United States are at least the same age as Clovis and that the two traditions co-existed for several hundred years before overlapping.

Early Archaic (7000 to 4500 BP)

Most of the archaeological evidence for early human occupation within the Klamath Basin comes from the Early Archaic Period. This period is characterized by the use of semi-subterranean house structures, greater investment in milling gear, and a general elaboration of other flaked stone and bone implements (King et al. 2016:37). It has been argued that the eruption of Mt. Mazama around 7000 BP pushed peoples to the south and into northeastern California (King et al. 2016:37). According to Mack, these prehistoric peoples were most likely hunter-gatherers who utilized the river terraces on a more-than seasonal basis and practiced a generalized subsistence pattern" (Mack 1989, quoted in Hamusek et al. 1997:19).

The Early Archaic can be divided into two distinct phases: Secret Spring Phase (7500 to 6500 BP) and Basin Phase (6500 to 4500 BP). The Secret Spring Phase is characterized by the use of large stemmed or lanceolate projectile points, knives, gravers, scrapers, and some cobble and ground stone tools, including abraders or grinding slabs (NSR 2011:34). Secret Spring is named after an assemblage of generalized bone tools and unifacial flaked tools discovered in Stratum I of 35KL21, the Klamath Shoal Midden site (Hamusek et al. 1997:19).

The Basin Phase is distinguished by the use of large-sized projectile points such as Humboldt Concave Base, McKee Uniface, and Northern Side-Notched and the abandonment of Great Basin Stemmed points (Baumhoff 1985; Hamusek et al. 1997:19; Heizer and Clewlow 1968; Holmer 1980; Justice 2002; King et al. 2016:37). Stone bowls, mullers, mortars, and bone tools are also in use during this time period. Excavation of burials from this Phase indicate that individuals were buried in a supine (face up) position.

Middle Archaic (4500 to 2500 BP)

This period is marked by a shift toward sedentary life and is often seen as a cultural florescence or "golden age" across much of the Great Basin and California (King et al. 2016:38). This shift is particularly evident at Nightfire Island, where centralized villages were established along the shores of Lower Klamath Lake, about 4,000 years ago. In 1966, Leroy Johnson first reported on the excavations here; subsequent analyses by Sampson (1941) and Hughes (1983) have resulted in 15 identifiable strata which span a time range of 5500 BC to AD 1360 (Hughes 1983:121, cited in Hamusek et al. 1997:17).

At Nightfire Island, complex assemblages of flaked stone, ground stone, and bone implements (bone and antler chisels and wedges, and harpoon barbs) were identified (King et al. 2016:38). The presence of harpoon barbs implies a greater emphasis on fishing.

Archaeological assemblages from this period are greater in number and more complex than those from the Basin Phase. There was an increase in the exploitation of riverine and marsh environments as indicated by the presence of milling stones, pestles, and harpoon barbs at sites. During the Middle Archaic Period, there was an increase in true settlement hierarchies and a greater use of large, semi-sedentary base camps.

The Middle Archaic Period includes the River Phase (4500 to 2500 BP) of which the Nightfire Island assemblages are part of. In addition to bone and stone tools similar to those found at Nightfire Island, River Phase artifacts also include broad-necked corner-notched and side-notched projectile points (Class 28, Elko series, Gold Hill Leaf, Siskiyou Side-Notched; NSR 2011:35).

At Gatecliff Shelter (26NY301) in the Toquima Range of central Nevada, a site occupied from 5500 BP to post-3200 BP, archaeologists documented more than 400 typable projectile points, including Desert series, Rosegate series, Elko series, and Gatecliff series, that allowed for a refinement of the chronology of the Central Basin area (Thomas et al. 1983:10). Also recorded were 400 incised stones, metates, handstones, and mortar fragments; worked turquoise, a shaft smoother, and basketry fragments. During the Middle Archaic Period, human internments shift from a supine to a flexed position.

Late Archaic/Late Prehistoric (2500 to 100 BP)

The Late Archaic/Late Prehistoric Period is marked by the introduction of bow-and-arrow technology, ceramic figurines and Siskiyou Utility Ware vessels, mammal bone beads, *Olivella* shell beads, and bone tools. Siskiyou Utility Ware is a low-fired, hand-modeled brownware that Mack described "as a horizon marker of the Late Prehistoric period for the Cascade Ranges of northern California and southern Oregon" (2013:11). Vessels of this ware type have been identified at several pre-contact sites within the upper or middle drainages of the Rogue, Klamath, and Pit rivers and have been found in association with other ceramic objects, Tuluwat barbed (formerly Gunther; Rouvier 2007) points, and pit house villages (Mack 2013:11).

During the Late Archaic/Late Prehistoric Period, occupation of pithouse villages is year-round. These villages tended to be located on river terraces or knolls, ridges, or terraces adjacent to major streams (Hamusek et al. 1997; Mack 1989). Subsistence becomes more focused on riverine resources while the uplands had small task-specific camps associated with hunting and gathering. Burial practices shift from being in a flexed position to cremation and the inclusion of burial goods (e.g., mammal bone beads, elk antler spoons; NSR 2011:35). At Nightfire Island, marine shell beads and shell ornaments become more abundant, suggesting the establishment of regular commerce up the Klamath and Rogue River corridors (Nilsson et al. 1996).

The Late Archaic/Late Prehistoric includes the Canyon Phase, which Mack divides into three subphases: Canyon I (2200 to 1050 BP); Canyon II (1050 to 450 BP); and Canyon III (450 to 100 BP; Mack 1989:21). Tuluwat (Gunther points) characterize all three subphases, while Rose Springs and Desert Side-Notched projectile points appear in the later subphases. During the Canyon Phase, mullers associated with wocus (lily) processing first appear in the Upper Klamath. Around 1700 cal. BP, bow-and-arrow technology, represented by the Tuluwat series (formerly Gunther; Rouvier 2007) is introduced into the Upper Klamath River Canyon (Clewett and Sundahl 1983; King et al. 2016:38). Artifacts linked to the Canyon I

subphase in Shasta Valley include unifacial and bifacial manos, unifacial metates, end scrapers, and side scrapers; however, bowl mortars and pestles are notably absent.

In the Canyon II subphase, ethnic differences appear to emerge, with upriver sites (likely Klamath/Modoc) containing unifacial shouldered mullers, T-shaped drills, and house pits with benches and storage pits in the floors. Sites further downriver (likely Shastan) and those within Shasta Valley have multi-floored houses, ceramic figurines, and pottery fragments (Siskiyou Utility Ware), and a higher frequency of Tuluwat Barbed relative to Rose Springs projectile points (King et al. 2016:39). Siskiyou Utility ware is more widespread in Canyon II, although it appears to decline in Canyon III (Hamusek et al. 1997:20). Excavations at the Iron Gate site (CA-SIS-332), a late prehistoric site on the Klamath River just south of the Oregon border, resulted in the reconstruction of conical-bark covered pit-houses, which were atypical of the ethnographic Shasta traits observed along this area of the Klamath River. In his report of the excavations, Leonhardy argued that the Iron Gate site represents a culture that is transitional between central California and the Klamath Lake/Columbia Plateau regions, as suggested by the bark-covered pit houses and the use of hopper mortars (1967:40).

Towards the end of the Late Prehistoric Period/Canyon III subphase, Shasta groups first encountered Europeans and Euro-Americans as fur trappers passed through their territories. Evidence of this early Native-non-Native interaction includes glass trade beads and iron artifacts. When gold was discovered along the Klamath River in 1850, Shasta groups were pushed off their ancestral fishing and hunting grounds by miners and subsequent settlers. Increased settlement around the Klamath River, and the growth of towns like Yreka (which had a population of 10,000 by 1853), further impacted Native American populations already decimated by European-introduced diseases.

ETHNOGRAPHY

Yreka is located within the ethnographic territory of the Shasta Indians. The Shastan language family is part of the Hokan phylum of languages and includes the *Shasta* and *Konomihu*, likely spoken in the central and western parts of Siskiyou County, and the *Okwanuchu*, spoken at the headwaters of the Sacramento River (Bright 1954; Dixon and Kroeber 1913; King et al. 2016:93; Olmstead 1956; Silver 1978:211). The ancestral territory of the Shasta is located around four natural drainages of about equal size, in the Rogue, Klamath, Yreka, and Scott River Valleys (King et al. 2016:93-94; Kroeber 1925:286). Merriam reportedly documented 137 Shasta villages in the Klamath, Yreka, and Scott Valleys, the names and locations of which he had verified through the use of Native informants (Heizer and Hester 1970:119).

The Shastas' homeland was mountainous and forested, with the exception of Shasta and Scott valleys. They practiced a seasonal transhumance subsistence strategy, involving moving from one ecological zone to another on a seasonal rotation, with base camps being established among or adjacent to the desired resource. During the winter months, permanent villages were located along riverbanks and the edges of valleys where streams flowed down from the mountains. In the springtime, the Shasta moved to seasonal huts along the rivers' edge for intense fishing during the salmon run. Fishing spots were often privately owned. In addition to salmon, trout, suckers, eels, crayfish, turtles, and freshwater mussels were also taken. A variety of implements were used to capture these riverine resources including nets, spears, arrows, weirs, and hook and line (Dixon 1907). Young boys dived for freshwater mussels.

Hunting occurred during the spring and summer months, and included deer, bear, and small mammals and fowl. A variety of wild plants and berries were also gathered including wild currants, wild grapes, chokecherries, blackberries, elderberries, serviceberries, thimbleberries, and roots such as epos, redbells, brodiaea, and tiger lily bulbs. Shelter during the spring and summer months consisted of simple brush shelters. Fall was a time for processing salmon and gathering acorns from black oak, white oak, and canyon live oak.

Peoples resided in single-family bark houses that were built facing the water and located within oak groves (Hamusek et al. 1997:30-31; King et al. 2016:93-95; Silver 1978:211-216). Larger villages also had sweat houses for the men and menstrual huts for the women (Dixon 1907).

Tools used by the Shasta included cylindrical pestles, hopper mortars, manos and metates for processing plants and roots; sinew-backed wooden bows for hunting game and shooting fish; and scrapers, awls, wedges, arrow shafts, and salmon gigs made from bone and antler (Hamusek et al. 1997:30-31).

The Shasta traded primarily with the Karok, Hupa, Achumawi, and Yurok, for whom they received acorns, baskets, dentalia, haliotis, and other shells in exchange for pine nuts, obsidian blades, juniper beads, and Wintu beads (Silver 1978:213). Items of wealth included clamshell disk beads, dentalia, *Olivella* beads, abalone ornaments, deer skins, and woodpecker scalps (King et al. 2016:95).

Shasta society was organized bilaterally with a patrilineal bias. Some small villages consisted of a single extended family, though most were multi-family communities. These were further organized into larger divisions, similar to Kroeber's tribelets. The main divisions of the Shasta in California were in Shasta Valley, Scott Valley, and in the Klamath River area, from Scott River to Hornbrook (King et al. 2016:95). The ethnographic village of *Kusta* was located just above Yreka (Silver 1978:211). Each village had a tribal headman who helped maintain the peace and look after the wellbeing of the villagers. Disputes were settled with payment unless a dispute was between immediate family members (Silver 1978:214). Shasta buried their dead; only people who died far from home were cremated and their remains brought back home to their home village for burial (King et al. 2016:95).

HISTORY

Early Growth of Siskiyou County

Early Explorers and Trails

One of the first Euro-Americans to venture into Siskiyou County and surrounding areas was Canadian trapper Peter Skene Ogden and his fur trading "brigade," who explored Mount Shasta, the Klamath and Rogue rivers, and made the first crossing of the strategic Siskiyou Pass, which links Oregon and California from 1826 to 1827 (LaLande 2018a; Rose and Johnson 2016:10). During the 1840s, the Central California-Oregon Trail crossed through Shasta Valley and by the 1850s it had become a well-established wagon road (Hamusek et al. 1997:33). In the late 1840s, Lindsay Applegate led a train of six wagons across the Siskiyous and down the Shasta Valley, using pre-existing Native American and fur trade pack trails (Rock circa 1990) The Applegate Trail, as it was later called, provided the first regular crossing of the Klamath River near the mouth of Spencer Creek for emigrants coming from the Missouri River (Hamusek et al. 1997:33). The road was used to transport people, goods, and services to

and from the gold fields. The Yreka Trail was established in 1851 from a branch of the Applegate Trail. It measured 73 miles in length and was in use for more than ten or 12 years (Hamusek et al. 1997:37; Figure 4). It was abandoned in favor of new, shorter routes that bypassed the areas around Tule Lake that were frequented by Modoc raiding parties (Hamusek et al. 1997:35).

Gold Mining

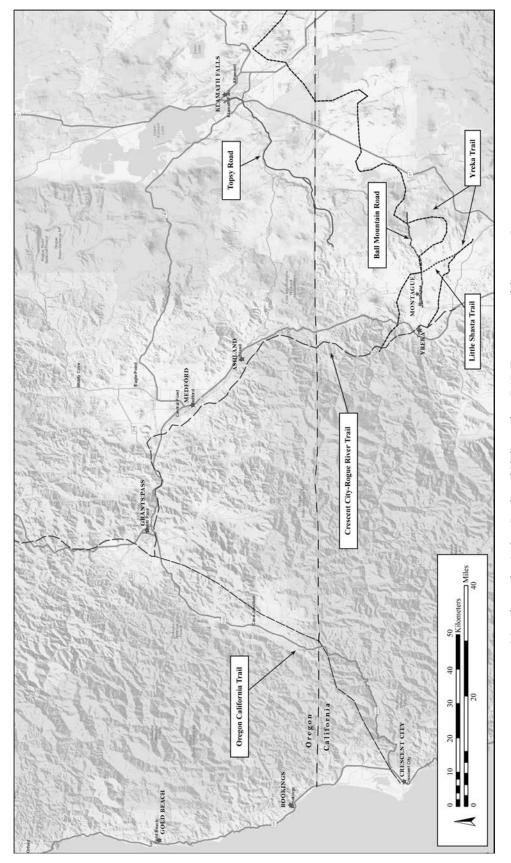
The isolation of Siskiyou County discouraged many early settlers but some, including Lindsay Applegate and other members of his party, began prospecting along the headwaters of the Scott River (Rock circa 1990). Numerous small mining expeditions followed, and mining camps sprung up where deposits of gold were discovered at the Forks of the Salmon, Klamath River near Happy Camp, Yreka and Greenhorn Creeks, and numerous other creeks and tributaries in the Klamath Basin. By the early 1850s, there were thriving camps at the Forks of the Salmon, Bestville, and Scott's Bar. One of the earliest placer mining camps in Siskiyou County was Oro Fino, located in the Scott Valley, where upwards of five hundred men worked in the mines (Ogden 1897:203).

In the Spring of 1851, Abraham Thompson discovered coarse gold in a ravine located near the present city of Yreka. Named "Thompson's Dry Diggings" due to the scarcity of water for placer mining of the alluvial deposits, Thompson's discovery drew nearly 2,000 miners to the area in less than two weeks (LaLande et al. 2015:13; Rock circa 1990; Figure 5). The growth of Thompson's Dry Diggings led to the development of the mining camp of Shasta Butte City, that was later renamed Yreka (LaLande et al. 2015:13).

Development of Yreka

In 1851, Shasta Butte City had approximately 300 dwellings with 1,000 inhabitants (Rock circa 1990). The town expanded rapidly as more and more miners were drawn to the area. By 1852, Shasta Butte City had an estimated population of 10,000 individuals (King et al. 2016:40). Early buildings constructed in the town were hastily thrown together from brush, wood, and canvas, and there was little sense of permanence (Watson 1978:8). Early settlers to this mining boomtown were not interested in staying long; their goal was to make lots of money in the gold fields and then leave. The town suffered several fires in these early years due in part to the flimsiness of these early structures.

The rapid growth of Shasta Butte City and surrounding mining towns/camps such as Humbug, Hawkinsville, Hamburg, Cottonwood, Happy Camp, and Deadwood, helped lead to the creation of Siskiyou County on March 22, 1852 (Watson 1978:9). Shasta Butte City was also renamed to Yreka, after a Shasta word meaning "north mountain" or "white mountain," a reference to nearby Mt. Shasta (City of Yreka 2018). The city of Yreka was incorporated on April 21, 1857 and a brick courthouse was constructed (East et al. 2007:7). The newly named city of Yreka began to take on an air of more permanence, and by the 1860s Main Street was lined with two and three-story buildings to either side (Rock circa 1990). Yreka was "emerging as a prosperous county capital rich in acreage, crops, and livestock, with 7,950 acres under cultivation in the county" (Watson 1978:22). The 1860 federal census lists several individuals employed as farmers, farm laborers, and stock raisers (US Bureau of the Census 1860).



Map drawn by Amber Rankin, GIS Specialist, PAR Environmental Services, Inc.

Figure 4. Trails of Northern California.



Photograph use permission courtesy of the Siskiyou County Museum, Yreka, CA.

Figure 5. Thompson Dry Diggings, circa 1851.

Despite this growth, the city experienced an economic slump in 1868, as many individuals abandoned mining and left the area (Watson 1978:38). Yreka's population numbered around 1,830 individuals, a significant decrease from the boomtown years (US Bureau of the Census 1870). A tragic fire swept through the town on July 4, 1871 and was apparently caused by two boys playing with fireworks on the back porch of a Chinese laundry (*Yreka Journal*, July 12, 1871). The fire burned everything on Second Street and Main, except the Catholic School and the Courthouse.

In 1871, a 105-mile-long wagon road was constructed to connect Yreka to Fort Klamath. Known as "Topsy Road," it was the primary freight route through the region for three decades (King et al. 2016:155). Yet another fire struck Yreka in 1886 when a fire started on Main Street near the center of the block and burned buildings located along Miner Street to Lane Street and from Center Street to Yreka Creek. This included the Chinese community, J.B. Russell Marble Works, an undertaker's parlor, Martin's Paint Store, and other buildings (Watson 1978:68-69). In 1889, the Yreka Western Railroad first began services between Yreka and Montague, charging 50 cents for one-way trip and 75 cents for a round trip (East et al. 2007:13). Yreka gained electricity in 1891 when James Quinns' electric light plant at Shasta River Canyon below the mouth of Yreka Creek, brought power to the town (Kramer 2003:14). It became known as the Yreka Electric Light Works. By 1904, the population had grown to approximately 2,000 individuals (Watson et al. 1990:46).

The Pacific Highway opened in 1913 (later rebuilt in sections and renamed Highway 99), with the center of town being part of the main route (East 2011). In the 1920s, the city constructed a fairground at the current site of the Siskiyou County Golden Fair (East 2008). Main Street was widened in 1934, by a full twenty feet to allow for the increase in traffic as

the street was serving at State Highway 99 (East 2012). In 1941, the State of Jefferson Movement was formed by residents of northern-most California and southwestern Oregon who felt that their needs were not being properly met by the state governments in Sacramento and Salem. The movement was led by railroad speculator Gilbert Gable, mayor of Port Orford and Randolph Collier, the California state senator for Siskiyou County. Yreka was proposed as the capital of the State of Jefferson and the region "receded" every Thursday and armed men blocked the highway, stopping travelers and giving them copies of the "Proclamation of Independence" (East et al. 2007:118; LaLande 2018b). Prior to the construction of I-5 in the 1960s, all traffic passed through town on Highway 99; however, the new Interstate bypassed the town.

Chinese in Siskiyou County

Some of the first Chinese to enter Siskiyou County worked on placer mining claims that had already been picked over by Anglo-Europeans. Others were employed as part-time cooks or washers for non-Chinese miners. In 1860, the Chinese population in Siskiyou County was approximately 400 individuals (Northern California Resource Center 2013:13). By the mid-1860s, most of the easily accessible gold had run out, and the Chinese had largely replaced Anglo-European miners who had abandoned their claims to seek gold elsewhere. The construction of the Central Pacific Railroad (1863-1869) drew many Chinese away from the mines until the Central Pacific Railroad Bed was finished about 30 miles north of Yreka near Ashland, Oregon (Jones 1986:33). Many returned to mining, as jobs in agriculture or manufacturing were not available to them in rural Siskiyou County, and "the exhaustion of easy surface gold deposits dissuaded white mining operations" (Jones 1986:33).

Chinese were also employed digging and maintaining ditches for mining companies. In 1853, a group of local entrepreneurs called the Yreka Water Company extended their ditch northward from the Upper Shasta River, reaching Yreka in 1856 (LaLande et al. 2015:13). They hired approximately 260 men to do the work. Though Chinese did not participate in digging the ditch, they were involved in maintaining the ditch after it was completed. By 1880, the ditch had reached its terminus at Hawkinsville, a gold mining community located three miles north of Yreka and was a total of 95 miles in length (LaLande et al. 2015:13).

By 1870, the Chinese population in Siskiyou County had reached 1,441; by 1880 it had grown to 1,568; and by 1890 it began to decline with 1,151 Chinese listed in the census and only 790 by 1900 (Northern California Resource Center 2013:13).

Chinese in Yreka – Population Growth and Occupations

The May 14,1853, issue of the *Shasta Courier* reported on the arrival of 35 Chinese individuals to Yreka, an event that apparently "threw the good people of that place into quite a ferment" (*Shasta Courier*, May 14, 1853) as they were the first Chinese individuals to arrive in the area and their appearance caused quite a bit of excitement (Jones 1986:33). By 1860, there were 320 Chinese people listed in the federal census as living in Yreka (US Bureau of the Census 1860). Of these Chinese individuals, most did not have their names recorded by census takers and were simply listed in the records as either "China Woman," "John Chinaman," or "China Chinaman". Most were listed as miners, but there were also cooks, domestic servants, merchants, day laborers, clothes washers, a clerk, doctors, and an expressman (Table 1). An expressman was someone who collected and delivered articles of goods for an express company (such as the railroad, or wagon company; Ancestry.com 2004).

Table 1. Chinese Population in Yreka, 1860, with Occupations.

OCCUPATION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Domestic Servant	10	51	15
Day Laborer	7	0	7
Miner	221 ²	0	221
Cook	22	0	22
Merchant	3	0	3
Expressman	1	0	1
Unknown/Not Recorded	1	29	30
Clothes Washers	12	2	14
Doctor	3	0	3
Clerk	1	0	1
Subtotal	281	36	317
Children ³	0	3	3
Total	281	39	320

Notes: ¹ Includes three girls (16-17 years old); ² Includes 10 boys (14-17, one six-year old); ³ Excludes children already counted in "occupation" column. Children are assumed to be any individual younger than 18.

There were 36 Chinese women living in Yreka at this time, five of whom were listed as domestic servants, two as clothes washers, and the remaining 29 were not recorded as having any occupation.

The first area settled by the Chinese in Yreka was located on the south side of the 500 block of West Miner Street (Figure 6). Most moved from that location in 1868 to a stretch of Main Street located between Center and Miner streets. At this time, Chinese homes and businesses were not segregated from the rest of the community. In 1870, there were 327 Chinese persons enumerated in the census for Yreka. As in 1860, most of the Chinese who lived in Yreka were miners (Table 2). The second most prominent occupation listed in the 1870 census was gambler, followed by cook, washing and ironing, store clerks, farm laborer, and clothes washer (US Bureau of the Census 1870; Table 2). Female occupations included "keeping house" and "prostitute." One woman, whose name is not given, is listed as being a gambler.

Prominent Chinese merchants listed in the 1870 census include Gan San Lung, age 60, who had an estimated value of \$10,000 and ran a gambling and prostitution establishment; merchant Yun Kee, 35, worth \$6,000; and Ack Sui, who ran the Chinese Hotel (Watson et al. 1990:89). An essay from the 1930s, stated that Chinese businesses in the 1860s and 1870s were "well patronized not only for their specialties of tea, nuts, candied ginger and other confections, their shrimp, herring or dried vegetables, but largely because of their gambling dens where many miners who made their gold easily were willing to stake it at Fan Tan" (Anonymous 1930s).

Table 2. Chinese Population in Yreka, 1870, with Occupations.

OCCUPATION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Miner	2271	0	227
Merchant	6	0	6
Gambling House Owner	1	0	1
Gambler	18	1	19
Restaurant Worker	2	0	2
Tailor	1	0	1
Store Clerks	4	0	4
Keeping House	1	10	11
Butcher	2	0	2
Cook	172	0	17
Domestic Servant	2	0	2
Washing and Ironing	8	0	8
Laborer	2	0	2
Prostitute	0	8^3	8
Farm Laborer	4	0	4
Unknown/Not Recorded	1	0	1
Dish Washer	3	0	3
Clothes Washer	4	0	4
Subtotal	303	19	322
Children ⁴	2	3	5
Total	305	22	327

Notes: ¹ Includes 16 boys (13-17 years old); ² Includes three boys (13, 16, 17 years old); ³ Includes one girl (16 years old); ⁴ Excludes children already counted in "occupation" column. Children are assumed to be any individual younger than 18.

Chinese miners exchanged their gold dust at the bank for coin and would take the coin to a Chinese merchant who would look after the money. The Chinese owned and operated a large placer mine on the flats behind what is currently the location of the Yreka High School, on Preece Way. The mine was run by the Bing Tong Company and was very successful, operating from about 1884 to 1894/1895 (Herzog 1953:13). Deposits from this mine averaged \$100,000 per year (Anonymous 1930s).

The 1871 fire destroyed several of these Chinese businesses and houses. Stated losses included two houses of a Chinese and African American barber, \$300.00; Chinese dwellings, \$2,400; Yun Kee, \$10,000; Hong Fook (merchant), \$5,000; Yang Sang Sing, \$5,000; and the China Hotel, \$1,000 (*Yreka Journal*, July 12, 1871). Following the fire, the Chinese quickly rebuilt (Figure 7). A Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from 1885 depicts a row of six wood-framed Chinese "shanties" west of Main Street and one brick and stone "W. HO." (likely, wash house),

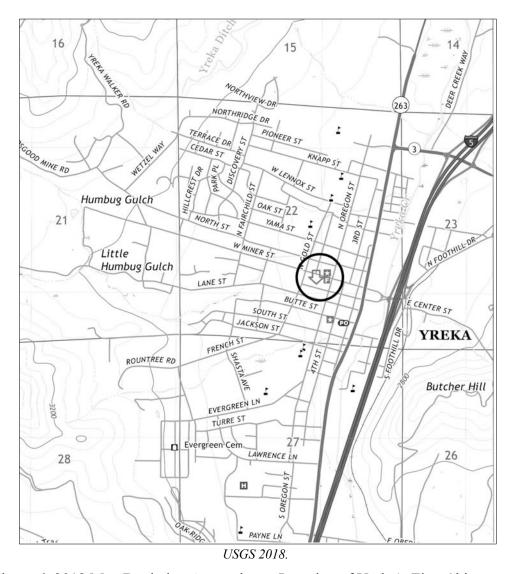
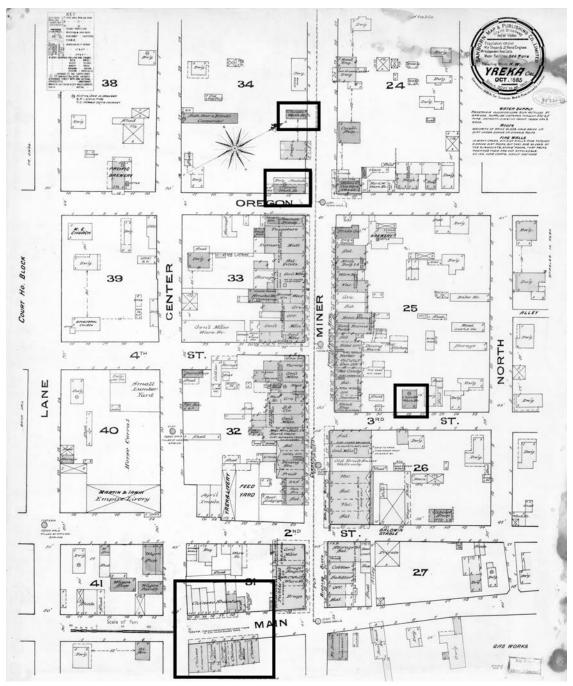


Figure 6. 2018 Map Depicting Approximate Location of Yreka's First Chinatown.

on the north end of the wood framed structures. There are six brick buildings across the street from these wood-framed structures, including three Chinese merchandise buildings, one of which has a dwelling in the back of the building. The map indicates that there are Chinese shanties located behind these brick buildings. Although most of the Chinese dwellings and businesses were clustered along Main Street between Center and Miner streets, there is a Chinese wash house located on 3rd Street between Miner and North streets and two more wash houses located near the corner of Miner and Oregon streets.

According to the US Bureau of the Census, there were 245 Chinese people in Yreka in 1880 (Table 3). Most worked as miners. The second most common occupation was being a cook, either for the miners, for a private family, a hotel, or for a wash house. Some individuals were listed as having two occupations, including "cook and miner," and "cook and janitor." Of the 23 women recorded in the census, over half were listed as living at a brothel; this included three girls ages 11, 14, and 16. At this time, Yreka had four Chinese

doctors, seven merchants, two butchers, and a tailor. Census takers considered "selling opium," to be a full-time occupation for two of the Chinese townspeople.



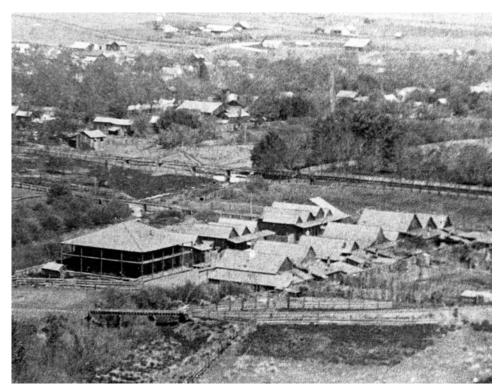
Sanborn Fire Insurance Company 1885.

Figure 7. 1885 Map Depicting Location of Yreka's Second Chinatown.

Table 3. Chinese Population in Yreka, 1880, with Occupations.

OCCUPATION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Miner (includes 8 boys aged 14-17)	130	0	130
Cooks for Miners (includes 1 boy aged 15)	3	0	3
Cook's Assistant	1	0	1
Cook and Miner	1	0	1
Cook/Servant (includes 1 boy aged 17)	1	0	1
Hotel Cook	4	0	4
Cook (includes four boys aged 12, 15-17)	20	0	20
Cook and Janitor	1	0	1
Wash House Cook	1	0	1
Sawmill Worker	1	0	1
Merchant	7	0	7
Housewife	0	3	3
Keeping House	0	3	3
Butcher	2	0	2
Servant (includes 2 girls aged 12 and 15)	6	2	8
Wagon Driver	1	0	1
Store Clerk	2	0	2
Doctor	4	0	4
Wagon Driver	1	0	1
Wash House Owner	2	0	2
Wash House Worker	6	0	6
Gardener	1	0	1
Unknown/Not Recorded	1	0	1
Brothel Owner	5	1	6
Lives at Brothel (includes 3 girls aged 11, 14, and 16)	0	13	13
Selling Opium	2	0	2
Servant/Gardener	1	0	1
Prostitute	0	1	1
Boarder	1	0	1
Tailor	1	0	1
Storekeeper	1	0	1
Laborer	6	0	6
Subtotal	213	23	236
Children ¹	7	2	9
Total	220	25	245

Notes: ¹ Excludes children already counted in "occupation" column. Children are assumed to be any individual younger than 18.



