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Digging For Success:

A proposed strategic plan for Overseas Chinese archaeological research in Australia

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Abstract

This thesis examines the archaeology conducted on Far North Queensland Chinatowns, utilising archaeological approaches from North American Chinese sites to create a model to reinterpret Overseas Chinese archaeology. The four parts of the model are: 1) Collection of background information and raw data; 2) Characterisation of the site 3) Context of the site; and 4) Practice and engagement.

The vast majority of Chinese people travelling to Australia during the Nineteenth Century settled across the country in search of economic opportunities. The migration of Chinese people during this period also occurred in other places such as North America. Research on the archaeology of the Overseas Chinese in Australia developed in the 1980s and included investigations of mining camps, agriculture, industry and other settlement sites (such as Chinatowns). During the Twentieth Century, many Chinese returned to China or integrated into larger city centres. The abandonment of many of these early Chinese sites means they have, because of neglect, suffered impacts from environmental change and development.

Examining research principally arising from archaeological observations, the findings have shown a consensus on the lack of theoretical discourse on Overseas Chinese in Australia. This is not a problem exclusive to Overseas Chinese studies as it can be argued that this also applies to historical archaeology generally. This covers a range of theories, for example multiscale (Voss 2008), diasporic (Gonzalez-Tennant, 2011) and transnational theory (Kraus-Friedberg, 2008), with the majority of these theoretical approaches applied to North American Chinese sites.

Archaeological research on Chinese sites in North America began from the 1960s and coincides with the inception of the Society of Historical Archaeology and North America's federal legislation the *National Historic Preservation Act 1966*. The Overseas Chinese experienced the same level of discrimination in Australia and North America as both countries were dominated by western culture; however based on archaeological evidence, the Chinese managed, at least to some extent, to retain their traditional practices and beliefs. The main differences between North American and Australian Overseas Chinese archaeology are: the time research first began, legislation (driven by cultural heritage management/resource), greater amount of development across North America versus Australia, disciplinary perspectives and the different site types examined. Both countries demonstrate differences that should be compared and applied to future research on Overseas Chinese sites.

Arguably, Far North Queensland Chinese sites is one of the best researched archaeology of the Overseas Chinese within Australia, which is much due to the dedication of researchers and local members of Chinese communities who together have been advocating for cultural heritage awareness and protection. Lawrence and Davies (2011:226) argue in the context of Australian

historical archaeology, Overseas Chinese archaeology in Australia is well researched and has made significant contribution. This thesis offers a solution to the issues encountered in current archaeological practice by creating and applying a model to reinterpret Overseas Chinese sites. By applying a more pragmatic and strategic approach to the archaeology of the Chinese in Australia, the outcomes of this can in turn benefit archaeological practice by prompting sophisticated approaches, models and perspectives for holistic archaeological outcomes.

Declaration by author

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

I have clearly stated the contribution of others to my thesis as a whole, including statistical assistance, survey design, data analysis, significant technical procedures, professional editorial advice, and any other original research work used or reported in my thesis. The content of my thesis is the result of work I have carried out since the commencement of my research higher degree candidature and does not include a substantial part of work that has been submitted to qualify for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution. I have clearly stated which parts of my thesis, if any, have been submitted to qualify for another award.

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Publications during candidature

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List of Abbreviations

ASHA	Australasian Society for Historical Archaeology
CADCAI	Cairns and District Chinese Association Inc
CBD	Central Business District
CHINA Inc	Chinese Heritage in Northern Australia
CHM	Cultural Heritage Management
CPRR	Central Pacific Railroad
CRM	Cultural Resource Management
CRWNAP	Chinese Railroad Workers in North America Project
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
FNQ	Far North Queensland
GPR	Ground Penetrating Radar
ISSCO	International Society for the Study of Chinese Overseas
MVC	Minimum Vessel Count
NISP	Number of Identified Specimens
NPRR	North Pacific Railroad
QPP	Queensland Planning Provisions
SHA	Society for Historical Archaeology
WAC	World Archaeology Conference

Chapter 1: The Overseas Chinese Experience

Introduction and research aims

During the Nineteenth Century, the Chinese, originating from the south east region of China, travelled to and across Australia wherever economic opportunities arose. The Chinese worked in diverse areas including mining, labour, agriculture, industry, production of goods and trade (Lawrence and Davies, 2011:227-8). Opportunities also brought the Chinese to places such as North America, Peru, the West Indies, Australia, New Zealand and Southeast Asia (Voss, 2005:424). The majority of Overseas Chinese scholarship has focused on migration, as the Chinese played a diverse and dynamic role in Nineteenth Century colonial Australia (Lawrence and Davies, 2011:229). Constructing a timeline of events contributes our knowledge of the movement and social organisation within the Chinese community and the individuals behind these organisations (Comber, 1995b).

The historical archaeological study of Overseas Chinese in Australia has developed since the 1980s. An initial study was Jack *et al.*'s (1984) investigation of 'Ah Toy's Garden' on the Palmer River Goldfield, Far North Queensland. This investigation was the start of many targeted archaeological studies of the remains of Overseas Chinese mining, market gardening and industrial settlements across Australia. Two reviews of this topic have been published in the journal *Australasian Historical Archaeology*; the first by Peter Bell in 1996 and then by Neville Ritchie in 2003. Since then, Schulz and Allen (2008) have also published a bibliography of the archaeology and architecture of the Overseas Chinese in the journal *Historical Archaeology*. This thesis examines research principally arising from archaeological observations.

Bell (1996:14-5) commented on the overall archaeological effort concerning Chinese sites in Australia, which at the time was lacking in both completeness and coherency:

'There are distinctive structures and artefact assemblages associated with Chinese occupation which seem remarkably consistent right across the country from the Alligator River in the Northern Territory to the Ringarooma River in Tasmania. Yet these are at present merely intuitive observations; no-one has ever put these data together and tested them.'

Lydon (1999) agreed with Bell's (1996) view that the archaeology of Chinese in Australia had:

'little serious attempt to design research programmes around archaeological questions'.

Out of the relevant conference papers and publications during the past decade, only a fraction has been on archaeological based research, as the majority have been on Chinese history.

Most past archaeological research has been driven by site specific excavations, but more recently research on the Overseas Chinese has considered a broader multi-disciplinary approach. This approach has allowed for research on ethnicity (Lydon, 1999; Mullins, 2008; Smith, 2003), identity (Kraus-Friedberg, 2008; Kuo, 2013; Mullins, 2008) social landscapes (Baxter, 2008; Bowen, 2011; Rains, 2005) and Chinese symbolism and beliefs such as *Feng Shui* (Grimwade, 1992; Hunter, 2010; Mueller, 1986; Smith, 2006) although with this diverse range of approaches, there is currently no dominant discourse (Ross, 2014:5675). A detailed examination of the physical evidence of the Chinese across the landscape provides a different approach to the interpretation of Chinese migration throughout Australia, and the ability to change interpretations which are made solely on the basis of historical documentation. Bowen (2012) suggests that one way to increase knowledge on Overseas Chinese archaeology would be to develop theoretically based thematic research. Future archaeological research that arises from history of the Overseas Chinese must include a combination of disciplines and techniques to analyse and interpret the Overseas Chinese experience.

The inherent problem with studying Overseas Chinese archaeology in Australia and New Zealand is the lack of theoretical driven methodology in the discipline. North American historical archaeology leads the way in publishing thematic research on the Overseas Chinese (e.g. Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 2015). Therefore, my research looks at how North American archaeological perspectives can be beneficially applied to archaeological investigations of Chinatowns in Far North Queensland.

This thesis explores the previous archaeological research of Chinatowns (historical, social and geographical) and asks whether or not there are factors specific to the Far North Queensland Chinatowns that need reinterpreting and how the interpretation of Chinatowns can be applied to other Overseas Chinese sites.

My research question is:

Due to the lack of methodologically sophisticated approaches and a homogeneous interpretation of Chinese archaeology in Australia, how can we reinterpret and apply a pragmatic methodology to these sites, using Chinatowns in Far North Queensland as a case study?

Background of the Overseas Chinese

During the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries, the Overseas Chinese played a vital role in shaping the social and physical environment of the countries they journeyed to. The Chinese across the globe experienced different social and geographical environments. Although the countries they migrated to were dominated by western cultures, the Chinese still managed to retain their traditional practices and beliefs, for example the celebration of Chinese New Year. The

majority of Chinese were men who came from south east regions of China (Guangdong and Fujian) (Lawrence and Davies, 2011:227) and travelled overseas for the opportunity to support their families. The Chinese occupied niches across Australia, New Zealand (Figure 1.2) and North America (Figure 1.3) and after the mining and associated industries declined, some Chinese settled locally while others migrated to larger city centres, although the majority returned to China (Grimwade, 1987a:31).

While there were Chinese in Australia and North America prior to the discovery of gold, it was gold that brought them in large numbers. The Chinese immigrants referred to the Australian gold rushes as 'Xin Jin Shan', or the new gold fields as the Californian gold rush was in decline by the 1850s and had become known as 'Jiu Jin Shan', the old gold fields (Yong, 1977:2).

To control the increase of Chinese immigration both countries introduced legislation, which aimed at disadvantaging and discouraging the Chinese. The introduction of legislation such as the *Foreign Miners Tax 1850* (United States), *Chinese Immigration Act 1855* (Victoria), *The Minerals Land Act* of 1882 (Queensland), *Influx of Chinese Restriction Act* of 1881 (New South Wales), *Chinese Immigrants Act 1881* (New Zealand), *The Chinese Exclusion Act 1882* (United States) and *The New Goldfields Act* of 1890 (Queensland), along with a decline of mineral resources, resulted in the trend for Chinese to seek work elsewhere. Popular areas for merchants varied from regional hubs to urban settings, such as Sydney and Melbourne (Lawrence and Davies, 2011:230). The Chinese merchants who worked in Melbourne were seen as the social elite amongst the Chinese who lived throughout Victoria, due to their success in the Victorian Goldfields (Muir, 2008:39). Despite discrimination, the Chinese remained a strong and contributing presence across Australia and North America during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.

The historical evidence supports the notion of Chinese movement across Far North Queensland (Figure 1.1) during the Nineteenth Century. The Queensland Goldfields attracted many Chinese after the Victorian gold rush (during the mid-1850s) and although the gold in Queensland existed for a relatively short period, the Chinese community was transient across Queensland.



Figure 1.1: Map of Far North Queensland
<http://www.graduates.qld.gov.au/graduate-employment/queensland-locations.aspx>

Historical and archaeological evidence provide an account of the Chinese in their various economic endeavours. In Australia, the Chinese colonial fishing industry in Port Albert, Victoria operated from the mid-1850s (Bowen, 2006, 2007, 2012) and by 1859 the Chinese were well established on the Braidwood Goldfields in New South Wales (McGowan, 2004:40). The Chinese were attracted to other mining areas such as Kiandra in New South Wales in 1860 (Smith, 2003:19). In Queensland, the Chinese were established at the Palmer Goldfields in 1873 (May, 1996:7). This was a rich alluvial field that produced gold over a short period between 1873 and 1876 (Comber, 1995a:203) where the Chinese outnumbered the Europeans three to one, although they were still discriminated against (Comber, 1991). Tin mining in Tasmania attracted Chinese to the north east of the colony between 1875 and 1890 (Vivian, 1985:4). The first Chinese arrived in Cairns around 1876 (Grimwade and Rowney, 2004:9), with the peak population of Chinese recorded in Queensland during 1901 (May, 1996:13). The Chinese were concentrated in Cairns and Innisfail

during 1886 which were the main areas of European population for agriculture (May, 1996:11), Chinese gardeners were also supplying produce to Townsville (van Kempen, 1987:22). The Chinese were cultivating maize, rice, banana and sugar, with the Hop Wah Plantation being the first Chinese venture (May, 1996:13).



Figure 1.2: Overview of select research areas across Australia and New Zealand

The first Chinese arrived in the Northern Territory during 1874 when the government arranged for a contract of 187 labourers (Jones, 1988:5). An early newspaper references ‘Coolies as shepherds’ as a choice for Australia during 1842 (*The Australian*, 21 Apr. 1842:4). When gold was discovered in the Northern Territory, the Chinese population grew to 4108 in 1881 (Jones, 1988:20); the 1891 census recorded 917 Chinese in Western Australia, with 188 additional Chinese arrivals the same year (*The South Australian Register*, 10 Nov. 1981:3). The Chinese worked in the service industry such as cooking being an ‘Australian wide phenomenon’ in the Nineteenth Century (May, 1996:120). Excelling in service and labour roles was not an indication of the Chinese lacking of skill but rather an ability to recognise areas of economic opportunity and enterprise that often the host population avoided (May, 1996:110).

The New Zealand Chinese similarly originated primarily from Guandong province and smaller counties surrounding the city of Guangzhou (Ritchie, 1986:7). Historical records show some Chinese arriving in New Zealand from Melbourne (Ritchie, 1986:15). In the 1840s,

Auckland's Carlaw Park was the site of the city's first flour mills, followed by a tannery and then a Chinese market garden (Bader and Adamson, 2011:30). Chan Dar Chee's (or Ah Chee's) market garden in the Auckland suburb of Parnell operated from the 1870s to 1920 (Boileau, 2013:141). Historical accounts recorded 1270 Chinese spread throughout Otago in 1868 in search of gold, which lasted to the early 1880s, and the peak population of Chinese was over 5000 between 1878 and 1881 (Ng, 1995; Ritchie, 1986). The Chinese in Otago also worked as market gardeners (Ng, 1995:164) and between 1874 and 1886, the Chinese also worked as general labourers on road and railway construction (Ritchie, 1986:22).



Figure 1.3: Overview of select research areas across North America and Hawai'i

The Chinese in North America worked on goldfields and came to places like Oakland after gold was discovered near Sacramento in 1848. The first Chinese settlement was located at First Street and Castro Street, Telegraph Avenue and San Pablo Avenue (Wong, 2004:7). Due to intense bigotry and violence the Chinese community relocated to Eighth and Webster Streets during the 1870s (Wong, 2004:7). Due to the earthquake of San Francisco in 1906, thousands of Chinese fled to Oakland (Wong, 2004:7).

In the 1860s the Market Street Chinatown in San José, California housed more than 1000 Chinese (Voss, 2005:430). Chinese residents of Market Street Chinatown maintained strong political, economic and social connections to China. The Chinese who lived in Chinatown worked around the surrounding County in agriculture, mining and industry (Voss, 2005:430). By the

1880s, as a result of anti-Chinese sentiment, the Chinese moved out of rural areas and into large cities like San Francisco (Maniery, 2004:12).

By pursuing opportunities, the Chinese were able to contribute to the social and economic development of north west America (Liu, 2002:24). During 1868, of the 4000 workers hired to construct the Northern Pacific Railroad two-thirds were Chinese (Merritt *et al.*, 2012:669). The Chinese pursued labour opportunities in Hawai'i to work on the sugar plantations (Kraus-Friedberg, 2008:123). The Chinese labourers were living in isolated rural areas and had limited access to food and merchandise, other than what was provided to them or purchased at the company store (Kraus-Friedberg, 2008:126).

Ross (2014) suggests that Chinese migrants inherited, utilised and adopted both Chinese and non-Chinese objects and interacted with their non-Chinese neighbours, while still maintaining distinct identities. The Chinese shared similar experiences of discrimination and hostility from the rest of the population, although archaeological research has not yet examined the Overseas Chinese holistically from the rest of the population across Australia, New Zealand and North America. The research presented in this thesis provides a critique of the existing archaeological literature of the Overseas Chinese in Far North Queensland and North America and contributes to Overseas Chinese scholarship, by providing a methodological framework to apply to the archaeology of the Overseas Chinese.

Archaeological theory

Research on Overseas Chinese archaeology across Australia has been executed in haste and has lacked appropriate planning and theorising (Bell, 1996; Lydon, 1999; Ritchie, 2003). The archaeology of the Overseas Chinese in Australia has focused on isolated site studies and lacks comparison and context within the broader Chinese diaspora. The underlying focus of Australian conferences on the Overseas Chinese is driven by broad themes focusing on history and heritage. Therefore, this thesis proposes the current challenges of Overseas Chinese archaeology in Australia are: 1) a lack of developed methodology and theoretical approaches, 2) a lack of scholarly training, specifically on Chinese artefacts; and 3) a lack of interpretation involving a comparison of Chinese sites. As Ritchie (2003:8) notes about Australia and New Zealand:

'There is no sustained academic interest in overseas Chinese archaeology in either country, and what there has been in recent years has been fairly ad hoc, taking advantage of archaeological mitigation opportunities.'

Previous archaeological work has looked at whether or not the Overseas Chinese community can be viewed in the material record in a manner which relies on the presence of ethnic markers. Establishing the terms of ethnicity, archaeologists are cautious about providing definitive terms

(Emberling, 1997:300-1) but Jones (1997:53) discusses minority ethnic groups in modern society who can retain their identity and not have distinct ethnic boundaries. The Chinese in Australia during the late Nineteenth Century were seen by their host country as unified and therefore excluded as one homogeneous group (Ngan and Kwok-bun, 2012:3). Jones (1997:49) notes the concept of homogenous cultural entities is generated through archaeological theory and practice. The archaeological research has yet to examine the Overseas Chinese holistically across Australia and internationally, thus a more nuanced theoretical framework is essential.

Archaeological research on Chinatowns in Far North Queensland began during the late 1970s. One of the first studies (Ibrahim, 1981) was conducted at Atherton Chinatown, shortly after the site was donated to the National Trust of Queensland for custody and management. Using Far North Queensland Chinatowns as a case study, I propose that these sites can be reinterpreted in ways which do not fit homogeneous descriptions of the Overseas Chinese community. Murray (2011) notes that recent archaeological work has indicated significant differences may exist between North American and Australian contexts, in both the nature and extent of written documents and the properties of domestic assemblages.

Archaeological research on Chinese sites in North America began in the late 1960-1970s; mainly on Chinese settlement sites such as Chinatowns, labour camps and railroads (Ross, 2014:5676). In 1969, Chace and Evans gave one of the first Chinese archaeological presentations in North America on Chinese railroad workers during the second annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) (Chace, 2015:24). Chace and Evans, both trained anthropologists, influenced the study of Chinese sites in North America throughout the 1970s (Chace, 2015:24). Their presentation prompted the creation of the SHA's Overseas Chinese Research Group.

Overseas Chinese archaeology has tended to focus on Chinatowns, which has reinforced the mistaken assumption that Chinese immigrants were insular and self-segregating populations (Voss and Allen, 2008:19). Initial research led to thoughts that the research in North America was more concerned with method and description rather than theory (Greenwood, 1993), although Praetzellis and Praetzellis (2015:164) argue the abundance of data has weakened the need for a deeper understanding.

Archaeologists in North America have been working on developing theoretical and methodological frameworks for approaching complex research questions at Chinese heritage sites (Williams and Voss, 2008:1) although Staski (2009:356) suggests that the main theoretical and methodological focus is with ethnic identity and assimilation. Most studies also adopted theoretical frameworks such as acculturation and situational adaptation, largely arguing in favour of traditional and cultural persistence (Ross, 2014:5682). One suggestion Staski (2009:355) discusses, is to conduct comparable historical studies in Asia to create a 'baseline' to establish the condition of life

for those who emigrated. It is important to note, the Chinese in China would have had different experiences and environment than the Overseas Chinese. Praetzellis and Praetzellis (2004:237) comment that the Chinese originated from rural areas, where war and instability gave them strong traditional values and social obligation to family and kin.

Applying a diasporic framework to the Overseas Chinese, Gonzalez-Tennant (2011) describes the situational and complex differences between intra-group connections of the Chinese and their overseas settlements. Orser's (2007) examination of the diasporic framework in historical archaeology as an application to multi-scaled projects explores how Chinese migrants, as a heavily racialised minority, dealt with situations in diverse host society settings. This diasporic approach relies on the Chinese community as the key agent in the Chinese individual's choice, but Gonzalez-Tennant (2011) does not propose how this is evident in the archaeological record. Gonzalez-Tennant (2011) demonstrates the heterogeneity of the Overseas Chinese community by comparing three case studies that represent varying times and spaces of 'diasporic archaeology'.