Photograph use permission courtesy of the Siskiyou County Museum, Yreka, CA.

Figure 8. Yreka Chinatown, late 1880s.

Following the 1886 fire, Yreka's Chinese community was forced to relocate to the east side of Yreka Creek, away from the main part of town, south of where Center Street ended, and west of the Yreka Western Railroad tracks (Figure 8). The European-American community viewed Chinatown as a fire hazard, as many of the buildings were made of wood and were often built in close proximity to one another. The City of Yreka had purchased land from James Wheeler, who operated the saloon at the Franco-American Hotel and deeded it to the Chinese. The creek was crossed on a two-plank wooden bridge during the winter months.

In 1890, after a series of heavy rains and snow, Yreka Creek crested over its banks and flooded Yreka's Chinatown. It washed away the footbridge at Center Street that led to Chinatown's main street and swept away some seven to eight houses. According to Jones, "...rebuilding [after the flood] was not the intent of most of the area's Chinese, though the handful who remained did repair and live in the damaged buildings" (1986:34).

Yrekans' European-American population was mainly concerned with repairing the recently built railroad bridge following the 1890 flood rather than aiding the Chinese who had lost their homes and businesses (Jones 1986:32). By 1900, there were only 86 Chinese individuals recorded in Yreka; by 1910 it had dropped to 37; and by 1920, there were only 21 individuals (US Bureau of the Census 1900, 1910, 1920; Table 4, Table 5, Table 6).

A 1913 *International Chinese Business Directory* lists seven Chinese businesses operating in Yreka; these include five general merchandise stores, one drug store, and a laundry (Table 7).

Table 4. Chinese Population in Yreka, 1900, with Occupations.

OCCUPATION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Miner	36	0	36
Cook	20	0	20
Dishwasher	1	0	1
Waiter	1	0	1
Restaurant Owner	1	0	1
Hotel Keeper	2	0	2
Laundry Worker	4	0	4
Carpenter	1	0	1
Banker	1	0	1
Farmer	1	0	1
Boarder	7	0	7
Mine Owner	1	0	1
Mine Engineer	1	0	1
Mine Foreman	1	0	1
Subtotal	78	0	78
Children	4	4	8
Total	4	4	86

Table 5. Chinese Population in Yreka, 1910, with Occupations.

OCCUPATION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Cook	13	0	13
Miner	3	0	3
Dishwasher	1	0	1
Merchant	7	0	7
Laborer	1	0	1
Laundry Owner	1	0	1
Laundry Worker	3	0	3
Subtotal	29	0	29
Children	4	4	8
Total	33	4	37

Table 6. Chinese Population in Yreka, 1920, with Occupations.

OCCUPATION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Gardener	1	0	1
Restaurant Owner	2	0	2
Restaurant Partner	1	0	1
Cook for a Family (includes 1 boy aged 14)	2	0	2
Laundry Owner	1	0	1
Cook at "China House"	1	0	1
Store Owner	1	0	1
Restaurant Cook	1	0	1
Hotel Cook	4	0	4
Miner	1	0	1
Logging Teamster	1	0	1
Subtotal	16	0	16
Children ¹	3	1	5
Total	19	1_	20

Notes: ¹Excludes children already counted in "occupation" column. Children are assumed to be any individual younger than 18.

Table 7. Chinese Businesses in Yreka, 1913.

BUSINESS NAME	TYPE OF BUSINESS	ADDRESS (IF LISTED)
Chong Wo Tong and Co.	Drugstore	P.O. Box 44
Fong Chong and Co.	General Merchandise	
Hop Lee and Co.	General Merchandise	
Kee Hong and Co.	General Merchandise	P.O. Box 83, 20 Chinatown
Quong Wo Lung and Co.	General Merchandise	P.O. Box 32
Sam Kee	Laundry	
Wah Kee and Co.	General Merchandise	

Notes: Data from the International Chinese Business Directory.

Past resident of Yreka, Pete Scheld, who visited Yreka's Chinatown as a child in the 1900s, described the buildings in the town as follows:

The town buildings were of unpainted wood in one continuous row but of different shapes and design as were the front porches and roofs. The Joss House was separated from the others by a vacant lot. It was the last building on the south and much better constructed. [1965:44]

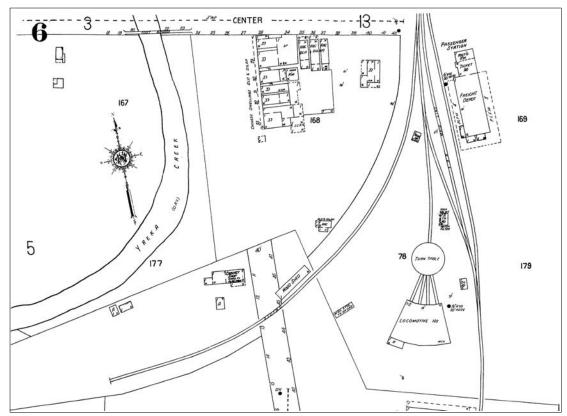


Photograph use permission courtesy of the Siskiyou County Museum, Yreka, CA.

Figure 9. Yreka Chinatown, 1910-1915.

There were four or five stores that operated in a row of approximately fourteen buildings. Each store had a "short counter and shelves on both sides loaded with cans and paper containers covered with Chinese characters" (Scheld 1965:45). In addition to these stores and the joss house, there was a large hotel, and wash houses. A photograph taken of Yreka in the 1910s depicts a somewhat different picture than what Scheld described in his account (Figure 9). In this photograph, there are at least eight buildings in a row facing Yreka Creek, a numerous smaller shacks and sheds behind these eight buildings. It is unclear which building is the joss house; as the buildings are closely packed together.

In November 1923, a fire broke out in Yreka's Chinatown and left about 20 individuals homeless. At this time, the Chinese community was described as consisting of approximately 30 quarters that were all connected (*San Francisco Chronicle*, November 24, 1923). The January 1927 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map is the first Sanborn map to depict Yreka's Chinese community after it was moved to the east side of Yreka Creek (Figure 10). The map depicts six dwellings facing towards Yreka Creek and labeled as "Chinese Dwellings Old and Dilapidated." Three vacant buildings are located behind the row of dwellings and are oriented facing Center Street. A seventh dwelling is situated behind and east of the six dwellings, between Center Street and the railroad tracks. The population of Chinese living in Yreka in 1930 showed a slight increase from 37 to 39 individuals (US Bureau of the Census 1930; Table 8).



Sanborn Fire Insurance Company 1927.

Figure 10. 1927 Map Showing Location of Third Chinatown.

Table 8. Chinese Population in Yreka, 1930, with Occupations.

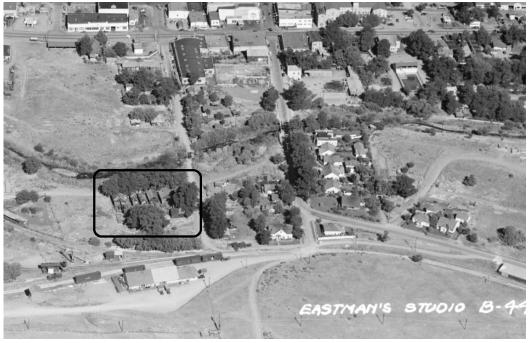
OCCUPATION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Cook	17	0	17
In Jail	1	0	1
Merchant	5	0	5
Restaurant Owner	2	0	2
Housewife	0	3^1	3
Subtotal	25	3	28
Children ²	8	2	11
Total	34	5	39

Notes: ¹Includes one 16-year-old girl; ²Excludes children already counted in "occupation" column. Children are assumed to be any individual younger than 18.

By 1940, there were only three Chinese individuals recorded as living in Yreka. These included Jimmy Wong, a cook at the Yreka Inn; Gilbert Fong, also a cook; and Dear Chomling, listed as a "Gantryman" (US Bureau of the Census 1940). A "gantry" is defined

as either a "frame for supporting barrels" or a structure of platform spanning on or around something that could support a crane or other moveable structure (Merriam-Webster 2019). Based on this description, Mr. Chomling may have been a construction worker or heavy equipment operator. An aerial photograph from 1946 depicts what was left of Chinatown—at least five wood-framed, gable-roof buildings oriented along a dirt road lined with locust trees and just east of Yreka Creek (Eastman 1946; Figure 11). Another wood-framed building is oriented facing East Center Street.

In 1947, the City Building Inspector visited Yreka's Chinatown and decided that the remaining buildings be razed and replaced with homes (Watson et al. 1990:77). The row of six dwellings depicted in the 1946 aerial were removed, however the wood-framed building facing East Center appears to have been left in place, as evident on a 1954 USGS topographic quadrangle map for Yreka, California, and a 1955 aerial photograph (USGS 1954, 2019). A year prior to the construction of I-5 through Yreka, Lee Shee On and Harry On and his wife are listed as the sole property owners in the area that was once Chinatown (California Division of Highways 1967).



Eastman 1946.

Figure 11. 1946 Aerial Showing Yreka Chinatown Buildings Just Prior to their Removal.

The steady decline of Yreka's Chinese population from the 1920s through the 1940s was likely the result of three primary factors: 1) lack of employment opportunities as mines in the area played out; 2) repeated flooding of Yreka Creek and a fire that left many without homes; and 3) anti-immigration laws that greatly restricted Chinese immigration into the United States and led to a gradual decline in the Chinese population. These laws are described in more detail later in the chapter. Yreka's Chinese population may have relocated to San Francisco, as suggested by Aretta Jonkheer (nee Meamber), who said that the Chinese

community of Yreka left and moved here after Chinatown burned in 1923 (Jonkheer 2012). Cities like San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Portland had larger, more well-established Chinatowns that would have also offered more economic opportunities. Others may have chosen to return to China.

Celebrations

Yreka served as a hub for the Chinese community in Siskiyou County and was the focus of many traditional celebrations such as Chinese New Year, Brightness Festival or Tomb-Sweeping Day (Qingming), Dragon Boat Festival, Moon Festival, and the Winter Solstice Festival. The New Year's celebration was a huge event that drew Chinese from the surrounding mining communities who would gather in Yreka for the festivities, which included fireworks, a Chinese band, a parade, indulging in wine and confections, and a "bomb toss" (Figure 12). Numerous non-Chinese spectators also attended the event.



Photograph use permission courtesy of the Siskiyou County Museum, Yreka, CA.

Figure 12. Photograph Depicting Chinese New Year, circa 1900.

The February 8, 1908, *Sacramento Union* reported that around 4,600 individuals attended the celebration that year (*Sacramento Union*, February 8, 1908). The "bomb toss" was described in the *Oakland Tribune* as:

A cross between football and a free-for-all fight that involved a fight for the possession and delivery to the joss house of a small pincushion-looking item with a fuse sticking out, that led to an explosive inside... [Oakland Tribune, January 19, 1953]

Participants were divided into groups of seven each. The judges would ignite the fuse and shoot the ball into the crowd. The individual who delivered the "bomb" to the joss house first won a free round-trip ticket to China and his/her teammates were given a sum of several hundred each (*Oakland Tribune*, January 19, 1953).

Funerals were also an important cultural event for the Chinese of Yreka and were colorful events, that, like Chinese New Year, attracted many non-Chinese spectators. A brass band was hired to play during the funeral procession. Long strips of red and white paper filled with holes were tossed into the air. These pieces of paper were punched with holes as a means to challenge the Devil and keep the deceased in Heaven (Chung and Wegars 2005:5). In addition, large quantities of food and liquor were placed on the grave to assist the deceased in his/her final journey.

Chinese Cemetery

A separate cemetery was created for the Chinese by the Yreka City Board of Trustees in September 1877, on government-owned land. It is located off Montague Road on the north side of the Yreka Western Railroad tracks and was created in response to a fire that was blamed on the Chinese who were burning paper money as part of a funeral ceremony. The fire burned most of the city cemetery and private plot fences as well as blackening the ground around the tombstones. Prior to this, the Chinese had buried their dead in what is now called the Old City Cemetery (also known as the Foothill or Butcher Hill Cemetery), located on the east side of State Route 3 on the slopes of Butcher Hill. In 1898, the cemetery was patented by the Central Pacific Railroad Company and later sold to individuals as part of a larger parcel of land (Waterhouse 1972).

Photographs taken of the cemetery by Christine Sellman, former curator of the Siskiyou County Museum, in the mid-1970s show a brick oven used to burn an individual's possessions, including clothing bedding, and other belongings, that would accompany them into the afterlife. Paper and cardboard facsimiles of money, clothing, possessions, and even houses were also burned (Wegars 2005; Figure 13).



Copyright, Yreka Preservation, Meamber Collection.

Figure 13. Brick Oven at Yreka Chinese Cemetery, circa 1975.

A gravestone is also depicted in this photograph to the right of and behind the oven (see Figure 13). Since that time, the cemetery was vandalized and most of the bricks from the oven removed; however, the gravestone still remains. Chinese characters on the gravestone were translated by the San Francisco Chinese Chamber of Commerce as reading: "The Graveyard of Our Past Friends. Erected in the Mid-Summer of the 26th Year of Emperor Kwong Shui" (Wacker 1988:2). A few metal markers are located underneath the brush. According to records prepared by Christine Sellman, there were 89 individuals buried at the cemetery between 1890 and 1916. What happened to the individuals has apparently been a bit of a mystery; it appears some graves were exhumed but more individuals are likely still buried there. An article in the December 10, 1925, edition of *The Siskiyou News* reports on the bodies of 56 Chinese being exhumed from cemeteries at Yreka, Mt. Shasta, Scott Bar, Etna, and Happy Camp, and sent to San Francisco where they would be shipped back to China (The Siskiyou News, December 10, 1925). However, the individuals listed in the article are not separated by cemetery and none of the names match those of existing burial records for the Yreka Chinese Cemetery (Hamusek 2011a). Former curator of the Siskiyou County Museum, Christine Sellman, made note of only two individuals whose remains were removed from the cemetery: Wong Chew Chang (removed in 1947) and Wong Siung Goey (removed to San Francisco at an unknown date; Hamusek 2011a).

In the 1990s, the City of Yreka received a \$30,000 grant to restore the cemetery and build a gazebo-like structure with interpretive signage to honor the Chinese contribution in Yreka (Sellstrom 1997). The brush was cleared, and the fence was repaired. A metal plaque was installed inside the cemetery and contains the names of 55 individuals known to have been buried at this location.

Discrimination Against Chinese

During the 1850s, some 85 percent of the Chinese in California were working on placer mines and one out of every five miners was Chinese (Rohe 2002:39). Hostility and discrimination towards non-European Americans had pervaded in the mining districts since the California Gold Rush had first begun. In addition to Chinese workers, this included Mexicans, Native Americans, and darker-skinner Europeans, who were bullied and driven off their claims (Wood 1961:28). In 1850, the California State Legislature passed the Foreign Miner's Tax, designed primarily to drive Mexican miner's off the goldfields. The law, which forced all non-US citizens to pay a fee of \$20 a month drew outrage as many foreign miners could not afford to pay it and left the mines en masse (Wood 1961:29). The loss of trade and revenue from the exodus of miners placed economic stress on mining communities, and in 1851 the law was repealed (Wood 1961:29). However, anti-immigrant sentiment remained high in the mining communities, with much hatred directed towards the Chinese. While originally tolerated among European-Americans as a source of cheap labor, when Chinese laborers began working in the mines, European-American miners began to see them as competition. In a second attempt to drive foreigners from the mines, the miner's tax was reenacted in 1852 by the California state legislature and charged foreign miners a monthly license fee of \$4 to the state to work mining claims (Choy 2007:47). In addition to reducing the number of Chinese who were working on the mines, the tax provided a lucrative form of income for mining communities.

Reactions to the arrival of the Chinese to the Yreka area were a mixture of welcome and disgust. Some defended what they viewed as a blend of simply humanity and economics

amongst Chinese miners. Others viewed the Chinese as immoral, deceitful, and uncleanly (Wood 1961). An April 16, 1853, issue of the *Shasta Courier* commented on the novelty of these "uncouth visaged and picturesquely dressed Sons of the Orient" and marveled at how it was possible that such "little, weakly looking hombres" managed to carry such heavy loads (50 pounds of provisions) over the mountains (*Shasta Courier*, April 16, 1853, cited in Watson 1978:14).

On February 4, 1855, a meeting was held at the Morning Star House in Yreka to discuss the issue of Chinese immigration (Wells 1881:199). Presiding over the meeting was Major J.N. Dunn and Dr. Anderson, leading members of the community. Attendees created a list of eight resolutions stating their opinion on Chinese immigration and expressing their support for California's recently passed "Act to Discourage the Immigration to This State of Persons Who Cannot Become Citizens" which was designed to stop Chinese from immigrating to the state. These resolutions expressed the European-American townspeople's beliefs that the Chinese would never blend with the rest of American society, that they were ruining the free labor system, that they were a drain to the economy, and that they kept news of any gold discoveries to themselves (Watson 1978:25).

During the 1856 July 4th celebration, several miners from the nearby camp of Greenhorn decided to give Yreka's Chinese community a "roughing up." Led by John Blunt, the group of (likely intoxicated) miners raided Chinese homes, kicked down doors, and knocked around the occupants. When the Deputy Sheriff James Millhouse attempted to intervene and arrest Blunt, he was beaten to within an inch of his life, before firing off a shot that killed Blunt. A few townspeople rushed Millhouse to safety where he hid out in the jail. News of Blunt's death quickly reached the other mining camps and a call went out to storm the jail and lynch the sheriff. The city of Yreka closed all the saloons and organized a voluntary militia group to protect the jail from the angry miners. When the violent gangs of miners entered the town to try to overtake the jail, they launched a second attack on Yreka's Chinese community. An inquest was held to determine if the sheriff was acting in self-defense. He was not held accountable for Blunt's death but fled the town shortly after the trial for fear of being assassinated (*Oakland Tribune*, March 28, 1954; Watson 1978:28).

These sorts of abuses towards Chinese immigrants by European-Americans during the nineteenth century, particularly in western mining communities were not unusual. Chinese residents were frequently the victims of name-calling, hair-pulling, and rock throwing, often by Anglo-American youths (Scheld 1965; Smith 1953; Speegle 1931). From 1854 to 1872, Chinese individuals could not testify against a European-American in court and many non-Chinese miners viewed the Chinese as easy targets. In the remote goldfields and mining camps, Chinese miners were often the victims of robberies (Rose and Johnson 2016).

Towards the end of the Civil War, soldiers, recently freed slaves, and thousands of Chinese railroad workers released after completion of the transcontinental railroad were looking for employment. This helped fuel a nationwide economic depression in the 1870s with pervasive unemployment and competition for jobs (Chang 2003:117). Particularly vocal in their attack on the Chinese were the Irish, who used racism against the Chinese to establish their identity in "white" America (Kwong and Miscevic 2005:72). Irishman David Kearney organized anti-Chinese speeches in the vacant lots of San Francisco shouting "The Chinese Must Go!" and railing against the Chinese, railroads, and corporate monopolies (Chang 2003:126; Choy 2007:47). The Irish formed the Workingman's Party (or Alliance) of California and elected

Kearney as president (Chang 2003:126). Discouraged by a chain of court decisions invalidating their anti-Chinese measures, Californians and other westerners began to bombard Congress with petitions and demands for Chinese exclusion (Daniels 1995:39).

In July 1876, Congress appointed a special committee to investigate Chinese immigration and to provide a forum in which all views on the issue could be discussed and brought to the public's attention (Tsai 1986:58). On November 17, 1880, the United States formed a treaty with Peking that allowed the United States the right to "regulate, limit, or suspend" the "coming of residence" of Chinese laborers (Choy 2007:52). Less than two decades earlier, the United States had passed the Burlingame Treaty of 1868, which recognized "the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance" (Kwong and Miscevic 2005:55).

The 1880 treaty was ratified by California Senator John F. Miller in February 1881 and suspended immigration of Chinese laborers for the next 20 years (Chang 2003:130; Daniels 1995:55). President Chester Arthur vetoed the bill which caused individuals to protest and burn effigies of the president (Chang 2003:131). Republican Representative from California Horace Page introduced a new bill passed on May 6, 1882, that shortened the ban to ten years and became known as the Chinese Exclusion Act (Chang 2003:132). A more restrictive bill was adopted in 1884 which prevented the entry of Chinese laborers from any foreign place and authorized the collector of the port to secure from any departing Chinese any data necessary for their identification (Tsai 1986:66). During the Chinese Exclusion Era, only diplomats, students, teachers, merchants, and visitors could enter the United States (Yung et al. 2006:4). In addition, the law prohibited the naturalization of Chinese individuals living in the United States.

In 1888, Congress passed an even harsher law directed towards the Chinese. Known as the Scott Act, the law had two primary directives: 1) Prevented Chinese laborers from returning to the United States after leaving; and 2) Barred the return of Chinese laborers who had been residents of the United States when the 1882 Act was passed, but who had been abroad when the Scott Act was passed (Chinese Historical Society of America 1976:194). When the Chinese Exclusion Act expired in 1892, Congress passed the Geary Act, that required Chinese laborers to register and be photographed or face deportation. According to the Chinese Historical Society of America, "the term laborer was used so broadly that it encompassed every occupation except those that the law explicitly stated could enter the country—merchants, students, teachers, officials, and travelers" and that "accountants, clerks, innkeepers, restauranteurs, and doctors, could all be considered 'laborers' " (1976:194).

Following passage of the Exclusion Laws, anti-Chinese coalitions began a violent campaign to expel existing Chinese immigrants from the nation which became known as "the Driving Out" (Voss and Allen 2008:12). Though not driven completely out of town, Yreka's Chinese community was forced to relocate to an area separate from the main part of town, east of Yreka Creek and near the railroad tracks, completely segregated from the European-American community and in an area prone to flooding from Yreka Creek. Chinese individuals living in other parts of the state were driven completely out of their homes. On the evening on February 6, 1885, following the accidental death of a non-Chinese citizen of Eureka, David Kendall, from a stray bullet that was fired during a fight between two warring tong factions, townspeople formed a resolution to ship every Chinese individual in Humboldt County to San Francisco via steamship (Genzoli 1959; Speegle 1931). European-American townspeople

raided and looted Chinese homes and businesses and piled belongings into wagons that were taken to the harbor and loaded on the steamers City of Chester and the Humboldt. On February 14, 1885, Chinese residents of Humboldt County were forced onto steamers that took them to San Francisco (Genzoli 1959).

Forty-two years after the passage of 1882 Act, on July 1, 1924, Congress passed the National Origins Act, which "established quotas for each country based on the number of persons of that national origin who were living in the United States in 1920" (Encyclopedia Britannica 2019). The quotas favored immigrants from northwestern Europe over those from southeastern Europe who were considered to be undesirable. The law also effectively excluded Asian immigrants from coming to the United States, unless they were travelling on temporary visas as tourists, students, or teachers (Hoexter 1976). Additionally, the law excluded Chinese women who were wives of American citizens. Prior to the enactment of this law, many Chinese immigrants chose to return home, so that they could be with their families. It was not until 1965 that the National Origins Act was repealed in favor of a first-come, first-served policy that emphasized immigrants' skills and family relationships with citizens or residents of the United States.

These discriminatory laws led to a gradual decline in the Chinese population in the United States as fewer individuals were allowed to enter the county, and first-generation immigrants had either returned to China or had passed away. Campbell's comprehensive study on the Foreign Born Population of California, 1843-1920, illustrates the effects that political and social forces, including the Chinese exclusion laws, had on the Chinese population in California. In 1850, just two years after the discovery of gold in Coloma, Chinese individuals made up roughly 3.0 % of the total foreign-born population in California (660/21,802) and 0.71 % of the total population in California (660/92,597). Ten years later, the number of Chinese people living in California made up 23.8% (34,935/146,528) of the total foreign-born population in California and 9.2 % (34,935/379,994) of the total population in California. By 1870, the number of Chinese in California began to steadily decline, following the passage of the Burlingame Treaty in 1879 that limited the number of Chinese who could come to the United States to 15 on a single vessel (Campbell 1971 [1927]:17). The exclusion acts of the 1880s further impacted the population of Chinese in California. By 1890, Chinese individuals made up 19.4% of the total foreign-born population in California (71,066/366,309) and only 5.9% of the total population in California (71,066/1,208,130). By 1920, Chinese individuals comprised only 3.8% (28,812/757,625) of the foreign-born population in California and only 0.8% of the total population in California (28,812/3,426,861). According to Campbell's study, Chinese residents made up the largest number of foreign-born residents in Alameda (4,505), Los Angeles (2,591), and San Francisco counties (7,744) counties with some of the largest urban population centers. With regard to total percent of the population, Butte County had the highest percentage of Chinese (8-10%) of the total population in the County), while Monterey, King, San Joaquin, Sacramento, Placer, Yuba, and Trinity counties combined had the second highest percentage (2-4%; Campbell 1971 [1921]:43-49). This may be explained in some part by the growth of other industries including seafood and vegetable canning, as well as farming, that attracted Chinese laborers.

Research Design

The historical themes outlined in the previous section contributed to the development of a research design and questions that were used to interpret the features and archaeological materials recovered from the Yreka Chinatown excavation.

Four historical research themes were proposed for interpreting the Yreka Collection and are based on thematic contexts developed by the California Department of Transportation on Agriculture (2007); Mining (2008); Townsites (2010); and Work Camps (2013). These thematic contexts were prepared by a team of both Caltrans and consulting historians and historical archaeologists and were peer-reviewed prior to being finalized. Each of these thematic reports contains a statewide historical context for each theme, as well as detailed and well-developed research issues and questions with data requirements for each issue. Research issues outlined in the Caltrans thematic contexts and most relevant to the study of the Yreka materials include Site Structure/Land Use, Economic Strategies, Household Composition and Lifeways, and Immigration and Ethnicity. An additional research theme, Chronological Ordering, is also proposed. Each of these themes are outlined below, with corresponding research questions and data needed to answer these questions.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDERING

The ordering of historical sites through time and across the landscape is of fundamental concern to archaeologists. A solid understanding of a site's chronology, including its periods of initial and final use, major periods of occupation and decline, dates of impacts and intrusive forces that may affect integrity, are basic to all historical themes and research.

Establishing the chronological framework of a site and placing it within a larger regional timeline is critical for developing a thematic or property-type comparative data base. Knowing when a site was formed and the event in history that inspired the land use is a key element in assessing site significance and in examining other research issues. Understanding the length of time that a site was occupied (continually by several generations or for only a few days, months, or years) is also critical in assessing site significance.

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Research Questions

Relevant questions pertaining to Chronological Ordering include:

- 1) Was there reuse of the site by different individuals at different periods in time?
- 2) Was the site occupied by an individual or by a large group? Was the occupation short or long term?
- 3) What period of Yreka Chinatown occupation is represented?
- 4) Are there contemporaneous Chinatowns that can be compared?
- 5) What is the relationship of the position of similar site types?

Data Requirements

Historical archaeologists are fortunate to have a wealth of time-sensitive material available to interpret chronological placement of a site. Archival information can lead to the identification of individuals and companies involved in certain activities on a site. Period journals, newspaper articles, assessor's records, and similar primary records can be used to date historic-period sites. Census records provide ten-year updates on an individual including their occupation and the number of people living in their household. Oral interview data can enhance the written record.

The mass-produced artifacts of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been the study of much research on changes in technology, and company histories and registered patent data can be useful for dating specific artifacts. It is important to note, however, that Chinese manufactured artifacts can be difficult to date, due to the persistence of forms and patterns, such as Double Happiness and Bamboo, used in ceramics (Greenwood 1993:378).

Combining the many time-sensitive artifacts with documentary and oral sources can result in a definitive assignment of dates for occupation periods, often to a specific year. While most dateable artifacts on a site represent a wide temporal span, site chronologies can be arrived at by looking at the periods of overlap between artifact types. Artifacts contained in discrete undisturbed deposits are most useful for site dating efforts.

SITE STRUCTURE/LAND USE

Archaeology offers an ideal means of examining changing land use and spatial organization through time. Archaeological remains can add significantly to the description and study of evolving formal and informal landscapes and layout of a household, business, or community. Studies of gardens, trash disposal areas, work areas, and other features can be enhanced by combining historical and archaeological data sets. Identification of architectural remains (building foundations, cellars, etc.) can be compared to the historical record to complement the study of design and layout (Deetz 1977).

Research Questions

Research questions related to the study of site structure/land use include:

- 1) What is the relationship between the businesses, joss house, and individual residences in Yreka's third Chinese community?
- 2) How was Chinatown laid out in relation to surrounding natural and man-made features (e.g., Yreka Creek, railroad tracks)?
- 3) What was the main source of water for the Chinese community?
- 4) Can separate use areas be distinguished in the archaeological record?

- 5) How did the layout and spatial arrangement of Yreka's third Chinese community compare to other Chinatowns in the region and in other parts of the state?
- 6) Is there evidence that natural and manmade disasters (such as fires and flooding) changed the layout of Yreka's Chinatown?
- 7) How did anti-Chinese sentiment influence the location of Yreka's Chinese community?

Data Requirements

Pertinent data sets needed to address these and other questions relating to site structure and land use include historical maps, Caltrans as-builts and ROW maps, site overview photographs depicting the layouts of units, and historical photographs of Yreka's Chinatown or other contemporaneous Chinese communities. Refuse deposits or other features containing large numbers of similar artifact types (opium pipe bowls, storage jars, or buttons) can offer clues to the function and use of a particular space (e.g., opium den, restaurant, laundry) that documentary materials may not be able to indicate.

ECONOMIC STRATEGIES

This theme examines economic strategies employed by individual laborers and their families as well as business owners. Adaptive reuse of items, establishment of supply and trade networks, and inventiveness were necessary components of success, particularly in a remote location such as Yreka. Census records indicate that the majority of Chinese living in and around Yreka were miners. These individuals may have chosen to supplement their income with other endeavors, such as selling vegetables, or washing to mending clothes. The presence of materials such as crocks, canning jars and related items, combined with the presence or absence of wild game, indications of home butchering, floral remains, and related indicators, are pertinent to exploring how much home production was occurring at the site (Caltrans 2007:187).

Research Questions

- 1) Is there evidence that an individual(s) or family supplemented their primary occupation with a secondary one? For example, performing various odd jobs on the side, selling produce, crafting items to sell.
- 2) How did households adapt to changing economic conditions brought about by changing market conditions, national and world events, and environmental disasters (fires, flooding of Yreka Creek)?
- 3) Is there evidence of locally grown or produced foodstuffs (e.g., garden plots or gardening tools)?
- 4) Is there evidence of adaptive reuse of material? Is there other evidence of self-sufficiency? Examples may include modified cans for use as sprinkler heads or shower heads, glass bottles with traces of "blueing" for laundry, glass food jars, woodworking or blacksmithing tools.
- 5) How did households adapt/respond to increasing hostility and prejudice? For example, did the Chinese stop buying goods at non-Chinese stores or repair items, to avoid interacting with those outside their community?

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Data Requirements

Addressing these questions requires a clear historical correlation between deposits and features associated with each household. Necessary data sets include refuse deposits with a high percentage of faunal material, reused material, traceable ceramics, and food storage artifacts. Examples of an individual supplementing their primary occupation may include garden plots and gardening tools, woodworking tools, sewing implements, traps, or gold mining devices. Additional archival research may reveal information necessary to develop a more detailed historical context, allowing for comprehensive interpretation of archaeological features and remains. Important documentary materials for understanding economic adaptation include census records, assessor's records, oral histories, newspaper articles, and probate inventories or writs of attachment.

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION AND LIFEWAYS

Reconstructing the daily lives of residents within a house, town, work camp, or other abode requires a careful examination of demography, subsistence preferences, and consumer behavior, including health and grooming, sanitation and other personal choices made by the house occupants. Demographic studies attempt to reconstruct household composition (including gender), social stratification, and ethnicity. Understanding who lived in a household, where they came from, and what they did for a living, are key to interpreting consumer behavior and comparing sites.

The study of individual households and the response of each to economic and social conditions of the time has been a part of historical archaeology since the formation of the discipline in the 1960s. These studies emphasized the role of families and households as basic units of social reproduction and change and countered processualist approaches that focused on broad, universal patterns of social change (Caltrans 2010). A household is defined as a group of people living together (not necessarily a family) for domestic purposes and is a convenient unit of study (Beaudry 1984:30; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1985:94). According to Deetz (1982:724), most aspects of household behavior reflect that of the greater society.

The organization of a household, whether residential, commercial, or industrial, is multifaceted and includes demographic composition, functional organization, and spatial layout. For example, a work camp related to dam construction may include a blacksmithing station, cookhouse or living center, hospital, or a multitude of additional, functionally discrete areas placed across the landscape. Refuse-disposal areas, wells, privy areas, orchards, animal-husbandry stations, or other use areas may represent households. Examining the organization of a site, both demographically and spatially, is useful in delineating historical patterns of behavior, technology, and personal preferences on a regional scale (Maniery 1999).

Subsistence is a basic unit of any occupation site and is reflective of consumer choices. Generally, subsistence issues revolve around consumer preferences and availability of resources. Subsistence is also influenced by gender – a complete lack of children's artifacts such as toys or furniture and feminine items including hose supports, cosmetic jars, or perfume bottles, may be an indication (along with the presence of men's grooming products such as bottles of aftershave and razors) of a solitary or male-only site.

Consumer behavior and social and economic status also can be studied through the examination of refuse. Refuse deposits associated with specific households can be studied to answer questions about how people lived, what they ate, how they spent their money, where

they obtained their products; how (and to what degree) they were influenced by marketing, social movements, or their bosses; what medicines they used; whether women or/and children were living in the house; and a multitude of other questions.

Research Questions

Relevant questions related to this theme include all aspects of "Who, What, When, How." For example, "Who" is essential in developing the composition of the household and may include the following types of questions:

- 1) Who lived there?
- 2) Who was head of the household?
- 3) Who was the main provider?

Questions that ask "What" can include:

- 1) What was the occupation of the main provider?
- 2) What were their food preferences?
- 3) What ideology did they follow or what cultural heritage do they represent?
- 4) What did they do for health issues?

"When" questions are similar to chronological issues, exploring the following topics:

- 1) When did the household begin?
- 2) When did members of the household arrive or leave, and when and why was the household terminated?

Finally, "How" questions are broad-based and can include the following inquiries:

- 1) How was a household organized?
- 2) How did the occupants live?
- 3) How did they adapt to environmental conditions, changing economies, and other transitions?
- 4) How did a household deal with personal sanitation?

Data Requirements

Archival sources of information that can address questions related to household composition and lifeways may include census records (population, agricultural, and industrial censuses), voter registration, tax-assessment records and rolls, and contemporary newspaper accounts. Product availability can be interpreted from store inventories, credit sheets, and newspaper ads. In some counties, court records are invaluable sources for reconstructing product availability due to the detailed inventories of businesses and households that accompanied labor-wage disputes, probate documents, or other legal papers.

These types of information, supplemented with oral interview data, where available, provide a basis for interpreting sites through the behavior of the household members.

Archaeological remains associated with women, children, ethnic groups, bachelors, and the like also contribute to demographic studies. Examples may include toys, cosmetic containers, items from women's and children's apparel, imported ceramic tablewares, medicines, and so on. Faunal remains can provide information on dietary habits and whether farm-raised or store-bought foods were being supplemented with wild caught or gathered foods. Artifacts associated with food storage and preparation can also address questions related to subsistence including canning jars, condiment bottles, storage vessels, and ceramic

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and glass tablewares. Flotation samples taken from privy soil may contain seeds and other botanical remains that provide additional clues as to dietary practices.

IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY

Research issues centered on immigration and ethnicity appear frequently in historical archaeological studies. Historians have long addressed social inequality and the role of race, class, and gender. Archaeologists have tended towards identifying ethnographic traits or markers in the archaeological record and how these have evolved over time. While earlier studies done in the 1980s and 1990s on Overseas Chinese households focused heavily on quantifying levels of assimilation/acculturation, more recent works have adopted a more holistic, agency-oriented approach that "investigates how cultural practices participate in the ongoing production of identities and communities, and, in doing so, to understand ethnicity as historically constituted, sustained, and transformed" (Voss and Allen 2008:5-6). Ethnic diversity may be evident in deposits associated with a variety of themes and could add to a reconstruction of the lifeways of the region's inhabitants.

Research Questions

Research questions relevant to the study of immigration and ethnicity in the archaeological record include:

- 1) How do households that are associated with different ethnic groups compare/contrast to one another?
- 2) Is there evidence regarding links to a homeland, import of specialized food or items from a homeland, and maintenance of traditional culture?
- 3) Are ethnically distinct technologies evident at the site?
- 4) How was the Chinese community of Yreka treated by the Anglo-European community?

Data Requirements

Archival research, particularly federal census information, is useful in identifying ethnicity at sites. Extrapolation of ethnic heritage is also possible by examining tax-assessor plats and rolls and projecting ethnic affiliation from nomenclature of ownership. Homestead records, case studies, and newspaper accounts may also be used to assess ethnic affiliation of sites. For some sites, oral interviews are a more practical way of identifying cultural traditions and their generational influence.

Archaeological assemblages and features provide another way to identify ethnicity and gender. Chinese and Japanese cultures are easily identified through their porcelain plates, bowls and cups, and food-storage containers. Their artifact assemblages are well known and documented and are distinct from the surrounding non-Asian material culture. Food preferences of Mexicans, Irishmen, African-Americans, Italians, Greeks, and Basques are documented in culinary studies, social histories, and the like, and can be identified through a study of faunal and floral remains, if preservation is adequate, and through structures such as domed bread ovens (used by Italians, Spanish, Greek, Croatian, among others) and tapered roasting ovens or U-shaped hearths (used by Chinese).

FIELD METHODS

Excavation of Yreka's Chinatown occurred in the Spring of 1969 and involved archaeologists with the Department of Beaches and Parks (now, the California Department of Parks and Recreation), and students from Chico State and Sacramento State College (Cal State Sacramento). Crew members included Don Wood, James Snowden, Paul Armstrong, Bruce Steidl, Michael Boynton, Charles Consiglio, Al Welch, John Stafford, Linda Jane Armstrong (née Russell), Paul Armstrong, Kent Smith, Chris Glidden, Vance Davis, Ken Deardorf, Jerry Heine, Joe Gonzales, Lance Laituri, Nicholas Vertin, John Ryan, and Gulzara Vjagis

The goal of the project was to "determine the location of the former Chinatown structures and to systematically explore the cultural materials representing this historic period," prior to the area being graded by Caltrans for construction of I-5 (Helvey and Felton 1979).

Under the direction of project leader Donald Wood, two expansive areas were explored—Areas A and B. Area A was located in the portion of the site that had once housed the last standing buildings in Chinatown as depicted on the 1927 Sanborn map and labelled as "Chinese Dwellings Old and Dilap [Dilapidated]" (see Figure 10). However, Area A only encompassed a portion of the dwellings depicted on the Sanborn map and that faced towards Yreka Creek. Of the 20,800 square feet that the main block of Chinatown encompassed, 13,800 square feet of it was excavated in Area A.

Sixty-three units were excavated in Area A in one-foot levels, using shovels, trowels, and other hand tools (Figure 14). Dry screening of artifacts with a 1/4-inch mesh screen was only done for the first 12 inches of Unit A1. Wet screening through 1/4-inch mesh was only performed for Units A-34, A-37, and A-38, located near where the wooden boardwalk would have been (Helvey and Felton 1979; Liu 2006). As it took two to four days to wet screen, the practice was abandoned, and no other units were screened. Notes were taken on every one-foot level and included information on soil properties (texture, inclusions, color), presence of any disturbances (potted soil, crotovina, roots), and any features or artifacts present. Potted soil refers to back dirt or fill from recently excavated areas. Artifact tallies were provided at the end of each level record and were divided primarily by material group. Larger artifacts and any features were left in-situ and sketched at the end of each level (Anonymous 1969).

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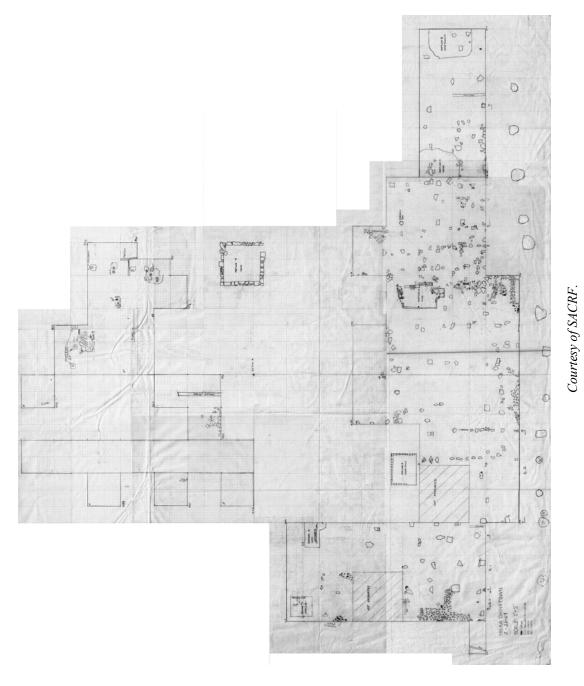


Figure 14. Area A Map.

Area B was situated southwest of Area A and was believed to include the west side of Chinatown's Main Street, where there had been a two-story building. A total of 7,000 square feet of the 20,800 square feet encompassed by the main Chinatown buildings as depicted on the 1927 Sanborn map were excavated. Area B was plotted 175 feet south and 75 feet west of the southeast corner of unit A-23 (Figure 15). Ten units were excavated in Area B. In Area B, the backhoe exposed a 14-inch layer of fill over gravel. The fill was excavated until sterile with no clearly defined levels, and the material was not screened. Only complete or identifiable artifacts were saved from Area B. A unit record form was completed for each unit and included a list of artifacts uncovered from each unit and any features, inclusions, or disturbances. At the closing of each unit, a plan sketch map was prepared.

It was very much a salvage excavation, with the goal of removing as much soil as possible in a short period of time (Figure 16). The excavation covered an area of approximately 60,000 square feet. Units ranged in size from 5×10 feet to 15×15 feet. Two trenches measuring 150×50 feet and 150×10 feet, respectively, were also dug using backhoes.

A heated trailer was kept on site for processing and cataloging artifacts. A table was set outside the trailer and was also used for sorting and cataloging artifacts (Figure 17).

The work was hard and the weather unforgiving (Figure 18). Work was frequently cancelled due to poor weather, or the field crew spent the day working in the trailer doing labwork. The crew was told to dig quickly and worked through the weekends (Jane Russell, personal communication 2018). Student crew members were paid \$1.25 an hour (Jane Russell, personal communication 2018). Entries in the project daily log frequently comment on the cold, snow, and rain. Former field crew members attest to the unpleasant working conditions. When interviewed over the phone, Bruce Steidl, who worked on the project from start to end, described "freezing his ass off" (Bruce Steidl, personal communication 2018). However, crew members also commented that it was an unforgettable experience and that there was a great deal of camaraderie among the crew, despite the miserable working conditions (Figure 19).

LABORATORY METHODS

Previous Work

A total of 13,194 artifacts were cataloged from the Yreka Collection, which includes multiple items assigned the same catalog number as part of a series (see Appendix C for complete artifact catalog). This was done to separate out numerous, often disparate items that had been lumped together in the field under the same catalog number. For example, catalog number 1108 consists of Chinese Brown Glazed Stoneware (CBGS) globular jars, barrel jars, shouldered food jars, spouted jars, and liquor jars—all of which had originally been assigned as one catalog number. Now, they have been reassigned as catalog numbers 1108, and 1108A-Z. Occasionally, this included multiple similar items such as 105, 105A, and 105B, which are all glass marbles. Basic types of information recorded for each artifact included: catalog number, description, provenience, remarks and date collected. Other types of information recorded included: makers' and manufacturers' marks on glass and ceramics, Asian characters (some of which have been translated), pattern and decoration types, dates of production, weight, and artifact dimensions. Fields that were filled out for the Yreka Collection include object number (catalog number), object/name, count, material, description, excavation unit, stratum, depth, feature, cataloger, location (at SACRF), and a status field (to indicate if the item is missing or on loan).

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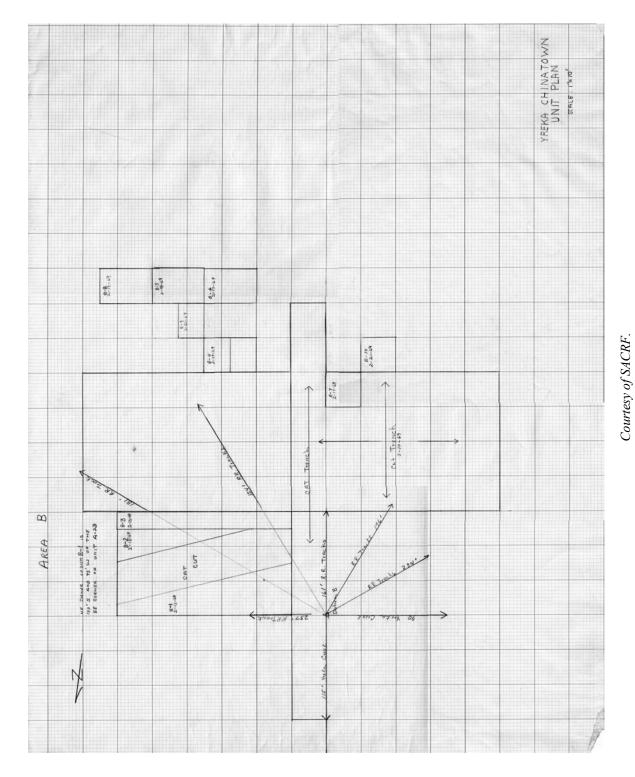


Figure 15. Area B Map.



Courtesy of SACRF.

Figure 16. Area A Excavation Overview.



Courtesy of SACRF.

Figure 17. Christine Sellman Sorting Artifacts.

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Courtesy of SACRF.

Figure 18. Screening in the Snow.



Courtesy of SACRF.

Figure 19. Crew Shot.

Analysis and interpretation of the Yreka materials began in 1978, almost a decade following the excavation, when money had become available through Federal Title II funding. Work on the collection included recleaning artifacts, protecting handwritten catalog numbers on artifacts with polyvinyl alcohol (PVA), functional organization, and reconciliation against the original field catalog.

As part of their analysis of the collection, researchers grouped artifacts by material type and function (e.g., medicine, furniture, food service, lighting device, printing), and tallied the total number of each artifact group within each Unit and Feature. This information was

used to create a site map that plotted the distribution of each functional category across the site (Figure 20; for a full-color version of this map, see Appendix G). Each functional category was indicated with a different symbol and color. Pie charts and density graphs were created for each artifact category and for different variations of a single artifact class (e.g., shell vs. wood buttons). This was done to delineate activity/use areas and to examine differences between each unit and/or feature. Separate studies on various classes of artifacts such as Chinese and European-American ceramics, coins and tokens, buttons, and opium paraphernalia were conducted but were primarily limited to identification and artifact description. Researchers took professional black and white photographs of many of the diagnostic artifacts but did not label the photos or negatives with the corresponding catalog number or publish a photo log.

In the early 2000s, the Yreka Collection was revisited by graduate student Danny Liu who wrote his thesis on *The Archaeological Collection of Yreka Chinatown* (Liu 2006). Liu's thesis is primarily a descriptive catalog of six artifact categories: 1) Chinese ceramics; 2) Euro-

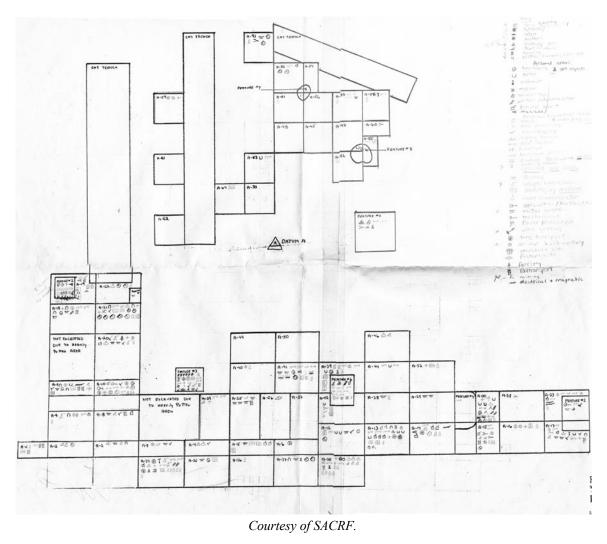


Figure 20. Artifact Distribution Map.

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American ceramic tableware; 3) Opium paraphernalia; 4) Glass bottles; 5) Nails; and 6) Firearms, recovered from 51 units within six "areas" (described in further detail in the Results section) and six features (Features 1-6). There is no discussion of Excavation Area B or Features 7-9 in Liu's report and it is unclear why Liu chose to leave these out of his analysis. Liu's thesis provides detailed discussions of Chinese ceramic patterns, decorative techniques on Chinese and Euro-American ceramics, manufacturing techniques, company histories, and so on. Translations are provided for Chinese characters on Chinese ceramics and medicine vials. A tally of artifacts by functional category (e.g., personal, domestic) is provided for each of the six areas and Features 1-6 as an Appendices.

Current Research

Many versions of the artifact catalog exist in the Yreka archival collection, including both handwritten and typed versions. The collection was first entered into a computerized collections program called Argus in 1993; and later re-entered into the current TMS system in 2002 and 2003. Much of the more detailed information provided in earlier versions of the catalog (such as makers' marks, date of manufacture, weight, and size) were not carried over into the current TMS catalog. This included the functional categories that had been assigned to artifacts and used to generate the distribution and density maps. To more fully understand/interpret the collection, artifact functional categories (or groups) were assigned to all catalog entries, using more recently developed models.

Functional categories used to interpret the Yreka Collection are primarily based on Caltrans' thematic studies on Townsite Properties, Agricultural Properties, and Mining Properties (2007, 2008, 2010), which represent a blend of Stanley South's (1977) functional categories and Roderick Sprague's classification system (Sprague 1980). An artifact's function is related to that object's use within a particular socio-cultural context and its relationship to other objects. It is one of the most basic but also most useful methods of interand intra-site analysis. The Yreka artifacts were divided into six major groups: Activities, Domestic, Indefinite, Personal, Structural, and Unknown/Unidentified (Table 9). These groups are flexible and can expand based on site type (e.g., urban townsite, homestead, mining site, logging camp).

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¹ South's classification system relies on eight artifact groups (kitchen artifact group, architectural group, furniture group, arms group, clothing group, personal group, tobacco pipe group, and activities group) and was devised to discern behavioral patterning on colonial sites in the Carolinas. The quantity, variety, and affordability/availability of material goods increased substantially following the Civil War, leading to the development of a consumer-oriented culture by the end of the nineteenth century (Van Wormer 1996:310). While appropriate for pre-Civil War sites, South's system did not reflect the complexity of nineteenth- and twentieth-century site and was not well-suited for western North American sites. Sprague's system contains nine functional classification levels or categories (personal items, domestic items, architecture, personal and domestic transportation, commerce and industry, group services, group ritual, and unknown), each with multiple subcategories. Sprague's system is better suited for western North American sites and places each artifact within a particular functional category that is described in the context of that category (South 1980).

Table 9. Functional Classification Categories.

			FUNC	FUNCTION 1		
FUNCTION 2	ACTIVITIES (ACT)	DOMESTIC (DO)	INDEFINITE (IND)	PERSONAL (PE)	STRUCTURAL (STR)	UNKNOWN/ UNDEFINED (UNK)
Accourtement (ACC)				Watch, purse, pocketknife, wallet, eyeglasses, jewelry, hair pins		
Animal Husbandry (ANH)	Sweat scraper, cowbell					
Clothing (CLT)				Buttons, fasteners, clasps, rivets, footwear		
Clothing Maintenance (CM)		Bleach bottles, washboards, washbasins, blueing balls, needles, thread, clothing iron, sewing machine parts				
Currency/Commerce (CUR)	Coins, tokens, paper money					
Entertainm ent (ENT)				Sporting goods, musical instruments, games (e.g., checkers, dominoes)		
Food Preparation and Consumption (FDP)		Glass and ceramic tablewares, serving dishes, utensils, cups, condiments, pots and pans, strainers, various kitchen tools				
Food Storage (FDS)		Containers used to store food. Stoneware storage jars, glass Mason jars.				

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Table 9. Functional Classification Categories continued.

			FUNC	FUNCTION 1		
FUNCTION 2	ACTIVITIES (ACT)	DOMESTIC (DO)	INDEFINITE (IND)	PERSONAL (PE)	STRUCTURAL (STR)	UNKNOWN/ UNDEFINED (UNK)
Firearms (FIRE)	Shotgun shells, gun parts, lead shot, gun cartridges					
Furniture/Furnishings (FRN)		Furniture parts, flower pots, upholstery, drawer pulls and knobs, mirror, clothes hook, alarm clock, vase, figurines, statues, omaments, picture frames				
Fastener (FSTNR)					Nails, screws, washers	
Grooming and Health (GNH)				Tooth/hairbrushes, combs, syringes, medicine bottles, chamber pots, toilet fragments		
Heating (H)		Wood/gas/electric heater parts/stove parts				
Hardware (HDW)					Door hinges, lock plates, brace, molding, door knobs, knobs, cleats, tubes, interior wiring, plugs, fuses	
Hunting and Fishing (HUNT)	Fishing poles, hooks, weights, sinkers, traps					
Infant Care (IC)				Pacifiers, breast pumps, nursing bottles		

Table 9. Functional Classification Categories continued.

			FUNCTION 1	Ton 1		
FUNCTION 2	ACTIVITIES (ACT)	DOMESTIC (DO)	INDEFINITE (IND)	PERSONAL (PE)	STRUCTURAL (STR)	UNKNOWN/ UNDEFINED (UNK)
Indefinite (IND)		Porcelain, earthenware, stoneware fragments that may be associated with Food Preparation and Consumption or Food Storage. Stoneware "kitchen vessels," ceramic lids.	Items with more than one potential use.			
Indulgence (INDL)				Alcohol bottles, beer cans, tobacco pipes, opium-smoking paraphernalia, gambling artifacts		
Lighting/Illumination (L/I)		Lamps and lamp parts, lightbulbs, wick burners, candle holders, lamp crystal				
Machinery (MACH)	Machinery mounts, gears, belts					
Material (MAT)					Construction materials (e.g., brick, concrete, mortar, asphalt, tiles, shingles)	
Other (OTH)	Other activity-related items that do not fit into any main subfunction	Other domestic- related items that do not fit into any main subfunction		Other personal-related Other structural- items that do not fit related items that into any main not fit into any m subfunction subfunction	Other structural- related items that do not fit into any main subfunction	

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Table 9. Functional Classification Categories continued.

			FUNC	FUNCTION 1		
FUNCTION 2	ACTIVITIES (ACT)	DOMESTIC (DO)	INDEFINITE (IND)	PERSONAL (PE)	STRUCTURAL (STR)	UNKNOWN/ UNDEFINED (UNK)
Pest Control (PC)		Fly swatters, mouse traps, rat poison				
Tools (TOL)	Shovels, files, hacksaw blades, hammers, saw blades					
Toys (TOY)				Marbles, dolls, toy guns, trucks, children's tea sets		
Transportation (TRNSP)	Railroad spikes, wagon parts, automobile parts, horseshoes, harness hardware, wagon parts					
Utilities (UTL)	Telephone pole insulators, telegraph insulators					
Unknown/Unidentified (UNK)						An item that cannot be identified and whose function is unknown
Writing (WRT)	Pen nibs, ink bottles, pens, slate writing stones					

After being assigned a primary function, each artifact was given an associated subfunction which defined its specific use within its assigned primary function.² For example, under Personal, an artifact could be related to Adornment (e.g., hair pins, jewelry), Grooming and Health (e.g., medicine, cosmetics), Indulgence (e.g., beer, tobacco-related paraphernalia, gambling artifacts), and so on. Information on artifact function was used to create tables to indicate the total percentage and number of artifact fragments in each functional category per feature.

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

Archival research was conducted at the SACRF, Siskiyou County Museum and other research facilities in Yreka, and the California State Library (Sacramento) and Sacramento Public Library. Additional research was conducted online at: Ancestry.com, newspapers.com, the California Digital Newspaper Collection, USGS Historical Topographic Map Explorer, and many others. Individuals who worked on the project were contacted via email, Facebook, and telephone, and asked a set of questions regarding their experiences working on the project and details about field and laboratory methods (Appendix D). Table 10 on the next page provides a list of the repositories and/or websites where most of the research was conducted and the types of information provided by each.

Information gathered from these sources was used to prepare the historical context of this report and the field and laboratory methods sections. Contents of archival boxes associated with the project were inventoried in an Excel spreadsheet and any original field notes, artifact notes, or photographs, were scanned and organized into folders so that the materials could be more easily accessible for the current project and for future researchers.

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² 1) Non-diagnostic earthenware fragments are marked as IND for Function 1 and IND for Function 2 as they could be from any number of items including soap dish, serving vessel, storage container, flowerpot, toothpaste jar, and so on. These are typically undecorated body sherds or pieces of white glazed earthenware (aka: White Improved Earthenware).

²⁾ Non-diagnostic porcelain fragments are marked as IND for Function 1 and IND for Function 2 as they could be a figurine, doll part, piece of toiletry item, tableware, liquor cup, etc. These are typically undecorated body sherds. For Chinese porcelain, sherds of Winter Green or Four Season Flower, that cannot be assigned to a particular vessel type are also listed as IND for Function 1 and IND for Function 2 as they could have been from either from a liquor cup (PE, INDL) or piece of tableware (DO, FDP).

³⁾ Undecorated stoneware sherds are marked as IND for Function 1 and IND for Function 2 because could be storage vessel, ale bottle, etc.

⁴⁾ If "wine cup or teacup" was in object name then the functions are IND for Function 1 and IND for Function 2; because it is not clear which one the item is.

Table 10. Research Locations.

REPOSITORY OR INDIVIDUAL &	Information Provided
State Archaeological Collections Research Facility	Original field notes, field journals and logs, site photographs, unit and feature records, maps, artifact notes, and catalogs, artifact photographs.
Siskiyou Country Historical Museum	Yreka Journal, Siskiyou Daily News, Siskiyou Pioneer, historical photographs, historical information on Chinese cemetery, Chinese in northern California
Siskiyou County Library	Yreka Journal, Siskiyou Daily News
Siskiyou County Courthouse	Civil court cases involving Chinese individuals or businesses, writs of attachment
California State Library	Yreka Journal, Siskiyou Daily News, Siskiyou Pioneer, general historical information on Siskiyou County and Yreka
Sacramento Public Library	Siskiyou Pioneer
California Department of Transportation	Provided as-builts for the I-5 project, ROW maps, and Records of Monumentation
Ancestry.com	State and federal census records
Newspapers.com	Information on Chinese in Yreka
California Digital Newspaper Collection	Information on the Chinese in Yreka
USGS Historical Topographic Map Explorer	Historical maps of Yreka
Jane Russell	Information about project methods, working conditions, personal experience of working on project
Christine Sellman	Information about project methods, working conditions, personal experience of working on project
Al Welch	Information about project methods, working conditions, personal experience of working on project
Bruce Steidl	Information about project methods, working conditions, personal experience of working on project

FIELD

Units

The Yreka Chinatown excavation took three months to complete and resulted in the excavation of 73 units and two trenches, nine features, and the recovery of more than 13,000 artifacts. Sixty-three units were excavated in Area A and ten in Area B.

Area A

Units in Area A measured 5 x 15 feet and 10 x 15 feet. The majority of the units were excavated to a total depth of 12 inches (one foot) below surface, with the exception of units associated with a feature, such as Unit A-19. Feature 1 was a possible well located in the northeastern section of Unit A-19. To trace the extent and depth of the well within Unit A-19, the northern half of the unit was excavated to a depth of 72 inches (six feet) below surface.

Stratigraphy in Area A can generally be divided into three levels with similar characteristics (Helvey and Felton 1979): 1) A layer of "potted" backdirt or fill from recently excavated areas (the area was popular among looters in the 1960s); 2) A layer of dark alluvial gravels and silts that typically contained a dense amount of artifacts; and 3) Gravelly alluvium intermixed with pebbles; mostly sterile of artifacts. Unfortunately, few stratigraphic section drawings are included in the field records, making the identification of the relative age of features and deposits difficult. However, some generalizations could be observed in some of the layers. The "potted" layer was typically located in the first 0-6 inches and contained a jumbled mix of non-Chinese and Chinese artifacts and evidence of modern disturbances (water and sewer pipes, recent refuse, ash lens from trash burning and recreational camping). This second soil type was typically encountered anywhere from six to 24 inches below surface and was less disturbed and more intact than the previous level. The presence of numerous melted/fire-affected materials in this second level may be remnants of the frequent fires that afflicted the Chinese community. In this second level, several of the units contained sandstone blocks thought to have been associated with building foundations. Additionally, remnants of cement postholes and redwood posts were also documented in this level. The third level was thought to have been the foundation layer for the construction of Chinatown and was located 24 inches below surface.