Voss (2008) supports a multiscalar approach to Overseas Chinese archaeology, as it allows multiple units of analysis and the development of specific cultural and historical contexts, by considering the impacts that social and archaeological units of analysis have on archaeological interpretations. This contrasts with previous research in historical archaeology for North America, as previously the main unit of analysis has been the household (Voss, 2008:37). The household unit is applied more relevantly to social structure of a family, property ownership and refuse disposal associated with colonisation and can be expected from non-Chinese archaeological sites. Recent Chinatown projects in North America have taken a multi-disciplinary approach by involving the community and including interdisciplinary collaboration with universities, museums, cultural organisations, government agencies and resource management firms (Ross, 2014:5681). The collaboration and differing perspectives is what enriches archaeological research and interpretation across these Chinese sites.

Williams (2008) describes hegemonic masculinity as a useful methodological approach for the archaeological examination of the relationship between historical discourse and masculinity in Chinese material culture used by Overseas Chinese men. Williams (2008:54) describes this approach in archaeology by examining these cultural narratives and understanding how they interact and impact on the daily lives of Chinese men, and the entanglement with other features of identity. Interestingly Williams (2008) makes note that all material culture, whether from household assemblages or across landscapes, can be examined for hegemonic masculinities regardless of whether the discourse is dominant or operates simultaneously with other discourses. This comment can be said about all Chinese objects, as 'things' are transient, transforming, ever changing and in some instances problematic (Hodder, 2011:160).

Mullins (2008) examines the material and social dimensions of Chinese identity by challenging previous research on the Overseas Chinese by North American archaeologists. Mullins (2011) also comments on the patterns of material goods and consumption and proposes that the consumers' use and display of material culture provides archaeological evidence for social status, ethnicity, gender and identity (Mullins, 2011:135). Archaeology of consumption enables new methodological approaches to consumer patterns and cultural influences including the Overseas Chinese (Mullins, 2011:142).

Transnationalism is a term argued by researchers as generally to describe any activity or ideology that transcends national borders (Kraus-Friedberg, 2008:125). While many researchers have argued about the definition of transnationalism, it is a complicated concept that requires further description but Kraus-Friedberg (2008) applies a transnational approach to defining local identity of immigrant groups at a Chinese cemetery at Pāhala, Hawai'i. Comparing archaeological research on North American Chinese cemeteries, the Lone Fir Cemetery in Portland revealed the Chinese community also preserved traditional Chinese customs and selectively adopted European and American elements into funeral rituals to maintain their transnational identity (Smits, 2008:111). Recently, Voss's (2016:148) research on transpacific perspectives may also be adapted to other research on Overseas Chinese transpacific movements and complexities in other overseas locations, especially in Australia. Transnational historical archaeology has been slower to develop in and around the Pacific Ocean, as Voss (2016:148) argues this is due to historical archaeological interpretations of landscapes, sites and objects providing adequate attention to transpacific interactions.

Voss and Allen (2008:5) suggest new research directions on Overseas Chinese archaeology should focus on topics such as demography, social aspects and economy. Researching social organisation and industries of the Overseas Chinese adds a rich layer to our current understanding of the Chinese experience. One social construction applicable to the Chinese in the Nineteenth Century is arguably a 'Chinatown'. As Greenwood (1996:1) observes:

'Chinatown's (sic) very existence eludes the assignment of any single cause or motivation.'

Mullins (2008:152) notes that ethnic identity drives archaeological scholarship on the Overseas Chinese. Opportunities for further analysis of archaeological research, should also focus on questions around assimilation and acculturation (Voss, 2015:8). Although many scholars (e.g. Bell, 1996; Greenwood, 1993; Lydon, 1999; Ritchie, 2003; Voss and Allen, 2008) comment on the improvements that have been made to theoretical approaches, Staski (2009) believes that little has changed since the beginning of research on the Overseas Chinese Archaeology.

In order to provide a complete picture of the Overseas Chinese communities we require a framework that incorporates methods and theories gained from sites across the globe while using locally available historical sources (Murray, 2011:573). There is a potential to compare and analyse Nineteenth Century Chinese artefacts with other artefacts found at Chinese sites across Australia.

The significance of this research is to contribute to what we know of the Overseas Chinese and how reinterpretation can apply to Overseas Chinese archaeology. Ross (2014) considers that the comparison between Overseas Chinese research on Australia and North America would benefit our understanding of the relationship between local experiences and broader international patterns of the Chinese diaspora. The next section will characterise Chinatown as a term applied in this research as a defining social characteristic of a Chinese settlement during the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries.

Characterising Chinatown

The term Chinatown has varied usages and meanings, not only in colonial Australia but also in modern society. In the context of historical archaeology, Chinatown was first and foremost an urban physical space where the Chinese community were settled and organised around racial and religious affiliations (Hum Lee, 1960:53). This can be said about the social behaviour of all immigrants as a survival tactic in a foreign environment. Contrasting perspectives argued Chinatowns were ‘ghetto like formations’ existing in societies in the western world as a result of exclusion and hostility (Hum Lee, 1960:52). In early historical newspapers, a Chinatown was used to describe a community of Chinese people or a physical space:

‘block of buildings known as Chinatown’ (The Telegraph, 27 Feb. 1877:3).

Chinatowns were formed out of the prejudice of the predominantly white community (Anderson, 1987:580) and the racial discrimination was evident in Queensland newspapers (*The Telegraph*, 7 Dec. 1887:3):

‘There are two settlements of them at present, and unless some steps are taken to prevent it, we shall soon have a regular Chinatown, with all its filth and degradation in our midst.’

Social geographers define Overseas Chinatowns as an assimilation and segregation of Chinese immigrants and their economic activity (Anderson, 1987:580). Anderson (1987:581) argues Chinatown is a social construction, a classification of western landscape type, understanding and attitudes; a European idea or concept. As a European construct, Chinatown existed within the Australian colonial landscape and often carried negative stereotypes.

Geographically Chinatowns were usually located on the fringes of a European township or incorporated within a township. Chinatowns were thus formed in response to both internal and

external agents. It was a place that offered some security from European prejudice, discrimination and surveillance, but was also the result of Chinese cultural reluctance to accept non-Chinese as equals. Chinatowns were also the result of the Chinese tendency to live and work collectively, which stemmed from a desire to economise, pool resources, support family and kin and recreate familiar social and cultural environments. Within a Chinatown, Chinese immigrants could access a range of economic, social and cultural services. Chinatowns served members living both inside and outside of Chinatown and contained a complex economic structure (Hum Lee, 1960:58).

Hum Lee (1960:58) proposed that population size is crucial to the survival of a Chinatown, where she notes that fewer than 180 people may not be enough for a Chinatown to support itself economically. It is certainly difficult to ascertain an exact number of Chinese people needed to define a Chinatown, but factors to be considered are a degree of permanency of employment, availability of and access to Chinese goods, compatibility of religious values and traditions and to some extent, prior integration.

Ibrahim (1981:27) observed specific factors which contributed to the success and growth of a Chinatown, which were the ability of the Chinese to thrive in agriculture and business activities. The construction of a Chinese temple often signified an economically viable community with a connection to and continuity of Chinese traditional beliefs, values and the maintenance of practices while away from China. Chinatowns were important places for acclimatising Chinese newcomers to their host country. These densely populated areas not only provided the Overseas Chinese with a safe place to practise traditions and values (Rains, 2003:31), but contained the organisational network for the Chinese community. According to Hum Lee (1960:63), if population was not substantial enough to support a Chinatown, it forced the Chinese to integrate into the nearest community.

For the purposes of this thesis, the classification of Chinatown excludes temporary Chinese precincts such as work camps, labour camps or habitation sites (market gardens or other household businesses). Based on the approaches of Anderson (1987); Hum Lee (1960); Rains (2003); Voss and Allen (2008) and Wong (1995), this thesis adopts a more restricted definition of a Chinatown, defined as a Chinese residential, business and cultural space that provided a range of services to both established and transient populations during the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries.

Methods

This thesis first examines archaeological evidence and theoretical frameworks for Chinese sites in North America, with a focus on North American Chinatowns. Archaeological evidence, methods, theories and interpretation of the Far North Queensland Chinatowns are presented in the form of case studies, to establish a baseline for comparison. The archaeological evidence includes

spatial data, excavation and survey reports and artefactual records that are currently accessible. The differences between the archaeology of the Chinese sites in North America and Far North Queensland are identified and analysed. The results of this analysis inform the model for reinterpretation and, based on the findings of archaeological approaches and paucity of interpretation, Far North Queensland Chinatowns are reinterpreted.

Thesis Layout

Chapter 2 outlines the background of Chinese sites, including Chinatowns in North America, by setting up a context from historical and archaeological evidence. Chapter 3 examines Chinatowns of Far North Queensland by using historical and archaeological evidence from a range of sites. This also includes reviewing the current interpretations of Far North Queensland Chinatowns to provide a basis for reinterpretation. The results of the analysis of both North America and Far North Queensland Chinatowns are presented in Chapter 4. A model of reinterpretation is presented in Chapter 5, which addresses the research questions and reinterprets Far North Queensland Chinatowns. Future directions for archaeological research on Far North Queensland Chinatowns are presented in this chapter. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes the thesis with a brief overview and discussion of the findings.

Chapter 2: Chinese American Archaeology

“archaeologists are developing novel theoretical and methodological frameworks for researching and interpreting Chinese heritage sites in the United States”
(Williams and Voss, 2008:1)

Introduction

The archaeology of North American Chinatowns is the main focus of this chapter, in which the approaches, methodology and interpretations of these sites are examined with particular focus on why a particular archaeological approach or theory was used. Secondary to this, other North American Chinese sites are discussed to provide a broader context and understanding of Chinese American archaeology. Chinese American archaeology makes a distinction between Chinese settlement sites in North America being Chinatowns, labour camps and settlements associated with agriculture and industry. Yu (2008) states that archaeologists studying the migration of the Chinese need to comprehend the past work from historians, whether it be proposing or challenging different theories. Conversely, Voss and Allen (2008) comment that closing the gap in knowledge of the Overseas Chinese, through archaeological analysis, will contribute to the research conducted by historians of the Chinese diaspora.

American studies have benefited from the development of transnational and diasporic theoretical approaches (as previously discussed in Chapter 1) and recognise the significance of multiple connections and identities that the ‘migrants’ maintain, between home and host countries and with other Overseas Chinese communities (Ross, 2014:5681). For example, the complicated levels of identity: geographically origin (ancestral village, regional province or dialect), religious beliefs (Buddhist, Taoist or Confucius) and occupation and class identities (poor labourer, market gardener, or wealthy merchant). Diasporic theory also has the opportunity to look at the situational and complex connections between intra-group difference and the numerous overseas locations; in this case Australia and North America. Transnational theory utilises Chinese individuals from a common geographic origin and individuals who create and maintain overseas communities and collective identities rooted in the homeland of China. The Chinese utilised and adopted both Chinese and non-Chinese objects and interacted with their non-Chinese neighbours to create their transnational identity.

The archaeological interpretation of a ‘typical’ Chinese site is often based on the types of artefacts identified in the archaeological record, such as opium paraphernalia, gaming pieces, coins and Chinese ceramics. Mullins (2008:153) notes that these artefacts are rarely found in non-Chinese contexts or in significant quantities. Identification of Chinese artefacts has been the key focus of archaeological research on the Chinese in both Australia and North America. Although

they existed in a different social environment, the Chinese in North America shared similar experiences with the Chinese in Australia during the Nineteenth Century, which is analysed in Chapter 4. This chapter elaborates further on the development of the archaeology of Chinese sites in North America and provides a comparable baseline for the study of Chinatowns in Far North Queensland.

North America's legislative framework

The legislative framework and jurisdiction in which Chinese sites are managed is one factor that impacts archaeological interpretation. Research on the Overseas Chinese of America has been completed in conjunction with heritage management studies and has focused on specific sites and descriptive material culture studies. Cultural Resource Management (CRM) practitioners in America have had to defend and justify archaeology to the rest of the discipline (Green and Doershuk, 1998:129).

Places of national significance are listed on the National Register of Historic Places, which is administered by the *National Historic Preservation Act 1966*. There are currently over 10 Chinese sites listed on the National Register, with five listed Chinatowns (National Park Service, 2016). The *Archaeological Resources Protection Act* of 1979 protects archaeological resources, and that means any material remains of past human life or activities which are of archaeological interest. Archaeological resources are only protected under this Act if they are items older than 100 years of age. Each State has separate historic preservation laws that protect archaeological resources; an example is the California Register of Historical Resources that identifies and protects the state's historical resources (California Office of Historic Preservation, 1999:15). The *California Environmental Quality Act* contains provisions for the lead agency to determine whether a project may have a significant effect on unique archaeological resources and if so an environmental impact report shall address the impact of the archaeological resources (California Office of Historic Preservation, 1999:29).

If it can be demonstrated that a project will cause damage to a unique archaeological resource, the lead agency may require reasonable efforts to be made to avoid impact to these resources or sites. Some examples of mitigation to the impact of archaeological resources or sites are seen in Section 21083.2:

- (b)(1) Planning construction to avoid archaeological sites.*
- (2) Deeding archaeological sites into permanent conservation easements.*
- (3) Capping or covering archaeological sites with a layer of soil before building on the sites.*
- (4) Planning parks, greenspace, or other open space to incorporate archaeological sites.*
- (c) To the extent that unique archaeological resources are not preserved in*

place or not left in an undisturbed state, mitigation measures shall be required
(California Office of Historic Preservation, 1999:29).

Voss (2015:11) discovered that most archaeological studies of Chinese railroad worker sites have been designed to comply with historic preservation laws such as the *National Historic Preservation Act* of 1966. Voss's (2008:37) suggests the archaeological practice in alignment with the Act encourages certain biases around the analysis of a 'household' which in turn influences the interpretations and methods of the American archaeological record. In the case of Chinatowns, the 'household' or living arrangements of the Chinese are vastly different to typical non-Chinese urban sites which are seen in the difference in refuse patterns (Voss, 2008:37) and therefore one can argue historic preservation laws are written and designed in favour of the static nature of non-Chinese historical sites. The frequency of archaeological opportunity increases at sites that are triggered by development and the legislative requirements that forces developers to investigate North American Chinese sites before further developing a site or destroying it.

Overseas Chinese archaeology in North America

This section provides context by examining the archaeological research conducted at the following Chinese sites across North America: Tucson; Portland; Pāhala (Hawai'i); Woodland; Salt Point State Park; San José; Los Angeles; San Bernardino; and Deadwood (Figure 2.1). Recent research on the Overseas Chinese in North America has also focused on Chinese involvement in the railroad industry, specifically the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad (NPRR). Research in these areas is guided by a combination of disciplines and techniques to analyse and interpret the Overseas Chinese experience.

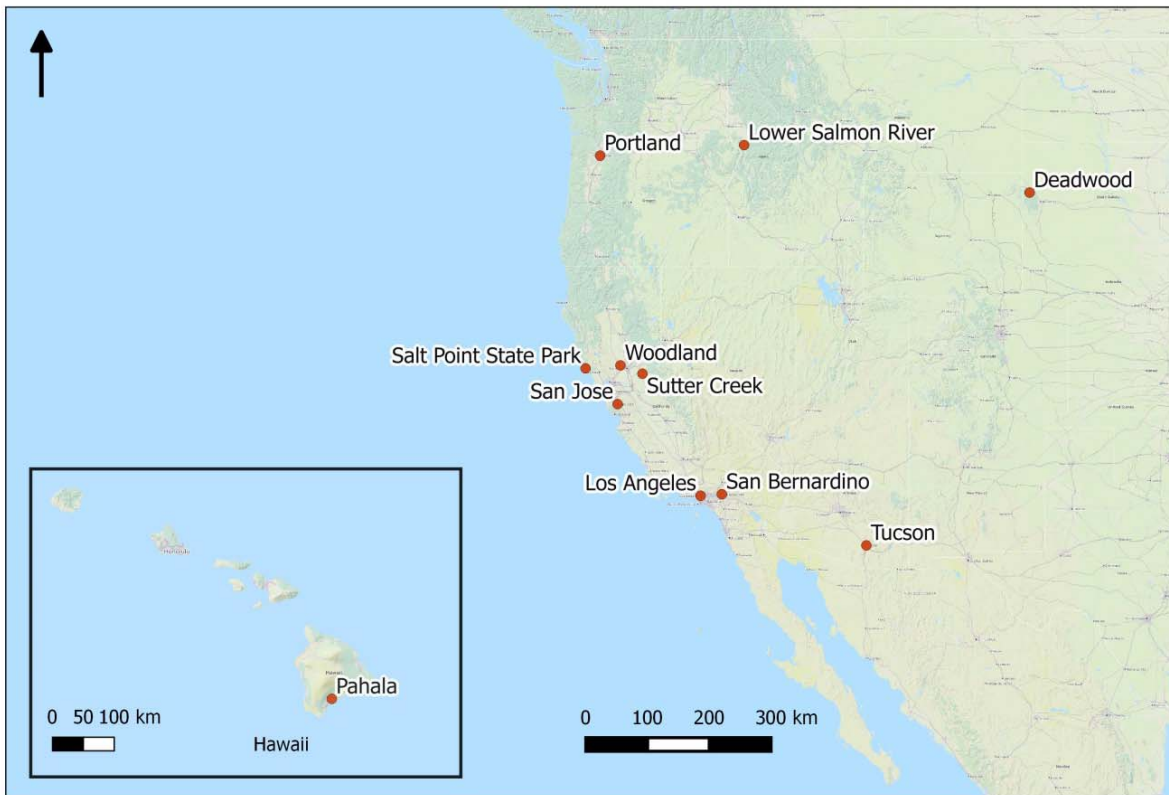


Figure 2.1: Map of North American Chinese sites referenced in the chapter

North American railroads

The majority of archaeological research on the involvement of the Chinese in North America comes from CRM projects (Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 2015:164) that include the main railroads of the Central Pacific (1865-1869); Southern Pacific (1873-1883); and Northern Pacific (1870-1883). In 2012, a network of scholars formed the Chinese Railroad Workers in North America Project (CRWNAP) (Voss, 2015:6). In the following year, CRWNAP hosted a workshop where participants identified the need for archaeological research on the Chinese railroad workers be made public (Voss, 2015:9). This resulted in the archaeology of Chinese railroad workers in North America published in *Historical Archaeology* as a thematic journal.

The challenges of studying the archaeology of Chinese railroad workers are the differences in translation of Chinese characters, methodology and the access to research (Voss, 2015:8-9). Voss (2015) argues the strength of archaeological methodology being site and settlement focused, is limiting, when examining the constant mobility of Chinese railroad workers and their temporary camps. Historical reference to the Transcontinental Railroad suggests that 250 to 500 Chinese lived and worked at the railroad construction sites (Polk, 2015:68). Using an archaeological case study, Furnis and Maniery (2015:81) estimated that 40-70 Chinese men camped at a site for approximately two or three weeks. Furnis and Maniery (2015) proposed a strategic methodology in order to

examine the archaeology of temporary railroad camps. This involved starting at hearths as the central point and moving horizontally to set out five metres square grids around the hearth (Furnis and Maniery, 2015:72). After clearing the top layer of vegetation, a greater horizontal distribution of features and artefacts was exposed and then recorded (Furnis and Maniery, 2015:72).



Figure 2.2: Map of Northern Pacific Railroad
 (<http://www.american-rails.com/northern-pacific-railway.html>)

Merritt *et al.* (2012) examined ten Chinese line camps along the NPRR (Figure 2.2), which contributes towards the information of the Overseas Chinese railroad workers. Merritt *et al.* (2012) notes there is limited documentary and archaeological information available on the Chinese line camps along the NPRR, although historical references as seen in Figure 2.3 exist for Central Pacific Railroad (CPRR) in North America. The few formal archaeological investigations in the area were due to an avocational archaeologist and another project under the support of the National Historic Preservation Act (Merritt *et al.*, 2012:676). Voss (2015:10) also notes that avocational archaeologists contribute towards the research on the North American railroads. Merritt *et al.* (2012) utilises the limited historical information known about the Chinese camps and concludes that the camps were clearly segregated based on ethnic background. By examining the spatial layout of the line camps as well as archaeological evidence associated with foodstuff and leisure, Merritt *et al.* (2012) preliminary findings identified that the Chinese camps were located on the least desirable sites along the NPRR. The archaeological approach by Merritt *et al.* (2012:669) is valid given the limited archaeological evidence to provide information on the lives of the Chinese living at these camps and given that the archaeological remains have yet to be thoroughly surveyed and analysed.

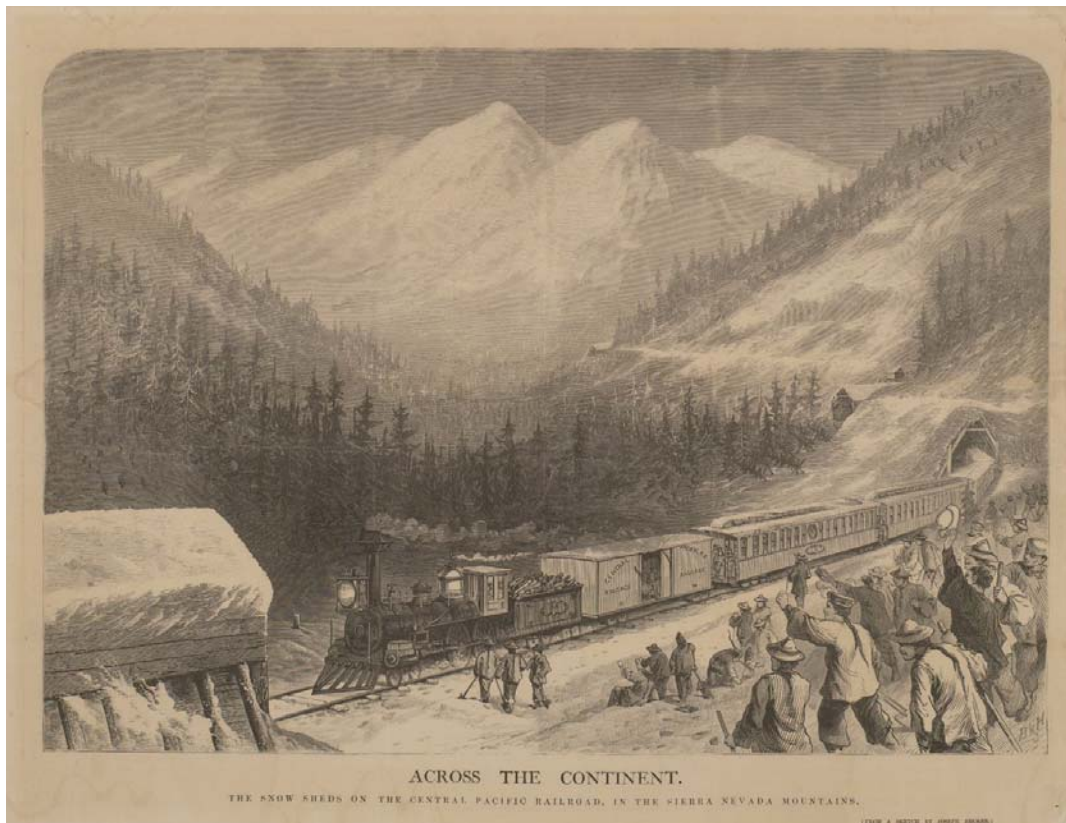


Figure 2.3: “Across the continent, the snow sheds on the Central Pacific Railroad, in the Sierra Nevada Mountains” (BANC PIC 1963.002:0808—C; Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley)

Chinese sites along the Lower Salmon River, Idaho

Research on the Chinese sites across the Lower Salmon River was an outcome of a CRM plan, which provides a framework for the management of 200 cultural sites. The data for this research has been collected from cultural resource site monitoring studies and site specific management actions that do not include any archaeological excavations (Sisson, 1993:33). The interpretation of the Chinese sites along the Lower Salmon River is limited to surface features (including artefacts) and limited historical accounts. Historical records reveal the Chinese came to the area after gold was first discovered in 1860 (Sisson, 1993:34). Sisson (1993:36) argues that the Chinese experienced similar treatment throughout the west of North America, which included: exclusion from major mining districts; being evicted from mining claims; and often being the victims of violence. The Chinese sites across the Lower Salmon River were surveyed and the results provided a detailed description of each site and its current condition.

Site 10-IH-1328 contained an unidentified rock feature (Figure 2.4) that Sisson (1993) believes is a hearth. Local knowledge referred to the feature as a “Chinese Shrine” and Sisson (1993) provided measurements being 2.6m wide at the base, tapered to 0.52 metres wide at the top and is 1.6 metres high. The feature (likely to be a pig oven) is associated with a small rock/dirt ramp approximately 1.3 metres wide by 0.57 metres tall at its junction, with the main rock wall

being 1.63 metres long leading up to the south side of the feature. Sisson (1993) identified no oral or written documentation associated with the feature or its potential function, although both Euro-American and Chinese artefacts were discovered.

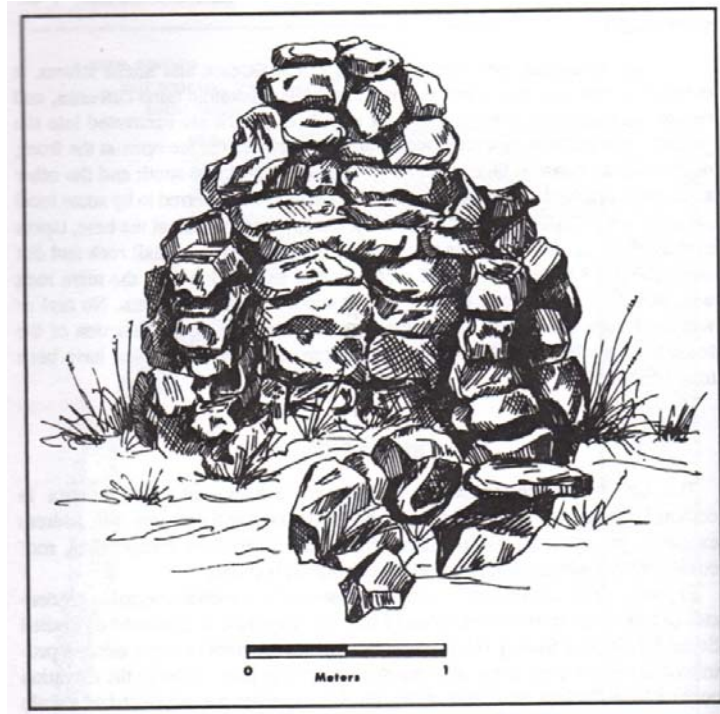


Figure 2.4: Rock feature located at 10-III-1328 (Sisson, 1993:48)

Sisson (1993) examined the Chinese sites across the Lower Salmon River and made comment on the potential to apply *Feng Shui* principles in association with the orientation of sites and the surrounding environment. Historical and archaeological evidence supported Chinese use of the area between 1880 and 1890, although some Chinese remained in the area past 1900 (Sisson, 1993:58). This also occurred at Chinese sites across Australia and North America, often with increased mobility of the Chinese around the early Twentieth Century. Sisson (1993) proposed further research is needed in order to examine Chinese vernacular structures and architectural techniques in order to enhance understanding of the Overseas Chinese in North America.

Lone Fir Cemetery, Portland

Little work has been completed on Chinese cemeteries in North America due to the sensitive nature of cemeteries but the Lone Fir Cemetery in Portland had an allocated Chinese section (Smits, 2008:111). Archaeological investigations began with confirming presence and/or absence of burials across the site through the use of Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) (Smits, 2008:116). The survey results informed the mechanical excavation from which 403 artefacts were recovered out of three trenches, located at the western edge of the site (Smits, 2008:116). Smits (2008) discovered a lack of stratigraphy and a scattered array of materials, which are common at Overseas Chinese sites and

this is similar to the Chinatowns in Far North Queensland, discussed further in Chapter 3. Two-thirds of the ceramic fragments were of Chinese origin and were associated with festivities or memorial offerings left at the grave sites (Smits, 2008:116). A flowerpot and vase fragments were identified and Smits (2008:117) acknowledged the close proximity of non-Chinese funerals located in the adjacent section of the cemetery and therefore the artefacts may not be directly associated with Chinese use. Glass fragments were recovered from the excavation with some likelihood of association with the Chinese funerals (Smits, 2008:118).

One argument for the concept of transnational identities used in Smits' (2008) research is the involvement of the Portland Chinese in local and global economics and politics, such as the Chinese American newspapers and education programs (Smits, 2008:114). Smits (2008:114) argues the Chinese reflected their transnational identity by a shared pride in both Chinese and American heritage and in the choice of material goods they used in everyday life. A change in the consumption of Chinese material goods may not necessarily mean disassociation from traditional cultural practices despite the appearance of doing so.

Chinese cemetery at Pāhala, Hawai'i

The Chinese cemetery at the Pāhala Plantation is located in a small town in the District of Ka'ū, on the Big Island of Hawai'i and operated from 1878 (Kraus-Friedberg, 2008:127). Three cemeteries are located on the plantation and the research of Kraus-Friedberg (2008) focuses on the Chinese cemetery. Traditional Chinese burial practices allowed for the deceased to be buried and after ten years the exhumation of the bones and transportation were arranged for return to the deceased's hometown in China (Hunter, 2010:2). The archaeological results from the Chinese cemetery show evidence of adopted traditional native Hawaiian burial practices (Kraus-Friedberg, 2008:127).

Kraus-Friedberg (2008) suggests the reasons for finding permanent burials at the Chinese cemetery are related to the long-term settlement of Chinese family members in Hawai'i, or the inability of family members or aid societies to ship the bones back to China. Kraus-Friedberg (2008) argues that the evidence of permanent Chinese graves was indicative of the Chinese community assimilating to local Hawaiian identity and culture; although there was a lack of evidence for continuance of Chinese practices relating to the burials (Kraus-Friedberg, 2008:131). Kraus-Friedberg (2008) also argues that the distinct nature of local Chinese identity in Hawai'i was due to the dominant native community tolerating ethnic identity compared to the ethnic segregation practised on the mainland. There are differing theories about immigration, such as multiculturalism, but Kraus-Friedberg (2008) argues transnationalism provides the best framework

for understanding ‘local’ identity in Hawai’i. Whether this can be tested and utilised in Overseas Chinese sites in other locations is discussed further in Chapter 4.

Miller’s Sawmill, California

Excavation at Miller Gulch, in Salt Point State Park, was conducted by Douglass (2000) during 1995 to 1998 and has provided insight into the lives of the Chinese workers that lived there. The fact that Chinese were working at Miller’s Sawmill was first identified in a photograph of the sawmill during 1875. Before the excavation, little was known of the Chinese involvement in the lumber industry on the north coast of America (Douglass, 2000:127). Chinese labourers working in industries across North America and created a strong competition with the rest of the population for employment and filled service jobs where required. Census results identified at least seven groups of Chinese lumber workers recorded during 1870 in the Salt Point census (Douglass, 2000:128).

Due to the short period of occupancy and topographic factors of the site Douglass (2000:129) found the deposits were shallow with little to no stratigraphy. This is similar to other research detailed here and in Chapter 3. The excavation used a grid system with surface scrapes conducted across the grid and surface artefacts collected. All excavated deposits were sieved with the aim of identifying and assessing archaeological resources of the site (Douglass, 2000:129). The artefacts identified during the excavation were: Chinese ceramics, opium paraphernalia and Chinese coins and gambling tokens, which are all typically identified at Overseas Chinese sites (Douglass, 2000:129-31).

Faunal remains were also found, which included cow, fish, bird, deer, pig and small mammals with cuts and cleaver marks (Douglass, 2000:129). Abalone shell was discovered which raised the question of whether it was consumed by the Chinese or sold by the Chinese to local markets (Douglass, 2000:131). Euro-American artefacts such as white earthenware, stoneware beer bottles, pipe stem fragments and alcohol and medicine bottle fragments were also identified, which confirms Salt Point as a place with frequent access to a variety of shipped goods (Douglass, 2000:131).

Finally, Douglass (2000:131) briefly introduces the concept of *guanxi*, a Chinese networking and social construct involving ‘mutual obligation’ exercised by Chinese social relationships. This may have been adopted at the Miller Gulch labour camp as Douglass (2000:132) argues that perhaps the Chinese goods were not based on consumer choice but due to the *guanxi* networks that imported and exported goods to China. Praetzellis and Praetzellis (1997:282) identified the importance of *guanxi* to Chinese business agents and companies in Sacramento. Lydon (1999) and Rains (2005) also mentioned *guanxi* as a way of exploring Chinese social relationships at Chinese sites in Australia.

Woodland's Chinese laundry, California

Archaeological excavations during 1980 at the Woodland Opera House were instigated because of restoration works and conducted by the California Department of Parks and Recreation (Felton *et al.*, 1984:3-4). The first Opera House in Woodland, California was constructed in 1885, where previously the site contained a barber shop, harness shop, saloon and a Chinese laundry (Felton *et al.*, 1984:5). It is presumed that the Chinese laundry first operated from as early as the 1860s up until the 1880s (Felton *et al.*, 1984:9). The Chinese population in Woodland, varied from 60 to 100 between 1870 and 1880 (Gust, 1996:178).

Animal bones excavated from the Woodland Opera House site were examined by Gust (1996) and compared with animal bones from other urban Chinese sites across North America. The bones analysed in the study came from Feature 8/9 (Figure 2.5) with a total Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) being 717. The majority of species identified was pig and cow, with a lesser extent of sheep as well as chicken and fish (Gust, 1996:181-6). Gust's (1996) analysis of animal bones at Woodland is well researched and by providing a comparison with other urban Chinese sites provides a solid framework for future research on the utilisation of animals and butchering techniques.

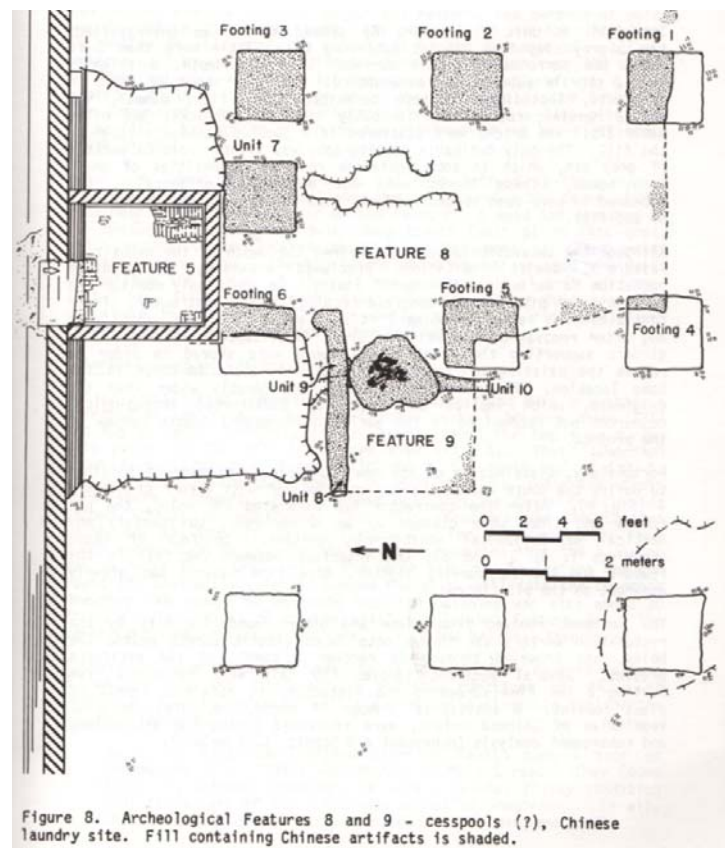


Figure 2.5: Site plan of Chinese laundry on Second Street, Woodland (Felton *et al.*, 1984:29)

In summary, the study of the Woodland Opera House site is unique in Overseas Chinese archaeology, as it provides a snapshot in time as the Chinese laundry was well preserved. A total of 240 fragments of Chinese tableware were found with a Minimum Vessel Count of 51 (Felton *et al.*, 1984:38). The archaeological investigation at Woodland Opera house has provided technical reports on flora and fauna as well as an analysis of textiles and Chinese coins identified on site (Felton *et al.*, 1984:3).

Brown and Sanderson Farm, California

A small farm located in Amador County, approximately a mile west of the town of Sutter Creek, employed Chinese workers during the 1850s (Van Bueren, 2008:81). A survey of the site conducted during the early 1990s recorded no standing structures and in 1998 test excavations were conducted in order to establish the site's eligibility for inclusion on the National Register (Van Bueren, 2008:81). Mechanical excavations focused on the farmstead compound, targeting features and potential artefact deposits (Van Bueren, 2008:82). The Chinese materials identified were a large storage jar, a rice bowl, one mil coin (circulated in Hong Kong) and an earthenware plate with pecked Chinese characters (Van Bueren, 2008:84). Similar peck-marked plates were also identified in Market Street Chinatown and researched by Michaels (2005).

Artefacts identified at Feature 4 showed the presence of Italian, Mexican, French and Balkan immigrants as well as Chinese (Van Bueren, 2008:85). Van Bueren (2008:84) compared the artefacts from Features 4 and 12 and found differences in currency, firearms, alcohol consumption, health and foodways. Flaked stone debitage, identified at Feature 12, supports the idea that Native Americans used the structure at some stage. Van Bueren (2008) found that Feature 12 and a refuse scatter revealed the strongest archaeological evidence of Chinese workers across the site, which aligns with the documentary evidence of Chinese presence at the site between 1851 and 1880.

A ledger that belonged to the farm's Chinese cook in 1857 revealed detailed insights into timekeeping, commerce, diet and employment of the small Chinese labour group (Van Bueren, 2008). The contents of the shopping lists can link the Chinese merchants into social associations, while the repeated entries indicated payments and suggested the Chinese cook was responsible for acquiring food and an amount was charged back to the Chinese within the work group (Van Bueren, 2008:91). The ledger belonging to the Chinese cook provides a unique insight into the traditional diet and interactions of the Chinese work group. Alcohol procured on site was mainly 'earth' wine and some fermented rice drink (Van Bueren, 2008:93), which is interesting to compare with other Chinese sites, which contained a majority of locally available European/American alcohol at places such as Miller Gulch (Douglass, 2000:130).

Van Bueren (2008:87) concluded that the materials found and compared across the site supported the idea that Chinese and Native American workers, (who probably made up much of the farm's labour force) were utilising the same accommodation, which was considered substandard for the white workers (being Italian, Mexican, French and Balkan). Future research into the interaction between the Overseas Chinese and the Native American workers at the Brown and Sanderson farm will contribute towards understanding the social interaction between the two communities and be useful for comparison with other research on Chinese and Indigenous relationships.

Tucson's Chinese gardeners, Arizona

Research by Diehl *et al.* (1998) focused on the traditional diet of Chinese gardeners and notes that anecdotal evidence suggests the diet of Chinese labourers may have been healthier than that of a European labourer. Historical newspaper references from Tucson, Arizona showed that fresh vegetables were an important part of the typical Chinese diet (Diehl *et al.*, 1998:22). Faunal samples from the Tucson Renewal Project (NISP total of 2090) found the majority utilised by the Chinese to be cow and to a lesser extent pig and sheep (Gust, 1996:180-1). Fish and birds were also part of the Chinese diet, with results showing dove was more prevalent than chicken across the site (Gust, 1996:182). Gust (1996:208) proposes that Tucson exhibited larger amounts of low status cuts of meat compared to other urban Chinese faunal samples examined outside of Tucson.