Area B

Area B units measured either 10 x 15 feet or 10 x 10 feet (see Figure 14). Units B-1, B-2, and B-3 were combined to cover an area of 40 x 60 feet. In Area B, with the exception of Unit B-4, which was excavated down to 12 inches in the eastern half of the unit, unit excavation depths were not recorded (see Appendix B. Results Summary by Unit, Area B for more detail). Units B-1, B-2, and B-3 were located in an area where a large, two-story building was believed to have been located, however, no foundations or other indications of a structure were found in this area. Overlaying the Area B field map over the 1969 as-built map and comparing this with a late 1880s photograph of Yreka's Chinatown indicates that Area B was placed nearly 300 feet south of where this two-story building was located. Units B-4 to B-10 were placed in an area where the Caterpillar uncovered pockets of complete bottles and Chinese ceramics. A layer of gravel was located on top of a midden layer (described as such due to the high density of artifacts); this was excavated out by the backhoe until sterile or the water table was reached.

Stratigraphy in Area B can generally be divided into three levels with similar characteristics (Helvey and Felton 1979): 1) Thin layer of gravel overburden deposited from periodic flooding of Yreka Creek; 2) A layer of muddy, sandy soil referred to as the "midden" layer due to the high number of artifacts encountered in this level; 3) A layer of alluvial gravels similar to those found in Area A, but generally sterile. The first level of gravel was removed by the backhoe to expose the midden level. The midden level became the surface level from which all vertical measurements were taken in these units and the level at which hand excavation began. Project field notes do not discuss how much gravel overburden was removed from the top of the units, nor their contents. In units B-5 and B-6, remnants of what was conjectured to be an old grist mill, including cement blocks and lime deposits, were identified.

Features

Fieldwork uncovered nine features, all of which were located within Area A (see Figure 14). Most of the features were hollow-filled features such as cellars, wells, and refuse pits, and many had been used for the disposal and burning of trash. Features were an average of four-to-six feet in depth and varied in length and width (Table 11). They contained a variety of Chinese and European-American artifacts, and historic and modern refuse. Table 11 provides a summary of each feature, its dimensions, contents, possible date of deposition, and function. A brief description of each feature follows, along with photographs and drawings.

Features 1a, 1b

Feature 1 is described in the field records as both Cellar No. 1 (which encompassed all of Unit A-19 and the southwestern section of Unit A-23), and as a redwood-lined well located in the northern half of Unit A-19 (Figure 21 and Figure 22). The Yreka artifact catalog contains seven entries for "Feature 1" in Unit A-19 for depths of 12-24 inches, three for 24-36 inches, and four entries for Unit A-23 at a depth of 12-24 inches. In contrast, there are 149 artifact entries for Unit A-19, which the level records refer to as Cellar No. 1. For the sake of analysis, this report refers to the cellar as Feature 1a and the well as Feature 1b.

Table 11. Feature Summary.

FEATURE	DIMENSIONS	SNC		Assoc. Unit (s)	SOIL CHARACTERISTICS/ ARTIFACTS	ARTIFACTS	INTERPRETATIONS
#	Т	W	D	I	Inclusions		
la - Cellar	15' (N-S)	10' (E-W)	į.v.	A-19	North wall shows layer of fill over a gravel layer.	Railroad spikes; metal tools; buttons; medicine bottle; Chinese porcelain fragments; chicken bones; etc.	Referred to as Cellar No. 1 in field notes.
1b - Well	69" (E-W)	(N-S)	<i>©</i>	A-19	Filled with a rocky- gravelly soil.	Colorless and brown glass bottle fragments, a button, porcelain fragments, and pieces of an orange opium pipe bowl.	Redwood siding along south and west walls appears at ~60" below surface. Northeast corner of well is 1' 1/2" from north wall and 1'3" from east wall of Unit A-19. Unknown TPQ.
2 - Cellar	>8'6' (N-S)	11' (E-W)	ñ	A-17	Dark rocky soil intermixed with bricks, decomposing wood, refuse. Shows signs of burning.	Numerous Chinese porcelain tablewares, metal utensils and tools, CBGS jars, opium pipe bowl fragments, buttons, coins, gaming pieces, WIE, etc.	Identified as a cellar but may have been a pit used for burning trash. Extends north 8.5 from the south walls of A-17 and A-23.
3 - Cellar	8'2" (E-W)	81" (N-S)	3/11"	None	Dark rocky soil, sand floor.	Chinese porcelain tablewares, medicine and liquor bottles, opium pipe bowl fragments, marbles, ehopstick fragments, marbles, buttons, gaming pieces, stove parts, miscellaneous metal tools, CBGS jars	Potted cellar lined with metal and sand-filled cans that were stacked on top of one another. Sand floor. Located one foot from the northeast comer of Unit A-24. Only complete or identifiable artifacts saved.
4 - Cellar	12' (E-W)	>76" (N-S)	4	A-14, A-15, A-29	Rocky soil, mixed with bricks and charred wood.	Opium pipe bowl fragments, Chinese porcelain tableware fragments; WIE tableware; CBGS jars; faunal remains (discarded); several pieces of melted glass (discarded)	Extends 76" south from the south walls of units A-14 and A-29. Western limit extended into northern 1/2 of A-15. Possible basement or cellar that was burned at some point.
5 - Well	Unk.	Unk.	6'2"	SW comer of A-22	SW corner of A-22 Rocky, gravel-like soil. Tree growing over feature, roots extended into the well.	Several pieces of metal discarded. Button, medicine bottle, wooden pipestem, CBGS storage and liquor jars, WIE, Chinese porcelain	Possible well. Tree roots intruding into well may account for its poor preservation. Redwood siding present along west wall.

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Table 11. Feature Summary continued.

FEATURE	DIMENSIONS	SNC		A constant	SOIL CHARACTERISTICS/	CORPORT A STREET	Limite and an analysis
#	Г	W	D	- ASSOC. UNII (S)	INCLUSIONS	AKHFACIS	INTERFRETATIONS
6 - Cellar	13'9" (E-W)	7'3" (N-S)	4.5"	A-39, A-42	Dark rocky soil.	Few complete artifacts. Numerous fragments of Chinese porcelain; Euro- American porcelain and earthenwares; CBGS vessels; metal utensils and tools; perfume bottles; toothbrush handle; buttons; gaming pieces; opium lamp fragments.	Limits of the cellar were well-defined. Charred wood outlined the cellar as well as a few burnt flood boards. Recent material found throughout the cellar and cement blocks were found at the floor level. South wall of feature is approximately 3' north of the south walls of units A-39 and A-42.
7 - Basement or cellar	11'4" (N-S, inside); 13'8" (N-S, outside)	11'4" (E-W, inside); 13'2" (E-W, outside)	4' (to top of None north wall); 5'9" from ground surface to floor of basement	None	Gravel with intermittent silt.	Several fragments of WIE and CBGS; buttons; medicine vials; and toys.	Walls made of quarried, well-dressed sandstone. Floor is mortar over compacted gravel. Northeast corner is 27' south of the southwest corner of Unit A-33. Northern end of feature is well-preserved, south wall is not as well preserved.
8 - Water well 6'8" (E-r-	(E-W)	6, (N-S)	9' (from ground surface); 7'8" (from datum)	A-47, -52, -55	A layer of gravel covered the top of the feature. Underneath this gravel layer was two primary stratigraphic zones: 1) A 15" layer of silt in the first level; 2) A 10" thick layer of silt that was dark sienna in color. Intermixed with ash and charcoal.	Numerous Chinese porcelain, WIE, and CBGS jar fragments; buttons; coins; medicine vials; opium can lids	Redwood siding preserved on south side of structure. A metal pipe that projected vertically from the well might have served to draw water. Located 31" from the south wall of A-55, 14" from the north wall, 18" from the east wall, and 14" from the east wall.
9 - Conical pit 6'2" filled with (N-S refuse, board scatter	6'2" (N-S)	5'10" (E-W)	3'7.5" (from surface); 2'9" (from datum)	Between A-54 and 56	Backfill from potted area including matrix ash, silt, charcoal, unburned wood chips, glass, nails, etc.	Mostly WIE; also Chinese porcelain; CBGS; beads; buttons; medicine bottles; metal harpoon barb	Filled with debris that likely came from an adjacent potted area on the southern boundary of A-54. Recent in origin, as two cigarette butts found in fill.
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Notes: WIE - White Improved Earthware; CBGS - Chinese Brown Glazed Stoneware.

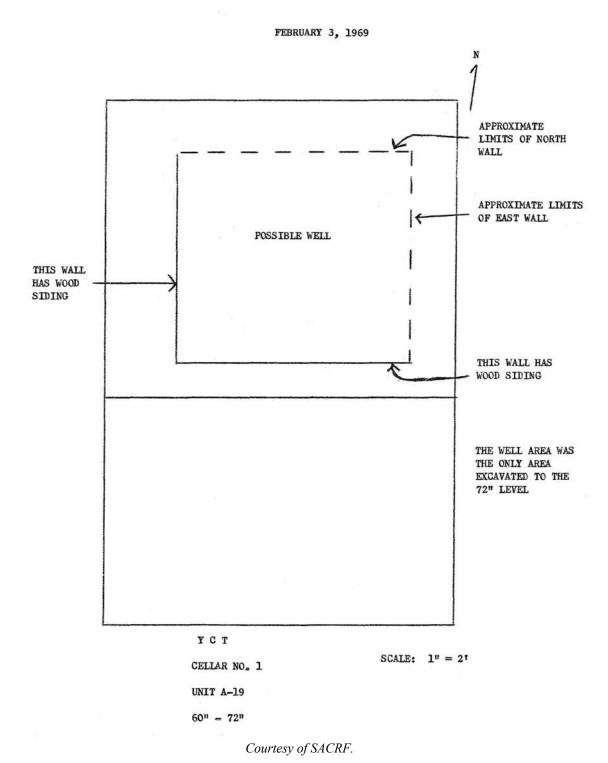


Figure 21. Unit A-19 Level Drawing.

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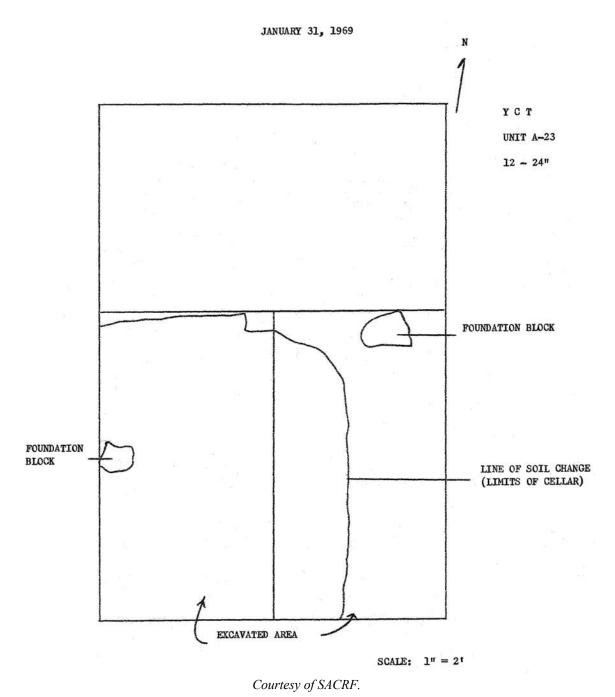


Figure 22. Unit A-23 Level Drawing.

Feature 1a is a potted cellar located in Unit A-19. Stratigraphy consisted of a layer of fill on top of a soft sandy gravel. Most of the artifacts recovered from this feature came from the top two 24 inches. A redwood plank with five supporting posts was recorded in the 48-60-inch level in the center of the unit (Figure 23). This was likely the southern wall of Feature 1b, a redwood-lined well. Feature 1b was excavated to a depth of 72 inches and contained

colorless and brown glass bottle fragments, porcelain fragments, and pieces of an orange opium pipe bowl.



Courtesy of SACRF.

Figure 23. Feature 1a showing Redwood Plank and Posts.

A total of 331 artifacts and artifact fragments representing 159 catalog entries were cataloged from Feature 1. Over half of these artifacts are related to domestic uses, including Food Preparation and Consumption (e.g., porcelain and earthenware serving vessels) and Food Storage (e.g., stoneware crockery, CBGS storage jars (Table 12). Personal use comprises 12.3% of the total number of artifacts recovered from Feature 1 and includes items related to indulgence (liquor jars, wine cup), clothing (buttons), play (a doll leg), and personal accoutrements (watch gear). Structural items include cut and wire nails, marble slabs, door hinges, and a drain cover.

Table 12. Summary of Functional Classes in Feature 1.

A DE A/LINUE	ACTIVITY	DOMESTIC	Indefinite	PERSONAL	STRUCTURAL	Unknown	Тоты
AREA/UNIT	FRAGS	FRAGS	FRAGS	FRAGS	FRAGS	FRAGS	TOTAL
Fla	18	201	28	40	38	1	326
F1b	0	3	1	1	0	0	5
Total	18	204	29	41	38	1	331
Total %	5.4%	61.6%	8.8%	12.4%	11.5%	0.3%	100.0%

Feature 2

Feature 2 was located in the southeastern section of Unit A-17 and the southern section of A-23. It was comprised of a dark, artifact-rich producing soil intermixed with bricks, rotted wood, and other debris. This overlaid a layer of sandy, gravelly soil that was sterile (Figure 24). The feature showed signs of burning including melted glass and charcoal. Feature 2 contained some of the highest concentrations of artifacts out of all the features recorded on the site (1,617 artifacts represented by 232 catalog entries). Most of these were associated with domestic use (81.1%) including food preparation and consumption, such as Chinese porcelain tablewares, metal utensils and tools, and CBGS storage vessels (Table 13). Personal use items made up the second largest category of items and included opium pipe bowl fragments, buttons, coins, gaming pieces, and so on.

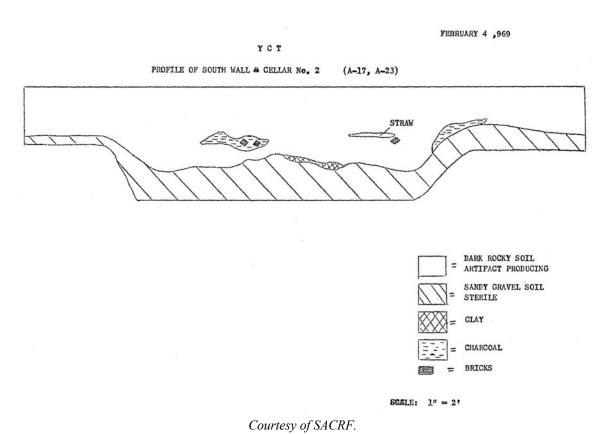


Figure 24. Feature 2 Stratigraphy.!

Table 13. Summary of Functional Classes in Feature 2.

AREA/UNIT	ACTIVITY FRAGS	DOMESTIC FRAGS	INDEFINITE FRAGS	PERSONAL FRAGS	Unknown Frags	TOTAL
F2	35	1,311	128	141	2	1,617
Total	35	1,311	128	141	2	1,617
Total %	2.2%	81.1%	7.9%	8.7%	0.1%	100.0%

Feature 3

This was a cellar pit lined with sand-filled square metal cans along the south, west, and east walls. It was located a foot from the northeast corner of Unit A-24, and behind (east of) a large section of heavily potted soil that was not excavated. The cellar had a sand floor and was filled with a dark, rocky sediment that contained cultural materials. The cans were stacked in two tiers along the cellar walls and were in varying states of decay (Figure 25). Two sizes of cans were present: 17 inches tall by 8 inches square and 16 inches tall by 8 inches square. Artifacts recovered from Feature 3 included Chinese porcelain tablewares, medicine and liquor bottles, opium pipe bowl fragments, chopstick fragments, buttons, gaming pieces, stove parts, and CBGS jars, among other items. A little over half (55.5%) of these items are associated with domestic use while most of the other items are personal use related (22.4%; Table 14).



Courtesy of SACRF.

Figure 25. Feature 3 South Wall Photo.

Tabl	e 14.	Summary	ot	Func	tıonal	Classes	ın F	eature	3.	
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A DE A /LINE	ACTIVITY	DOMESTIC	Indefinite	PERSONAL	STRUCTURAL	Тоты
AREA/UNIT	FRAGS	FRAGS	FRAGS	FRAGS	FRAGS	TOTAL
F3	14	123	6	50	30	223
Total	14	123	6	50	30	223
Total %	6.3%	55.2%	2.7%	22.4%	13.5%	100.0%

Feature 4

Feature 4 is a possible basement or cellar that was partially exposed and excavated in Units A-14, A-15, and A-29. Most of the feature was located within Units A-14 and A-29,

although the western edge of the feature was located within Unit A-15 and uncovered at a depth of 24 inches below surface. Feature 4 was filled with a rocky soil that contained bricks, rotted wood, ash, and charcoal in addition to several pieces of melted glass. A total of 250 items were cataloged from Feature 4 of which 61.6% are related to domestic use and included Chinese porcelain tableware fragments, WIE tableware, and CBGS jars (Table 15). Items of indefinite use (nondiagnostic earthenware and porcelain sherds, a crystal fragment) represent nearly 30% of the collection (Table 15). Several pieces of animal bone and the melted glass were discarded in the field. Various metal artifacts such as metal fragments, a lock, hinge, two pieces of wire, and a metal pan, were also discarded.

Table 15. Summary of Functional Classes in Feature 4.

AREA/UNIT	ACTIVITY FRAGS	DOMESTIC FRAGS	Indefinite Frags	PERSONAL FRAGS	TOTAL
F4	1	154	71	24	250
Total	1	154	71	24	250
Total %	0.4%	61.6%	28.4%	9.6%	100.0%

Feature 5

Feature 5 is a possible well uncovered in the southwest corner of Unit A-22. Redwood siding was present along the west wall of the feature. A tree was growing over the feature and its roots were intruding into the feature, which may have accounted for the poor preservation of the feature. Soil consisted of a rocky, gravel-like soil. Very few artifacts were recovered from Feature 5, in comparison to other features. Only three functional categories are represented: Activity (5.3%), Domestic (68.4%), and Personal (26.3%; Table 16). Artifacts primarily consist of Chinese porcelain and CBGS storage and liquor jars. Several pieces of broken glass (brown, colorless, green) were discarded in addition to a metal lawn sprinkler, drill, metal rod, and six corroded "copper" cans (likely opium cans).

Table 16. Summary of Functional Classes in Feature 5.

AREA/UNIT	ACTIVITY FRAGS	DOMESTIC FRAGS	PERSONAL FRAGS	TOTAL
F5	4	52	20	76
Total	4	52	20	76
Total %	5.3%	68.4%	26.3%	100.0%

Feature 6

Feature 6 was uncovered in the eastern portions of units A-39 and A-42 at the 12-24-inch level. It consisted of a well-defined cellar, outlined by charred wood and burned floorboards and with cement blocks at the base (Figure 26). The feature showed indications

of burning, including charred wood and melted glass. Recent materials were found throughout the 12-24-inch level. Few complete artifacts were recovered from Feature 6. These included opium lamp and pipe bowl sherds, earthenware fragments, Chinese porcelain, and CBGS sherds. Complete artifacts included perfume bottles, coins, buttons, several files, eating utensils, and other metal artifacts. In spite of their fragmentary state, all of the collected artifacts could be assigned specific functions (Table 17). Discarded artifacts consisted of wire, miscellaneous metal fragments, glass (brown, colorless, green), tools and hardware, modern bottles, ceramic insulators, a toothpaste tube, and jar lids.

Table 17. Summary of Functional Classes in Feature 6.

AREA/UNIT	ACTIVITY FRAGS	DOMESTIC FRAGS	Indefinite Frags	PERSONAL FRAGS	STRUCTURAL FRAGS	TOTAL
F6	13	122	24	29	3	191
Total	13	122	24	29	3	191
Total %	6.8%	63.9%	12.6%	15.2%	1.6%	100.0%

Feature 7

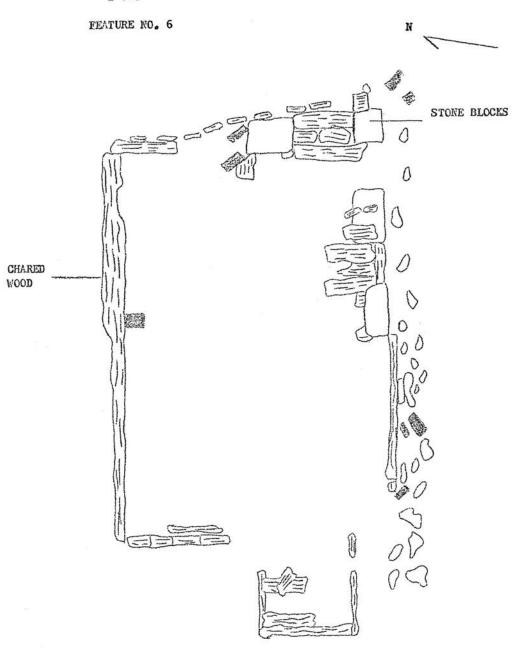
Feature 7 is a basement or cellar that was located within Area A, approximately 27 feet south of the southwest corner of Unit A-33. It was square and made with well-dressed, quarried sandstone (Figure 27 and Figure 28). The floor was mortar over sandstone. The north end of the feature was well-preserved, while the southern end was not. Fill inside the feature consisted of an artifact-bearing gravel with intermittent silt and sterile gravel deposits. A total of 144 artifacts represented by 84 catalog entries were collected from Feature 7, most of which were WIE sherds, and several buttons. Very few Chinese artifacts were documented from this feature. Several pieces of brown and colorless glass were discarded, as well as a can lid, scrap metal, and a horseshoe. A watering can was found wedged in the southeast corner of the unit (Figure 28). Nearly three-quarters (74.3%) of the artifacts identified from Feature 7 relate to domestic use, while 19.4% relate to personal use (Table 18).

Table 18. Summary of Functional Classes in Feature 4.

AREA/UNIT	ACTIVITY FRAGS	DOMESTIC FRAGS	Indefinite Frags	PERSONAL FRAGS	TOTAL
F7	5	107	4	28	144
Total	5	107	4	28	144
Total %	3.5%	74.3%	2.8%	19.4%	100.0%

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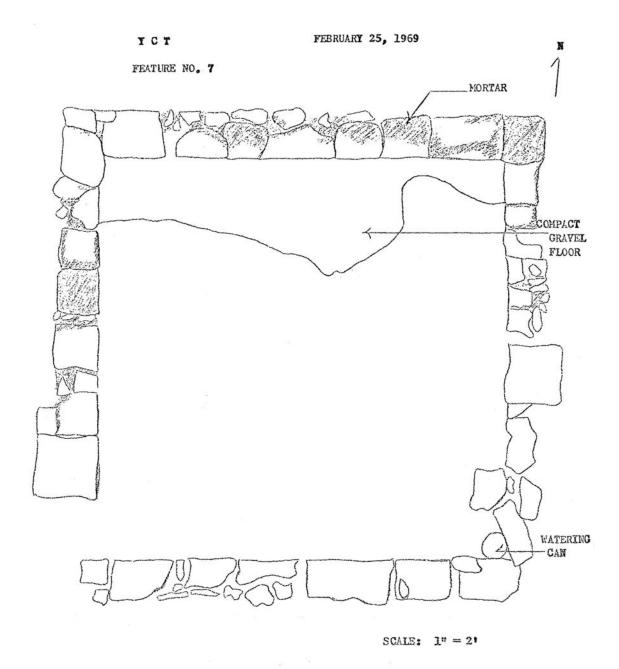


SCALE: 1" = 2"

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Courtesy of SACRF.

Figure 26. Feature 6 Plan Drawing.



Courtesy of SACRF.

Figure 27. Feature 7 Drawing.



Courtesy of SACRF.

Figure 28. Feature 7 Photo.

Feature 8 (

This feature is a possible well with decomposing redwood siding along its southern edge. A metal pipe projects from the well along its southern side. It was exposed in the northern half of unit A-55, in the southeastern corner of A-52, and in the southwestern corner of A-47. The well was covered in a layer of gravel, under which lay a 15-inch layer of silt followed by a ten-inch-thick layer of silt that was a dark reddish-brown in color, possibly due to the decomposing redwood siding. Underneath this layer of reddish-brown silty soil, there was a layer of silty soil mixed with gravel. Most of the artifacts were found in the layer of reddish-brown soil, which also contained a mixture of ash and charcoal. Feature 8 contained several complete CBGS shouldered food jars and lids (Figure 29) and glass wine and liquor bottles. Other items included WIE sherds, Prosser buttons, opium lid fragments, and coins. Over half of these artifacts (such as the stoneware food jars) relate to domestic use while 30.8% relate to personal use (e.g., wine and liquor bottles; Table 19). Archaeologists disposed of barrel hoops (n=14), a shovel head, stove pieces, wire, opium can fragments, and numerous butchered mammal bones.

Feature 9

Feature 9 is described as both a conical pit filled with refuse and as a board scatter. This conical pit was located between units A-54 and A-56. A portion of the feature cuts into the northeastern corner of unit A-56. It was filled with refuse from backfill dirt from an adjacent potted area located on the southern boundary of unit A-54. This portion of the feature was thought to have been recent in origin due to the presence of two cigarette butts found in the fill. This fill contained a mixture of ash and silt, charcoal, unburned wood chips, glass, and nails. Feature 9 is also documented as a collection of boards, redwood planks, and a sandstone foundation stone, clustered in the northwest corner of unit A-54. Nine boards with remnants

Table 19. Summary of Functional Classes in Feature 8.!

AREA/UNIT	ACTIVITY FRAGS	DOMESTIC FRAGS	Indefinite Frags	PERSONAL FRAGS	TOTAL
F8	5	94	9	48	156
Total	5	94	9	48	156
Total %	3.2%	60.3%	5.8%	30.8%	100.0%



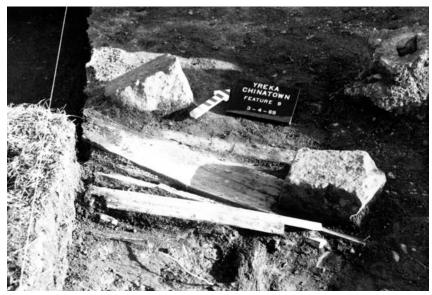
Courtesy of SACRF.

Figure 29. Feature 8 Photo with Stoneware Jars In-Situ.

of paint were found lying in an east-west direction along with decomposing redwood planks and a possible foundation block (Figure 30). A hinge found in association with these boards suggests that this was likely a collapsed structure. Feature 9 artifacts include WIE fragments, glass beads, medicine bottles, CBGS jars, and Chinese porcelain. Most glass fragments were discarded, along with a horseshoe, railroad spike, and miscellaneous metal fragments. A little over half (58.4%) of the artifacts cataloged from Feature 9 are related to domestic use (WIE fragments, Chinese porcelain, CBGS jars) while the rest are indefinite use (26.7%), personal use (12.9%), and activity-related (2.0%; Table 20).

Table 20. Summary of Functional Classes in Feature 9.

AREA/UNIT	ACTIVITY FRAGS	DOMESTIC FRAGS	Indefinite Frags	PERSONAL FRAGS	TOTAL
F9	2	59	27	13	101
Total	2	59	27	13	101
Total %	2.0%	58.4%	26.7%	12.9%	100.0%



Courtesy of SACRF.

Figure 30. Feature 9 Photo.

LABORATORY – ARTIFACT DISCUSSION

A total of 13,194 historical artifacts were entered into TMS from the Yreka Collection, which includes multiple items assigned the same catalog number, each with a different letter as part of a series (1108, 1108A, 1108B, etc.). This section provides a summary of the Yreka Chinatown historical artifacts by their primary functional class and draws upon previous work done in 1978 and in 2006. Table 21 shows the total number and percentage of artifacts in each functional category for the site as a whole. Each functional category is then discussed in more detail.

For a more extensive discussion of the artifacts, including Chinese porcelain patterns and decorative techniques as well as embossed bottle marks and bottle manufacturers, readers are directed to Liu's 2006 thesis. A brief discussion of the prehistoric artifacts recovered from the excavation is provided after the historical artifact section.

Table 21. Summary of Functional Classes for Entire Site.

TOTAL/ TOTAL %	ACTIVITY 1 FRAGS	DOMESTIC FRAGS	Indefinite Frags	PERSONAL S FRAGS	TRUCTURAL FRAGS	UNKNOWN/ UNIDENTIFIED FRAGS	TOTAL
Total	302	6,962	1,103	2,186	2,643	6	13,194
Total %	2.2%	52.8%	8.4%	16.6%	20.0%	<0.1%	100.0%

HISTORIC ARTIFACTS

Activity-Related Artifacts

Activity-related artifacts comprise 2.2% (302 artifacts) of the total number of artifacts cataloged from Yreka. Next to "Unknown," this is the smallest functional category

represented in the collection. Nine activity-related subfunctions are present in the collection (Table 22); the largest subfunctions represented include Tools and Machinery (38.3%) and Currency/Commerce (22.4%).

Table 22. Activity-Related Artifacts.

SUBFUNCTION	NUMBER OF FRAGMENTS/ PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ACTIVITY-RELATED ITEMS	Examples from Collection
Animal Husbandry	1/0.3%	Cowbell
Currency/Commerce	68/22.4%	Tokens, Lincoln penny, Liberty Head nickel, Indian head penny
Firearms	53/17.5%	Shotgun shells, cartridges
Hunting and Fishing	2/0.7%	Lead ball: fishing lure or weight, metal harpoon
Other	8/2.6%	Metal seal, radio tube, dog tag, weight, sprinkler nozzle
Tools and Machinery	116/38.3%	Axe, files, chisel, pliers, whet stone, knife blade, saw blade
Transportation	30/10.0%	Bumper tag, piston cover, railroad spikes, harness, horseshoe
Utilities	8/2.6%	Glass and ceramic telephone insulators
Writing	17/5.6%	Ink bottle, pen holder, slate pencil, mechanical pencil

Tools and Machinery comprises the largest number of activity-related items and includes axes, whet stones, hacksaw blades, a chisel, drill, pliers, files, and a variety of other kinds of tools. Most of the tools are small hand tools used in carpentry and other types of woodworking. Other types of tools include those used in yardwork such as a shovel, garden hose, and a rake.

Currency/commerce-related artifacts include 59 United States coins, three local merchant's tokens, four coins of unidentified denomination and origin, and a copper weight for a scale. The US currency is primarily concentrated in the lower denominations: pennies (n=23), nickels (n=19), and dimes (n=14) and date from 1876 to 1946 (Farris 1979). There are two quarters and a half dollar present in the collection. Farris argued that the prevalence of lower value coinage over higher value coinage, "accurately reflects the economy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when small coins would have been in great demand and use, particularly among a part of the population whose incomes were notably low" (Farris 1979). The merchants' tokens include a Clarendon Bar token, a token good for one loaf of bread from the Yreka Bakery, and one token good for "1 piece of music" from the "Nat. Piano Co." Starting around 1885, merchants began using trade tokens as a form of advertising. After an individual purchased an item at their store, the store owner would hand them a token that was "good for" a certain item or a certain amount in trade. Examples of common "good fors" were in cash, a cigar, sheet music, a shave, a loaf of bread, and a drink (Erickson n.d.).