Diehl *et al.* (1998) excavated a Chinese market gardener's household in Tucson, occupied between 1892 and 1905. The excavation area was limited to 4.6 x 21m and was confined to Spruce Street, at the base of Sentinel Peak in Tucson (Diehl *et al.*, 1998:24). Further hand excavation revealed a rectangular compound and other associated features and resulted in the collection of over 10,000 artefacts. Diehl *et al.* (1998:24) analysed and identified 62 individual items of Chinese origin, which represented 10.8% of the entire assemblage. Out of the total food serving artefacts identified, only 31% were of Chinese manufacture or design and interestingly, 34 local Native American kitchenware items were identified as being used to cook food and store water (Diehl *et al.*, 1998:30).

The Chinese gardeners ate a variety of animal meat (Diehl *et al.*, 1998:25). From the analysis of macrobotanical and faunal remains, the Chinese gardeners of Tucson maintained traditional diet patterns, which Diehl *et al.* (1998:19) refer to as *fan* and *ts'ai* (the balance between hot and cold). The use of wild game and wild plants helped to maintain a traditional and diverse diet. Diehl *et al.* (1998:31) argues that in order for the Tucson Chinese gardeners to maintain their ethnic identity and adapt, certain sacrifices were made in the case of dietary preference. The evidence for this is the large amount of beef with Euro-American style cuts forming the majority of the Chinese gardeners' diet. Explanation of the results might relate to the socio-economic status of

the gardeners and/or the limited availability of pork and seafood, and is also seen in the results from Gust (1996), where pork and seafood is preferred in a traditional Chinese diet (Diehl *et al.*, 1998:31).

San José's Chinatowns

In the 1860s, the Market Street Chinatown in San José, California, housed more than 1000 Chinese (Voss, 2005:430). The Chinese who lived in Chinatown worked in agriculture, mining and industry around the Santa Clara County (Voss, 2005:430). Chinese residents of Market Street Chinatown maintained strong political, economic and social connections to China (Voss, 2005:432). By the 1880s, as a result of anti-Chinese sentiment, the Chinese moved out of rural areas and into large cities like San Francisco (Maniery, 2004:12). By pursuing economic opportunities the Chinese were able to contribute to the social and economic development of north west America (Liu, 2002:24).

Archaeological research on the Market Street Chinatown occurred during 1980-88, triggered by urban development on the site (Voss, 2008:41). More than 60 features were excavated and materials identified were salvaged (Voss, 2008:42). When the Market Street Chinatown Archaeology Project started in 2002, the artefacts from the salvage were catalogued and subsequently analysed as part of the project (Kane and Voss, 2011:1).

Utilising the results at the Market Street Chinatown, Michaels (2005) identified 16 peck-marked vessels of which seven had individual names and five contained wishes or blessings; with the vessels located only in the southern portion of the Market Street Chinatown (Michaels, 2005:128). Admittedly, the peck-marked vessels only represented a small sample of refuse identified in the southern section and the ratio of population size to peck-marked vessels is less than 2% of the population. So far, no published material has identified peck-marked vessels in Australia. Michaels (2005:132) noted the highly mobile social environment that operated in California's Chinatown provided a factor for encouraging (if not creating) peck-marked vessels with personal Chinese names, as marks of ownership in a constantly changing and foreign environment.

Voss (2008) applied a multiscale approach to the archaeological research on Market Street Chinatown. This approach supports a continuation of archaeological research over time and shifts away from previous siloed approach, such as using the household as a unit of social analysis to a focus on broader site studies and an interpretation of the landscape. The benefit of Voss's (2008) multiscale approach to the archaeology of the Overseas Chinese is that it allows multiple units of analysis (across different social, economic, and cultural scales, from micro to macro) and the development of specific cultural and historical contexts. Voss (2008:47) describes social units as:

individual, family, kin network, district association, temple membership, occupational groups and community with archaeological units as artefacts, features, zones, blocks etc.

Williams (2008:60) introduces the concept of masculinity by examining the alcohol consumption and ceramic use at the Market Street Chinatown site as an important part in confirming hegemonic masculinities. Williams (2008:62) explains the discourse of 'wen' and 'wu' Chinese masculinity and compares it with other discourses, such as class; whereby individuals can create and recreate their Chinese identity. Williams (2008:63) admits he focuses on the 'dominant discourse', which he deems easily identifiable in the historical record and encourages future research on topics where the archaeology of Chinese masculinities does not apply.

Baxter (2008) examines the archaeology of Chinatowns in North America to explore anti-Chinese sentiment during Nineteenth Century America. Historical documents and newspapers have demonstrated anti-Chinese sentiment not only in North America but wherever the Chinese have migrated to, including Australia and New Zealand. Baxter (2008:31) observes one Chinatown in San José, California had a tall fence constructed for protection and to discourage attacks. Repeated arson attacks on Chinatowns in San José resulted in successive moves and re-construction between 1860 and 1887 (Baxter, 2008:31). Arson was also the cause of the subsequent two Chinatowns being erected at Woolen Mills and Hienlenville. Archaeological findings revealed the Chinese constructed their own water hydrant system as a preventative measure against future arson attacks (Baxter, 2008:31).

Other historical records revealed the Chinese protesting discrimination by publishing letters in local newspapers (Baxter, 2008:32). Regarding legislation preventing the Chinese from owning land, Baxter (2008) looks at the initiative of the Chinese who would lease land from Euro-American property owners. Evidence of firearms identified at a Chinese site at Truckee confirms that the Chinese residents were arming themselves and were prepared to fight (Baxter, 2008:33). Overall, Baxter (2008) provides insight into a different approach to Chinese communities in North America and specifically their reaction to anti-Chinese sentiment. Baxter (2008) concludes that the Chinese were more successful at dealing with discrimination in Chinatown communities rather than in smaller groups.

In 1887, plans were made for the construction of the Woolen Mills Chinatown, located across the road from the Woolen Mills Factory (Baxter and Allen, 2002:384). The Sanborn Insurance Map (Figure 2.6) recorded Chinatown's peak, evident through the layout and features of buildings, which included restaurants, a theatre, temple and a gaming house (Baxter and Allen, 2002:387). The decline of Chinatown was evident in the 1901 Sanborn Insurance Map when compared to the height of the Woolen Mills Chinatown in 1891 (Baxter and Allen, 2002:388).

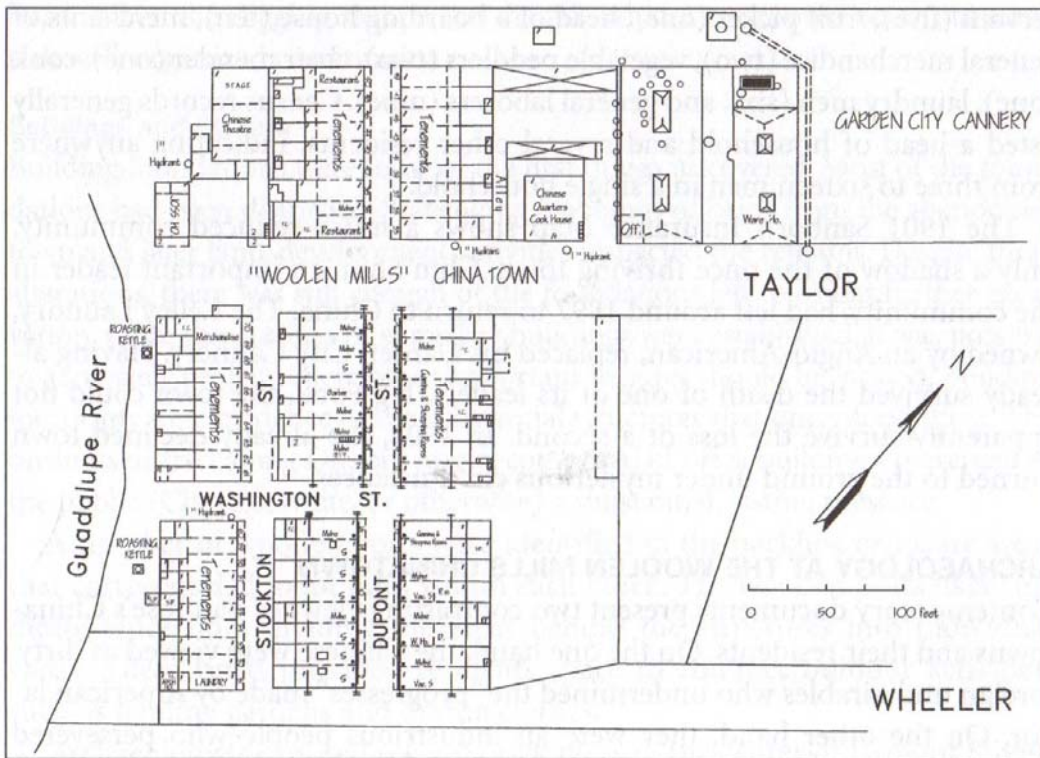


Figure 2.6: Map of Woolen Mills Chinatown derived from Sanborn Insurance Map (Baxter and Allen, 2002:387)

In 1999, archaeological excavations were conducted across the site due to the widening and realignment of the Guadalupe Parkway. A mechanical excavator was used to remove the top layers of fill that had accumulated across the site since abandonment and once identification of the physical remains of the buildings was made, methods changed to hand excavation (Baxter and Allen, 2002:387). Wooden posts, brick piers and building foundations were exposed but most had been disturbed from scavenging of building materials over time (Baxter and Allen, 2002:389). The sewer system was also identified through excavation, as the system was a discriminatory requirement from the local authorities that the Chinese needed to satisfy before they were allowed to construct the Woolen Mills Chinatown (Baxter and Allen, 2002:390). One brick feature (Figure 2.7), presumably a pig oven and associated with communal cooking practices was located west of the residential buildings and surrounded by ash, ceramic, glass and mostly pig bones (Baxter and Allen, 2002:390). Due to the site layout and the positioning of the sewer system, the usual location of rubbish disposal adjacent to residences was not found and was positioned opposite the Guadalupe River, where excavations revealed a large deposit (Baxter and Allen, 2002:392). Baxter and Allen (2002:392-3) identified large amounts of Chinese tableware and brown-glazed stoneware.



Figure 2.7: Cooking feature found during excavation of Woolen Mills Chinatown (Baxter and Allen, 2002:391)

The archaeological evidence from Woolen Mills Chinatown revealed a continuation of traditional Chinese food preparation as well as the inclusion of Euro-American goods (Baxter and Allen, 2002:393). Baxter and Allen (2002) conclude that the Chinese at Woolen Mills went through contrastingly challenging requirements that were biased against the Chinese community and Chinatowns in general. The pre-planning, sanitary sewer system, hydrant system and gravelled street requirements were documented and recorded through the archaeological record. The archaeological research conducted by Baxter and Allen (2002) provides an awareness of the history of one of the largest Chinese communities of San José during the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries.

Los Angeles Chinatown

Archaeological excavations, conducted sporadically between 1988-1991, were undertaken due to the construction of the Los Angeles Rail Rapid Transit Project (Greenwood, 1996:2-3). In order to manage construction timeframes and limit damage, a ‘rapid data recovery program’ took place and identified 59 cultural features (Greenwood, 1996:41). Greenwood’s (1996) aim was to contribute towards the interpretation of the Chinese-Americans who lived in Los Angeles between 1880 and 1934. Greenwood’s (1996:4) research categorised the artefacts according to materials, function and place of origin. Historical records concerning the Chinese residents have provided little information of their daily life (Greenwood, 1996:41). The methodology involved a combination of machine testing, surface collection and 1 x 1m hand excavation (Greenwood, 1996:43).

Artefacts collected were sorted by material, unless there was a dominant functional meaning, such as buttons and toys. The dates of the deposits were obtained by examining four categories of artefacts: ceramics, glass, electrical fittings and coins (Greenwood, 1996:44). Most of the features and architectural remains were identified within the sandy loam layer, generally 30cm in depth (Greenwood, 1996:44). There were a large number of artefacts collected from almost every location tested. Two historical maps of the area, from 1889 and 1925, were used to interpret the archaeological features. This also provided provenance to interpret the refuse patterns (Greenwood, 1996:145). Greenwood (1996:145) concludes that the historical images and maps in combination with archaeological findings provided new information about the life of the Chinese in Los Angeles Chinatown.

San Bernardino Chinatown, California

Artefacts from San Bernardino, California were excavated from a privy (1035) in 2001, where approximately 10,000 items were recovered (Costello *et al.*, 2008:36). The aim of the excavation was to select areas that were likely to contain intact archaeological deposits (Costello *et al.*, 2008:138). Costello *et al.* (2008:139) found that the majority of artefacts from privy 1035 were associated with gambling, originating from the gambling hall in Chinatown nearby and identified in the historical records. They comprised of glass gaming pieces, wooden tiles, Chinese and Vietnamese coins and dice. Akin *et al.* (2015:110) found that the most commonly found Asian coins across North American Chinese railroad sites are the Chinese *wen* and Vietnamese *dong*. Costello *et al.* (2008) provides context on each gaming artefact type by elaborating on its origin, use and function. Costello *et al.* (2008:144) states that no Asian coins were imported into California to be used as currency, which is confirmed by newspaper accounts stating the use of Chinese coins was for games/gambling. Using the artefacts identified from the privy in San Bernardino Chinatown, Costello *et al.* (2008) conclude that gambling provided an opportunity for social interaction and companionship for the Chinese community in a time of anti-Chinese sentiment and isolation.

Deadwood Chinatown, South Dakota

Deadwood, South Dakota, supported a large Chinese population with census records indicating 221 people lived there during 1880 (Fosha and Leatherman, 2008:97). The 1900 census recorded 73 Chinese residing in Deadwood. The geographical location of Deadwood was isolated and on the edge of America's western frontier (Fosha and Leatherman, 2008:98). South Dakota was a territory supported by diverse ethnic groups who sought employment in mining or services (Fosha and Leatherman, 2008:97). The area where the Chinese lived and worked was identified as

Chinatown, although some Chinese business and residents were located outside of Chinatown. Fosha and Leatherman (2008:98) state that the Chinatown was never an exclusive community, housing African American and other ethnic groups.

The archaeological material associated with the Chinese occupation at Deadwood was first discovered during building demolition (Fosha and Leatherman, 2008:102). Typical Chinese artefacts were identified, such as opium smoking paraphernalia, gambling items and coins (Fosha and Leatherman, 2008:102). Two privy features associated with a boarding house were contributing to the Chinese experience in Deadwood (Fosha and Leatherman, 2008:102). Both Chinese and Euro-American artefacts in the second privy yielded a sample of the materials utilised across the site (Fosha and Leatherman, 2008:102). Fosha and Leatherman (2008:103) note that the most common vessel types were teapots and liquor warmers in Sweet Pea design, (also known as simple flower). Fosha and Leatherman (2008:105) suggest the findings could have been associated with the preparation of mortuary rituals, as there was a Chinese section in the local historic cemetery.

Fosha and Leatherman (2008:108) observe that after four years of archaeological research on the Chinese in Deadwood, future research attention is needed towards the demographics and economic and social relationships of the Chinese and non-Chinese communities. By describing and interpreting the archaeological findings, Fosha and Leatherman (2008) conclude the Chinese in Deadwood expressed their cultural identity through social, funerary and traditional practices.

Conclusion

In summary, Chinese American archaeology has developed steadily over the last 50 years, from site description (out of CRM opportunities) to complex theoretical interpretations. There are varied thoughts on the progress of Chinese American archaeology, namely the abundance and description of sites, some with a mix of incorrect interpretations and understanding of Chinese culture. Other research has focused on answering complex questions by developing progressive theoretical frameworks. From research referenced in this chapter, new questions further propel Overseas Chinese archaeology, allowing a greater understanding of social interaction, economic activities, ethnicity and occupation. The research into areas such as mining, market gardens, material culture, labour and burial practices is guided by a combination of disciplines and techniques to analyse and interpret Overseas Chinese experience. Current and ongoing academic research examines the complexities of interaction between different communities with the use of material culture to address specific questions relating to roles, areas and activities of the Overseas Chinese. For example, Smits (2008:112) argues that transnationalism and assimilation are not mutually exclusive and included the Chinese who returned to China as well as the ones who stayed.

North America has a large amount of archaeological data on Chinese sites that provide a broad range of interpretations. The vast majority of theoretical discourse on the Chinese American archaeology stems from research conducted at Chinese settlement sites (Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 2004:239-40) compared to non-settlement sites such as: railroads camps, labour camps, mining sites and cemeteries. The research conducted at North American Chinatowns provides information and data which is comparable with other Overseas Chinese Chinatowns. Gust (1996:208) suggests that small Chinese populations, although called Chinatowns, were vastly different from San Francisco's Chinatown. Baxter (2008) concludes that the Chinese were more successful in Chinatown communities rather than in smaller groups. This would suggest that the Chinese could choose an alternative to living in Chinatowns, which is not explored in Baxter's (2008) research. Greenwood (1996:140) argues that smaller Chinatowns declined as a result of exclusionary laws, a shortage of women and unemployment.

The analysis of butchering and subsistence practices conducted by Gust (1996) is useful to compare with other North American Chinatowns as diet can be used as a measure of socio-economic status. Diehl *et al.* (1998:31) notes the availability of meat could have influenced the diet of the Chinese gardeners at Tucson. Applying *guanxi* to the lack of availability and weaker network connections of the Chinese preference for meat could support Diehl *et al.*'s (1998) findings. The application of *guanxi*, seen by Douglass (2000:132) as a theoretical approach, has the potential to be applied to all Overseas Chinese sites.

From previous archaeological research on the Overseas Chinese in North America, it is obvious that the Chinese traditional beliefs and practices have provided a valuable framework for understanding the lives of the Chinese (eg. *Feng Shui* and *guanxi*). Williams (2008:62) utilises Chinese principles of gender to entwine masculinity with Market Street Chinatown consumption patterns. Voss's (2008) multiscalar approach provides a greater flexibility and broader context for analysis that can be expanded to other Overseas Chinatowns sites. The Chinese supported communal living as evident throughout the research within this chapter and is also seen in archaeological evidence such as cooking features (Baxter and Allen, 2002:391; Sisson, 1993:48) and cooking responsibilities (Van Bueren, 2008:87).

Praetzellis and Praetzellis (2015) notes the research on Chinese railroad workers, as a result of CRM, is restricted by the minimum legal requirements upon developers. Research conducted at the Lower Salmon River and Los Angeles Chinatown was also instigated by CRM. This may create a tendency for archaeologists to over investigate and under report (Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 2015:164). Much of the reporting observed by Voss (2015:8) on the Chinese railroad workers is seen to be largely descriptive. The primary objective of CRM is to identify and document archaeological resources that may be threatened. Archaeological research on the Chinese railroad

workers has benefited from the conservation of sites protected by National Parks and Forests of North America with little to no development within these landscapes.

Furnis and Maniery's (2015:72) approach to temporary camp sites addresses the challenges of shallow deposits and short occupancy periods. This pragmatic approach has also been applied to the excavation at Miller's Sawmill (Douglass, 2000:129). Sisson's (1993) research identified traditional beliefs and practices of the Chinese but did not elaborate on the social meanings and aspects.

Smits' (2008:112) research on a Chinese cemetery suggests that the way forward is to examine the artefact patterns of transnational communities, with a focus on an interpretation that provides awareness of both home and host countries. The Chinese cemetery at Portland contained a high yield of artefacts exposed only through mechanical excavation applied across the large area. Whether this approach can be applied across other cemeteries, Smits (2008) does not comment but applies a transnational theory to aspects of the Chinese funerary practice. Kraus-Friedberg's (2008) research on a Chinese cemetery utilises transnationalism but argues this is evident between the Chinese and local Hawai'i identities. Transnationalism seen here can be a theoretical approach applied to studies on Overseas Chinese cemeteries.

Personal documents, such as a ledger (Van Bueren, 2008) and peck-marked vessels (Michaels, 2005), were crucial to insights gained into Chinese life and identity. Fosha and Leatherman (2008) argues the Chinese expressed their identity through social, funerary and traditional practices. Historical documents and legislation provide insights into anti-Chinese sentiment as well as Baxter and Allen's (2002) archaeological research which supports alternatives to deal with exclusionary legislation.

It is important to note the limitations of this research, namely that some site types have been under-researched or access to the literature is restricted, even though the majority of research is accessible and available online to provide greater awareness to the public. Research on Chinese American heritage has seen multi-disciplinary collaboration and opportunities, to focus efforts on providing greater awareness and research aims. By exploring broader research themes, our knowledge of the Overseas Chinese archaeology in North America expands and helps to develop a continuity of research and researchers on the Overseas Chinese diaspora.

Chapter 3: Chinatowns in Far North Queensland

Introduction

This chapter outlines the previous archaeological research on Overseas Chinese sites, specifically Chinatowns, Far North Queensland. The research forms a basis for a methodology that is used to assess the theoretical approaches and site interpretations used to create a timeline and context for comparison with other Chinese settlement sites to be discussed in Chapter 4. It includes a brief history to provide context on the formation of Chinese sites in Far North Queensland.

A small number of these Chinatowns were visited during this research to determine their current physical condition in order to understand the changes wrought by the physical environment and actual effects that legislative protection (or otherwise) has had on these sites. The Queensland legislative framework is introduced in order to provide context for conservation and cultural heritage management of these Chinatowns.

The Chinese population fluctuated across Far North Queensland during the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries, depending on the availability of resources associated with mining and industry. These demographic changes can be tracked through Queensland newspapers that for example, report hundreds of Chinese were employed in the Innisfail banana trade, yet just a few years later there were virtually none (*The Northern Herald*, 12 Dec. 1928:7). Throughout the Nineteenth Century the Chinese population (Table 3.1) of Far North Queensland was highly mobile across the predominantly rural landscape as the Chinese responded to shifting economic opportunities. The following section provides a brief background history of Chinese sites of Townsville, Cooktown, Cairns, Atherton, Croydon and Innisfail (Figure 3.1).

Table 3.1: Number of Chinese men and women (adult and minors) in Far North Queensland, 1861–1901, obtained from historical census and colonial data (Burke and Grimwade 2013:123)

		1861	1868	1871	1876	1881	1886	1891	1901
Far North Queensland	Male	0	54	470	8086	6868	4809	4041	3914
	Female	0	0	0	0	13	23	11	85
	Total	0	54	470	8086	6881	4832	4052	3999
Queensland	Male	537	2621	3304	10,399	11,206	10,444	8497	8137
	Female	1	8	1	13	23	56	47	782
	Total	538	629	3305	10,412	11,229	10,500	8544	8919
Australia	Male	38,247	-	28,302	-	38,274	-	35,523	29,153
	Female	11	-	44	-	259	-	298	474
	Total	38,258	-	28,346	-	38,533	-	35,821	29,627
FNQ as a % of Qld		0	2.05	14.22	77.66	61.28	46.02	47.43	44.84

By the 1870s, over 2000 Chinese miners were distributed throughout Queensland (Cronin, 1993:254). Some Chinese may have journeyed overland from the other colonies and earlier goldfields (Kirkman, 1978:237). In 1873, the discoveries of gold shifted further north when Queensland's richest alluvial goldfield was discovered on the Palmer River in Cape York (Cronin, 1993:254) and by 1874, Cook's Town had been renamed to Cooktown and the population had reached 4000 (Grimwade *et al.*, 2007:11). Cooktown remained a busy port and functioned as a key entry for Chinese migration into Queensland. In 1875 alone, 3272 Chinese people disembarked at Cooktown (Cronin, 1993:255). Ormston (1996:220-1) calculated that during the gold rush, the local Chinese population of Cooktown averaged 300 permanent residents and 200-300 transients waiting to board ships back to China or to move off to the goldfields.

After the gold rush peaked, much of the European and Chinese population deserted the Palmer goldfield, with the main exodus occurring around 1877 and 1878 (May, 1996:7; Ormston, 1996:327). Despite this decline, Cooktown's Chinese community maintained an ongoing presence and as many as 480 Chinese lived and worked in Cooktown during 1886 (Rains, 2003:31). During the late 1880s, gold was discovered in Croydon being one of the later gold rushes in Queensland.

The influx of Chinese to the region was a direct result of the outcomes of the Palmer River gold rush and by 1901, Cairns contained the largest number of Chinese in Queensland (Grimwade and Rowney, 2004:9). Historical documents from the Cairns Municipal Council showed 87 people inhabited seven allotments of Cairns Chinatown during 1897 (Grimwade and Rowney, 2004:10). The Lit Sung Goong (also known as Chungshan Temple) was the last standing structure in Cairns Chinatown and was removed in 1964 (Grimwade and Rowney, 2004:12) while tenants and shops became vacant and large merchants either closed down or moved away.

Chinese occupation at Atherton began with a small group of Chinese timber cutters who settled at Piebald Creek (Grimwade, 1992:10). They worked the timber resources until it ran out and the Chinese eventually focused on growing maize and vegetables. In 1897, Atherton Chinatown contained 180 Chinese (Grimwade, 1987b:30) and by 1903, a growth in population warranted the construction of the Hou Wang Temple to serve the functioning Chinese community (Grimwade, 1987b:30). After World War I, the Queensland Government proposed that tenanted land should be made available to returning soldiers and consequently farming leases issued to Chinese people on the Atherton Tablelands were revoked (Grimwade, 1996:20). Some Chinese returned to China, while others moved locally to the coastal towns (Grimwade, 1987b:31), resulting in a decline of Chinese population around Atherton.

Apart from working the alluvial goldfields, the Chinese set up numerous hotels and boarding houses, stores and enterprises (Burke and Grimwade, 2013:123). The Chinese also became involved in agriculture, producing all the fresh fruit and vegetables for the mining towns and

had more than once saved Croydon from flood-induced famine (Wegner, 1995:57). By the late 1930s Croydon's Chinatown and temple had fallen into decline (Grimwade, 2001). The Chinese in Townsville were heavily involved in the banana trade (Cronin, 1973:6). Conditions during the 1890s had forced the banana industry to decline with a reduction of steamer services to one a week, growers were already replacing bananas crops for corn (May, 1996:24). Throughout the Nineteenth Century the Chinese population of Far North Queensland was highly mobile across the predominantly rural landscape as the Chinese responded to shifting economic opportunities.



Figure 3.1: Map of Far North Queensland Chinese sites referenced in the chapter

Archaeological research in Far North Queensland

Previous research on Chinese sites in Australia has shown that archaeologists have a good understanding of the descriptive information derived from the material culture found at each site (Ritchie, 2003:8). In general, the majority of archaeological studies of Overseas Chinese in Far North Queensland have been conducted around the Palmer River, Cooktown, Cairns, Croydon and Atherton. While the Overseas Chinese were spread widely across the Far North Queensland landscape, much of the archaeological work has been consultancy-driven, responding to development needs in major centres, or the exploitation of mineral deposits in the Palmer River region (Burke and Grimwade, 2013:125). Burke and Grimwade (2013) commented that there were only six dedicated archaeological research projects on the Chinese across the entire Far North Queensland region.

The earliest published research is an archaeological investigation of 'Ah Toy's Garden' on the Palmer River Goldfield (Jack *et al.*, 1984). The site comprised a Chinese market garden and associated hut, dumpsite, dam and water race. A collection of 97 artefacts retrieved by the excavation is held at the National Museum of Australia and the collection comprises ceramic fragments, metal tools, whole and fragmented glass bottles, shell and bone fragments, stone, wood fragments, textiles and unidentified material. Many artefacts discovered from Overseas Chinese sites across Australia that remain to be catalogued end up sitting in museums or in storage.

Other work by Comber (1995b) involved a survey across the Palmer Goldfield area, identifying over 200 sites of which 136 were Chinese in origin. Chinese sites, graves and ovens were identified and recorded in the survey, which may confirm that many Chinese were present, lived and died on the Palmer Goldfield. Because of the large Chinese population on the Palmer Goldfield, Comber (1995b:47) commented on the potential for further archaeological research that focuses on more in-depth analyses of the individual sites and interpretative opportunities with tourism potential. Grimwade's (2011) research focused on the overland migration of Chinese migrants from the Northern Territory into Queensland, a topic not covered previously. His research sought to identify places and pathways across the landscape and shed light on the movement of the Chinese by utilising historical records, photographs and limited site surveys. The transient nature of the Chinese meant cultural landscapes and physical evidence of these journeys are virtually impossible to identify.

More recently, Burke and Grimwade (2013) reviewed archaeological research conducted on Chinese sites in Far North Queensland, including the Palmer Goldfield, Cooktown, Atherton, Cairns and Croydon from 1980 to 2013. The authors looked at themes such as mobility, community and identity as commonalities within the Chinese community in Far North Queensland.

Burke and Grimwade (2013) concluded that material culture requires re-analysis using a consistent methodology, so that studies can be consolidated in the hope of addressing research questions on race, class and social identity.

Queensland’s legislative framework

Like North America, the Australian legislative framework is important as it has influenced past and future archaeological research. Adequate historical and archaeological assessments contribute towards raising awareness of the significance of a site which can therefore be recognized under local and state legislation. National sites of significance are listed on the Australian Heritage Database, which provides site protection under the *Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999*. Currently no Chinese sites are recognised nationally in the Australian Heritage Database. In Queensland, state significant sites are protected by the *Queensland Heritage Act 1992* and are listed on the Queensland Heritage Register. Nine Chinese sites in total are listed on the Queensland Heritage Register and protection at a local government level is afforded by heritage overlays administered by the Queensland Planning Provisions (QPP), which is a state planning instrument that provides a framework for land use and administration (Table 3.2). Unfortunately, Chinese sites, regardless of their registration status, are still exposed to environmental and social impacts.

Table 3.2: Overview of Chinese sites with state and local heritage protection (Queensland State Government 2016, Queensland Planning Provisions under the Sustainable Planning Act 2009)

	Queensland Heritage Register	Local planning scheme
Atherton	2	0
Cairns	1	3
Cooktown	1	2
Croydon	1	0
Innisfail	1	2
Townsville	0	0
Total	6	7

The Australian Heritage Commission released a guide in 2002 to assist researchers in identifying and assessing Chinese Australian places (Australian Heritage Commission, 2002:84). Although the guide is not embedded in Commonwealth or state legislation, it contains a nine step process for researching, assessing and recording Chinese Australian heritage places. This framework is in alignment with the principles of the Burra Charter; to understand significance, develop policy and manage the significance of the place (Marquis-Kyle and Walker, 2004:100).

Far North Queensland Chinatowns

Townsville

There has been a limited amount of archaeological research conducted on the Chinese in Townsville and little has been written either the historical or the archaeological literature (Harvey, 2001:1). Townsville has developed significantly since the early Chinese presence during the Nineteenth to Twentieth Centuries, destroying much of the physical remains of the Chinese presence in Townsville. There have been two archaeological assessments on the Chinese in Townsville: Harvey's (2001) Honours research, which aimed to identify sites associated with Chinese settlement in Townsville and another by Bird (1999) on the proposed Stuart Rail Yards Development in Stuart. Bird (1999) identified Chinese ceramics, glass and earthenware scattered around the base of a large tamarind tree, with several mango trees located nearby.

Harvey's (2001) project aim was to examine the spatial relationship between the locations of the Chinese and landscape features in order to provide a basis for determining sites of potential archaeological significance for future studies in the region. He utilised documentary evidence of Chinese occupation (Figure 3.2), landscape use and population to identify sites associated with Chinese settlement in Townsville. Harvey (2001) identified potential Chinese sites in Townsville of archaeological significance and attempts to explore the 'concept of Chinatown' throughout his research and how it might affect an archaeological interpretation of Overseas Chinese settlement practice (Harvey, 2001:6). Harvey (2001:26) argues whether a Chinatown was present or absent directly relates to the level of 'Chineseness' and making this association, ultimately restricts his interpretation of Townsville's Chinese sites. He discusses the stereotypical definitions of Chinatown and by defining an area as 'distinctly Chinese' he believes archaeologists have biased their anticipated results.

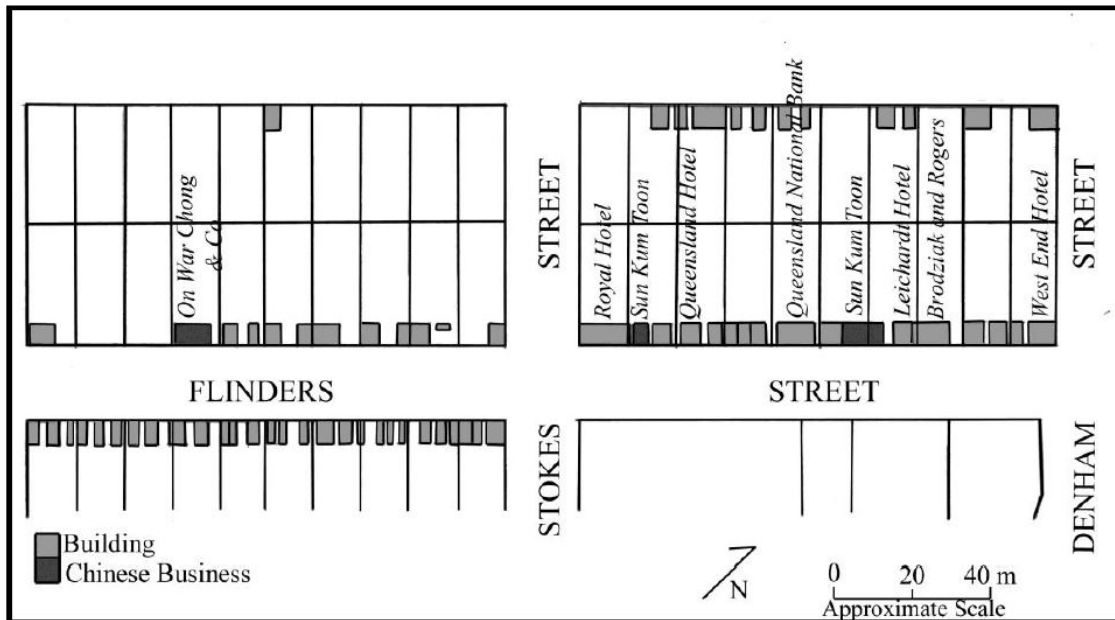


Figure 3.2: Map of Chinese businesses on Flinders Street, Townsville 1879 (Harvey 2001:70)

Harvey (2001:27) argues for an approach such as cognitive mapping, which he suggests will define areas associated with particular activities and therefore archaeological investigations could be targeted at these places to define these landscapes, 'real or imagined'. Another approach suggested is to study Chinatowns and at macro level which he argues has generally been accepted as real physical entity without question (Harvey, 2001:113). Harvey (2001) unfortunately does not elaborate further on these approaches or how it can be applied to Townsville or other Chinese sites. He also suggests that archaeologists should analyse the spatial distribution and artefact assemblages of Chinese sites both within and external to these areas of perceived 'Chineseness' in order to explore the physicality of the area and the Chinese presence compared to other areas (Harvey, 2001:100). This approach is similar to earlier archaeological research (Carson, 2003; Comber, 1995a; Jack *et al.*, 1984; Smith, 2003; Vivian, 1985) which he criticised as being 'primordial' and therefore homogeneous. It is interesting to note that Harvey (2001:23), looked at a previous study that involved the Chinese in the Northern Territory and concluded that due to the local and social environmental factors the research could only be examined in a local context and is not comparable across other southern and eastern Australia Chinese sites. This statement contradicts his concluding remarks of taking a macro level approach to the archaeology of the Overseas Chinese. Finally Harvey (2001:105) compares his results with other Chinatown sites of Cairns, Atherton and Sydney. His study did not thoroughly explore these sites and one would argue would not suit as a comparable study with his desktop assessment of Townsville.

Cooktown

Archaeological research has been conducted in Cooktown by Rains (2005) who adopted a framework based on current theories of social networks, power and landscapes to examine the social relationships of the Overseas Chinese in Cooktown. He also conducted a landscape survey that identified 20 sites including artefact scatters located on an open semi-tidal mudflat which showed signs of previous disturbance. (Rains, 2003:31) described a number of small, dense sites containing fragments of ceramic and glass, with the largest deposit being approximately nine metres in diameter and dominated by ceramic fragments. Across the assemblage most sherds came from ovoid brown-glazed stoneware jars but there were also other Chinese tablewares and utilitarian brown-glazed stonewares (Rains, 2003:31). Some deposits contained large amounts of fragmented glass from European glassware such as alcohol and condiments (Rains, 2003:31). Rains (2005:292) recorded both Chinese and European artefacts across the survey zone and the discreteness of many sites indicated that the episodes of dumping and site formation were derived from numerous nearby households and businesses rather than a progressive, small scale accumulation of items from a small number of immediate residents. Rains (2005) utilised spatial relationships of the Chinese across the landscape to draw inferences about past social networks of interaction and power negotiation; this approach is similar to Harvey's (2001) approach in Townsville. Rains (2005) showed that bulk storage wares discovered at the northern end of the zone may reflect the commercial and leisure activities which are associated with the northern end of Adelaide Street and the presence of domestic wares in the southern end of the survey zone may reflect an association with domestic use (Rains, 2005:293).

Large storage jar fragments identified in Rains (2003:32) contained a distinct pattern on the outside of the vessel. This is created from a wooden paddle and the vessel was struck before firing while the clay was still soft (Dunk, 2015:60). Large storage jars are very common containers that were once used for transporting foodstuffs from China. Similar large storage jars are held in museums across Australia like the James Cook Museum in Cooktown and Heritage Victoria's artefact repository. These vessels have been collected from archaeological deposits of Chinese sites at Cooktown, Queensland and Bendigo, Victoria respectively. At the time of Rains (2005:285) research, the large storage jars had not been identified in southern parts of Australia and argues the vessel represents a multi-functional bulk container specifically limited to Southeast Asian trade networks.

Rains (2005:305) concludes by stating the Cooktown Chinese social landscape was complex, diverse and dynamic; although the framework applied to Cooktown's landscape is not necessarily transferable (Rains, 2005:355). This is due to two factors, it emphasises agency and connectivity and Rains (2005:355) argues that social landscape cannot be accurately accessed

without a thorough understanding of its physical, socioeconomic and historical context being highly specific. It is interesting to note that although Rains (2005) has conducted complex and detailed research, he does not suggest further areas for archaeological research in Cooktown that may investigate the potential for subsurface deposits or Cooktown's Chinese temple.

During early 2015, a site visit of Cooktown was conducted, to re-examine the sites described by Rains (2005). The sites were covered by grass which has shielded the surface artefacts previously identified. One item identified on the surface was a fragment of 'simple flower' design (Figure 3.3) believed to belong to a rice wine jug. Disturbance of the sites by the tropical environment has caused erosion and in addition, the maintenance of surrounding roads and railway infrastructure has impacted the sites in more recent times. Currently the presumed Lit Sung Gong site is not registered on the Queensland Heritage Register but the dumpsites identified by Rains (2005) are included in the local heritage planning scheme.



Figure 3.3: Fragment of rice wine jug with 'simple flower' design (M. Dunk, January 2015)

Grimade *et al.*'s (2007) work on salvaging artefacts within Cooktown's sewerage scheme project was a requirement of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to undertake archaeological assessments of predetermined areas. The construction impacted Mangrove Street, Adelaide Street (Figure 3.4), Helen Street, Anzac Park and Charlotte Street with 15 test areas systematically salvaged while the sewerage trench was being excavated. There were 735 artefacts recovered including 451 glass and 242 ceramic fragments. Dating of the artefacts confirmed the main occupation period was from the late Nineteenth to early Twentieth Centuries. The distribution of Chinese artefacts confirmed a Chinese presence in Cooktown across the sewerage scheme area, but primarily in Adelaide Street. The artefacts from the salvage were never analysed and unfortunately destroyed in a fire during 2010 (Gordon Grimwade 2015, pers. comm., 1 July).