The remaining activity-related artifacts are mostly associated with firearms (17.5%), transportation (9.9%), and writing (5.6%). Of the 41 identifiable cartridge shells and bullets recovered from the Yreka Chinatown site, the most popular caliber was a .38 (n=19), followed by the .22 (n=13), .30 caliber (n=8), and 30.06 caliber (n=1). In his study of the firearms from

the Yreka Collection, Liu (2006) identified several different manufacturers and manufacture dates, based on cartridge headstamps: Frankfort Arsenal (1832-1977); Western Cartridge Company (1898-present); Remington-Union Metallic Cartridge Company (1902-present); Smith and Wesson (1875-present); Winchester Center Fire/Winchester Repeating Arms Company (1874-1897-1934); and the Peters Cartridge Company (1896, 1898), among others. Four shotgun shells were identified in the collection: three .12 gauge and one .18 gauge.

Transportation-related artifacts are items associated with animal transportation (mule shoes, horseshoes, harness parts), car parts (piston cover, U-joint flange yoke, bumper tag, and a car jack fragment), and railroad spikes. Most of the transportation-related items were railroad spikes (20 out of 30 items). Given the proximity of Yreka's third Chinese community to the tracks of the Yreka Western Railroad and the frequent flooding that occurred here, these spikes may have come from sections of track that were washed into the town during these flooding events.

Writing artifacts included a slate pencil, mechanical pencils, pens and a pen holder, ink bottles, an ink well, and a rectangular metal box containing stamp pad with traces of red ink and faint Chinese characters (Figure 31). Traditional accounts of Chinese immigration to the United States during the nineteenth century portray the Chinese as illiterate peasants fleeing desperate conditions in southeastern China (Barth 1964; Wood 1961). However, this was clearly not the case as demonstrated by the numerous writing implements found at Yreka and at several other Chinese archaeological sites in California and Oregon (e.g., Costello et al. 2010; LaLande 1981; Rose and Johnson 2016).



Photograph by Brian Baer.

Figure 31. Red Ink Pad with Faint Chinese Characters (#769).

Domestic Use

Items related to domestic use comprise a little over half (52.8%) of the artifacts recovered from the Yreka excavation. As shown in Table 23, the two largest subfunctions are Food Preparation and Consumption (62.7%) and Food Storage (28.9%), both of which are discussed in greater detail below. The second largest subfunctions relate to indefinite use (6.0%) and furniture/furnishings (1.2%). The majority of the indefinite use items are non-diagnostic earthenware, stoneware, or porcelain sherds. Items associated with furnishing include flowerpots, mirrors, clothes hooks and clothes hangers, trunk hinges, cabinet keys, drawer handles, figurines, vases, and ornaments.

Table 23. Domestic Use Artifacts.

Subfunction	Number of Fragments, Percentage of Total Domestic Use Items	
Clothing Maintenance	33/0.5%	Safety pin, thimble, sewing machine, household bottle, hand iron, safety pin, shoe polish bottle
Food Preparation and Consumption	4,363/62.7%	Chinese porcelain and earthenware sherds and vessels, saucer, teacups, bowls, plates, mugs, pans, egg cup, drinking glass, forks, spoons, butter knife
Food Storage	1,997/28.9%	Milk bottle, canister lid, fruit jar seal, globular jar, shouldered food jar, ginger jar, crock
Furniture/Furnishings	81/1.2%	Flowerpot, figurine, decorative figure, ornament, vase, trunk hinge, clothes hook, mirror
Heating	41/0.6%	Stove parts
Indefinite	419/6.0%	Ceramic fragments, ceramic lids, stoneware "kitchen vessels"
Lighting/Illumination	28/0.4%	Wick holder, lamp or candlestick top, light bulb

Food Preparation and Consumption

Items associated with Food Preparation and Consumption include Chinese porcelain tablewares, European-American tablewares, and artifacts associated with cooking. These groups of artifacts are described in more detail below.

Chinese Porcelain Tablewares

Chinese ceramic tablewares in the Yreka catalog have been cataloged using names like "rice bowl," "teacup," or "wine cup." However, this terminology is outdated and inappropriate as it assumes that a ceramic vessel was only used to hold one specific item of food or drink. In their analysis of Asian ceramics from the Asian community of Walnut Grove, California, Costello and Maniery propose the following classification and naming scheme for bowls, cups, and plates, based primarily on a vessels rim diameter (1988:32; Table 24).

Table 24. Classification of Common Asian Ceramic Forms Based on Size.

Bowls				
Туре	Serving	Small	Medium	Large
Measurement/ Description	Larger than 25 cm in diameter.	Eight to 10 cm in diameter. Often referred to as tea bowls.	Ten to 15 cm in diameter. Often referred to as rice bowls.	15 to 25 cm in diameter.
CUPS				
Туре	Straight-sided	Tiny	Sake	
Measurement/ Description	Small bowl form with vertical "straight sides."	Less than five centimeters in diameter.	Type of Japanese small bowl with flat, widely flaring sides. Can be up to 10 cm in diameter.	
PLATES				
Туре	Small	Medium	Large	
Measurement/ Description	Less than 10 centimeters in diameter. Often referred to as sauce dishes.	Size ranges from 10 to 15 centimeters in diameter. Frequently referred to as saucers.	Has a diameter greater than 15 centimeters.	

Measurements are provided below for the most common vessel forms identified in the Yreka Collection for Chinese porcelain, with their associated size classification, based on Table 25. It should be noted that this table is not all-inclusive, and there are certain vessel forms in the Yreka Collection (such as those identified as "teacups") that do not fit into any of the categories listed in Table 24 for "cups."

Table 25. Common Chinese Porcelain Vessel Forms and Sizes in the Yreka Collection.

VESSEL FORM (FROM CATALOG)	SIZE (RIM DIAMETER)	CLASSIFICATION (FROM TABLE 24)
Teacup	7 centimeters	No matching classification
Wine cup	4.5 centimeters	Tiny cup
Saucer	8.5 to 9 centimeters	Small plate
Rice bowl	12.5 to 14 centimeters	Medium bowl

Reclassifying the Chinese porcelain tablewares in the Yreka collection based on the naming conventions outlined in Table 24 was beyond the scope of this current project, and therefore the catalog has been left as-is. The descriptions of the various types of Chinese tablewares in the Yreka Collection uses the terminology from the existing artifact catalog.

The Chinese porcelain and porcelaneous stoneware vessels located in the Yreka Collection and at many other Overseas Chinese archaeological sites are known in China as

min yao (folkware) and are common, everyday ceramics. These differed from the elaborate porcelains produced in the imperial kilns of Jingdezhen in Jiangxi Province for the emperor and his court and those exported to Europe and the United States for consumption by wealthy non-Chinese consumers (Choy 2014:2).

The names for many of these utilitarian vessels came from translations of business records from a nineteenth-century Chinese merchant in northern California, called the Kwong Tai Wo Company, that operated from 1871 to 1883. The 80-page-long inventory contained information on the price of each item for sale, the name of the item with a short description, the quantity of each item in stock, and the total value of all goods stocked in the store in American dollars (Sando and Felton 1993:153). In their analysis of 5,253 ceramic vessel entries, the authors identified common patterns including Winter Green, Double Happiness, Four Season Flower, and Bamboo. These terms are still used today to classify utilitarian Chinese ceramics.

The most commonly represented Chinese utilitarian ceramic patterns in the Yreka Collection are Bamboo, Winter Green, Four Season Flower, and Double Happiness. Specific vessel forms include bowls, soup spoons, teacups, and saucers. Bamboo vessels are a type of porcelaneous stoneware with a blue-gray background and a dominant motif featuring a field of bamboo, with blossoms and a rock next to the bamboo (Figure 32). The pattern was nearly exclusively used for bowls (Sando and Felton 1993). Two other design elements appear on the opposite side of the bowl and were originally interpreted by archaeologists as a dragonfly and three circles, and the name "Three Circles and a Dragonfly" was used to describe this pattern. It has also been called "Three Friends" and "Swatow" ware based on the bowls' supposed origin (Choy 2014:2).



Photograph by Brian Baer.

Figure 32. Bamboo Vessel (#2546).

Double Happiness bowls are named after the character for double happiness, which is repeated three times around the sides of the vessel. The rest of the bowl between the characters is covered by closely spaced, thin curved and spiraled lines, which led to this pattern originally being called "Swirl." Originally, decorators took time carefully painting the double happiness characters and they were very recognizable. As more kilns opened and this ware became

mass-produced, artists had limited time to decorate the vessels and began drawing less detailed, sloppier characters that looked more like flourishes rather than characters (Choy 2014:3). Double Happiness ceased to be imported to the United States by the beginning of the twentieth century; although complete or nearly complete examples are rare after 1870 (Choy 2014:2; Felton et al. 1984:41). Both Bamboo ware and Double Happiness were manufactured in the eastern region of Guangdong, in Dabu County in the Meijian Province (Choy 2014:4).

Winter Green vessels were also called Celadon, and the name is derived from a French word that refers to the vessels light bluish-green glaze. As an interesting side note, the Winter Green vessels were more expensive than "Green" ceramics, which were listed in the Kwong Tai Wo inventory as being half the price of Winter Green vessels. The characters used for Winter Green are the same as those used in China to describe blue green foliage, while those used for Green vessels simply translate to the color green. It is possible that these green wares may include both true Celadon glazes and other similarly colored but technically distinct glazed wares (Sando and Felton 1993:259). There are a range of forms in Winter Green pattern in the Yreka Collection, including bowls, teacups, wine cups, and spoons. Most of these vessels are marked with blue seals, or reign marks. Liu translated three wine cups and bowls in the collection with the mark ri, which translates into "sun" (2006:45). Winter Green was manufactured at kilns in Jingdezhen in northeast Jiangxi Province (Choy 2014:6). According to Choy, the term "Celadon" is a misnomer as it refers specifically to the monochrome green porcelain produced in Lung Chuan County in Chekiang (Zhejiang) Province during the Sung Dynasty (960-1280 AD; Choy 2014:6).

Four Season Flower ware is the most common Chinese porcelain pattern found in the collection and includes rice bowls, serving bowls, shallow dishes, wine cups, spoons and saucers. The Four Season Flower design contains clearly identifiable floral elements representing each of the four seasons: Spring (Peony), Summary (Lotus), Fall (Chrysanthemum), and Winter (Plum). An abstract design called a "Mystic Knot" is often found on the base. Four Season Flower wares were produced in the Jingdezhen kilns and the pattern dates back to the Chia Ching (1796-1821) reign of the Ching Dynasty (Choy 2014:7).

A number of other Chinese porcelain patterns are present in the collection, these are summarized below in Table 26.

Table 26. Chinese Porcelain Patterns in the Yreka Chinatown Collection.

NAME OF PATTERN/WARE	DESCRIPTION &	VESSEL FORMS REPRESENTED
Shou Ware (aka: "Longevity")	Includes the characters for longevity painted on the exterior in three colors: yellow, orange, and green. These are painted over the glaze. Above the characters is a band of diamonds (Figure 33).	Teacups, bowls
Shanghai Ware (aka: "Flower and Vine," "Plant with Central Flower," "Simple Flower," "Sweet Pea")!	Underglaze cobalt blue flower?!motif on a white porcelain body. Contains a chain of concentric ellipses on the shoulder, sweet pea blossoms and foliage below, and parallel strokes along the bottom.	One sauce pot (fragmented)

Table 26. Chinese Porcelain Patterns in the Yreka Chinatown Collection continued.

NAME OF PATTERN/WARE	DESCRIPTION	VESSEL FORMS REPRESENTED
Polychrome	Blue-white tinted glaze on exterior with an overglaze enamel decoration applied in green, pink, orange, yellow, and blue colors. The decoration depicts a scene of flowers, birds, butterflies, and fruits.	Two teapot vessels
Orange Glaze	Orange background glaze with polychrome enamel over the entire vessel body. Hand-painted flower motifs in green, yellow, and white (Figure 34).	Teacups
White Porcelain with Dragon and Characters	Partial red-painted dragon motif and red Chinese characters. Gilded outlines on rim, base, and handle of vessel (Figure 35).	Teacup
Dotted Hexagonal Band	White background with green hexagonal band containing four dots above and below which are orange stripes.	One fragment from an unknown vessel
Polychrome Design with Green Interior	White exterior background and green-glazed interior. Two versions: 1) Exterior design has two horizontal bands and two rectangles outlined in orange and filled in with yellow. 2) Green glazed interior with hand-painted overglaze enamel. Has a gold, red, and black hand-painted floral motif.	
Red Transfer Print Branches	White background with large yellow horizontal band in center separated by red lines. Branches are drawn in between the red lines and are curved line designs with flower buds at the ends.	Teacups
Gold and Transfer Print	One gold band with light blue band underneath.	One porcelain rim
Polychrome Transfer Print	Polychrome transfer print over a white porcelain body. Green, orange, or pink colors are used to display an outdoors scene with a tree in the foreground.	Fragment from an unknown vessel.
Underglaze cobalt blueware * Summerized from Liv 2006	Various design motifs: village scene, flower and geometric shapes, vines, two columns or horizontal "V" line drawings.	Fragments from unknown vessels

^{*} Summarized from Liu 2006.



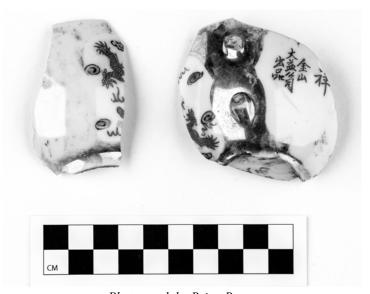
Photograph by Brian Baer.

Figure 33. "Shou Ware" or Longevity Teacup (#1231).



Photograph by Brian Baer.

Figure 34. Ceramic Sherd with Orange Background and! Hand-Painted Polychrome Flowers (#58).!



Photograph by Brian Baer.

Figure 35. Teacup Fragment with Hand-Painted Dragon Design and Gilding (#1985b, 2207a). !

Distribution of the four major Chinese porcelain patterns in the collection (Double Happiness, Four Season Flower, Winter Green, and Bamboo) across Areas A and B was analyzed in the late 1970s. Out of the four patterns, Double Happiness was the least common while Four Season Flower was the most common. There were 16 vessels identified with the Double Happiness design in Area A and none in Area B. A total of 250 vessels with Four Season Flower design were identified in Area A, but only one in Area B, despite it being the most common pattern type. Winter Green was perhaps the second most-numerous pattern in the collection, with a little more than 200 pieces in Area A and nine pieces in Area B. One-hundred and fifty-five pieces of Bamboo ware were identified in Area A, while 13 were cataloged from Area B. Feature 2 contained the highest concentration of Four Season Flower (35 pieces) and the highest concentration of Winter Green vessels (26).

European-American Tablewares

The largest category of European-American ceramics present in the Yreka Collection are earthenwares including pearlware, creamware, whiteware, ironstone, redware, and yellow ware. Earthenware with a white glaze appears to be the most prevalent, though it is unclear what specific ware type this is referring to (e.g., white improved earthenware, or "WIE," pearlware, granite ware). "Ironstone" appears to be the only earthenware with a white body that is named in the catalog. Red and yellow wares are much fewer in number. A variety of earthenware vessel forms are present in the collection, including saucers (n=128); bowls (n=127); plates (n=312); teapots and teapot fragments (n=48); teacups (n=53); mugs (n=10); cups (n=4); and tureen fragments (n=26). In addition, there are 19 "plates or saucers," 12 "bowls of cups," 4 "bowls or mugs," 1 "bowl or pitcher," 5 "plates of bowls," and 12 "bowls or teacups." Other, less common forms include platters (n=2); relish dishes (n=9); sugar bowls (n=2); pitcher or gravy boats (n=7); baker (n=1); and creamers (n=4).

Pamela Helvey examined decorated European-American earthenwares from Area A units and Features 1-9 and identified the following decoration types: colored glazes, molded relief, transfer print, gilded, gilded with polychrome transfer print, banded polychrome, and Gaudy Dutch. Gaudy Dutch was a style of white earthenware made in England for the American market from around 1810 to 1820. It featured Imari-style decorations of red, blue, green, yellow, and black (Kovels 2018). Imari ware is an English term for a type of pottery produced in the Arita region in Southern Japan and exported around the world throughout the 1600 and 1700s (Perry 2011). Colored glazes included turquoise, light blue, robin's egg blue, blue and white, yellow, light yellow, blond, green-yellow, green, tan, brown, fuchsia, polychrome, polychrome-hand-painted, and burnt-pink. Transfer print colors included blue, green, brown, turquoise, polychrome, and polychrome with a yellow glaze. In addition to whitewares, other ware types were identified and include yellowware (with clear glaze or blue sponge decoration); redware with a white slip; and blueware with decoration.

In his study of white glazed earthenwares in the Yreka Collection, Liu (2006) identified 21 makers' marks. Most of the ceramics were produced in the Staffordshire District in England, and only two were produced in the United States. Some of the most recognizable manufacturers include William Adams and Sons (1819-1864); John Edwards (1880-1900); John Maddock and Co. (post-1906); Charles Meakin (1870-1882); and Homer Laughlin (1874-1897; Liu 2006:66-67). In the late 1970s, Felton and his researchers conducted studies of all of the ceramics makers' marks and assigned an average Terminus Post Quem (TPQ) to each Area and each feature, based on average TPQs for each unit within each Area and each

level within each feature. The average TPQs for each area and feature are as follows: Area A, 1889; Area B, 1914.63; Feature 1, N/A (no makers' marks identified); Feature 2, 1880.17; Feature 3, N/A; Feature 4, 1890; Feature 5, 1866.5; Feature 6, N/A; Feature 7, 1862.83; Feature 8, 1919.33; Feature 9, 1926.5.

European-American porcelain tablewares are also present in the collection, though in much smaller amounts than earthenwares and Chinese porcelains. In his research, Liu identified the following decorative categories: plain, glazed, transfer-printed, gilded, handpainted, and other (2006). Colored glazes include blue-gray, brown, orange, yellow, green, and mottled green. Transfer-printed vessels include blue rectangular and scroll designs, blue perpendicular stripes, and one vessel with orange, purple, and pink floral designs. Gilding occurs on two vessels as a gold band along the rims. Finally, hand painted decorations include a single saucer with gray flowers, and a bowl and a plate with parallel green lines running horizontally along the edge of the rims. "Other" items include a cup fragment and a cup plate with a clear white glaze and no decorations. Manufacturers' marks on porcelain vessels included: "Buffalo China/1923;" "Z.S. & Co./Bavaria" (pre-1870); "D.E. McNicol Pottery Co." (1920-1960s); and "Wallace China Co." (1931 to early 1960s; 2006:72-73).

Cooking Items

Items related to cooking comprise 18.3% of the activity-related artifacts in the Yreka Collection. Examples of cooking-related artifacts include measuring cups and spoons, frying pots and pans, spatula, butcher knives, etc. Artifacts associated with Chinese cooking methods include shallow stoneware cooking pans, meat cleavers, and grinding or grating bowls, which are stoneware vessels that have been scored repeatedly on the inside base of the vessel (Figure 36). Similar vessels have been found at other Chinese sites including American River Chinatown in Folsom, California, the Woodland Opera House site, and China Camp. These vessels were used for macerating vegetables, preparing sauces, and grinding herbs, and are still sold for use in kitchens today.

Food Storage

The majority of artifacts associated with Food Storage in the Yreka Collection are CBGS vessels. Other items include fruit jar seals, milk bottles, and European-Ameri can stoneware crockery vessels.

Chinese Brown-Glazed Stoneware (CBGS)

Chinese Brown Glazed Stoneware (CBGS) also referred to as Chinese Utilitarian Brownware (CUB) was commonly used for food and wine storage containers. According to Choy, CBGS was produced in kilns like the Nanfeng Kiln in Shiwan, Guangdong Province (2014:12). Different types of vessels were produced by individual guilds that specialized in producing specific items. For example, the Gong Tarp Guild produced large jars for water, huge jars for keeping goldfish, and sugar jars. The Nga Chang Guild and the Jarn Deep Guild produced containers for wine and oil, while the Hak You Guild made wine bottles (2014:12). Yang and Hellmann (2013) describe these vessels as "having a simple brown glaze, rough fabric, and infrequent occurrence of Chinese characters stamped on the base" (215). They are not a good tool for dating a site as the forms of the pots have remained the same for the past 200 years or



Figure 36. Cooking Pan Fragments with Incised Lines on Interior (#765n).

more (216). The exterior glazes of these vessels vary from iridescent brown to almost black, while the interior glaze is typically a thin, light brown or buff color. The body of the wares is gray to buff in color.

CBGS forms identified in the Yreka Collection include a barrel jar (232), globular jar (493), shouldered food jar or spouted jar (572), spouted jar (57), shouldered food jar (265), and liquor jar (363; Figure 37). Liquor jars are discussed in the section on Personal Use artifacts. The names of these vessels are based on their form, rather than their function.

In their reanalysis of 147 CBGS vessels recovered from the 1990 Sacramento H156 Project, Yang and Hellmann interviewed ten Chinese elders to gain a better understanding of how these vessels were used, what was stored in them, and what they were commonly called. Table 27 provides Mandarin, Cantonese, Chinese character, and English translations, of CBGS vessels located in the Yreka Collection, and has been adapted from Yang and Hellmann's work. Also included in Table 27 are the terms commonly used by archaeologists to refer to these vessels.

Barrel jars (*wa gang*) are large, wide-mouthed and barrel-shaped jars. The jar interior, lip and lid that fit over the jar have a thinner, lighter-colored glaze than the exterior (Felton et al. 1984:43). Barrel jars are a large, straight-sided jar. They were used to package "sheet sugar" (about the size of a candy bar), as well as rice, other grains, sticky rice powder, and whole soybeans. Oral interviews with older Chinese Americans revealed that, prior to proper plumbing and the availability of clean tap water, barrel jars were placed outside and used to catch rainwater. They may have also been used to ship the bones of deceased ancestors back home to China (Yang and Hellmann 2013:221).



Photograph by Brian Baer.

Figure 37. Chinese Brown Glazed Stoneware Vessels in the Yreka Chinatown Collection (#2531, 1550, 1781).

Table 27. Traditional Names of Chinese Brown Glazed Stoneware Vessels.

MANDARIN	CANTONESE	CHINESE	ENGLISH TRANSLATION	ARCHAEOLOGICAL TERM
Wa Hu	Nga Hú	瓦壷	Stoneware pot	Spouted jar
Kuo Kou Wa Ping	Fùt Hów Ngá Peng	濶口瓦瓶	Wide-mouthed pottery bottle	Shouldered jar
Ying	Aang	罂	Round jar with small opening	Globular jar
Wa Gang	Ngá Gong	瓦缸	Pottery barrel	Barrel jar

Globular jars (*ying*) have a bulbous shape with a rolled rim. Some have lug handles for a rope. The original content of many of these jars was distilled liquor, although they may have also held oil. According to Yang and Hellmann, "stores and taverns used the larger ones to ship liquids, while the medium and small ones were used in households" (2013:220). These vessels were also used to hold pickled carrots, scallions, salted cabbage, melons, ginger, and salted duck eggs.

Shouldered food jars (*kuo kou wa ping*; also referred to as wide mouthed jars) have a round, squat body with a wide, lipped opening in the center. The lip consists of a narrow bead of clay formed by rolling the top of the short neck out and downward. The lids of these jars are small, slightly concave disks of a grey-to-buff porous body and are slightly larger in diameter than the mouths of the jars (Figure 38). Many have an unfired white clay on the convex face. The lids would be placed on top of the jar, dished side up, and sealed with clay

(Felton et al. 1984:47). These jars were mass produced and designed to hold a variety of items, such as tofu, beans, cabbage, and shrimp paste.

Spouted jars (*Wa Hu*) have a round, squat body with a small, lipped opening in the center and a spout to the side. They could contain soy sauce, liquor, black vinegar, or peanut oil.



Photograph by Brian Baer.

Figure 38. Shouldered Food Jar Lids (#2553, 2548, 2552, 1086, 2550).

Other Chinese Stoneware Storage Vessels

Ginger jars are small, green-glazed, straight-sided stoneware storage jars. Small, straight-sided storage jars are referred to as *chong* in Mandarin or *jiung* in Cantonese, meaning "covered cup" in English (Yang and Hellmann 2013:219). They have a flat-topped, knobless lid that fits over a short straight neck. These jars were made to hold a special product like ginger root, syrup, or crystallized ginger (Lister and Lister 1989:43-44).

Non-Chinese Food Storage Items

Non-Chinese food storage items in the Yreka Collection include crockery jars, mason jar lids, glass milk bottles, a pickle jar, glass food jars, stoneware and glass mineral water bottles, and a can opener. Several stoneware "canisters" are also identified in the Yreka catalog, but it is unclear as to whether they are Chinese or European-American in origin.

Results 83!

Clothing Maintenance

Items related to Clothing Maintenance include safety pins (n=22), a crochet hook fragment (n=1), a sewing machine (n=1), a thimble (n=1), a hand iron (n=1), brown glass Bleach bottles (n=4), and shoe polish bottles (n=3).

Indefinite

A total of 1,103 artifacts and artifact fragments representing 8.4% of the total functional categories are related to indefinite use. These items include nondiagnostic ceramics, shells, bottle stopper, milk glass sherds, and metal keys (Table 28).

Table 28. Indefinite Use Items.

Subfunction	Number of Fragments/ Percentage of Total Indefinite Use Items	Examples
Indefinite	1,103/100%	Green stone, table, coal, cork stopper, knife blade, metal fragments, leather fragments, ceramic fragments, skeleton key

Personal Use

Personal-use items comprise 16.6% of the functional categories represented in the Yreka Collection. Of the 2,186 personal-use artifacts in the Yreka Collection, over half (54.4%) are associated with indulgence-related activities and include soda and beer bottles, CBGS liquor jars, Chinese porcelain wine cups, opium-smoking paraphernalia, and gaming pieces (Table 29). The second largest personal use category is Clothing (23.0%) and includes clothing fasteners, most of which are buttons. There are 285 items (13.0%) in the collection related to Grooming and Health which include medicine bottles and vials, perfume bottles, razors, toothbrushes, hairbrushes, etc. Children's toys comprise 5.6% of the Personal Use category and include doll parts, marbles, roller skate keys, toy guns, dominos, and children's tea sets. There are also personal accoutrement (pocketknives and watches) and adornment items (jewelry) present in the collection in smaller amounts. Very few items were associated with indefinite, infant care, or recreational use, within this category.

Drinking

In total, there are 44 glass beer bottles or beer bottle fragments in the collection, which are brown, aqua, green, and colorless. There are seven bitters bottles, six whiskey bottles, three champagne bottles, 29 wine bottles, and 22 liquor bottles. Felton and his team analyzed makers marks and brand names on all of the embossed alcohol bottles in the collection and came up with date ranges for each feature. For Feature 1, there are two date ranges listed: 1870-1917 and 1880-1917. For Feature 2, the range is 1870-1917. Feature 3 also has two date ranges: 1858-1912 and 1879-1900. Feature 4 has bottles that range in date: 1856-1917, 1895-present, and 1902-1930. There is no data for Feature 5 or 7. Feature 6 had one datable alcohol bottle from 1942. Feature 8 contained bottles ranging in date from 1870 to 1917 and 1903 to 1938. Feature 9 had bottles that were made from 1895 to 1917 and 1910 through the present.

Table 29. Personal Use Artifacts.

Subfunction	Number of Fragments/ Percentage of Total Person Use Items	Examples
Accoutrement	64/2.9%	Pocket knife, watch gear, pen knife, sunglasses, spectacles, Glass beads, pin, pearl, bone ring, jade bracelet
Clothing	503/23.0%	Buckle, buttons, suspender clasp, snaps
Entertainment	15/0.7%	Jew's harp, music box, record fragments, musical instrument
Grooming and Health	285/13.0%	Perfume bottles, medicine vials, medicine bottles, razors, toothbrushes
Indefinite	2/<0.1%	Corkscrew, narrow brown glass bottle
Indulgence	1,190/54.4%	Soda bottle, beer bottle, liquor jar, wine cup, opium smoking paraphernalia, gaming pieces
Infant Care	4/0.2%	Baby bottle nipple
Toy	123/5.6%	Doll parts, marbles, roller skate keys, toy guns, dominos, children's tea sets

In addition to glass alcohol bottles, the Yreka Collection contains an impressive number (357) of CBGS liquor jars. These are tear-drop shaped vessels with narrow necks, and flared rims. Some containers were stamped on the base with a chop mark, indicating their place of manufacture. One unique liquor jar in the Yreka Collection is only 8.9 centimeters tall, has a 3.2-centimeter-diameter finish, and a base that is 3.8 centimeters in diameter (see Figure 37). It has a narrow, tapering neck and is unglazed on the interior. Similar vessels were identified in a refuse deposit in San Francisco during excavations for the San Francisco Clean Water Program N-5 pump site in 1978 (Pastron et al. 1981). These are described as "small, high-necked ovoid ceramic jars," with thin walls that were thrown on a wheel. These vessels averaged 8.6 centimeters in height, with a 3.4-centimeter rim diameter and a 3.9-centimeter base diameter (Pastron et al. 1981:419). Pastron et al. argue that, based on contemporary vessels sold in San Francisco's Chinatown, these likely contained a type of alcoholic beverage (1981:418).

They have also been referred to as wine bottles and Tiger Whiskey by archaeologists, the latter being a reference to the fact that some contained medicines with animal parts, including that of a tiger. Two common types of Chinese liquor, Wu Jia Pi (Mandarin)/Mm Ga Pei or Ng Ga Py (Cantonese) and Mei Gui Lu (Mandarin)/Mui Guai Lo (Cantonese) were sold in liquor bottles and can still be found in contemporary Chinese grocery stores in the United States (Yang and Hellmann 2013:219). Those that contained liquor were 100% proof and were made from rice or sugarcane.

As hinted at above, these tear-drop shaped jars could also contain medicine distilled in alcohol, thus blurring the lines between indulgence and medicine. Tonic wines contained herbal ingredients distilled in liquor and were considered to have restorative powers. They could increase one's energy flow, or qi, enhance blood circulation, strengthen the kidneys,

and treat rheumatism. *Mei Gui Lu/Mui Guai Lo*, or rose-essence wine, was a tonic/medicinal wine that contained rosebuds and crystal sugar and was about 50% alcohol by volume. Chinese rosebuds were used to treat stomach pain, indigestion, poor appetite, depression, irritability, and other ailments (Shi et al. 2010).

Chinese liquor was served in both tiny and small porcelain cups, in Winter Green, Four Season Flower, or Polychrome Floral designs. The Yreka Collection contains a total of 54 liquor cups/liquor cup fragments. Liquor was also served in more refined vessels, including liquor decanters which were commonly decorated with a Simple Flower design motif.

In their analysis of 53 liquor bottles from the collection, Liu identified four bottles embossed with: "FEDERAL LAW//FORBIDS THE SALE OR//REUSE OF THIS BOTTLE//4/5 QUART," on their midsection, which post-date 1933 due to the prohibition laws (2006:60). Two of the liquor bottles contain partial maker's marks on the base: "KIE FU...CHINA," and fragmentary Chinese characters translated as: "Vital Hong Kong Harbor Abundantly Rich" (2006:60).

Opium-Smoking Paraphernalia

Opium smoking provided Chinese laborers with a temporary escape from an oftenhostile environment and a chance to socialize with fellow Chinese. It was also used as a general analgesic and was frequently used to treat indigestion (Benedict 2011, 108-109). Opium took about 5-10 min. to prepare and a half hour to smoke. Opium for smoking was a viscous liquid that had to be cooked over a lamp until it became soft, and its moisture evaporated. It was smoked while lying down, using a pipe with a bamboo stem and a bowl attached to the far end of the stem (Wylie and Fike 1993).

There are a total of 225 items related to opium smoking in the Yreka Collection, including 143 opium pipe bowls; 54 opium "tin" fragments (a misnomer, as these were made from brass, not tin); 12 glass opium lamps, seven opium pipe connectors, and two opium pipe repair holes. The opium pipe bowls were made from stoneware and earthenware and came in gray, orange, and unglazed varieties (Figure 39). There is one unglazed porcelain opium pipe bowl in the collection with an impressed floral design and the Chinese character for longevity. Most of the opium pipe bowls were found in Feature 2 (n=59), Unit A-12 (n=5), and Unit A-17 (n=9). The pipe bowls come in various shapes and sizes—circular, hexagonal, octagonal, and faced bodies. Many have Chinese characters inscribed on the sidewalls of the pipe bowl (Figure 39). Most of the opium cans in the collection have been separated at the seams and pounded flat. The lids of opium cans were often stamped with the brand name of the opium—ones identified in the collection include Source of Beauty and Abundant Luck. Source of Beauty was one of most popular opium brands, as was Abundant Luck (Liu 2006:80).

Opium-pipe bowls had thin walls and were prone to breakage. The Yreka Collection contains two WIE buttons that appear to have been modified to serve as opium pipe replacement holes (Figure 40). The thin nature of the tops of opium pipe bowls made them easily susceptible to breakage (Figure 41). Smoking hole inserts and mending tools, including bow drills, saws, files, burnishers, and hammers are all items that may have been used to repair these damaged tops (Wylie and Fike 1993:293).

In their study of 259 opium bowls from private collections and from an excavation of Riverside's Chinatown, Wylie and Fike identified at least four distinctive manufacturing techniques for opium pipe bowls: 1) Wheel-thrown in one piece; 2) Wheel-thrown in a solid

piece, with carved interior; 3) Molded in two pieces with a slip-welded top; and 4) Molded in two pieces, usually with a coil-welded top (Wylie and Fike 1993:272-273). For each manufacturing technique there are various types that reflect variations in the shape of the smoking surface. Wylie and Fike identified 50 separate bowl types. The author of this report located 130 opium pipe bowls and bowl fragments in the Yreka Collection and classified these using Wylie and Fike's classification scheme (Appendix E). Wylie and Fike argued that, "based on clay type, surface treatments, and overall appearance" opium pipe bowls can be grouped into "expensive" and "inexpensive" classes, which can be used as a form of economic scaling when interpreting a site (1993:293).

Gambling Paraphernalia

Gambling has been a prominent part of Chinese culture since as early as 2300 BC. The world's earliest playing card comes from China and is dated to around the eleventh century AD (Chang 2004). Chinese gambling and gaming practices have fascinated scholars, such as nineteenth-century ethnographer Stewart Culin, who sketched and described games he observed the Chinese playing in Philadelphia.

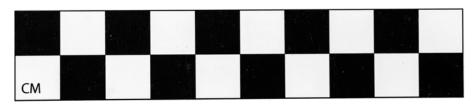
Gambling items in the Yreka Collection include gaming pieces, coins, dominos, and a poker chip. The gaming pieces were made from glass, cut-up opium tins, and other metal containers. There are 211 glass gaming pieces that are black, white, dark blue, and dark green in color (Figure 42). There is also one unusual red glass gaming piece in the collection. They were either "black" (black, dark green, brown, or blue) or "white" in color. Glass gaming markers were used in the game of wei qi, a game of strategy that uses these small, glass gaming pieces to surround an opponent and prevent further play. When the game concludes, players



Photograph by Brian Baer.

Figure 39. Orange Opium Pipe Bowl with Chinese Characters (#1532).

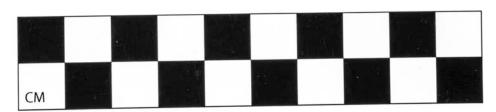




Photograph by Brian Baer.

Figure 40. Opium Pipe Replacement Hole, Likely a Button (#1072).





Photograph by Brian Baer.

Figure 41. Top of Opium Pipe Bowl Showing Damage (#1532).



Photograph by Brian Baer.

Figure 42. Glass Gaming Pieces (#2019).

count up their territories and the number of captured pieces to determine which of them has the most points (Mueller 1987). The gaming markers may have also been used in the game of *fan-tan*, or "repeatedly spreading out," which was a simple elimination game that involved betting on the odds of a certain number of game counters or cash (coins or other small objects) remaining after groups of four were removed (Chang 2004; Culin 1891; Figure 43). The black discs were called *hak chü* (black pearl) and were worth \$1.00, while the white discs were called *pak chü* (white pearl) and were worth \$5.00.

The collection also includes 38 brass discs made of tin or brass and octagonal or "French square" in shape that might have been used as gaming tokens/markers. Some of these have holes punched in the center, as to allow them to be strung on a string. They may been cut from opium cans. Similar examples were found in the Jacksonville Chinese quarters (Rose and Johnson 2016).

Coins were also used as gambling tokens. The Yreka Collection contains 72 Chinese wen coins, six Vietnamese dong pieces, and two Hong Kong one-cent pieces (Farris 1979:50). Wen coins were low-denomination brass coins; most recovered at Chinese sites in North American range in diameter from 18 to 28 millimeters and date from the Qing Dynasty (Akin

2015:114). The Vietnamese *dong* coins were typically cast from zinc, which tends to oxidize easily and deteriorate more rapidly (Akin 2015:110). Accurately dating these coins is a difficult task as they were minted and circulated during an extended period of time in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These coins had little monetary value in the United States and instead were used by the Chinese as gambling tokens and game counters (Akin 2015:110).



Library of Congress, LC #: LC-USZ62-80213. Date unknown.

Figure 43. Staged Photo of Chinese Engaged in a Game of Fan Tan in Canton, Kwangtung Province, China.

Bone and wooden dominos are also present in the Yreka Collection. Chinese dominoes, or *kwat pai* ("bone tablets") were made from bone, wood, or ivory, and typically measured 2 5/8 inches long, 7/8 inches wide, and 3/8 inches thick. They were incised with spots painted red (for the numbers 1, 4, and alternate 3s), and black or white (for all other numbers) on the front and back faces. One dot was incised on the end. In comparison to European American dominoes, Chinese dominoes came in sets of 32, with 21 different pieces, 11 of which were duplicated.

Chinese dominoes were divided into two sets, or suits. The 11 duplicated pieces paired with their doubles comprised the *man* ("civil") set, while the remaining 10 pieces comprised the *mò* ("military") set. Examples of the man pieces include 6-6, called *t'in* ("heaven"); 1-1, called *ti* ("earth"); and 4-4, called *yan* ("man"). Examples of the *mò* pieces include 2-4 and 1-2, called *chi tsün* ("supreme"); and 6-3 and 4-5, called *tsáp kau* ("heterogeneous nines"; Chang 2004; Culin 1895).

Clothing

All of the clothing items in the Yreka Collection are clothing fasteners, of these there are 472 buttons, seven buckles, 18 studs or stud buttons, one rivet, one snap, four suspender clasps and one suspender clamp, one garter and one garter hook, and one cuff link.

Ann L. Howard wrote a detailed analysis of the buttons from Yreka Chinatown, although the manuscript was never formally published. In her analysis of 453 buttons from Yreka Chinatown, Howard identified 275 glass buttons, 145 pearl shell buttons, 14 metal buttons, four bone buttons, and 15 miscellaneous composition buttons.

Most of the glass buttons in the collection are identified as "white glass." The "white glass" buttons are most likely Prosser buttons, made by a process of compressing dry china clay powder into mold and dies and firing them at a high temperature, giving them a glass-like appearance (Sprague 2002). This process was invented in 1840 by Richard Prosser. Prosser buttons usually have a sew-through or loop-shank backing and have a distinctive orange-peel like texture on their reverse side. A popular type of Prosser button was the "calico" button which featured a colored transfer-printed design on its face meant to imitate the cotton fabric that contained small geometric dot-and-line designs in various colors (Howard 1973:14). Howard identified three calico buttons in the Yreka Collection—one with a lavender design, one with a blue tear-drop design, and the third with a black, dot-cluster design. Other Prosser buttons in the collection have what Howard describes as a "fluted ringer" design—more commonly known as a piecrust design—featuring concentric fluted impressions on the exterior edge of the button. Other types of glass buttons in the collection include a cone-shaped green glass button, transparent blue glass button with faceted dome, and a colorless glass button.

Howard identified 145 "pearl shell" buttons in the Yreka Collection; however, these are actually two different types of buttons. "Pearl buttons" were cut from the iridescent lining of marine shells and were imported from Europe through the mid-1800s. The most expensive pearl buttons were made entirely by hand during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They were prepared by washing, acid treatment, and then were sawn into squares that were then rounded into button blanks (Howard 1973:322). Shell buttons were made from freshwater shellfish gathered from the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers and were used for shirts, undergarments, and children's clothes (Claassen 1994). From around 1850, machines were invented that used a tubular saw to cut out round button blanks, that were then split into layers, depending on the type and thickness of the button, and then sorted, cleaned and decorated.

Types of metal buttons in the Yreka Collection include a "gilted" brass button with an Omega-type shank manufactured by the Scovill Manufacturing Company between 1840 and 1850 (Howard 1973:2-4). Gilting refers to the coating of gold applied to brass buttons made from 1800 to 1865. Omega-type shanks are looped wire backings in the shape of the Greek letter Omega and were a common attachment on metal buttons produced during this time. The collection also includes a "sporting button" which were worn on "sporting garments" (e.g., waistcoats, riding habits, hunt costumes) or were buttons that depicted sporting scenes. One button in the collection (catalog number YCT-310) depicts a "Stag's Head" holding a gun, powder horn, and game bag (Figure 44). Another decorative metal button in the collection features a velvet backing where the metal has been cut out so that the velvet forms part of the design (Howard 1973:7). The collection also includes two- and four-holed sew-though metal



Sketched by Ann L. Howard. Courtesy of SACRF.

Figure 44. Decorative Stag's Head Button.

overall buttons and metal buttons with shank loops. Metal work buttons in the collection are made of brass, tin, and iron. One brass Chinese shirt button, erroneously labelled as an "ornament" in the catalog, resembles a small bell.

Bone buttons were typically used on undergarments and were plain. Fancier, more decorative versions were used on outer wear. To make a bone button, the bone was boiled to clean and soften it, and while soft, it was sawed open, flattened and the marrow removed. Blanks were cut and then spun on a lathe to thin the disk and apply the rim and decorative rings. Bone buttons in the Yreka Collection are plain, four-hole sew-through buttons that measure roughly 5/8 inch in diameter.

The Yreka Collection also contains plastic buttons, celluloid buttons, and hard rubber buttons. Synthetic plastics began in 1865 with the development of parkesin, followed by celluloid in 1869. Parkesin is made with castor oil and chloroform while celluloid is made with nitro-cellulose and camphor. Celluloid was used to imitate ivory and was intricately carved an inlaid. The first synthetic polymer, Bakelite, was invented in 1909. In 1844, Goodyear patented the process for vulcanized rubber, which was improved upon by his son in 1851. "Vulcanization" is a process by which the rubber was combined with Sulphur and heated, causing it to harden. Hard rubber buttons had a variety of attachment types (loop shanks, pin shanks, sew-through) and were often backstamped with the manufacturer's name (Pool 1991). They were used primarily for outerwear (such as coats) due to their durability.

Grooming and Health

Grooming and health-related items in the Yreka Chinatown Collection include medicine vials and bottles, bone toothbrushes, combs, tweezers, razor blades, compacts, glass cosmetic cream jars, a hair curler, extract bottles, and a syringe. Of the 115 medicine vials in the collection, most are Chinese in origin and are small, hand-blown aqua glass vials. According to Armstrong, older archaeological often report these bottles as "opium bottles"; however, this is a misnomer as these bottles did not contain opium but instead contained single doses of medicinal pills, powder, or oil (1979:236). Chinese glass medicine vials were made

as tubes and then dipped into molten glass, and afterwards shaped on a hard surface to produce a rectangular form (Lister and Lister 1989:70). The vial was snapped off the tube, which resulted in a sheared neck or lip of the bottle (Lister and Lister 1989:70). Bottles were securely sealed with a wax-covered cork. Paper labels were affixed to the outside of the bottle, indicating their contents and the name of the manufacturer. However, these peeled off easily under certain conditions, and were replaced with embossing (Go 2003:113).

In a detailed analysis of 108 Chinese medicine vials, Felton's group identified the following shapes and colors: round, light green (two complete bottles); oval, colorless (one base fragment); hexagonal, light green/aqua (two complete bottles); rectangular, apple green (two indeterminate fragments, one complete bottle); and aqua (13 base fragments, six side pieces, six tops, 30 indeterminate, and 45 complete bottles). Vials range in size from 4.3 to 7.1 centimeters tall; a maximum width at the shoulders from 1.3 to 1.6 centimeters, and base dimensions from 1.2 x 1.0 centimeters to 1.5 x 1.2 centimeters (Liu 2006:82).

Though paper labels on Chinese medicine bottles are frequently not preserved in the archaeological record, studies of Chinese medicine bottles in museum collections can provide clues as to what they were used to treat. A bottle from the Asian American Comparative Collection at the University of Idaho Laboratory of Anthropology in Moscow, Idaho, with red paper label and wax seal contained a remedy for the treatment of colds and stomach discomfort, while another was for protecting the eyes. In some cases, they claimed to treat a range of ailments. For example, a bottle of "Po-Sum-On Oil," also in the Asian American Comparative Collection, was used to treat colds, congestion, skin irritations, and upset stomach (Heffner 2012:126).

In addition to studying museum collections of Chinese medicine, chemical analysis of residue left behind in Chinese medicine bottles can provide information on the original contents of these medicines (Rose and Johnson 2016; Voss et al. 2015). Analysis of residue from Chinese medicine bottles recovered from excavations of Chinese communities in Jacksonville, Oregon, and San Jose, California, revealed evidence of the use of cinnabar (mercuric sulfide), which was commonly used in Chinese medicine and is considered a "stone drug." Cinnabar is used in Chinese medicine to treat a variety of bacterial and fungal infections.

European American medicine bottles include both patent medicines and prescription medicines. A patent medicine is a "preparation to which sole manufacturing rights are claimed by virtue of owning the formula"—rather than truly patented with the US Patent Office (Bingham 1994:5). Patent medicines typically contained a mixture of ill-tasting herbs, mixed with alcohol, water and sugar. Makers of these "medicines" claimed they could treat a variety of ailments. As the name implies, prescription medicines required a doctor's written prescription to obtain. Patent medicines in the collection include Dr. J. Hostetter's Stomach Bitters, McMillan and Kester's Essence of Jamaican Ginger, Fletcher's Castoria, and Mrs. Winslows Soothing Syrup, among others (Table 30). A prescription bottle from the Churchill's Drug Store, a pharmacy that operated in Yreka from 1898 through 1932, is also in the collection (East 2015). While some patent medicines were designed to treat specific ailments, such as malarial fever, indigestion, and coughs, many claimed to cure a whole host of ailments.

Table 30. Patent Medicines in the Yreka Collection.

NAME OF MEDICINE	DATE RANGE	Uses	REFERENCE
Dr. J. Hostetter's Stomach Bitters	1858-1912	Used to treat malarial fever and indigestion. Could contain up to 47% alcohol.	Wilson and Wilson 1969:35-41
Dr. Wistar's Balsam o Wild Cherry	f 1844-1942	Balsams were resins taken from the sap of balsam fir trees and were used as expectorants, for treating skin disorders and purgatives.	Fike 1987:28; Gould 1896:133-134
McMillan and Kesters Essence of Jamaica Ginger	1875-1879	Used to treat digestive problems and was also purportedly able to cure cholera and health problems brought on by a change in climate or diet.	
Chas H. Fletcher's Castoria	1887-1930	This was a laxative that was advertised for use on children, having the ability to "restore sweet dispositions and domestic tranquility" (Armstrong 1979:227).	Wilson and Wilson 1971:132
Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup	1849-1880	As a soothing syrup for teething babies. Contained morphine, sodium carbonate, spirits foeniculi (alcohol), and aqua ammonia.	Wilson and Wilson 1971:98, 145
Sloans N. and B. Linament	1856-1918	Purported to cure a variety of ailments: coughs, muscle soreness, rheumatism, sprains, bruises, sciatica, neuralgia, headaches	Heffner 2012:173
Bromo-Seltzer	1888-1900	Headache, neuralgia, brain fatigue	Heffner 2012:340; Wilson and Wilson 1971:24, 107
Listerine	1880-1930	Advertised as a treatment for preventing serious colds. It was an alcoholic solution of boric acid, benzoic acid, thymol, and other aromatic substances.	Devner 1970:13
Dr. King's New Discovery for Consumption	1878-1930	Advertised to treat "coughs, colds and all bronchial affections of the throat, chest, and lungs" (Fike 1987:109). Contained 4% alcohol.	Wilson and Wilson 1971:124

Table 30. Patent Medicines in the Yreka Collection *continued*.

NAME OF MEDICINE	DATE RANGE	USES	REFERENCE
Mayr's Wonderful Remedy, Chicago	1913-1948	All forms of stomach upset. According to a 1913 newspaper ad, the medicine "removes the poisonous catarrh and bile accretions, taking out the inflammation from the intestinal tract and assists in rendering the same antiseptic" (San Francisco Call, July 20, 1913)	
Shiloh's Consumption Cure	1873-1916	"Heal and strengthen the lungs, cure cold and stop the cough" (<i>Marin Journal</i> , March 28, 1901).	Fike 1987:106
Ozomulsion	1880-1915	Norwegian cod liver emulsion that claimed to cure a variety of ailments. Advertised for use "For weak, thin, consumptive, pale-faced people, and for those who suffer from chronic skin disease and weakness of lungs, chest or throat" (Los Angeles Herald, January 22, 1903)	Farnsworth and Farnsworth 2003:114

The collection also contained small, colorless glass homeopathic vials (Figure 45). Homeopathy was first introduced by Samuel Hahnemann in 1810 and involved administering tiny doses of medicine (Bivins 2007:89-90). Homeopathic treatments were made from a mixture of herbs, minerals, and animal parts whose chemical properties produced symptoms similar to the disease being treated. Homeopathic medicines were sold as individual vials or in kits for home use with instructions for proper administration.

There is one complete bone toothbrush in the Yreka Collection, seven bone handles, one wooden toothbrush handle, and three bone toothbrush heads (Figure 46). The bone toothbrush heads are Chinese, based on the number of holes and scoring on the back. The Chinese are credited with inventing the first toothbrush in the 1490s. Chinese examples, made of bone, had (four or) five rows of holes drilled into the head of the toothbrush and had scoring on the back. Boar hair was threaded through the holes and glued in place (Douglas 2007).

Toys

Toys in the Yreka Collection include dolls (14 fragments), balls (n=2), a bicycle pedal (n=1), cap pistols (n=2), toy guns and pistols (n=9), roller skate keys (n=3), toy vehicles (n=6), a toy fireman (n=1), a toy shovel (n=7), a piece from an erector set (n=1), marbles (n=70), and pieces from a child's tea set (n=4). Dolls in the collection are made from porcelain and bisque. Porcelain dolls were developed when European porcelain factories such as Meissen and Biedermeier, with long histories of producing elegant figurines and china, began producing finely sculptured, expensive dolls heads. These dolls date to the second quarter of the nineteenth century (Pastron et al. 1981). Bisque dolls are made from an unglazed



Photograph by Brian Baer.

Figure 45. Medicine Vials (#91, 473, 1037, 2454).



Photograph by Brian Baer.

Figure 46. Complete Bone Toothbrush (#2253).

and matte porcelain and were popular during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The cheapest and most widely sold porcelain doll during the nineteenth century was the "Frozen Charlotte" doll—a one-piece, unjointed porcelain doll that measured four to six inches in height and was typically manufactured in the nude. The name was derived from a popular ballad about the vain and beautiful young Charlotte who rode in a sleigh winter night without a blanket because she wanted to show off her beautiful dress, she then froze to death (Pastron et al. 1981).

Most of the marbles in the collection are made of ceramic (unglazed clay, porcelain, crockery, stoneware) or glass (machine-made and handmade; Table 31). Clay marbles were first commercially produced in the United States in 1884, and were last produced at the end of World War I. A popular type of clay marble was the crockery marble, named for the mottled blue, white, and brown glazes on their exterior that resembled a crockery jar. Crockery marbles have small pock marks on their sides from where they rested against others in the firing process. Glass marbles were made by hand in Germany starting around 1846 and continuing through World War I. Following the war, the marble industry in Germany did not recover, and hand-made marbles were no longer produced there by about 1920 (Randall 1971:103-104). Handmade glass marbles were being produced in the United States starting in the late 1880s, followed by machine-made glass marbles in 1901 (Randall 1971:104-105). Hand-made glass marbles can be distinguished from machine-made glass marbles by the presence of two irregular spots on opposite sides, where the marble was twisted and cut off from glass rod. In addition, hand-made are clear, while machine-made marbles are opaque, with thick swirling colored glass.

Table 31. Types of Marbles in the Yreka Collection.

CATALOG#	CERAMIC - TYPE	GLASS	GLASS HANDMADE OR MACHINE MADE?	OTHER MATERIAL/COMMENTS
2818	Unglazed clay, possibly porcelain	-	-	-
2018-A	Porcelain	-	-	Hand painted
2018-B	-	X	Unknown	-
2018-E	Unglazed red earthenware	-	-	-
2018-C	Stoneware	-	-	Crockery Marble/Bennington
2018-D	Unglazed clay, possibly porcelain	-	-	-
2219	Unglazed clay, possibly porcelain	-	-	-
2646 (2)	Porcelain	-	-	-

Table 31. Types of Marbles in the Yreka Collection *continued*.

CATALOG#	CERAMIC - TYPE	GLASS	GLASS HANDMADE OR MACHINE MADE?	OTHER MATERIAL/COMMENTS
433	-	X	No	-
2096A	-	X	No	Opaque white
1236	-	X	Unknown	-
2349	-	X	No	-
2444	-	X	Unknown	-
2262 (3)	Unglazed clay, some with green tint	-	-	-
2614	-	X	Unknown	-
2509	Porcelain	-	-	Hand painted
2573	-	X	Unknown	-
2600	-	X	Unknown	White color
2080F	Earthenware with traces of red paint	-	-	-
2080A	Porcelain?	-	-	-
2080G	-	X	Unknown	-
2080E	-	X	No	-
2080D	-	X	No	-
2080	Porcelain	-	-	Remnant of paint
2080B	-	X	No	-
2080C	-	X	No	-
2408	-	-	-	Stone?
2408A	Clay	-	-	Has traces of pink paint
2407-A	Crockery	-	-	-
2407	-	X	Unknown	-
2407-B	-	X	Handmade	-
2261-A	-	X	Unknown	-
2261	-	X	Machine made	-
1440	-	X	Machine made	-
1943	Clay	-	-	Painted a reddish pink. Catalog tag says it's a "small ball"

Table 31. Types of Marbles in the Yreka Collection *continued*.

CATALOG#	CERAMIC - TYPE	GLASS	GLASS HANDMADE OR MACHINE MADE?	OTHER MATERIAL/COMMENTS
1236	-	-	Machine made	-
1173-A	-	-	Unknown	-
1173	-	-	Unknown	-
1859 (2)	One bisque porcelain one glazed porcelain	,-	-	-
1859-A	-	-	-	Bluish stone
862	Grayish-colored clay	-	-	-
1271	-	X	Unknown	-
1006	-	X	Unknown	-
1342A	-	X	Unknown	-
1342	-	X	Machine made	-
510	-	X	Machine made	-
964	Crockery	-	-	-
331-A	-	X	Machine made	-
331	-	X	Handmade	-
688	-	X	Handmade	-
688 (duplicate)	-	X	Machine made	-
688 (2) (duplicate)	Hand-painted porcelain	-	-	-
885A	-	X	Machine made	-
885B	-	X	Machine made	-
885C	-	X	Machine made	-
885	Bisque porcelain	-	-	-
105-A	-	X	Unknown	-
105-B	-	X	Unknown	-
105	-	X	Handmade	-

Structural

Structural materials comprise 20.0% of the total functional classes within the Yreka Collection. Of these, nearly all (96.4%) are fasteners, including tacks, screws, wire nails, machine-cut nails, washers, and rivets (Table 32). Machine-cut nails (or square nails) were manufactured from 1805 through the 1890s. They were made by feeding a sheet of metal into a shearing blade that cut the nails into uniform sizes. The nails were headed using a machine with an arm that gripped the nail as soon as it was cut and applied tremendous pressure to the end of the nail to flatten it. Wire ("round") nails were produced from the 1890s through the present. They were produced by feeding the end of a roll of wire into clamps or a gripper die that would grasp the length of the nail shaft with a short length projecting past the clamp that pulled the wire. A cutter die squeezes the point of the nail onto the shaft, while separating it from the wire roll (Nelson 1968).

Structural hardware comprises 2.2% of the structural-related items and includes door latches and hinges, gate hinges, cabinet knobs, doorknobs, a faucet, keyhole plate, and various locks. Structural materials include window glass, marble slabs, and a field tile. There are nine other structural-related items which are decorative pieces of cast stone.

	Number of Fragments/	
SUBFUNCTION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL STRUCTURAL USE ITEMS	EXAMPLES
Fastener	2,548/96.4%	Tacks, screws, wire nails, washers, rivets
Hardware	57/2.2%	Doorknobs, hinges, handles, cabinet locks, keyhole plate
Lighting/Illumination	8/0.3%	Porcelain insulators, porcelain cleat, electrical fitting
Material	21/0.8%	Marble slabs, window glass, field tile
Other	9/0.3%	Decorative cast stone pieces

Table 32. Structural Use Artifacts.

Unknown

Remarkably, only six items (<0.1%) out of the 13,194 historical artifacts and artifact fragments in the Yreka Collection had an unknown use. These include plastic fragments, a rusted metal object, and a piece of talc.

PREHISTORIC ARTIFACTS

By Andrea E. Maniery

The Yreka excavation also led to the recovery and collection of 67 precontact and contact-era objects. These artifacts, which included expedient tools, projectile points, and debitage were analyzed for several discreet attributes. X-Ray Fluorescence and Obsidian Hydration studies were conducted on 17 artifacts from the collection, and the results are summarized below. Most of the artifacts were not recorded in detail by the original excavators,

and the provenience information has been lost to time. However, six artifacts retained unit and depth information, allowing for some discussion of spatial distribution of the precontact component within Yreka Chinatown. A summary of artifacts from this collection are presented in the following sections, and more detailed methodology and results discussions can be found in Appendix F, in addition to the original prehistoric report from the 1960s and the letter reports from the X-Ray Fluorescence and Obsidian Hydration results.

Debitage

Despite the small sample size of debitage from Yreka, many details concerning the lithic debris were recorded during analysis. Material type, condition, cortex, breaking patterns, platforms, termination, size class, and flake type were recorded. Size class, material, and condition are perhaps the most telling features of the Yreka collection. Most notably, the collection of debitage (n=42) was overwhelmingly obsidian, with only one fine-grained volcanic material present within the debitage. Most of the flakes present in the collection were also very weathered, indicated by rounding on the flaked edges of the artifacts and the development of a fresh rind beginning to form on flake scars and breaks. None of the flakes retained their natural cortical surfaces. These artifacts were also primarily fragmented, with only nine flakes complete (21% of total debitage). The guidelines to determine complete flakes included discernable single interior surfaces, intact or determinable striking platforms, a hinge or feather termination, and lateral edges that are complete enough to still measure width (Sullivan and Rosen 1985). Although a fragmented collection, most of the flakes present were likely for and the result of early middle biface manufacture.

Two fragments of flaked glass were recorded and collected from Yreka Chinatown and stored with the lithic artifact collection. These were not assigned a catalog number or provenience information. Both flaked tools were made on historic glass: one colorless and one green.

The size of the assemblage was divided into size classes, each representing a 5-millimeter interval. Figure 47 represents the distribution of size classes from Yreka, with debitage bags on the x-axis and size on the y-axis. To avoid skew, as the bags were originally sorted into weight categories and have inherent size bias, Figure 48 depicts all of the artifacts plotted against size class. Artifacts measuring less than 10 millimeters in maximum diameter were rare in the Yreka assemblage, appearing only as outliers in the YCT-A catalog number. Most of the flakes ranged larger, between size class 3 and 7 (10 to 25 millimeters). Although difficult to know the collection bias present during the original excavation, it is possible that some of this apparent preference for larger artifacts is due to excavators collecting the biggest pieces of debitage over micro-flakes and flake remnants. The excavation crews collected artifacts during the excavation through 1/4-inch screen, or did not screen it at all, and fine resolution of pressure and retouching flakes is likely lost (Anonymous 1970s).

Projectile Points and Other Tools

Aside from debitage, 23 flaked tools and projectile points were collected from the site, along with two ground stone artifacts: a pestle and a digging stick weight. Several of these tools were discussed in detail within the original brief write-up for the prehistoric artifacts at Yreka (Anonymous 1970s). Perhaps the most uncommon tool is the digging stick weight, similar to the "donut"-shaped weights found on the Santa Barbara Islands of California

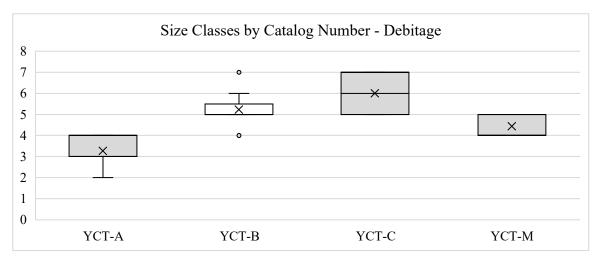


Figure 47. Size Classes of Yreka Debitage – Box and Whiskers.