The Chinatown precinct identified by Rains' (2005) study, as well as adjacent dump areas, were surveyed briefly in 2015 to assess the current condition of the sites (Figure 3.5). The results of

the survey indicate that the former Chinatown precinct is largely unaffected by intense urban development. Currently a large portion of the area is a public park (Anzac Park) and a caravan park, while other sites are abandoned, overgrown allotments or domestic dwelling sites. European and Chinese ceramics as well as glass sherds were identifiable on the road and park surfaces.

The adjacent dump areas have undergone some changes since Rains (2005) undertook his survey as the activities of a bottle collector disturbed some of the sites (Kevin Rains 2015, pers. comm., 19 January). In 2015, it was noted that no further major bottle collecting activities appeared, but a more significant impact then was vegetative regrowth, with many former open mudflats and salt grass areas under mangrove forest.



Figure 3.4: Adelaide Street, facing north (M. Dunk, January 2015)



Source: ESRI, Rains 2005

Figure 3.5: Overview of the sites inspected during 2015 and mentioned in Rains (2005)
 (Source data: Copyright © 1995–2015 Esri)

Cairns

The site of Cairns Chinatown has been heavily developed and future development in the area will result in further encroachment. Currently the site includes the original Rusty's Markets on Sheridan Street with a backpacker's hostel, retail stores and hotel along the Grafton Street frontage. The local significance of the site is also recognized with the installation of interpretive signage by the Cairns Regional Council.

In 2004, Grimwade and Rowney (2004) performed an archaeological excavation on Lot 5 at the Rusty's Markets site (Lot 5 on SP 109765) in Cairns (Figure 3.6). Cairns Regional Council and the EPA at the time, agreed that the Rusty's Markets site had the potential to contain sub-surface archaeological deposits and thus required an archaeological assessment prior to development work (Grimwade and Rowney, 2004:1). The targeted salvage excavation was restricted to sub-surface disturbance caused by the development such as service trenches and pile pits. The site encompassed eight allotments proposed for development and a total of 21% of the area was assessed, focusing on the former Chinatown on Grafton Street.

A total of 3469 artefacts were recovered and 1146 catalogued with dates that ranged from the late Nineteenth to early Twentieth Centuries. All artefacts were recorded by material type, colour, decoration and a brief description. The assemblage was predominately made up of glassware and ceramic fragments (Grimwade and Rowney, 2004:71). The majority of ceramics found were 174 sherds of Chinese tableware and 525 sherds of brown glazed stoneware. Manufacturers' marks on some European ceramic fragments dated to the mid Nineteenth to early Twentieth Centuries. The 1566 fragments of glassware found did not reveal any noticeable signs of an association with Chinese goods. A selection of identifiable glassware included soft drink bottles, medicine bottles, alcohol bottles and condiment bottles. Archaeological deposits were found in all the pile pits excavated and these deposits were at a depth of approximately 1500mm below the surface.

The number of Chinese artefacts found on Grafton Street suggests Chinese occupation when compared to the low amounts of Chinese artefacts found on the rest of the site. Budget constraints restricted detailed analysis of the assemblage after the excavation and the collection of artefacts is managed and located at the Queensland Museum, Brisbane.



Figure 3.6: Cairns Chinatown boundary shown in red (Grimwade and Rowney 2004: 102)

The collection of 240 artefacts (from one of the two temples) the Lit Sung Goong was donated to the Cairns and District Chinese Association Inc (CADCAI) and was salvaged from the Chinese community before the temple was removed in 1964 (Grimwade and Rowney, 2004:12). These items were manufactured in southern China and exported to Australia. They date from the late Nineteenth to early Twentieth Centuries. They comprise a number of wooden carvings, instruments and furniture, cast metal ornaments, ceramics, glass and timber (CADCAI website). Little published research has been conducted on the temple artefacts in the CADCAI collection, similarly with the artefacts from Grimwade and Rowney's (2004) excavation.



Figure 3.7: Interpretation signage and memorial plaque located on Grafton Street, Cairns (M.Dunk, January 2015)

Following on from the Grimwade and Rowney (2004) excavation, Robb (2012) undertook a heritage study of Cairns Chinatown. The study was commissioned by CADCAI and funded by the Queensland Cultural Heritage Incentive Program 2001-2003 (Robb, 2012:5). The aim was to locate, identify and record places of urban cultural heritage significance associated with Chinese history in Cairns. In total 26 sites were recorded which identified the need for further archaeological investigations. Robb (2012:7) notes the approach of the study was historically based including ten oral history interviews. She made recommendations for 20 out of the 26 sites recorded which suggest archaeological investigations across 80% of the total sites for retrieval of potential artefacts. Robb (2012) concluded by providing general recommendations as outcomes of her study for the site of Cairns Chinatown be listed on the Queensland Heritage Register but to date only 99 Grafton Street has been listed as the only surviving building from the Chinatown period. Local planning protection for some of the place has been included in CairnsPlan (the local Council's planning scheme), with a heritage overlay across Grafton Street between Shields and Spence Street. CairnsPlan (Cairns Regional Council, 2009:100) also provides details regarding the conservation of places of local cultural heritage significance and their maintenance in accordance with the guidelines of the Burra Charter. The development of a place of local cultural heritage significance is a compatible use but does not reduce the cultural heritage significance of the place and ensures any exposed archaeological evidence is identified and recorded prior to redevelopment

of the site CairnsPlan (Cairns Regional Council, 2009:100). Another recommendation is to have archaeological investigation as a condition of development approval with the cost of this assessment to be funded by the developer. As noted above, the trigger is included in the local planning overlay but these conditions on the developer can only be assessed and regulated by Cairns Regional Council. The last recommendations of the study were to include interpretive signage on the site and to develop a self- guided heritage walk. Both of these recommendations have been completed with interpretive signage installed (Figure 3.7) on Grafton Street and with CADCAI developing the self-guided walk.

Atherton

Atherton Chinatown is currently owned and operated by the National Trust of Queensland since being donated by the Fong On family in 1979. The site had been heavily affected by tropical conditions, including cyclones which removed the pagoda entrance of the temple in 1956. Disturbance from bottle collectors between 1970 and 1982 has compromised the site and since the abandonment of Atherton Chinatown up until 1986, dense tropical grasses and weeds had extensively covered the site (Grimwade and Reynolds, 1986:4). Grimwade and Reynolds (1986) observed that earth moving equipment and timber culling during the 1970s had also disturbed a section of the site. Between 1986 and 2001, archaeological excavations and surveys were conducted across the site which resulted in reconstructions and reconstitution of returned parts to the temple including the pagoda front section and a picket fence erected in 1992 to recreate a part of the original border surrounding the temple (Grimwade, 1995:310).

Several archaeological investigations have been conducted across Atherton Chinatown between 1981 and 2003. Ibrahim's (1981) thesis identified buildings and associated features that assisted in developing research questions about immigrant Chinese social organisation and structure. His research looked at different areas across Atherton Chinatown, and used a judgement sampling strategy which focused on the features across the site including the temple, associated buildings, the hall, the kitchen and the store (Ibrahim, 1981:51). Mainly glass and ceramic fragments were collected but large amounts of glass fragments were identified as being associated with the activities that took place around the temple area (Ibrahim, 1981:68).

Ibrahim's (1981) survey provided a foundation for Grimwade and Reynolds (1986), who continued with identifying features and unexplored sections across the site. Several features identified by Ibrahim (1981) were recorded and represented in Figure 3.8. Most features were found in close proximity to the Main Street (now known as Fong On Road) and the survey revealed site features such as artefact scatters, wells, depressions and posts (Grimwade and Reynolds, 1986).

The temple structure and its associated buildings were also examined during this survey, seen in Figure 3.9.

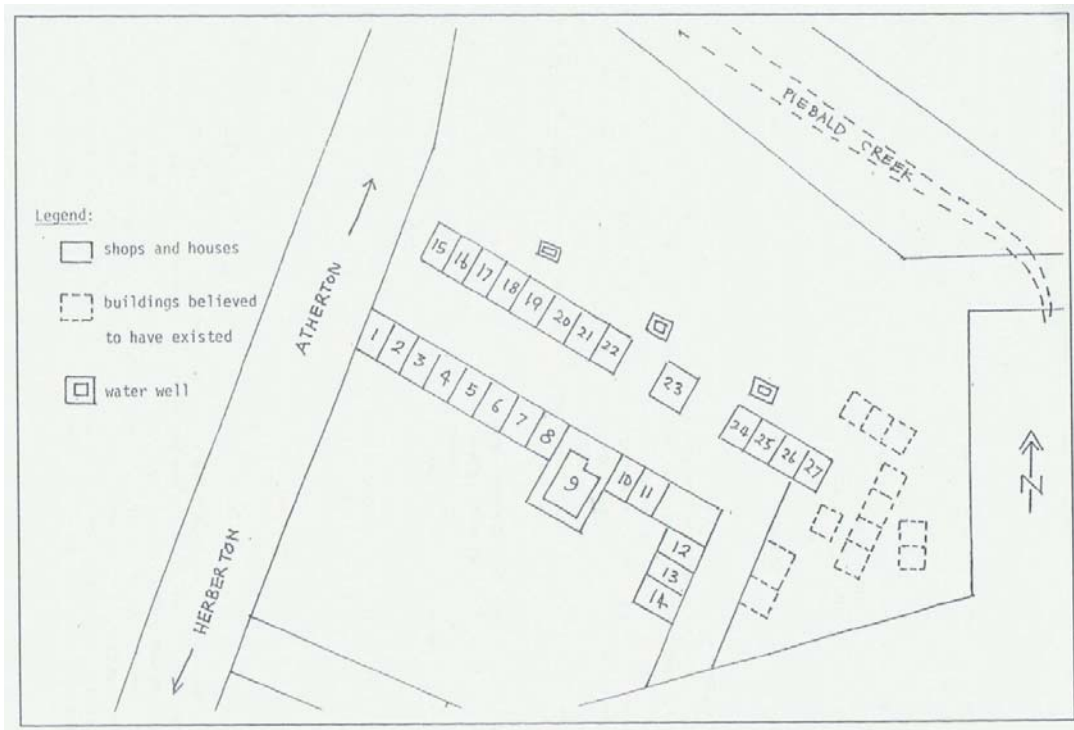


Figure 3.8: Map of Atherton Chinatown 1920s (Ibrahim 1986:35)



Figure 3.9: Atherton Chinatown facing south east down Fong On Road (M.Dunk, May 2010)

In the late 1980s, the temple pagoda was returned and reconstructed to its original place and an excavation of the surrounding area was undertaken (Grimwade, 1987b:3). The former Fong On family residence attracted research by Cutler and Reynolds (1991) and the artefacts collected as part of this research contained a high percentage of glass and metal fragments. Unfortunately due to Far North Queensland's climate conditions, the long term preservation of ferrous metal artefacts and organic material is very poor.

The main aim of the excavations carried out by Scott and Cutler (1993:6) was to identify outlying areas of Atherton Chinatown not previously examined. A judgement sampling strategy was used to identify areas likely to contain archaeological deposits. Investigated areas included Fong On Road and the area surrounding the temple complex, the northern section of Atherton Chinatown and the north-eastern portion of the site, which was considered to be the area of the earliest Chinese settlement (Scott and Cutler, 1993:10).

In 2003, Rowney conducted an excavation across the southern section of Chinatown, the area least researched in previous projects. A judgmental sampling strategy was used to determine the location of test pits across the study area and the majority of artefacts found were located in the southern part of the study area (Rowney, 2003:20). Artefacts identified included ceramics, glassware, gambling counters and opium paraphernalia which was then sorted, bagged and labelled according to each test pit (Rowney, 2003:16-7).

An Honours thesis by Dunk (2010), presented an analysis of the assemblage of artefacts from Atherton Chinatown, which had been collected from previous archaeological research and artefacts that have been returned to the site as gifts. The aim of this research was to provide insight into the Chinese community at Atherton by looking at the similarities and differences in assemblages from comparable Chinese sites and interaction between the Chinese and European communities. The methodology used by Dunk (2010:33) to catalogue the artefacts methodology was Minimum Vessel Count (MVC) for glass and ceramics pieces, although what was calculated was conservative and did not focus on individual pieces. The differences exhibited between the assemblage at Atherton with comparable data from Cairns, Cooktown and Kiandra, presented a variance in frequencies of artefact types and patterns (Dunk, 2010:70). When the assemblage of artefacts at Atherton Chinatown was compared with ratios of Chinese and European origin ceramics used in the methodology of Smith's (2003) research, there were similar ceramic ratios to Kiandra and Cairns sites which were dominated by items of Chinese origin. The types of artefacts found at Atherton Chinatown were typical of Chinese artefacts found elsewhere in Australia. The results of this research demonstrated the need for consistency in archaeological methodology in Chinese sites across Australia, especially in the recording and cataloguing of artefacts (Dunk, 2010:70).

In June 2015, funding was secured from a Queensland Government Heritage Grant by Gordon Grimwade to conduct an archaeological excavation at Atherton Chinatown (Gordon Grimwade 2015, pers. comm., 1 July). The aims of the project were to identify the precise location of the original pig oven and confirm estimates of its size about which only historical records have provided information along with comparative studies of several other ovens in Australia. The original oven was severely affected by bulldozing and site scavenging after the majority of Chinese left the region. The results of the excavation revealed rock footings and an extensive ash deposit extending from near the oven vent. The area excavated was approximately 50 square metres (Gordon Grimwade 2015, pers. comm., 1 July). Over 300 artefacts were recovered in association with the pig oven and Chinese settlement, with the majority being metal, glass and ceramic fragments (Gordon Grimwade 2015, pers. comm., 1 July).

Croydon

Grimwade (1998:14) surveyed the remains of the Croydon Chinese temple and noted that the archaeological deposits was relatively intact and at the time was zoned as a reserve. The condition of the remaining temple fabric had been affected by vandalism, disturbance and weathering from the environment (Figure 3.10) (Grimwade, 1998:14).



Figure 3.10: Remains of the Croydon temple and settlement site (Gordon Grimwade, 2007)

The Croydon Chinese temple site was first surveyed in 1997, commissioned by the Croydon Shire Council which sought to understand the potential significance and tourism opportunities

(Grimwade, 1998:2). The remains of the associated buildings adjacent the temple was also surveyed as part of the study with the aim of providing a significance assessment as Grimwade (1998:2) notes a detailed analysis was neither required nor undertaken.

Temple features including the post holes for the porch, which measured an area of four metres by six metres, were recorded (Grimwade, 1998:8). The equivalent area to the south of the temple was disturbed with granite gravel chips discovered in association with the temple (Grimwade, 1998:10). This was subsequently identified as the raised sanctuary of the temple which is of markedly similar form to the Atherton temple (Gordon Grimwade 2016, pers. comm., 21 October). A set of concrete steps was recorded leading from the porch of the temple to the entrance where the porch depth measured 1.75 metres (Grimwade, 1998:9). The central section of the temple contained a concrete slab and at the rear of the slab, a 2.5 square metre section had sunk and six sandstone bases remained on site as two had previously been removed, to a private residence in Croydon (Grimwade, 1998:9). Grimwade (1998:10) noted that the sandstone base contained a recessed design that supported a post approximately 1.5 metres from the external walls of the temple. The northern section of the temple area contained fragments of corrugated iron embedded in the ground (Grimwade, 1998:10). The analysis of seven posts holes showed evidence of an associated building and the floor being potentially bare soil (Grimwade, 1998:11). South east of the temple, 26 metres away are the remains of the stone pig oven, see Figure 3.11 (Grimwade, 1998:12). The oven was constructed with local unworked rock and the upper section had collapsed with stone debris radiating out to 1-1.2 metres, and to the north-east of the oven was a low ramp packed with gravelly earth extending out 3.4 metres (Grimwade, 1998:12). Due to time constraints individual portable items were not recorded but the surface findings discovered included Vesta matchboxes, glass, two pieces of 'simple flower' design (see Figure 3.3) and Chinese ceramics (Grimwade, 2003:56). Also, a fragment of scattered sheet metal contained a fretwork scroll design (a common Chinese motif) (Grimwade, 1998:13).



Figure 3.11: Remains of the pig roasting oven (Gordon Grimwade, 2007)

Recommendations from the report focused on adequate site protection, nomination onto the Queensland Heritage Register, detailed archaeological assessment of the pig oven and temple and conservation of the site through a management plan (Grimwade, 1998:19). The site was subsequently registered on the Queensland Heritage Register and has had signage installed for site interpretation, but the progress of the other recommendations are unknown.

Innisfail (formerly known as Geraldton)

The two extant structures relating to the Chinese presence within Innisfail are See Poy's House and the Chinese Temple (Lit Sing Gung). The Queensland Heritage Register notes that See Poy's House was the home of Johnstone See Poy, who was the general manager of Queensland's only Chinese Australian owned and operated large department store - See Poy & Sons (Queensland Heritage Register, 2016:entry 602759).

The original Innisfail temple located at another site was destroyed by a cyclone in 1918 and the new temple was constructed c.1940. The temple layout and construction materials differed from other Chinese temples in Far North Queensland (Grimwade, 2007:2). The Lit Sing Gung design drew from art deco influences with masonry, ceramic tiled floors and concrete rendering (Burke and Grimwade, 2013:124). The only archaeological studies conducted in Innisfail relate to the temple site (Figure 3.12) where in 2006, an excavation was conducted with the aim of determining the archaeological potential that may still exist at the site (Grimwade, 2007:4).



Figure 3.12: Entrance to the Lit Sing Gung (M. Dunk, July 2015)

This work was driven by the Innisfail Friends of the Temple committee, prior to developing the site for potential commercial activities and they were successful in receiving a Multicultural Assistance Programme grant from the Department of Premier and Cabinet (Grimwade, 2007:1). The excavation was conducted over two days with eight half metre square test pits excavated in the front half of the site (Grimwade, 2007:5). A stratified random sampling strategy was used, taking into account the creek at the back of the property and areas that were likely to have been previously disturbed (Grimwade, 2007:4). The results of the excavation revealed a small amount of material mainly nails and glass fragments but no Chinese artefacts were discovered and confirmed that the site had been heavily altered since the Lit Sing Gung was built in the 1940s (Grimwade, 2007:10).

Interpretation

This chapter provided a brief description, previous archaeological research and site condition on the selected Far North Queensland Chinatowns (Townsville, Cooktown, Cairns, Atherton, Croydon and Innisfail) from which the archaeological approaches can be assessed. This section will look at the current interpretation of these sites and an overview of the characteristics of each Far North Queensland Chinatown.

When Harvey (2001) compared Chinatown 'features' from Atherton, Cairns and Sydney against Townsville, only a clans hall and temple was missing from Townsville. Because of the lack of a temple and the geographical distribution of Chinese business and population, Harvey (2001) argues that Townsville did not contain a Chinatown. Landscape as a social concept was also used in archaeological research on Cooktown. The benefit of this framework is that it aligns with the spatial distribution of archaeological deposits across Cooktown, unlike a central focus used in Atherton and Cairns Chinatown.

Spatial relationships and features have been a main theme at places like Atherton Chinatown (the Fong On residence, the flagpole and pagoda, the temple and the pig oven) and to a lesser extent in Croydon and Cairns. Atherton Chinatown has been subject to more extensive, although highly focused spatial archaeological investigation since the early 1980s and has potential to be compared with North American Chinatowns. This is discussed further in Chapter 4.

The Chinese presence in Atherton was mainly focused along 'Fong On Road' and over time has not been subject to development (although subject to previous site disturbance). Opportunistic studies triggered by development at Cairns and Cooktown have created a snapshot across the landscape of the presence or absence of Chinese material. However these sites have been subject to a concern with site conservation and protection rather than a development of an overall research framework. Subsequent excavations have aimed to improve management of the sites and interpretation of some features whereas further research on Atherton Chinatown would benefit from the analysis of the existing artefact collection, to better establish their contribution towards the site holistically. Due to the high likelihood of sub-surface deposits in Cooktown, there is archaeological potential for future research especially on the previous temple site and surrounds which is protected by the current land tenure identified as Anzac Park. The National Trust of Queensland has provided Atherton Chinatown conservation and site protection and is one of the best living examples of the management of the archaeology of the Chinese in Far North Queensland. The excavation and reconstruction of the pig oven aims to demonstrate and further increase the knowledge of traditional southern Chinese pig roasting techniques.