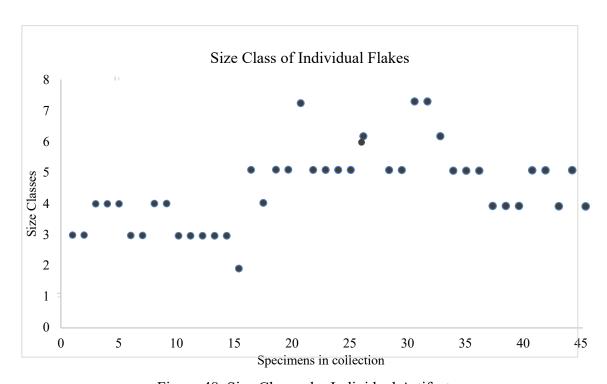


Figure 48. Size Classes by Individual Artifacts.

(Gill 2016). The pestle appears used for both battering and grinding, with a flat battered bottom and wear around the edges suggesting use within a stone mortar. Besides artifacts, clam shells were collected from the excavation from units in the "A" area of the site, at least one of which also contained precontact lithic materials.

The analysis of the lithic debitage revealed several new additions to the tool assemblage to add to the scraping and core tools described in the prehistory report from 1969,

mostly in the form of utilized or retouched flakes. At least one of these expedient tools was created from a blade preform and likely used as a knife, with use-wear on both sides.

The projectile points were measured using methodology outlined for the Great Basin in Thomas et al.'s (1981) Monitor Valley Key. Although far from Yreka, the Great Basin typology has been used for decades to guide researchers to type general forms of points in northwest California, as forms tend to be shared across regions. However, chronology and region-specific forms of this area of California have been documented and fine-tuned (Basgall and Hildebrandt 1989). One of the projectile points is made from Franciscan chert (catalog number YCT-2020) while the other three are obsidian, one point with a defined eared base and side-notching (catalog number YCT-2826) and two leaf-shaped points, one with serration around the edges (YCT-E, YCT-F; Figure 49). The two leaf-shaped points most closely relate to the McKee point typology (Basgall and Hildebrandt 1989:Figure 18) and fall within the average metric data provided for points fitting this category. However, it is also possible the two from Yreka served a blade or knife function rather than as an arrow or dart function. The corner-notched point is more ambiguous to place typologically. Although it bears resemblance and metric comparison to the Clikapudi style of point (Basgall and Hildebrandt 1989:Figure 11), this is a broad and problematic category. Along a similar vein, the eared projectile point recorded at Yreka Chinatown fits into the broad category of Elko-eared points (Thomas et al. 1981), which were widespread over the entire region. In the original prehistoric report, it was referred to as a Desert Side-Notched point Redding subtype (Anonymous 1970s), first described by Baumhoff and Byrne (1959) and reiterated by Basgall and Hildebrandt (1989). However, catalog number 2826 lacks the typical squared base and has above average size-metrics for the Desert Side-Notched series. It is closer to a small Elko Eared.

These points were not dated using OH; however, the Clikapudi points range between 2500 and 3000 BP in age, and no younger than 1500 BP, while McKee points average older, around 4,000 years ago.

X-Ray Fluorescence and Obsidian Hydration Studies

Seventeen samples were sent to the labs of Tom Origer (Origer's Obsidian Laboratory) and Richard Hughes (Geochemical Research Laboratory) to trace the artifacts to geochemical sources and measure the ages of the obsidian artifacts at Yreka Chinatown (Table 33). All of the artifacts returned from the Grasshopper Flat/Lost Iron Wells/East Medicine Lake geochemical grouping, approximately 50-60 miles east of Yreka.

The OH results yielded mixed means, with some evidence of weathering noted during debitage analysis. When possible, two bands from the same artifact were measured to inform interpretation of artifact reuse at the site, as older artifacts that are picked up and resharpened for use will often contain two hydration rims: an older and a younger band. This was indeed the case, as YCT-L yielded mean band measurements of 3.5 and 8 on two rims. The gap between use-lives of the artifact was less pronounced in YCT-1810, whose bands were separated by a difference of 1.2 microns.

All obsidian hydrates based on its chemical signature in combination with temperature and precipitation variables unique to its depositional environment. However, the Medicine Lake Highland grouping has been extensively researched and an approximated hydration mean to radiocarbon year relationship is possible for the Lower Klamath Basin (Basgall and

Hildebrandt 1989). These relative ages are linked to cultural eras previously discussed in this volume and are presented in Table 33, with the full calibrated ages presented with local temperature and precipitation data for Yreka in Appendix F.



Photograph by Brian Baer.

Figure 49. Projectile Points from Yreka Chinatown Lithic Collection (#2826, 2020, two have no numbers).

Discussion and Conclusions

The small collection of lithic artifacts from the late 1960s Yreka Chinatown excavations suggest a mixed deposit of tools and debitage that were possibly picked up and reused or collected by the local community. The weathered, fragmented, and large individual size of the assemblage indicates that older tools and younger tools from nearby were possibly brought preferentially to the site, or that Yreka Chinatown was constructed on top of an existing precontact site. Alternatively, the large size of the artifacts may also imply a degree of sampling bias, as the focus of the salvage excavation in the late 1960s was Chinatown artifacts, and precontact resources may have been discarded or lost when preferential screening occurred. Despite that possibility, the weathering and fragmenting of the lithics in combination with intermixed older and newer relative age-ranges show a degree of displacement for the tools. The landscape surrounding Yreka is ripe with sites where historical collection may have occurred. In addition to the ethnographic village of *Kusta* to the north

(Kroeber 1925), evidence of other precontact occupations nearby Yreka have been recorded in recent years by archaeologists, including SIS-3795/H and SIS-3794. These two sites also

Table 33. Means and Sources from X-Ray Fluorescence and Obsidian Hydration.

CAT#	SAMPLE#	DESCRIPTION	MEAN* %	%RELATIVE PREHISTORIC ERA	SOURCE
132	YCT-I	biface midsection	5.6	Middle Archaic	GF/LIW/Medicine Lake Highland
133	YCT-J	biface	3.6	Middle-Late Archaic	GF/LIW/Medicine Lake Highland
129	YCT-K	Biface	6.1	Early Archaic	GF/LIW/Medicine Lake Highland
135	YCT-L	Utilized Flake	3.5	Late Archaic	GF/LIW/Medicine Lake Highland
135	YCT-L	Utilized Flake	8	Paleoindian	GF/LIW/Medicine Lake Highland
2067	A-26	Utilized Flake	3.9	Middle-Late Archaic	GF/LIW/Medicine Lake Highland
2389	A-38	Utilized Flake	4.4	Middle Archaic	GF/LIW/Medicine Lake Highland
126	ҮСТ-М-В	Debitage	4.9	Middle Archaic	GF/LIW/Medicine Lake Highland
126	YCT-M-C	Debitage	4	Middle Archaic	GF/LIW/Medicine Lake Highland
126	ҮСТ-М-Е	Debitage	1.8	Late Prehistoric	GF/LIW/Medicine Lake Highland
126	YCT-M-F	Debitage	4.8	Middle Archaic	GF/LIW/Medicine Lake Highland
126	YCT-M-I	Debitage	3.1	Late Archaic	GF/LIW/Medicine Lake Highland
126	YCT-M-K	Debitage	3.6	Middle-Late Archaic	GF/LIW/Medicine Lake Highland
949	YCT-949	Scraper	5.1	Middle Archaic	GF/LIW/Medicine Lake Highland
1019	YCT-1019	Biface	1.1	Late Prehistoric	GF/LIW/Medicine Lake Highland
1810	YCT-1810	Debitage	2.2	Late Archaic- Late Prehistoric	GF/LIW/Medicine Lake Highland
1810	YCT-1810	Debitage	3.4	Late Archaic	GF/LIW/Medicine Lake Highland

Notes: * See Appendix F for BP data with temperature and precipitation calibration.

exhibit precontact or multi-component assemblages. While SIS-3794 is a sparse, shallow deposit of flaked tools, SIS-3795/H indicates a prehistoric occupation site with depth of deposit concomitant with historic-aged refuse (Hamusek and McGann 2003; Hamusek 2011b).

A second possibility is the integration of Shasta Native American Groups into Yreka neighborhoods. Although most of the lithics did not retain provenience information, the six that did were distributed across the breadth of the site in both the A and the B areas, at different depths and locations. A single collector of artifacts from surrounding sites or a group of a few collectors may have resulted in a concentration of artifacts within a single residence rather than an even dispersement throughout the site. However, without additional provenience

information, it is inconclusive to draw firm conclusions concerning the spatial distribution of these artifacts.

Two fragments of flaked historic glass were also recovered from the site, and although they lack provenience information, serve to imply the presence of Native Americans at Yreka who may have engaged in retaining traditional toolmaking activities. It is even a possibility that older tools were being collected from nearby locations and repurposed, as some of the artifacts are very weathered with large hydration bands, with both a younger and an older band on the same artifact (catalog number 135; YCT-L; see Table 33). Other communities at the end of the contact era have evidence of Native communities, but typically these are separate from European-American and Chinese neighborhoods, sometimes even resulting in conflict and tensions as competition for work increased (James 2011). If Shasta people did live concomitantly with Chinese communities at Yreka, it would be a rare occurrence of shared spaces by marginalized groups.

The Yreka Chinatown lithic collection, although small, depicts an interesting story of reuse and integration of lithic artifacts into a contact-era setting. Old tools were repurposed for new tasks, and a full age spectrum of artifacts were present from all precontact cultural eras. Utilized flakes, broken and fragmented flakes once likely used for biface production, and limited ground stone in conjunction with historic artifacts and flaked glass support the possibility of a Native community at Yreka Chinatown. However, the lack of provenience information, small sample size, and sampling bias prevents a firm conclusion about this population or the degree of integration they may have had, or even if the Chinatown was situated on a precontact site and some collection occurred. Both hypotheses may be responsible to some extent for the patterns observed here.

Discussion and Interpretation

The following section provides a discussion and interpretation of the Yreka Chinatown site, based on a combination of archival research, field excavation data, and artifact analyses. Information from similar artifact assemblages and Chinatown excavations, will be brought in as comparative data.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDERING

As described in the Research Design chapter, questions related to Chronological Ordering focus on the length of time a site was occupied, evidence of site reuse, and a site's positioning in relation to larger regional timelines. The 1969 excavations were at the location of Yreka's third Chinese community, the previous two being located within the main sections of town. This third Chinatown was established in 1880 and continued to be occupied through the 1930s, at which time extensive and repeated flooding of Yreka Creek and a recent fire had forced most of the Chinese to leave the area. Census records indicate that in 1900 there were 86 Chinese living in Yreka, by 1910 there were 37 Chinese in Yreka, and in 1920 there were only 20 Chinese living in Yreka. This pattern of Chinese moving out of small mining communities such as Yreka, was not uncommon. In Jacksonville, Oregon, the Chinese community had a peak population of around 400 individuals in the 1860s and 1870s, and then, due to a decline in local economic industries like mining, along with growing anti-Chinese sentiment, the population began to steadily decline (Rose and Johnson 2016:17). By 1880, only 49 of Jacksonville's 1,699 residents were Chinese and by 1890, only 12 Chinese were enumerated (Rose and Johnson 2016:17).

The extensive scale of the excavation coupled with its salvage-oriented nature, led to a lack of stratigraphic control across the site. Units were massive, ranging in size from 5 x 15 feet to 10 x 15 feet and were excavated in arbitrary, one-foot levels, rather than clearly defined stratigraphic layers. Stratigraphic profiles were not prepared for most units, and most soil was not screened. Additionally, some units and features showed a high degree of post habitation mixing, likely due to pot hunting. The presence of modern (1950s-1960s) artifacts such as beer cans and bottles and fire affected materials in several of the hollow-fill features, suggests the area was used by town residents for dumping their refuse once the Chinese community had left.

In spite of these shortcomings, the artifact assemblage contains numerous diagnostic artifacts, including United States coinage, embossed bottles, and ceramic vessels with manufacturer's marks. Extensive research was conducted by Felton and his researchers in the late 1970s, as well as by Liu in 2006 on diagnostic artifacts in the collection. Though these dates were not entered into the current TMS catalog, dates of deposition for each Area and Feature can be extrapolated from their research. Terminus Post Quem (TPQ) dates for each area and feature are provided below in Table 34. TPQ dates came from ceramic maker's marks and bottle embossing.

Table 34. Terminus Post Quem Dates for Areas A and B and Features 1-9.

AREA/FEATURE	TERMINUS POST QUEM
Feature 1	1958
Feature 2	1891
Feature 3	1895
Feature 4	1882
Feature 5	1929
Feature 6	1929
Feature 7	1924
Feature 8	1903
Feature 9	1935
Area A	1938
Area B	1941

SITE STRUCTURE/LAND USE

Research questions related to site structure and land use examine the relationship between buildings and the natural environment and how both natural and cultural influences affect the layout of towns and neighborhoods. Other questions dealing with site structure and land use relate to identifying particular use areas (e.g., kitchen, outhouse) in the archaeological record. Questions concerning site structure and land use at Yreka Chinatown are addressed below, using a combination of archival and archaeological data.

In the late 1880s, Yreka's Chinese community consisted of two rows of approximately 17 structures arranged on either side of Main Street and facing Main Street and a large, two-story building in the bottom left-hand corner (see Figure 8). This building, which is much larger in size than the surrounding buildings, may have housed several of the merchants (of which there were seven, according to the 1880 census). Or, it may have served as the location of a district association, which were two-to-three story buildings decorated with traditional Chinese motifs (decorative scrolls, pagoda roofs, wrap-around porches). Typically, the first floor of these district buildings held the main council chamber where judicial meetings were held, and antechambers for private meetings. The second floor was used as a school and had

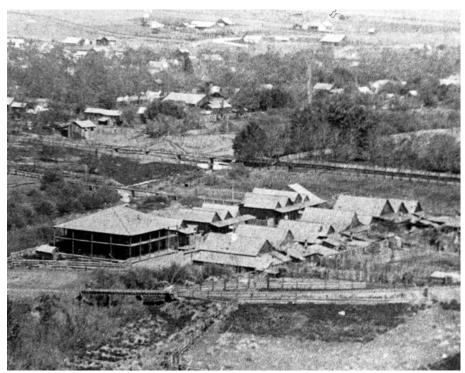
several classrooms, while the top floor was used as a sanctuary and frequently contained a small altar (Stellman 1989 [1917]; Chinn 1969).

In 1890, a devastating flood destroyed most of the structures on the west side of the street, including the two-story building (Figure 50). Only nine buildings were left on the east side of the main street and only one small structure and a few outbuildings were all that remained on the west side of the street (Figure 51). The buildings on the west side of the street were never rebuilt. A photograph from 1900 shows a line of board-and-batten buildings with gable roofs, a wooden boardwalk running between the buildings, and a shed roof covering the boardwalk (Figure 52). A line of newly planted locust trees runs in front of the board and batten buildings. A photograph from the mid-1900s depicts around 8-9 buildings in a row, with the mature locust trees in front and numerous small sheds and outbuildings in the back (see Figure 9).



Photograph use permission courtesy of the Siskiyou County Museum, Yreka, CA.

Figure 50. Chinatown Flood Effects, circa late 1890s.



Photograph use permission courtesy of the Siskiyou County Museum, Yreka, CA.

Figure 51. Yreka Chinatown, circa late 1890s.



Photograph use permission courtesy of the Siskiyou County Museum, Yreka, CA.

Figure 52. Yreka Chinatown, circa 1900.

In 1927, Yreka Creek once again flooded its banks and caused damage to the Chinatown buildings. A photograph from 1927 depicts rising flood waters creeping up nearly to the front door of the buildings situated behind the row of locust trees. This year was also the first in which the Sanborn map depicts the Chinese community at this location (see Figure 10). The small sheds and outbuildings depicted in Figure 9 and the southernmost buildings are not shown on the Sanborn map. The buildings are labeled as "Chinese Dwellings Old and Dilap [Dilapidated]" and are aligned east-west to Yreka Creek and adjacent to and south of Center Street. One large dwelling is located approximately 50 feet east of the main Chinatown. The Sanborn map appears to depict all of the structures in the complex as single-storied with shingle roofs.

When the Yreka Collection was analyzed in the late 1970s, researchers attempted to correlate features and units with the 1927 Sanborn map, however, this proved difficult due to the large scale of the excavation, lack of stratigraphic control, and unclear information on where exactly Areas A and B were situated in relation to other roads and features. Researchers in the late 1970s were able to find a general east-west correlation of the buildings by matching the locust trees depicted on historical photographs with the field maps. They found that the units in Area A roughly corresponded with the buildings that were still standing in the later years of Yreka's Chinatown. They assumed the northern end of the excavation fell near the northernmost building as depicted on the Sanborn map. Researchers used an upscaled drawing of the 1927 Sanborn map imposed over the archaeological base map to align these buildings (Figure 53). By correlating the field map with the 1927 Sanborn Fire Insurance maps and historical photographs, seven "Areas" were discerned and served as the basis for analyzing building function and placement (Helvey and Felton 1979; Figure 53). Current research on the collection by the author, and the use of modern mapping tools and Adobe Photoshop, has shown that these "Areas," do not line up as originally thought. Based on this new information, a revised interpretation of these Areas is presented in Figure 53.

Area A-1 is centered over East Center Street on the Sanborn map and includes a small sliver of Building 28 (Figure 54). Area A-1 encompasses Units A-1, A-2, A-7 through A-10, A-20, and Features 1 and 5. A total of 1,789 artifacts were cataloged from Area A-1, nearly half (43.2%) are associated with structural use and include numerous nails, spikes, tacks, and other fasteners, door hardware, window glass, and a marble slab (Table 35 and Table 36). The second largest category of artifacts in Area A-1 are associated with Domestic (30.5%) followed by Personal (18.1%). Of the Personal items, there were 145 items associated with clothing, including 133 buttons, a suspender clasp, and a girdle buckle. Seventeen items related to clothing maintenance, including a hand iron, thimble, safety pins, and household (Bleach) bottles, were also recovered from this location, the largest number of all the areas. Due to the large number of buttons (n=133) and clothing maintenance items, Area A -1 may have been associated with operation of a laundry in Building 28 as depicted on the Sanborn map. Census records indicate that in 1900 there were four Chinese laundry workers; in 1910 there was one laundry worker and one owner; and in 1920 there was one laundry owner. No Chinese laundry workers or owners were listed in the 1930 and 1940 censuses. A total of 98 gaming-related items, including dominos, low-currency Chinese coins, and glass and metal gaming pieces, were recovered from Area A-1, suggesting a possible gambling room in the back of the laundry.

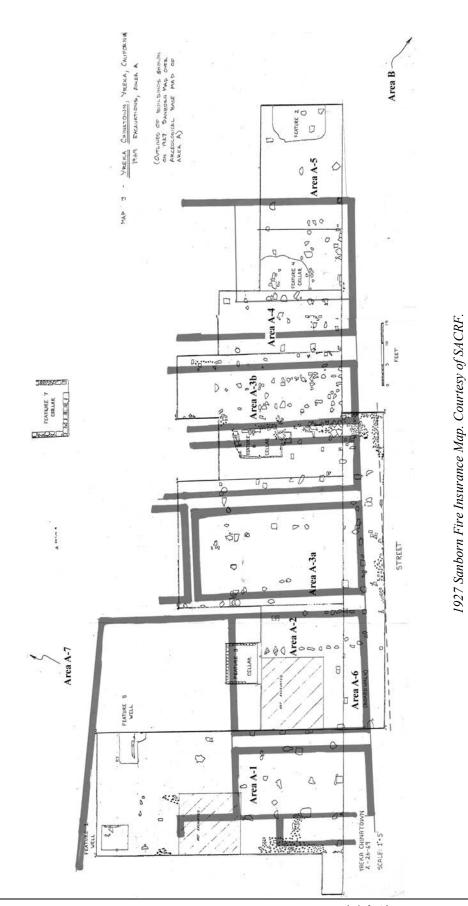
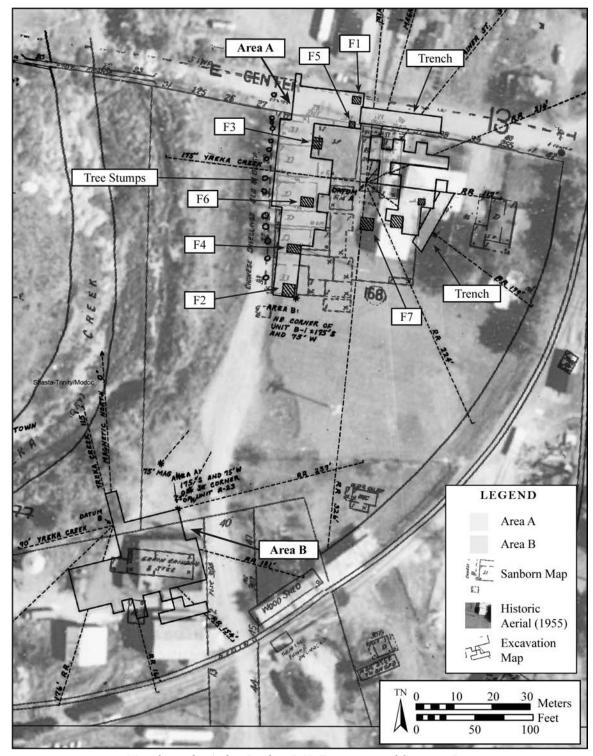


Figure 53. Scaled up Sanborn Map, Aligned over Units and Features.

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Map drawn by Amber Rankin, PAR Environmental Services, Inc.

Figure 54. Sanborn, Aerial, and Unit Overlay.

Table 35. Area A-1 Summary of Functional Classes.

TOTAL/ TOTAL %	ACTIVITY FRAGS	DOMESTIC FRAGS			STRUCTURAL FRAGS	UNKNOWN/ UNIDENTIFIED FRAGS	TOTAL
Total	49	545	97	324	773	1	1,789
Total %	2.7%	30.5%	5.4%	18.1%	43.2%	<0.1%	100.0%

Table 36. Area A-1 Artifacts by Function.

PRIMARY FUNCTION %	SUBFUNCTION %	#FRAGS/% OF TOTAL PRIMARY FUNCTION	Examples
Activity	Currency	4/8.2%	Liberty Head nickel; Indian Head penny; brass token
	Firearms	6/12.2%	Cartridge loading tool, .30 and .38 caliber bullets, .22 caliber cartridge
	Hunting/Fishing	1/2.0%	Fishing lure or possible ornament
	Tools	21/42.9%	Screw, drill, file, shovel head, axe head, whetstone, hacksaw blade
	Transportation	13/26.5%	Railroad spike, harness ring, mule shoe, horseshoe
	Other	4/8.2%	Wooden brush, sprinkler nozzle, metal ruler, steel weight
Domestic	Clothing Maintenance	17/3.1%	Hand iron thimble, safety pin, household bottle
	Food Preparation and Consumption	321/59.0%	Chopstick fragment, meat cleaver, spoon handle plate, bowl, saucer, teapot
	Food Storage	157/28.8%	Mason jar lid, mineral water jar, pickle jar, shouldered food jar, globular jar, spouted jar
	Furniture/Furnishings	15/2.8%	Flowerpot, mirror, trunk hinge, clothes hanger hook
	Heating	11/2.0%	Stove lid, stove leg, burner plate, vent, stove door
	Indefinite	20/3.7%	White earthenware fragments, porcelain fragments
	Lighting/Illumination	<0.1%	Lampshade or candlestick fragments
Indefinite	Indefinite	97/100.0%	Oyster shell, porcelain fragments, earthenware fragments, stoneware fragments, colorless glass, stone fragment, magnet, wire, spring, gear
Personal	Accoutrement	8/2.5%	Watch gear, bone hair stick, bead, pocketknife
	Clothing	145/44.8%	Shell, glass, and Mother-of-Pearl buttons; suspender clasp, girdle buckle
	Entertainment	8/2.5%	Record fragment, musical instrument key

Table 36. Area A-1 Artifacts by Function *continued*.

PRIMARY FUNCTION	SUBFUNCTION	# FRAGS/% OF TOTAL PRIMARY FUNCTION	Examples
Personal con	t. Grooming	g and Health 23/7.1%	Cosmetic jar, aqua glass medicine vial, medicine bottle, tweezers, compact, perfume bottle, toothbrush
	Indulgenc	e 120/37.0°	Stoneware liquor jar, liquor bottle, opium pipe bowl, opium can, gaming piece, pipe stem
	Toy	20/6.2%	Marble, domino, toy shovel, toy teacup, doll body, toy car, doll leg, tricycle hubcap
Structural	Fastener	745/96.4	Machine cut nail, wire nail, spike, tack, bolt, bracket staple
	Hardware	8/1.0%	Door hinge, hinge, drain cover, faucet, doorknob, lock panel
	Material	20/2.6%	Window glass, marble slab
Unknown/U	nidentified Unknown	/Unidentified 1/100.0%	Black plastic

Area A-2 encompasses Building 28 on the Sanborn map and includes Units A-3, A-4, A-24, the northern portions of A-34 and A-35, and Feature 3. Feature 3 is situated towards the center of Building 28, where there is a doorway that leads to a larger room. A total of 682 artifacts were recovered from Area A-2, most of which (40.0%) are associated with Personal use (Table 37 and Table 38). Of those personal items, 28.3% are clothing-related and included 76 buttons and one cuff link, providing further evidence that Building 28 was likely the location of a laundry.

Table 37. Area A-2 Summary of Functional Classes.

TOTAL/ TOTAL %	ACTIVITY FRAGS	DOMESTIC FRAGS	Indefinite Frags	PERSONAL FRAGS	STRUCTURAL FRAGS	UNKNOWN/ UNIDENTIFIED FRAGS	TOTAL
Total	39	192	34	272	145	0	682
Total %	5.7%	28.2%	5.0%	40.0%	21.3%	0	100.0%

Table 38. Area A-2 Artifacts by Function.

PRIMARY FUNCTION	SUBFUNCTION	# FRAGS/% OF TOTAL PRIMAR' FUNCTION	
Activity	Currency	15/38.5%	Lincoln penny, zinc coin, brass token, Mercury dime, Barber dime
	Firearms	8/20.5%	.38 copper caliber cartridge case, .38 brass caliber cartridge, .22 caliber cartridge shell

Table 38. Area A-2 Artifacts by Function *continued*.

PRIMARY FUNCTION	SUBFUNCTION	# FRAGS/% OF TOTAL PRIMARY FUNCTION	EXAMPLES
Activity cont.	Tools	13/33.3%	File, solder bar, saw, axe head, hammer head, mop handle attachment
	Transportation	1/2.6%	Railroad spike
	Writing	2/5.1%	Mechanical pencil
Domestic	Clothing Maintenance	1/0.5%	Safety pin
	Food Preparation and Consumption	76/39.6%	Teacup, popcorn popper handle, bowl, spatula, spoon, plate, teapot spout, porcelain and earthenware tableware, chopstick fragment, meat cleaver blade
	Food Storage	93/48.4%	Mason jar lid, shouldered food jar, liquor jar, barrel jar, globular jar, food bottle
	Furniture/Furnishings	4/2.1%	Ornament, cupboard door handle, clothes hook
	Heating	8/4.2%	Stove lid, stove door, stove leg, stove handle
	Indefinite	10/5.2%	Jug fragment, white earthenware fragment
Indefinite	Indefinite	34/100.0%	Cork, bottle stopper, brass rim, coal, ca lid, copper piece, box, clam shell, key, clasp, stoneware sherd, earthenware sherd
Personal	Accoutrement	18/6.6%	Pearl, key chain ring, bracelet, bead, pill box, pocketknife, pin, clock gear
	Clothing	77/28.3%	Glass button, shell button, bone button, cuff link, metal button
	Entertainment	1/0.4%	Phonograph record fragment
	Grooming and Health	31/11.4%	Aqua glass medicine vial, bone toothbrush, extract bottle, medicine bottle, tweezers, condom box
	Indulgence	122/44.9%	Gaming pieces, wine cup, liquor jar, liquor bottle, bitters bottle, opium pipe repair hole, opium can
	Other	1/0.4%	Small oval tin box
	Toy	22/8.1%	Domino, marbles, toy hub cap, cap pistol
Structural	Fastener	138/95.1%	Cut nails, wire nails, tack, washer, wood screw
	Hardware	7/4.8%	Cabinet knob, padlock key, gate lock, bracket

Area A-3a overlaps with a portion of Building 29 and the northern edge of Building 30, on the Sanborn map. Building 30 was the location of the two-story building depicted in historical photographs and may have housed merchant families or have been a district

association hall. Area A-3a encompasses Units A-5, A-6, A-25 through A-27, A-40, A-41, A-49, A-50, and the northern parts of A-36 and A-37. A total of 791 artifacts were recorded from Area A-3a, over half of which are associated with domestic uses (Table 39). Most of the items associated with domestic use are related to Food Preparation and Consumption (71.5%; Table 40). These include items like porcelain and earthenware tableware fragments, teapots and teacups, serving spoons, bowls, saucers, and a gravy boat.

Table 39. Area A-3a Summary of Functional Classes.

TOTAL/ TOTAL %	ACTIVITY FRAGS	DOMESTIC FRAGS	Indefinite Frags	PERSONAL FRAGS	STRUCTURAL FRAGS	Unknown/ Unidentified Frags	TOTAL
Total	24	425	92	196	54	0	791
Total %	3.0%	53.7%	11.6%	24.8%	6.8%	0.0%	100.0%

Table 40. Area A-3a Artifacts by Function.

PRIMARY FUNCTION	SUBFUNCTION	#FRAGS/% OF TOTAL PRIMARY FUNCTION	EXAMPLES
Activity!	Animal Husbandry	1/4.2%	Cowbell
	Currency	5/20.8%	Lincoln penny, barber dime
	Firearms	3/12.5%	.38 caliber cartridge case
	Other	1/4.2%	Radio tube
	Tools	14/58.3%	Whet stone, file, screwdriver head, plumb bob, scissors, axe head, knife, crowbar
Domestic	Clothing Maintenance	2/0.4%	Household bottle, shoe polish bottle
	Food Preparation and Consumption	304/71.5%	Porcelain and earthenware tableware fragments, teapot, serving spoon, bowl, creamer, dish, tureen, pitcher or gravy boat
	Food Storage	79/18.6%	Ginger jar, fruit jar seal, canister, globular jar, crock, shouldered food jar, spouted jar, milk bottle
	Furniture/Furnishings	9/2.1%	Cabinet key, flowerpot, doorknob, vase, hook
	Heating	3/0.7%	Stove door, stove fragment
	Indefinite	26/6.1%	Tray, earthenware and porcelain sherds
	Lighting/Illumination	3/0.7%	Light bulb, light bulb case, lamp or candlestick top
Indefinite	Indefinite	92/100.0%	Earthenware and porcelain fragments, clam shell, bird tarsal, porcelain disc, bottle sherd, stoneware fragment

Table 40. Area A-3a Artifacts by Function *continued*.

PRIMARY FUNCTION	Subfunction	#FRAGS/% OF TOTAL PRIMARY FUNCTION	Examples
Personal	Accoutrement	5/2.6%	Beads, case frame, watch mechanism, jewelry
	Clothing	27/13.8%	Glass button, shell button, plastic button
	Entertainment	5/2.6%	Music box, record fragment
	Grooming and Health	22/11.2%	Compact lid, aqua medicine vial, dropper or syringe, cosmetic jar, medicine bottle
	Indulgence	121/61.7%!	Liquor jar, wine cup, wine bottle, opium pipe bowl, Chinese coin, gaming piece, opium lamp, beer bottle
	Toy	16/8.2%	Marble, doll head, toy gun, skate key, toy shovel, domino
Structural	Fastener	49/90.7%	Machine cut nails, wire nail, spike, rivet
	Hardware	5/9.3%	Door hinge, furniture ornament, keyhole plate, door latch

Area A-3b correlates with the southern half of Building 30 and all of Building 31 on the Sanborn map and encompasses Units A-39, A-42, A-12; the northern half of units A-13, A-14; and A-28, A-29, A-32, A-44, and A-46. Area A-3b also includes Feature 6, which falls towards the rear of Building 30. A total of 3,044 items were recovered from Area A-3b, the majority of which are Structural (43.2%) and Domestic (38.3%) related (Table 41 and Table 42). Structural items are primarily machine cut nails and wire nails likely debris left behind from when the buildings at this location were removed. Domestic items are primarily related to Food Preparation and Consumption (65.5%) and Food Storage (23.5%). Food Preparation and Consumption items include a variety of tableware forms (plates, saucers, teacups, creamers, pitcher, sugar bowl, gravy boat). Food Storage items include cork jars, a fruit jar seal, and CBGS vessels. Area A-3b contained 41 grooming and health-related items including cosmetic jars and bottles, a nail polish bottle, lipstick container, toothbrush handle, tweezers, and 17 glass medicine vials, most of which are Chinese. A total of 64 gaming-related items were identified from this area.

Area A-4 encompasses Building 32 and a small section of Building 33. It includes a piece of the southeast corner of Unit A-32; a section of the eastern half of Unit A-29; a small part of the eastern half of Unit A-14; Units A-15, A-16, A-30, and A-31. Feature 4 is also situated within Area A-4. Overlaying the excavation map on top of the Sanborn map and the historic aerial from 1955, places Feature 4 in an alleyway between Buildings 32 and 33. A total of 2,142 artifacts were recorded from Area A-4, just under half of which are associated with Domestic Use (Table 43). This included 581 artifacts associated with Food Preparation and Consumption (Table 44). Structural artifacts comprised 35.7% of the artifacts and were nearly all machine cut nails. Feature 4 contained mostly domestic tablewares, the majority of which were Chinese porcelain (teacups, bowls, saucers).

Table 41. Area A-3b Summary of Functional Classes.

TOTAL/ TOTAL %	ACTIVITY FRAGS	DOMESTIC FRAGS	Indefinite Frags	PERSONAL FRAGS	STRUCTURAL FRAGS	UNKNOWN/ UNIDENTIFIED FRAGS	TOTAL
Total	43	1,168	190	326	1,314	3	3,044
Total %	1.4%	38.3%	6.2%	10.7%	43.2%	0.1%	100.0%

Table 42. Area A-3b Artifacts by Function.

PRIMARY FUNCTION	SUBFUNCTION	# FRAGS/% OF TOTAL PRIMARY FUNCTION	Examples
Activity	Currency	5/11.6%	Penny, half dollar, Liberty Head nickel
	Firearms	9/21.0%	.38 caliber, .22 caliber, lead bullet
	Other	1/2.3%	Magnet
	Tools	22/51.2%	Pick head, hatchet head, file, knife, clamp, wrench, rake, hoe blade, axe head
	Transportation	2/4.7%	U-joint flange yoke, Black car jack head
	Utilities	2/4.7%	Glass and porcelain insulators
	Writing	2/4.7%	Pen, ink well
Domestic	Clothing Maintenance	2/0.2%	Safety pin
	Food Preparation and Consumption	765/65.5%	Grinding bowl, relish dish, plate, saucer, teacup, creamer, pitcher, sugar bowl, spoon, kitchen vessel, frying pan, gravy boat
	Food Storage	274/23.5%	Crock, fruit jar seal, globular jar, shouldered food jar, spouted jar, cannister lid, barrel jar
	Furniture/Furnishings	22/1.9%	Vase, flowerpot, trunk hinge, clothes hook
	Heating	4/0.3%	Stove burner lid, stove hinge plate, stove air regulator
	Indefinite	99/8.5%	Earthenware fragments
	Lighting/Illumination	2/0.2%	Light bulb
Indefinite	Indefinite	190/100.0%	Leather fragment, steel ring, copper tube, milk glass fragment, stoneware sherd, glass sherd, bottle stopper, earthenware sherd
Personal	Accoutrement	6/1.8%	Pocket knife blade, sunglasses, glasses, stick pin, back cover for pocket watch
	Clothing	67/20.5%	Glass buttons, metal garter, metal button, plastic button, belt buckle, suspender clasp, suspender buckle

Table 42. Area A-3b Artifacts by Function *continued*.

PRIMARY FUNCTION	SUBFUNCTION	#FRAGS/% OF TOTAL PRIMARY FUNCTION	Examples
Personal cont.	Entertainment	1/0.3%	Jew's harp
	Grooming and Health	41/12.5%	Perfume bottle, aqua glass medicine vial, toothbrush handle, lipstick tube, nail polish bottle, cosmetic jar
	Indulgence	189/58.1%	Liquor jar, opium pipe bowl, wine cup, gaming piece, opium can, opium pipe connector, wine cup, liquor jar
	Toy	22/6.7%	Marble, tricycle hubcap, ball, doll, toy pistol, toy saucer, toy shovel
Structural	Fastener	1,294/98.3%	Machine cut nail, wire nail, washer, tack, screw, hook
	Hardware	17/1.3%	Hinge, lock, lock bolt, doorknob
	Lighting/Illumination	3/0.2%	Porcelain insulator, cleat
Unknown/Unidentified	Unknown/Unidentified	3/0.2%	Thin metal object, curved piece of red metal, rusted metal object

Area 5 overlaps with Building 33 on the Sanborn map. Area 5 includes Units A-17, A-23, the eastern halves of Units A-16 and A-31; and Feature 2. Feature 2 lines up with the southeastern corner of Building 33, when overlaid on the Sanborn map. A total of 2,718 artifacts were recorded in Area 5, over three-quarters of these are associated with Domestic Use, primarily Food Preparation and Consumption and Food Storage (Table 45 and Table 46). The sheer number of food-related artifacts (1,200 sherds and vessels in Feature 2 alone), suggests that this may have been the location of a restaurant. Feature 2 also contained 32 items related to cooking, including a teaspoon, butcher knife, pot handle, pan, and grinding bowl. According to census records, in 1900 there was one Chinese restaurant owner, and in 1920 and 1930 there were two restaurant owners, along with dishwashers and cooks.

Area A-6 encompasses the wooden boardwalk that extended in front of the row of buildings facing Chinatown's main street. This area includes the southern half of Buildings A-34 through A-38. There is a fairly well-defined line of stones that extend north-south along the boardwalk and may have formed foundation supports for the western faces of these buildings. A total of 609 artifacts were recovered from Area A-6, half of which are associated with Personal Use (Table 47 and Table 48).

A total of 41 United States coins were recovered from this area; 50 buttons and studs; 26 marbles and 141 gaming-related items. These small items likely fell out of the pockets of individuals as they hung out and traversed along the boardwalk. Helvey and Felton stated that the "boardwalk itself served as a depositional screen which favored the loss and deposition of small objects" (1979).

Table 43. Area A-4 Summary of Functional Classes.

TOTAL/ TOTAL %	ACTIVITY FRAGS	DOMESTIC FRAGS	Indefinite Frags	PERSONAL FRAGS	STRUCTURAL FRAGS	UNKNOWN/ UNIDENTIFIED FRAGS	TOTAL
Total	36	871	214	255	764	2	2,142
Total %	1.7%	40.7%	10.0%	11.9%	35.7%	<0.1%	100.0%

Table 44. Area A-4 Artifacts by Function. !

PRIMARY FUNCTION	SUBFUNCTION	#FRAGS/% OF TOTAL PRIMARY FUNCTION	EXAMPLES
Activity	Currency	7/19.4%	Liberty head nickel, Lincoln penny, Liberty seated dime
	Firearms	7/19.4%	.22 caliber cartridge shell, .38 caliber cartridge shell, .34 caliber cartridge shell, bullet lead
	Other	1/2.8%	Magnet
	Tools	14/38.9%	Axe head, rake, file, clamp, pliers, whet stone, screw driver
	Transportation	2/5.6%	Railroad spike
	Utilities	3/8.3%	Glass and porcelain insulator
	Writing	2/5.6%	Ink bottle
Domestic	Clothing Maintenance	2/0.2%	Crochet hook, safety pin
	Food Preparation and Consumption	581/66.7%	Porcelain and earthenware tableware fragments; saucer, bowl, plate, serving bowl, teacup, teapot, spoon, kitchen vessel
	Food Storage	194/22.3%	Globular jar, shouldered food jar, crock, canister, spouted jar
	Furniture/Furnishings	9/1.0%	Clothes hook, trunk fragment, spring, cupboard handle, vase
	Heating	5/0.6%	Burner plate, stove hinge, stove air regulator
	Indefinite	77/8.8%	Earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain fragments
	Lighting/Illumination	3/0.3%	Faceted lamp glass crystal
Indefinite	Indefinite	214/100.0%	Milk glass fragment, brass ball, key, cork stopper, stone, earthenware, and porcelain sherds; bone handle, leather fragment, reflecting shield, crystal fragment

Table 44. Area A-4 Artifacts by Function *continued*.

PRIMARY FUNCTION	SUBFUNCTION %	#FRAGS/% OF TOTAL PRIMARY FUNCTION	Examples
Personal	Accoutrement	4/1.6%	Sunglasses, watch, eyeglasses, pocket knife blade
	Clothing	57/22.3%	Glass button, shell button, rivet, suspender clasp,
	Entertainment	1/0.4%	Jew's harp
	Grooming and Health	35/13.7%	Comb, tonic bottle, perfume bottle, aqua medicine vial, hair curler, cosmetic jar
	Indulgence	140/54.9%	Chinese coin, liquor jar, opium pipe bowl, gaming piece
	Toy	18/7.1%	Marble, toy fireman, toy shovel, toy pistol, red glass ball
Structural	Fastener	755/98.8%	Machine cut nail, washer, wire nail, tack, screw
	Hardware	4/0.5%	Doorknob, door lock, lock hinge
	Lighting/Illumination	4/0.5%	Insulator, insulator or cleat, electrical fitting
	Material	1/0.1%	Marble slab
Unknown/Unidentified	Unknown/Unidentified	2/100.0%	Metal object

Table 45. Area A-5 Summary of Functional Classes.

TOTAL/ TOTAL %	ACTIVITY FRAGS	DOMESTIC FRAGS	Indefinite Frags	PERSONAL FRAGS	STRUCTURAL FRAGS	UNKNOWN/ UNIDENTIFIED FRAGS	TOTAL
Total	22	2,141	264	215	74	2	2,718
Total %	0.8%	78.8%	9.7%	7.9%	2.7%	<0.1%	100.0%

Table 46. Area A-5 Artifacts by Function.

PRIMARY FUNCTION	SUBFUNCTION %	# FRAGS/% OF TOTAL PRIMARY FUNCTION	EXAMPLES
Activity	Currency!	2/9.1%	Lincoln penny
	Firearms	3/13.6%!	.34 caliber cartridge shell, .45 caliber cartridge shell, metal cartridge shell
	Tools	13/59.1%!	File, screw, axe head, saw blade, scissors handle, pike

Table 46. Area A-5 Artifacts by Function *continued*.

PRIMARY FUNCTION %	SUBFUNCTION	#FRAGS/% OF TOTAL PRIMARY FUNCTION	EXAMPLES
Activity cont. +	Transportation	1/4.5%	Railroad spike
	Utilities	2/9.1%	Ceramic insulator
	Writing	1/4.5%	Pen holder
Domestic	Clothing Maintenance	2/<0.1%	Household bottle, safety pin
	Food Preparation and Consumption	1,149/53.7%	Porcelain and earthenware tableware sherds, bowl, teapot, saucer, grinding bowl, teaspoon, butcher knife, egg cup, tureen, kitchen vessel
	Food Storage	852/39.8%	Shouldered jar, globular jar, crock, spouted jar, mason jar, barrel jar
	Furniture/Furnishings	3/0.1%	Cabinet key, trunk fastener
	Heating	7/0.3%	Stove pipe damper, stove hinge, stove leg
	Indefinite	127/5.9%	Stoneware, earthenware fragments
	Lighting/Illumination	1/<0.1%	Wick holder
Indefinite	Indefinite	264/100.0%	Metal fragment, miscellaneous stoneware, porcelain, and earthenware sherds; bottle glass sherds
Personal!	Accoutrement	3/1.4%	Locket, pocketknife, brooch inset
	Clothing	33/15.3%	Glass button, shell button, metal clothes hook, garter hook, suspender clasp
	Grooming and Health	5/2.3%	Perfume bottle, aqua glass medicine vial
	Infant Care	4/1.9%	Baby bottle nipple
	Indulgence	165/76.7%	Gaming piece, opium pipe bowl, coin, liquor jar, wine cup
	Toy	5/2.3%	Glass marbles
Structural!	Fastener	70/94.6%	Spike, hook, machine cut nail, wire nail
	Hardware	1/1.4%	Gate handle
	Lighting/Illumination	2/2.7%	Porcelain insulator fragment
	Material	1/1.4%	Marble slab
Unknown/Unidentified	! Unknown/Unidentified	2/100.0%	Plastic fragment, chunk of talc

Area A-7 is depicted as being to the northeast of Sanborn buildings 28-33. It includes three trenches and several Units (A-33, A-45, A-47, A-48, A-51, A-52, A-54 through A-64). Features 8 and 9 are also included in Area A-7. Much of Area A-7 was covered by a concrete slab, likely related to a later industrial structure. This area was located east of the buildings

Table 47. Area A-6 Summary of Functional Classes.

TOTAL/ TOTAL %	ACTIVITY FRAGS	DOMESTIC FRAGS		PERSONAL FRAGS	STRUCTURAL FRAGS	UNKNOWN/ UNIDENTIFIED FRAGS	TOTAL
Total	66	199	37	306	1	0	609
Total %	10.8%	32.7%	6.1%	50.2%	0.3%	0.0%	100.0%

Table 48. Area A-6 Artifacts by Function.

PRIMARY FUNCTION %	SUBFUNCTION	#FRAGS/% OF TOTAL PRIMARY FUNCTION	Examples
Activity!	Animal Husbandry	1/1.5%	Cowbell
	Currency	44/66.7%	Liberty head nickel, Indian head penny, barber dime, Mercury dime
	Firearms	16/24.2%	Cartridge shell
	Tools	2/3.0%	Metal file, screwdriver shaft
	Writing	3/4.5%	Mechanical pencil, pen holder
Domestic!	Clothing Maintenance	3/1.5%	Safety pin
	Food Preparation and Consumption	98/49.2%	Soup bowl, plate, bowl, teacup or bowl, wine cup, teacup, fork, spoon, spatula, lid
	Food Storage	76/38.2%	Globular, canister, spouted jar, shouldered food jar, barrel jar, jar, fruit jar seal
	Furniture/Furnishings	8/4.0%	Metal ornament, flowerpot, brass furniture ornament
	Indefinite	14/7.0%	Ironstone sherds, earthenware sherds
Indefinite	Indefinite	37/100.0%	Key, metal gear, bottle opener, spike, sherd, clasp, clam shell, crock or ale bottle, copper piece
Personal	Accoutrement	21/6.9%	Bead, shell ornament, pill box, watch gear, pocketknife blade
	Clothing	53/17.3%	Shell button, plastic button, suspender clamp, buckle, stud button
	Grooming and Health	17/5.6%	Medicine vial, toothbrush handle, extract bottle
	Indulgence	172/56.2%	Liquor jar, opium pipe bowl, gaming piece, opium can lid, Chinese coin
	Other	1/0.3%	Oval tin box
	Toy	42/13.7%	Glass marble, clay marble, domino, doll head, toy wheel, skate key, toy gun
Structural	Fastener	1/100.0%	Rivet

that fronted Chinatown's Main Street in what was the backyard or backlots of these structures. Though not depicted on the Sanborn map, historical photographs show a tightly packed complex of fences, sheds, small enclosures, and outbuildings (see Figure 9).

A total of 1,324 artifacts were cataloged from units and features within Area A-7, most (65.9%) of which are related to Domestic Use (Table 49). Artifacts associated with Food Preparation and Consumption (74.1%) make up the bulk of the domestic artifacts and include items such as a drinking goblet, food bottle, fork, plates, spoons, mugs or cups, serving bowls, a cleaver, catsup bottle, butter knife, glass percolator top, table knife, tureen, and a sauce bottle (Table 50).

Feature 7 a cellar, is situated behind Building 31 on the Sanborn map and is not located within a defined "Area." It contained a large number of European-American tablewares out most of which are white glazed earthenware.

Table 49. Area A-7 Summary of Functional Classes.

TOTAL/ TOTAL %	ACTIVITY FRAGS	DOMESTIC FRAGS	Indefinite Frags	PERSONAL FRAGS	STRUCTURAL FRAGS	UNKNOWN/ UNIDENTIFIED FRAGS	TOTAL
Total	18	872	170	261	3	0	1,324
Total %	1.4%	65.9%	12.8%	19.7%	0.2%	0.0%	100.0%

Table 50. Area A-7 Artifacts by Function.

PRIMARY FUNCTION	SUBFUNCTION	#FRAGS/% OF TOTAL PRIMARY FUNCTION	EXAMPLES	
Activity	Firearms	8/44.4%	.30 caliber cartridge case, .38 caliber cartridge case	
	Hunting	1/5.6%	Barbed metal harpoon	
	Tools	6/33.3%	Nail puller, axe head, chisel, file, wrench	
	Transportation	1/5.6%	Railroad spike	
	Writing	2/11.1%	Ink bottle	
Domestic	Clothing Maintenance	2/0.2%	Sewing machine, shoe polish bottle	
	Food Preparation and Consumption	646/74.1%	Drinking goblet, food bottle, fork, plate, spoon, mug or cup, serving bowl, cleaver, catsup bottle, butter knife, glass percolator top, table knife, tureen, sauce bottle, fork, spout	
	Food Storage	193/22.1%	Fruit jar, canister, spouted jar, globular jar, milk bottle, ginger jar, barrel jar lid	
	Furniture/Furnishings	7/0.8%	Bird feeder, flower pot, figurine	
	Heating	2/0.2%	Stove fragment	

Table 50. Area A-7 Artifacts by Function continued.

PRIMARY FUNCTION	Subfunction	#FRAGS/% OF TOTAL PRIMARY FUNCTION	Examples
	Indefinite	21/2.4%	Earthenware sherd, porcelain sherd
	Lighting/Illumination	1/0.1%	Light bulb
Indefinite	Indefinite	170/100.0%	Porcelain and earthenware sherds, beverage bottle, jar, acid bottle, skeleton key, oyster shell, colorless bottle fragment
Personal	Accoutrement	16/6.1%	Glass beads, costume jewelry, glass bracelet, bone ring, Mother-of-pearl jack knife,
	Clothing	24/9.2%	Tin button, shell button, glass button
	Grooming and Health	61/23.4%	Medicine vial, medicine bottle, perfume bottle, cosmetic jar, soap dish, toothbrush head, straight edge razor
	Indulgence	150/57.5%	Liquor jar, soda bottle, wine bottle, whiskey bottle, gaming piece, opium pipe bowl, opium pipe bowl connector
	Toy	10/3.8%	Glass marble, doll torso, doll arm, toy saucer
Structural	Hardware	2/66.7%	Doorknob, cabinet lock
	Material	1/33.3%	Clay field tile

ECONOMIC STRATEGIES

This research theme explores how individuals made a living and sustained themselves. Census records indicate that the majority of Chinese in Yreka and Siskiyou County were miners. By the mid-1860s, the Chinese in Siskiyou County had largely replaced Anglo-European miners who had abandoned their claims to seek gold elsewhere. The construction of the Central Pacific Railroad (1863-1869) drew many Chinese away from the mines until the Central Pacific Railroad Bed was finished about 30 miles north of Yreka near Ashland, Oregon (Jones 1986:33). Many returned to mining, as jobs in agriculture or manufacturing were not available to them in rural Siskiyou County, and "the exhaustion of easy surface gold deposits dissuaded white mining operations" (Jones 1986:33). Chinese were also employed digging and maintaining ditches for mining companies, such as the Yreka Water Company. The 1900, 1910, and 1920 censuses list Chinese employed as cooks, laundrymen, waiters, dishwashers, hotel proprietors, and retail merchants. Individuals and families may have chosen to supplement their income by mending clothes, selling vegetables, or performing various odd jobs. There are 25 sewing-related items in the catalog, including a thimble, safety pins, crochet hook, and a metal sewing machine. The catalog includes 118 tools, such as files, axe heads, and whet stones, which are most prevalent in Features 1a, 3, 6 and Units A-20, A-

25, A-17, A-19. These tool concentrations may represent small workshops or sheds where individuals were doing their own home repairs or performing various odd jobs for others.

Although faunal materials were not collected as part of laboratory procedures, the Yreka catalog contains numerous cartridge shell casings and a fishing lure, indicating that individuals were supplementing their diet with wild fish and game. Meals were being prepared at home, with the aid of grinding bowls, shallow stoneware cooking pans, metal frying pans, and meat cleavers. A variety of different traditional foodstuffs (rice, soybeans, mixed vegetables, ginger, and salted duck eggs) were imported from China and likely purchased from a local Chinese merchant or grocer. Various sizes and shapes of stoneware storage vessels were used to keep the food fresh and free from contaminants. CBGS storage jars present in the collection include shouldered jars, barrel jars, ginger jars, soy sauce or spouted jars, and globular jars. As explored by Yang and Hellmann (2013), CBGS food storage jars were frequently reused for a variety of purposes to fit an individual's unique needs (2013:218). Wide-mouthed jars were used to store sugar as well as various condiments. In their interviews with Chinese elders, Yang and Hellmann found that straight sided jars were also used to store Chinese medicinal herbs and ointment (2013:220). Liquor jars could contain medicinal wine or rice wine and were often used in cooking. Foods were also stored in glass mason jars and condiment bottles. There are numerous examples of Chinese doctors reusing glass jars and cans to store a variety of herbal materials (Heffner 2012). One such example is a Jello can with painted black Chinese characters on the side that translate to Tangshan, which is a large steelmaking district in China's northern Hebei province (Figure 55). Inside the can, there is a metal scoop and a yellow, Sulphur-like powder (Figure 56). Sulphur was used in Chinese medicine as a purgative, to treat constipation, and as an eyewash and mouthwash (Heffner 2012). Evidence of adaptative reuse of materials in the Yreka Collection can be seen in the use of ceramic buttons as opium pipe repair holes and gaming pieces cut from opium cans.

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION AND LIFEWAYS

This research theme encompasses the How? Who? What? and When? questions related to individual household composition and patterns of consumer behavior. Yreka's third Chinese community occupied the area south of East Center Street, north of Miner Street and between Yreka Creek and the railroad tracks, from the 1880s through the 1930s. As seen in census records from these decades, the Chinese community was predominantly male, a pattern reflected in similar Chinese communities across the western United States. Much of this was due to anti-Chinese immigration laws such as the Page Law, passed in 1875 that forbade the immigration of women of Asian descent, primarily sex workers, to the United States (Chen 2000:47; Pfaelzer 2007:104). It was widely assumed that most Chinese women traveling to the United States were prostitutes, as a result, the law acted to reduce the presence of Chinese women in America (Chen 2000:47; Pfaelzer 2007:104). Following the Immigration Act of 1924, which excluded "Chinese women, wives, and prostitutes" from entering the country, only the wives of merchants and diplomats could enter the United States legally (Hsu 2000:96). Foreign-born wives of US citizens were not permitted to join their husbands in America until the Immigration Act was revised in 1930 (Hsu 2000:96).

Undated historical photographs of Yreka's Chinese community depict women and children dressed in traditional clothing (Figure 57). The Yreka Collection contained 123 toys,



Photo courtesy of Idaho State Historical Society, Item 1971.121.0554.

Figure 55. Repurposed Jello Can with Chinese Characters.



Photo courtesy of Idaho State Historical Society, Item 1971.121.0554.

Figure 56. Interior View of Jello Can showing Sulphur.

such as marbles, skate keys, doll parts, and toy guns, indicating the presence of families. Lipstick containers, perfume bottles, cosmetic cream jars, and the like provide evidence of the women who lived in this community. Deciphering the who? questions is more difficult as the census records frequently use the nicknames "John Chinaman," "Chinaman," or "Chinawoman," in their recording of individual Chinese in Yreka, rather than a person's actual name. Additionally, with the exception of the 1913 *International Chinese Business Directory*, no other historical directories for Yreka were located. The 1913 directory only provides addresses for three of the seven businesses listed for Yreka.



Photograph use permission courtesy of the Siskiyou County Museum, Yreka, CA.

Figure 57. Women and Children of Yreka's Chinese Community, circa 1900.

Questions that ask "What" are easier to address, as most can be addressed through researching the archaeological deposits in the Yreka Collection. For example, the presence of CBGS jars, meat cleavers, grinding stones, and shallow pans, indicates a reliance on store-bought, pre-packed foodstuffs as well as home-cooked meals. The fishing lure and numerous gun cartridges suggest that occupants were incorporating wild game and fish into their diet. Food was consumed on both traditional, mass-exported folkwares (Winter Green, Bamboo ware, Four Season Flowers, and Double Happiness-patterned vessels) as well as inexpensive whitewares. Health issues were treated with both traditional remedies (opium, single-dose medicine vials) as well as patent medicines. Both single-dose medicine vials and patent medicines were mass-produced, claimed to cure a variety of ailments, and did not require a prescription from a doctor. Therefore, they represented an easy form of self-medication.

It is unclear "when" individual households came and left the area; however, Yreka's Chinese population as a whole experienced a general decline in population, due to dwindling

economic opportunities, discrimination, and the frequent fires and flooding that damaged numerous businesses and homes. Census records indicate that Yreka's Chinese population was at its highest point in 1870 when there were 327 Chinese individuals in Yreka and was at its lowest point in 1920, when 20 Chinese individuals were recorded as living in Yreka. Research on historical Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps and photographs provide an indication of the different building phases that the community went through.

"How" the occupants of Yreka's third Chinese community can be examined through historical photographs, newspaper accounts, and the archaeological record. Historical photographs show that most of the buildings were single-story, board-and-batten structures with gable roofs, and a small overhanging shed roof. A wooden boardwalk connected all the structures. The backlots of each structure were fenced in and contained numerous small outbuildings, some of which may have housed a privy. However, only one chamber pot was recorded in the collection; however, it is possible that fragments of additional chamber pots or wash pitchers are located in the collection and were just misidentified. Maintaining good health through a balanced diet, regular consumption of tea, proper hygiene, and exercise was, and still is, an important part of Chinese culture. The presence of bone toothbrushes, combs, and a soap box, in the collection are a testament to this focus on cleanliness and wellbeing.

IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY

This research domain focuses on issues of social inequality and the role of race, class, and gender, as evidenced in the archaeological and historical record. Newspapers frequently related acts of violence towards the Chinese. The Chinese community of Yreka moved to the outskirts of town in reaction to increased discrimination from the town's European-American population. Though segregated from the rest of the town by Yreka Creek, important celebrations such as Chinese New Year's drew numerous non-Chinese spectators from the town as well as surrounding mining communities. Yreka's Chinese community was a bit of a curiosity to the non-Chinese occupants, such as Pete Scheld, who visited Chinatown as a child and commented on the layout and construction of the buildings.

The presence of CBGS storage and food jars as well as medicine vials indicates a reliance upon traditional foods and medicinal treatments. Both Chinese porcelain tablewares and European American whitewares and porcelain vessels were used to serve food. Both chopsticks and porcelain soup spoons in Winter Green and Four Season Flowers patterns were used to consume food, as were knives and forks. Leisure and entertainment practices consisted of gambling, opium smoking, as well as listening to and playing musical instruments. The assemblage of Chinese artifacts in the Yreka Collection are part of a well-documented pattern of Chinese material culture found at numerous Overseas Chinese archaeological sites across the western United States (Chace 2015).

Conclusion and Further Research

The Yreka Chinatown excavation was one of the earliest excavations of a Chinese community in California. The fieldwork was conducted in an era where cultural resources management was just beginning, the NHPA had recently been passed, CEQA was not yet law, and the Office of State Historic Preservation had not yet been formed. At that time, the California Department of Beaches and Parks was the only state agency that had staff archaeologists available and therefore handled archaeological excavations, collections, and report findings for many state agencies, including the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans). As a salvage project, it was not afforded adequate funding to complete the analysis and reporting as part of the original 1969 work. The 1978 efforts resulted in the inventory and stabilization of the collection, but work ended when the Federal Title II program was terminated, and participants were laid off or transferred to other funded projects.

By the mid-1900s, the majority of Yreka's Chinese community left the area as a result of heavy springtime flooding and repeated fires that destroyed much of the buildings. Other factors that may have played a role in the declining Chinese population in Yreka are changing economic conditions, discrimination from the non-Chinese community, and anti-immigration legislation. The Yreka Collection serves as the only tangible evidence of Yreka's Chinese community. By finalizing the archaeological report and presenting these findings to the Chinese American community, I aim to help these individuals connect to their past and bring awareness to the work that State Parks is doing to help preserve these early traces of California's Chinese immigrant history. Archival materials scanned and turned into electronic PDFs will be provided to the museum and will be linked to an electronic database so that future researchers of the collection can easily access the original field notes, photo logs, feature and unit level records, and other related items.

Additional work on the collection may involve updating the catalog to include the work done in the late 1970s and in 2006, including artifact dates and Chinese character translations. To bring the catalog up to current standards, artifact measurements and MNIs should be included for each object. Photographs of all diagnostic or unique artifacts should be taken and added to TMS. Specialized artifact studies, including chemical analyses and mass spectrometry, can be used to identify the chemical make-up of residue left behind in medicine bottles. Analysis of starch residue on rice bowls and stoneware cooking vessels may provide additional information on diet.

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