Based on the historical information and geographical layout of Townsville, it supports an argument for similarities with Cooktown Chinatown. Further archaeological research on sites presented by Harvey (2001:109) may link historical accounts to provide a broader context to Townsville Chinatown. Harvey (2001:106) has not been able to establish why there was no traditional religious institution in Townsville and he discusses a few possibilities for this. The main argument is whether Townsville had a sustainable Chinese community to warrant building and maintaining a temple. The statistical information provided by Harvey (2001) demonstrates that Townsville had around 300-400 Chinese people during its peak period of Chinese occupancy.

According to Hum Lee (1960:58-63), if a population was not substantial enough (at least 360) to support a Chinatown, the Chinese are forced to integrate into the nearest community. This may have happened in later periods to the Townsville and Innisfail Chinatowns and based on the current archaeological research there seems to be a limited amount of surviving physical remains. The absence of archaeological excavation across Townsville restricts the ability to make an assessment of the physical remains of the Chinese in Townsville; this is also the case with Innisfail. This can also be said about Croydon Chinatown, as the study conducted by Grimwade (1998) did not include detailed analysis of the site or an archaeological excavation. Croydon Chinatown is a discrete area outside the main township area (Figure 3.13) and would have a high likelihood of intact archaeological deposits due to the lack of development and disturbance across the site.



Figure 3.13: Map showing location of Croydon Chinese temple in association with Croydon township (Copyright © Google Earth, Digital Globe)

Chinese temples are another common theme present in the archaeology of the Overseas Chinese in Australia. From an archaeological perspective Cairns Chinatown has contributed significantly to what is known about the Chinese in the area and has been fortunate to retain the artefacts of the Lit Sung Goong. This is similar to the temples at Cooktown, Atherton and Innisfail with the artefacts being retained.

The research conducted at Cairns Chinatown creates future directions for archaeological potential and further analysis on the temple artefacts and artefacts from the 2004 excavation. Apart from the more recent Burke and Grimwade (2013) article, there has been no published research on the archaeology of Cairns Chinatown.

Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has presented historical and archaeological research of varying depth at six Chinese sites across Far North Queensland. In some cases the lack of historical and archaeological research may lead to a lack of awareness of the Overseas Chinese community. Most of the archaeological research has been driven by opportunistic studies more than theoretical approaches. Burke and Grimwade (2013) note there are inconsistent and inaccurate sources of previous data and material culture requiring re-analysis. Future research on the archaeology of the Overseas Chinese could benefit from a consistent methodology and a more consolidated approach. This will hopefully address complex research questions on race, gender, class and social identity.

It is also evident from the archaeological results previously discussed that, further analysis of artefacts and comparing site information with other Chinese settlement sites, can contribute towards information on the Overseas Chinese experience. Targeted archaeological research building upon desktop and survey assessments can examine potential sub-surface deposits at places such as Cooktown and Croydon. The future opportunities of these archaeological sites question the conservation and protection status of Chinese places not listed on local or state registers and therefore, the opportunities for future archaeological research are reliant on development or grants, at these places. The recent excavation at Atherton Chinatown attracts attention in the public sphere and therefore awareness of Far North Queensland Chinatowns in the broader community. There is also a clear division between the significance of these Chinese places and therefore protection, seen in the differences in the local and state heritage legislative protection. Out of the six Chinatowns summarised here, five are currently listed on the Queensland Heritage Register. It is arguably beneficial to conduct a statewide survey of Chinese places.

Table 3.3: Summary of the characteristics of Far North Queensland Chinatowns

	Located outside of town?	A defined boundary?	Chinese businesses?	Named by European society?	Population over 360?	Chinese temple
Atherton	X	X	X	X	X	X
Cairns		X	X	X	X	X
Cooktown			X	X	X	X
Croydon	X	X	X	X	X	X
Innisfail		X	X	X	X	X
Townsville			X	X	X	

X – Representing presence

The information presented in Table 3.3, is one way of displaying the characteristics of Chinatowns both in physical and social ways. It is not only important to define these Chinese places, but also to compare their differences and similarities to be discussed in Chapter 4. From a

physical perspective, Overseas Chinatowns are seen as a space for assimilation and segregation of Chinese immigrants and their economic activity (Anderson, 1987:580). The majority of these Far North Queensland Chinatowns contained a temple except for Townsville. Both Atherton and Croydon Chinatowns were located outside of central township areas. From the research, all Chinatowns in Far North Queensland contained places of economic activity such as businesses. All of these Chinatowns share similar circumstances of anti-Chinese sentiment, seen in the historical record and were subject to the same legislative disadvantage across Queensland. Finally, the majority of archaeological work has been conducted on places subject to development pressure and therefore has consisted of opportunistic excavation and salvage. There has not been the opportunity to provide a strong theoretical approach that can provide a broader context of information on the lives of the Chinese people.

Chapter 4: Analysis of Chinese Archaeology in Far North Queensland and North America

Introduction

This chapter draws on archaeological research carried out on sites discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, located in North America and Far North Queensland. It compares the similarities and differences from both North America and Australia although researchers comment that the Overseas Chinese archaeology in both countries lacks theory and is more focused on method and description (e.g. Bell, 1996; Greenwood, 1993; Lydon, 1999; Ritchie, 2003). Ross (2014:5683) observes the contrast between the Overseas Chinese archaeology of North America and Australia is due to differing interpretations on themes such as race and ethnicity. More generally, Murray (2011) signifies differences that exist between North American and Australian contexts, in both the nature and extent of written documents and the properties of domestic assemblages. Based on archaeological evidence of both, however, the Chinese still managed to retain their traditional practices and beliefs.

The Overseas Chinese experienced the same attitudes in Australia and North America as both countries were dominated by western culture. Previous archaeological research on Overseas Chinese sites in Australia has shown that archaeologists have a good understanding of the type of material culture expected at each site and the typical descriptive information obtained. The differences between Overseas Chinese sites in Australia and North America will be elaborated further.

Context of archaeology

The first notable difference between Australia and North American research dates to the beginning of Overseas Chinese archaeological research. In North America this was during the 1960s, coinciding with the inception of the Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA). In Australia, one of the early published studies was in 1982, focusing on a Chinese market garden in Queensland (Jack et al., 1984) although the inception of the Australasian Society for Historical Archaeology (ASHA) began in the late 1960s.

From my research, I have found that there is generally a lack of theoretical discourse on Overseas Chinese archaeology in Australia, and also in some North American cases. This is not a problem exclusive to Overseas Chinese studies. A review of the literature revealed a range of theoretical topics such as: multiscalar, diasporic and transnational theory. Lawrence and Davies (2011:226) argue Overseas Chinese archaeology in Australia is well researched and has made a

significant contribution to Australian historical archaeology. Voss (2015:425) has contrasting views as she believes Overseas Chinese studies have been marginalised in historical archaeology.

The Chinese often participated in local events, for example the Chinese participation in the 4th of July celebrations in Deadwood, South Dakota (Fosha and Leatherman, 2008:99). Baxter (2008) commented on the ability of the Chinese to evade the ban on ownership of land by leasing land from Euro-American property owners. This was also the case for Atherton Chinatown in Far North Queensland, with the Chinese leasing the land of the local Europeans. From historical references found on the Chinese in Far North Queensland community, it can be gleaned that they were notable members of the community. Respected or not, the Chinese contributed to the local community they lived in:

'Hin Chin, Manager of the Chinese firm of Hook Ing Chong, in Townsville, a man of high standing and repute amongst his fellow-countrymen, and respected as a good and honorable man by the European residents.' (*Queensland Figaro and Punch*, 1 May. 1886:27)

It appears that the Chinese in both countries shared similar experiences and treatments, evidence reflected in legislative changes and historical newspapers.

Many North American archaeologists are trained as anthropologists (Praetzellis, 2015:12), such as Chace and Evans: both trained anthropologists (Chace, 2015:24). One possibility is that Chace and Williams' (2015) research may have influence future Chinese American archaeological research. A distinguishing factor is the different perspectives and interpretations between archaeologists and anthropologists working together using both anthropological and archaeological data to construct culture histories from local and global contexts (Jones, 1997:47). Kamp and Yoffee (1980:94) argue archaeological technique is flawed as it targets cultures rather than ethnic groups. Applying an anthropological approach focuses on the social life of the Chinese people which is certainly different from Australian trained archaeologists. The challenge with this is that the society being 'studied' adjusts dramatically over time.

One positive difference from North American practice is the willingness of Australian archaeologists to associate and collaborate with fellow Overseas Chinese historians, family researchers, tourism specialists, cultural heritage managers and archaeologists. Conferences such as Chinese Heritage in Northern Australia (CHINA) Inc's *Rediscovered Past* are held every two years with the *Dragon Tails* Conference held every alternate year. In 2014, the joint Australian Archaeological Association and ASHA held a conference that hosted a session on the archaeology of the Asian diaspora. Australian Chinese history papers in journals such as *Australian Historical Studies* have been based on presentations coming out of *Dragon Tails Conferences*. *Historic*

Environment published two volumes in 2011 and 2012 based on Chinese heritage places, objects and stories presented at the *Dragon Tails* Conference.

The aim of these publications is to broaden the disciplinary approach by encouraging researchers to publish their work on Chinese-Australian heritage and history. Voss (2016:149) argues that historical archaeologists studying the Overseas Chinese are more likely to communicate and collaborate with each other than they are to engage with scholars studying the same topics in China. The level of engagement and collaboration of North American Overseas Chinese archaeologists with North American historians is unknown but it seems distinctly different than in Australia.

The International Society for the Study of Chinese Overseas (ISSCO) is the first and only international scholarly organisation for the advancement of research on Chinese Overseas. The 9th ISSCO conference was held in Richmond, Canada from 6-8th July, 2016 and hosted international scholars on the study of Overseas Chinese, with two archaeological themed sessions. During late August 2016, the *World Archaeology Conference* (WAC) hosted a session on Archaeologies of the Asian diaspora. The session presented papers on theoretical frameworks applied to the archaeology of the Asian diaspora across the globe, focusing on transnational approaches in diaspora archaeology, and insight into the complexities of Asian migration.

The collection of research on Overseas Chinese archaeology in both North America and Australia is attributed to development opportunities, academic research and avocational archaeologists. Research at sites by avocational archaeologists, such as the North American Railroads, contributes towards archaeological research on otherwise destroyed or undiscovered places. Chinese sites in Far North Queensland and North America both benefit from cultural heritage management and layers of legislation, dependent on many social and economic influences and variables.

According to Green and Doershuk (1998), CRM practitioners in North America have had to defend and justify archaeology to the rest of the discipline. Mackay and Karskens (1999:110) believes consultancy work in Australian historical archaeology receives greater resources and as a result generates more research than its academic counterpart. This can similarly be said about North American CRM; however North America has recently proved to be successful in creating research projects that collaborate and are supported by universities, museums and communities.

The legal context in which archaeology is governed supports the preservation and conservation of archaeological objects and places. This legislative framework differs in Australia and North America and is worth making note of the subtleties and observations. Voss (2008:37) believes that certain biases, tightly connected to assessments in the practice of the *National Historic*

Preservation Act of 1966, influence interpretations, methods and practice of the North American archaeological record.

Legislation may have a greater influence on archaeological interpretation than first thought and therefore subsequently limits future research. The driver of legislation on Chinese sites in both countries is foremost protection and conservation. Some archaeological excavations across North America and Australia have clearly been opportunistic and triggered by development. Unfortunately, legislative policy is not encouraging of archaeological theory or in-depth analysis, especially of artefacts. The analysis of artefacts is constantly limited by the timeframe and project scope and this combined with the inadequate access by scholars to site reports and findings, disadvantage our ability to delve deeper into answering archaeological questions about these Overseas Chinese sites. Due to the limitations on the scope of this thesis, there is limited potential to elaborate on the amount of development in both Australia and North America, which is directly correlated with the amount of CHM/CRM opportunities.

Social and physical environment

The features across the landscape may be the only physical remains left of people who once occupied an area. Working at Atherton Chinatown in 1981, Ibrahim (1981) aimed to identify buildings and associated features that could assist with answering important questions about immigrant Chinese social organisation and structure. His research looked at different areas of Atherton Chinatown, focussing mainly on the temple and its associated buildings, the hall, the kitchen and the store. Whether or not a Chinese temple was identified on site was extremely significant, for its presence would suggest a connection to Chinese traditional beliefs and values and the maintenance of practices while away from home. Ibrahim (1981) looked at the principles of *Feng Shui* and the evidence for this at Atherton Chinatown by looking at the site layout. This approach also contributes to identifying Chinese ethnicity through archaeological techniques, which is not a new area of research (e.g. Grimwade, 1992; Hunter, 2010; Mueller, 1986; Sisson, 1993; Smith, 2006).

Landscapes are a key factor of understanding Chinese sites that are often highly mobile. One example is the Chinese camp sites associated with the construction of the North American railroads (Merritt *et al.*, 2012) and in Far North Queensland Rains' (2005) and Harvey's (2001) research focuses on the landscape as evidence to support Chinese cultural and social impact on the landscape. As mentioned previously in Chapter 2, pig ovens were identified across the North American landscape (Woolen Mills Chinatown and Lower Salmon River, Idaho). Pig ovens were also identified at Chinese sites across Far North Queensland (Burke and Grimwade, 2013; Grimwade, 1998). Grimwade (2011) observes the challenges with recording and documenting the

few physical remains across the landscape of the illegal overland migration of the Chinese migrants. Consistent interpretation of features across the landscape is an essential tool for comparison.

Comparison of archaeological approaches

Historical archaeology in the past has been influenced by themes of the colonial experience, especially for historical archaeology of Australia (Greer *et al.*, 2002:266). Wang (2003:39) questions whether the Chinese are like all other migrants when they leave their country, or whether they act quite differently. This idea may have driven theoretical change in Overseas Chinese archaeology, moving away from previous homogenous frameworks. Another theme of interpretation of historical sites is categorisation by site types.

Chinese site types can be grouped by occupation or by the main use of the site by the Chinese community. Wegars (2003) defined the principal Chinese site types as mining, stores, market gardens, miscellaneous occupational sites, urban Chinatowns, temples and cemeteries. The differences between the level of research conducted at different sites across Australia and North America are made clear in this research. For example, much North American research has focused on Chinese railroad workers (e.g. Voss, 2015). In Australia, Lawrence and Davies (2011:228) note that the Chinese worked on railway construction in the Northern Territory but there is limited archaeological research on the Chinese involvement in Australian railways. In Australia, there has been more research on Chinese temples, especially in Far North Queensland (e.g. Grimwade, 1992, 2003, 2007).

Burke and Grimwade (2013) found that research on Chinese material culture required re-analysis using a consistent methodology so that studies could be consolidated, in the hopes of addressing research questions on race, class and social identity. This opinion is also shared by Voss (2015:9) from the outcomes of a workshop whose participants believe in the importance of analysing existing and understudied collections.

From the beginning of the Overseas Chinese archaeological research, around 50 years ago, archaeologists have defined typical Chinese artefacts recovered from Overseas Chinese sites. Several researchers have examined site assemblages and carried out tableware and ceramic analysis (e.g. Choy, 2014; Dunk, 2010; Esposito, 2014; Muir, 2008; Wegars, 2003) both in North America and Australia. Previous research has provided archaeologists with a framework on how to catalogue current collections and artefact assemblages recovered in future excavations of Chinese sites. The majority of Chinese ceramics are identified by the decorative types previously described and defined in archaeological research (Choy, 2014; Ritchie, 1986; Wegars, 1988).

The same Chinese ceramic patterns have been identified in both North America and Australia although of the quantities and preferences for certain patterns require further comparative

research. One example is the simple flower design identified at Woodland (Felton *et al.*, 1984:37) and Croydon (Grimwade, 2003:56). Another notable comparison is a stoneware food-processing bowl discovered at the excavation of the Woodland Opera House (Felton *et al.*, 1984:48). The same type of bowl in complete form belongs to the Dennis O’Hoy collection, Bendigo, Victoria and was used for preparing food such as vegetables and meats. The grooves in the pot seen in Figure 4.1, allowed the marinades and sauces to permeate the food. When Dennis visited the Shiwan potteries in 1975, he found they were still producing these types of stonewares (Dennis O’Hoy 2016, pers. comm., 6 March).



Figure 4.1: Chinese stoneware pot belonging to Dennis O’Hoy (M.Dunk, 2014)

Evidence from the analysis of artefacts associated with Chinese sites is problematic in addressing whether absence and presence of specific objects supports an argument for assimilation. Mullins (2008:154) argues that archaeological evidence may not suggest that many Overseas Chinese immigrants aspired to or attempted to appear "assimilated" to western culture. The question remains of whether there is clearly presented archaeological evidence of Chinese material goods use and/or whether the Chinese were ethnically insular and reproduced Chinese cultural traditions. (Mullins, 2008:154). Van Bueren (2008:80) argues that the Chinese use of traditional goods may obscure the significance of the Chinese adopting new materials as their motivations and opportunities evolved. Praetzellis and Praetzellis (2004:256) described the Chinese laundrymen at Oakland as having a hybrid of Chinese traditional foodways combined with local products, based on availability. Examining the ratio between Chinese and European ceramics can be used as evidence for the Chinese maintaining traditional and cultural values, for example the study on Atherton Chinatown’s artefact assemblage by Dunk (2010:46). Lydon (1999:188) argues that the degree in

which ratios can be represented in economic, acculturation or other influences are limited. Ross (2014), comments that the research differences between Overseas Chinese archaeology of America and Australia are related to themes such as race and ethnicity and their interpretation. Overseas Chinese material culture and the relationship with defining ethnicity was believed to be resolved by archaeologists decades ago (Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 2004:259).

Michaels' (2005:132) research suggested that peck-marked vessels with personal Chinese names are marks of ownership due to a constantly changing and foreign environment. Michaels (2005:132) notes the highly mobile social environment in California's Chinatown as a factor encouraging (if not creating) peck-marked vessels and this was also the case for these environments in Far North Queensland. To date, no published research in Australia has identified peck-marked vessels. These peck-marked vessels in Michaels' (2005:128) research were located only in the southern portion of the Market Street Chinatown and out of the 16 marked vessels, seven were individual names and five were wishes or blessings. It has been noted that during the 1860s, Market Street Chinatown housed more than 1000 Chinese (Voss, 2005:430) so therefore the peck-marked vessels only represented a small sample of refuse identified (the ratio of population size to peck-marked vessels is less than 2% of the population).

Limitations

Archaeological data currently available for comparison and analysis in this study is relatively limited. Many archaeological studies, reports and unpublished dissertations are not accessible. Some older reports are not easily accessible or copies not electronically available. The problem of accessing grey literature is a common problem that plagues archaeology in general. The challenge from the presence of Chinese artefacts across archaeological sites is that they do not necessarily confirm Chinese ethnicity and presence. Form and function of these artefacts are not strictly bound to Chinese people. The array of artefacts identified at Chinese sites reveals a combination of Chinese and European goods. This triggers certain questions such as, did the Chinese adopt European goods and still hold their traditional practices and values? Or are some practices independent of traditional values and identity?

There has been little research conducted at Overseas Chinese sites in Australia relating to holistic material culture studies. Modern site development, disturbance and short occupation periods have affected site integrity and therefore the artefacts across Chinese sites often lacked specific archaeological context. The absence of information and inconsistent methodological approaches by which the artefacts were analysed exist across not only one collection but between collections.

There is a large gap between the amount of historical research conducted compared to archaeological work. This is evidenced by the amount of archaeological site-based work compared to the number of settled Chinese sites across Australia. Voss and Allen (2008) believe that closing the gap in knowledge of the Overseas Chinese through archaeological analysis will contribute to the research conducted by historians. Couchman (2012:11) suggests the problem with previous narratives of Chinese-Australian history is that it is limited by a general misunderstanding of the complexity of the varied experiences of the Overseas Chinese. Telling Chinese stories via a complex narrative drives thematic interpretation towards transient settlement and interaction. Couchman's (2012) emphasis on gaining oral histories in the future will, hopefully, provide an opportunity to explore the experience of Chinese-Australians rather than the published biased perspectives of Nineteenth Century newspapers and legislation.

Conclusion

In summary, the differences between Overseas Chinese archaeology in Australia and North America provide an insightful overview of the current standing of theoretical and methodological frameworks. The differences identified are: 1) when research began; 2) legislation that is driven by cultural heritage management/cultural resource management that dictates the interpretation of the archaeology; 3) developmental opportunities and differences in their frequency between North America and Australia; 4) different perspectives and disciplinary approaches and; 5) different site types examined.

Similarities between the two countries include the acknowledgment that Overseas Chinese archaeology lacked theoretical discourse for advancement to inform interpretive frameworks. Both Australia and North America present and publish on a variety of topics of the Overseas Chinese and often bring together a multi-disciplinary approach. On a physical level, similarities are through the artefacts identified at Overseas Chinese sites being Chinese tableware and storage vessels that are heavily reliant on exported goods from China. The Chinese shared similar experiences across different landscapes and both countries included exclusionary legislation. They managed to retain their traditional beliefs and practices and showed an ability to survive and adapt in a foreign land. Both countries are working towards advancing archaeological research and a greater awareness of the Overseas Chinese.

Chapter 5: A Model for Reinterpretation

Introduction

By determining the extent to which the archaeological theory and practices, so far applied to the Overseas Chinese in North America, can be applied to the Overseas Chinese in Far North Queensland, my research aims to contextualise archaeological theory on the Overseas Chinese and conduct a reinterpretation of the Chinatowns in Far North Queensland. As previously noted in Chapter 1, the challenges identified with Overseas Chinese archaeology are: 1) a lack of developed methodology and theoretical approach, 2) a lack of scholarly training, specifically on Chinese material culture and 3) a lack of interpretation involving a comparison of Chinese sites. I do this in the following section, by offering a theoretical model that can be applied in the interpretation of Overseas Chinese Chinatowns in Australia. The Far North Queensland Chinatowns discussed in previous chapters are reinterpreted in this chapter by applying the proposed model and this model provides future direction generally on the Overseas Chinese Archaeology in Australia and elsewhere.

Strategic archaeology

Based on previous theoretical frameworks, I propose a strategic model for interpreting Overseas Chinese Chinatowns. The four elements are:

1. Background information and raw data collection;
2. Characterisation;
3. Context; and
4. Practice and engagement.

It is important to note, that each Chinatown discussed here may not require all aspects of each but that all four elements should be considered for a holistic approach to Overseas Chinese archaeology. In order for this model to be applied to other Chinese site types, characterisation merely needs to be altered to fit a particular site type, for example market gardens, agricultural sites, mining sites etc.

Background and raw data collection

This section provides a timeline of events and historical information about a Chinatown and includes research of reference material such as newspapers and photographs (ie primary sources). These types of references can be used to identify changes over time, as well as identify people, places, connections and networks. Historical maps and plans of a site and surrounding area can reveal information that can be compared and overlaid with modern maps as some historical place names are retained. For example, Queensland has an archive of historical plans and maps that are

accessible through a Queensland Government website (Queensland Government Data 1995). Utilising parish maps and Council rates data can also provide records of leases, ownership (if applicable) and patterns of movement of the Chinese. In North America, Sanborn Fire Insurance maps are valuable sources of information for the layout of towns that depict Chinese areas.

Documenting and examining previous archaeological research (if any), site survey coverage and identifying any gaps that could be addressed, provides background information on the archaeology that has already been undertaken. This may identify potential research questions, for example: what theoretical approach has been adopted in the investigations and can any tentative interpretations be made based on the results? Praetzelis (2015:168) observed that archaeologists have a tendency to 'pick and choose' a theoretical model based on what suits a particular site.

Other questions that need exploring include:

- Were any artefacts previously identified and collected as part of the archaeological research?
- If so, where is this material currently located? and
- Is it accessible and/or to what extent has it been catalogued?

These questions are important to ask in order to provide a baseline of information and to determine whether or not an analysis has been conducted on Chinese and non-Chinese artefacts associated with a site. For example, the majority of Chinese artefacts recovered across the Far North Queensland Chinatowns discussed here, have not been comprehensively catalogued or analysed in any great detail. Future storage of artefacts and/or collections and whether storage is an adequate long term solution to achieve the archaeological objectives for the site is a consideration of practice and engagement.

It is also important to document the site environment during background and raw data collection. Are there any unique environmental conditions, such as development, modifications or risks that may impact on the current site condition? Is there any information to be gained of past site condition and therefore site formation processes? Considering environmental factors that may have impacted on the site, utilisation of the site and surrounding resources provides insight into past behaviours. For example, the Chinese in Atherton began timber cutting but as the resources ran out they changed to market gardening and agriculture.

Characterisation

Characterising the site type, in this case, Chinatowns, provides a baseline for comparison with other Chinatowns. Documenting the life of a specific Chinatown, whether it was short lived or incorporated within the main township can guide archaeological methodology. The length of time a Chinese site existed is one factor that needs to be considered. For example, was a particular site merely a Chinese precinct/street or a Chinatown. The duration of a Chinatown can support or

challenge site formation processes and whether the recovered material culture belonged to one 'unit' or whether the site has distinct periods of rebuild. For example, multiple arson attacks on San Jose Chinatowns in California resulted in successive moves and the construction of Woolen Mills and Hienlenville Chinatown (Baxter, 2008:31). One way to approach this issue is to examine the population size chronologically. Aligned with historical information, the life of a Chinatown can be pieced together. For instance, is there a point in time where there was a population peak? Did the population decline quickly or over a long period of time? Based on previous research, it appears that a prosperous Chinatown usually was indicated by the construction of a Chinese temple, presumably to support the growing Chinese community. In the example of Far North Queensland Chinatowns, all of them contained Chinese temples except for Townsville.

Characterising the identity of the inhabitants of a Chinatown shows the social interactions and network exchanges within the Chinatown and with the Chinese community. In some circumstances Chinatowns were not restricted to only Chinese as some Chinatowns supported people of non-Chinese backgrounds; thus cohabitation should be noted as a characteristic of Chinatowns. This information is important in characterising for example the material culture recovered from Chinatowns. Some Australian Chinatowns also supported families, some with Australian-born Chinese children. The gender ratio at Chinatowns is an important factor to be considered in the characterising of Chinatowns as most Chinese settlements were dominated by men, with very few women present. Other questions that should be raised in Characterisation include: what were the European perspectives on Chinatowns and what, if any, were the interactions between the Chinese and local European community? By not only applying background information to a reinterpretation of Chinatowns, characterisation broadens previous homogeneous thought away from all Chinatowns being characterised the same way.

Context

From an examination of previous archaeological research on Overseas Chinatowns, there is a strong need for not only identifying site context but to examine it on multiple levels. Murray (2011:576) argues that before one can understand patterns and processes at a smaller scale the patterns of similarity and dissimilarity at larger scales must be examined; this will then allow a more complete interpretation. These essential themes exist in the nature and extent of written documents and the properties of domestic assemblages (Murray, 2011:574). The context of archaeological research on the Overseas Chinese can be divided into three levels: regional, national and global.

From a regional context, landscape features are important to examine and can provide evidence in support of the connection and utilisation of local Chinese networks. These networks

connect to national and international networks. Many Chinese had associations with more than one Chinatown, for example Lee Cum See traded at Townsville and Atherton under the name of Sam Yee Lee (*Kalgoorlie Miner*, 1 Aug. 1927:4). The differences among geographical regions can be looked at by comparing for example Far North Queensland Chinatowns to Chinatowns in Victoria.

As discussed previously in Chapter 1, there are similarities and differences between the Overseas Chinese experience and how past legislative changes impacted them across different colonies and countries. Modern legislative frameworks are responsible for protecting the significant values of a site while balancing the aims of development and change. The known Chinese sites are strongly influenced by potential development and cultural heritage management practice. Global contexts are significant as it is important to consider the transnationality of the Chinese who lived in Australia and North America, particularly the strong cultural and traditional ties people had to their homeland China. Comparing Australian and North American Chinatowns within a global context provides a holistic picture of Overseas Chinatowns during the Nineteenth Century. The differing archaeological approaches applied to Chinatowns in Australia and North America can influence future archaeological research on Chinatowns.

Understanding and incorporating Chinese culture in archaeological research on the Overseas Chinese has provided a valuable insight and perspective on the lives of the Chinese. For example, some researchers have provided discussion of *Feng Shui* (e.g. Grimwade, 1992; Mueller, 1986; Ritchie, 1993; Smith, 2006). The Chinese concept of *guanxi*, a Chinese networking and social construct involving ‘mutual obligation’ exercised by Chinese social relationships, has also been used in Overseas Chinese research (e.g. Douglass, 2000; Lydon, 1999; Rains, 2005).

Another important part of context is to use local community knowledge, whether from descendants of the Chinese community or any local members of the non-Chinese community. Information provided by local community members may provide on lost information or information about objects or places not previously recorded. This information may relate to personal belongings, accounts or documents belonging to members of a Chinese community. In one example, research carried out by Dunk (2015) utilised personal memories of a family run Chinese store, which provided new information on Chinese objects in a personal artefact collection. By examining context on different scales, patterns may emerge that identify areas worth further exploration.

Practice and engagement

Practice and engagement is not a new area to archaeological methodology but it is often rushed with the main focus on the artefacts and sites. Including practice and engagement in the archaeological methodology compliments background information, characterisation and context.

Using the descriptive and contextual information, a full picture of Chinatowns can be developed which looks at areas that can benefit from further investigation. In most cases, archaeological investigations on Chinatowns justify a 'slow archaeological' approach, conducted over a longer period of time or many seasons. For example Market Street Chinatown in San Jose, California has been investigated over a 10 year period (Voss and Kane, 2013). The results of Market Street Chinatown have been incorporated into a broader research goal with postgraduate research conducted e.g. Michaels (2005) as well as technical and progress reports. Atherton Chinatown has been fortunate in this way, albeit piecemeal and opportunistic with archaeological investigations spanning a 20 year period.

Artefacts need to be considered during this time, ideally prior to the commencement of any new archaeological investigations, although it is challenging to predict the volume of artefacts that may be identified across the site. Objectives for the retention of artefacts, a consistent catalogue method/approach, quality recording, storage, comparison and analysis with other collections will need to be defined. Some artefact collections have access issues, such as the Cairns Chinatown artefact collection located in Brisbane, Queensland and are currently stored in museums and institutions; some collections not being stored locally can limit access for local researchers. One example of inadequate interim storage resulted in the accidental destruction of the Cooktown artefacts. They were originally collected as part of Grimwade *et al.*'s (2007) research, for which only the descriptive catalogue and field reports now remain.

Having an engagement plan supports continued interest and research beyond initial archaeological investigations. Involving local groups provides local awareness and site and artefact interpretation can become an educational resource to schools, local community groups and tourists. Finally, utilising modern technology such as social networking sites can allow for connection, communication and collaboration with global audiences. Blogs and forums can also provide a space for further discussion. Project websites have been adopted more in North America than in Australia, for example the Woolen Mills Chinatown (Woolen Mills Chinatown). Another use for project websites is to keep an online artefact database, for example the Asian American Comparative Collection (2016). It is important to note the limitation of web spaces as they require ongoing support such as maintenance and costs in order to retain the information for a long period of time. Incorporating a plan for ongoing research is important in order to support and provide future research potential, whether it is a continuation of publications or sharing research results on the web. As archaeologists, it is our responsibility to play an active role and to ensure the best potential for creating an inclusive research environment.

Reinterpreting Far North Queensland Chinatowns

The previous section outlined a strategic and practical model for interpreting Chinatowns using a combination of archaeological and contextual information. The next section applies this model to reinterpret the Far North Queensland case studies discussed previously in Chapter 3, with the addition of Charter Towers.

Charters Towers

Background and raw data

Historical references place the Chinese in Charters Towers with connections to surrounding areas from 1870, with one Chinese man who at different stages lived in Charters Towers, Townsville and Cooktown before moving to Cairns (May, 1996:298). The increase in Chinese presence at goldfields in Queensland necessitated the translation of the *Gold Fields Regulations* and *Gold Fields Act 1873* into Chinese and this document shows that Commissioner of Charters Towers, JG McDonald ordered the translation (John Oxley Library, 1873). Newspaper records reveal the constant monitoring of the Chinese demographic changes and living conditions, referencing Chinese ‘quarters’ (*The Northern Miner*, 11 Oct. 1886:3) at Hargreaves and Gard’s Lane (now Lee Street) in 1886. Only historical references to Chinese residences can lead towards tentative interpretations about the existence of a potential Chinatown located in Charters Towers, and if so, what the layout may have looked like. A 1905 plan of Charters Towers noted this location and additionally a ‘Chinese cemetery’ off Jardine Street in Millchester (Figure 5.1).

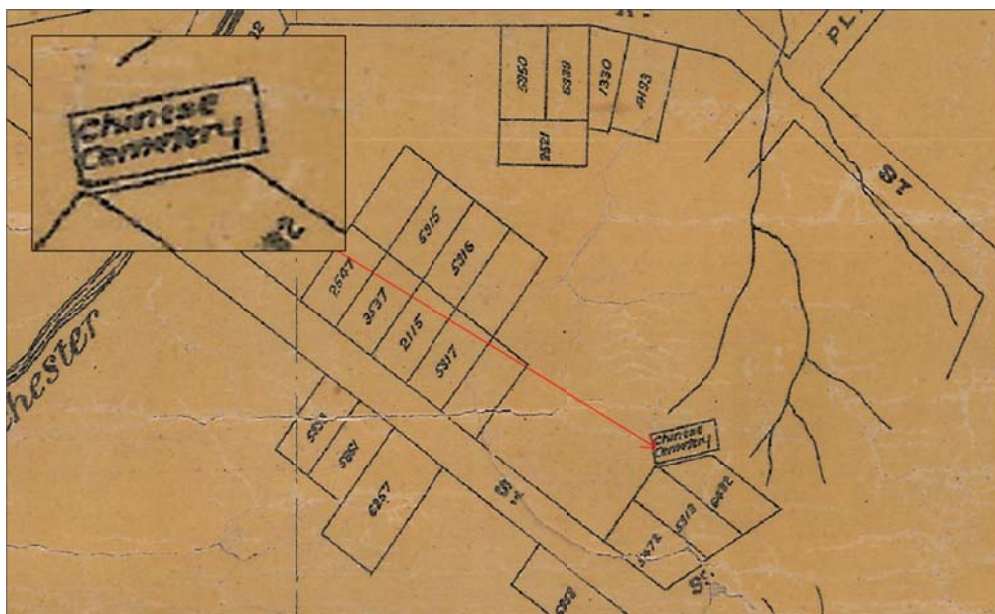


Figure 5.1: Plan of Charters Towers 1905 showing the location of a Chinese cemetery (Queensland Government Data, The State of Queensland 1995-2015).

Available historical information about the lives of the Chinese in Charters Towers is limited although documents show that two temples were built; one in a suburb called Millchester during 1889 and the other one on Bluff Road during 1891 (pers. comm. Gordon Grimwade 2015). There is no in-situ evidence of the Chinese temples remaining, although a single decorative panel from the Millchester temple survives in the collection of the Zara Clark Museum, Charters Towers (Grimwade and Maxwell 2008). There are no Chinese sites listed on the local heritage planning scheme and no previous archaeological research has been conducted.

Characterisation

Based on the characterisation of a Chinatown, discussed in Chapter 1, Charters Towers had arguably a Chinatown within it. The presence of two Chinese temples suggests there were smaller precinct areas outside of the central Charters Towers Chinatown although little is currently known of any physical remains of the presence of the Chinese in Charters Towers. One newspaper reference reported a member of the municipal health committee inspecting the Chinese ‘quarters’ at Hargreaves and Gard’s Lane in 1886:

‘The collection of rotten boards, with the smell of opium was clean but not fit for human habitation’ (The Northern Miner, 11 Oct. 1886:3).

More research needs to be undertaken to characterise Charters Towers Chinatown.

Context

From the little information that exists on the Chinese in Charters Towers, it is difficult to make comparisons with other Far North Queensland Chinatowns. Information should be sought from the local community (such as local historical publications) on what is known about the Chinese in Charters Towers. The Charters Towers Regional Council website make no historical references to the Chinese presence in Charters Towers.

Practice and engagement

Future archaeological potential lies in surveying the remains of the Chinese quarters on Lee Street drawing on historical information and, if possible, using a ‘descendent-generated’ approach (Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 2015:172) with any remaining members of the local Chinese community. Local information on Chinese places should not be restricted to the descendent Chinese community, as some local non-Chinese community members may also have valuable information. A targeted survey of the Chinese cemetery in Charters Towers also has potential, based on the aerial maps. A lack of development over the site, allocated as a gazetted cemetery reserve, may suggest that subsurface deposits still remain at the site.

Based on the North American archaeological approach to Chinese cemeteries by researchers such as Kraus-Friedberg (2008) and Smits (2008), a GPR survey could be conducted at the Chinese

cemetery site. Depending on the results and given the sensitive nature of the site, a targeted mechanical excavation could be conducted to test a sample selection across the total site, focusing on any features of interest.

Any Chinese artefacts recovered could be analysed and compared with Smits' (2008) research on the Lone Fir Cemetery in Portland, Oregon. Research by Kraus-Friedberg (2008) and Smits (2008) discussed in Chapter 2, is one way the Charters Towers Chinese cemetery could be examined. If any artefacts were identified and collected the Zara Clarke Museum in Charters Towers could be approached for potential storage.

Townsville

Background and raw data

Following on from the historical and archaeological information presented in Chapter 3, there have only been two archaeological investigations carried out of the Chinese in Townsville.

Characterisation

The findings of previous investigations of the Chinese in Townsville are inconclusive and feed into an ongoing debate concerning the presence or otherwise of a Townsville Chinatown. The findings suggests that it may have only ever been a Chinese precinct. This research presented here has not been able to provide any further clarity.

Context

When comparing Townsville to other Far North Queensland Chinatowns, the only difference from a regional perspective is that Townsville did not contain a Chinese temple. The presence of a Chinese temple supported the notion of a strong Chinese presence and community, but is not the only defining factor of a Chinatown. From the previous research there is a limited awareness of Chinese sites and places across the landscape at a local level. The lack of awareness and legislative protection in built-up areas can cause potential sites to be destroyed in the path of newer development. Townsville may be the result of the Chinese community that integrated into what is now Townsville's Central Business District (CBD). During the redevelopment of Rusty's Market, the Cairns Chinatown heritage could have been threatened if not for the strong awareness and protest by the local Chinese community.

Practice and engagement

One way for archaeologists to proceed would be to direct future research on the Chinese presence in Townsville towards using intangible evidence. It is difficult to say what further interpretations could be made about Townsville as there is little opportunity to physically explore the sites mentioned in historical references as they are incorporated into the town centre. Providing

awareness to the local community on the involvement of the Chinese in the town's history, especially within Townsville CBD can potentially provide planning protection overlays for future development opportunities. The Chinese presence in Townsville can be incorporated in future local and regional archaeological research.

Cooktown

Background, raw data and characterisation

Background information and the characterisation of Cooktown Chinatown has been completed by Rains (2005). Information was also gained from a site report and a collection of artefacts from a salvage project carried out by Grimwade *et al.* (2007).

Context

Cooktown's Chinatown has the potential to contribute to regional and global perspectives. It contains high archaeological potential, which was discussed in Chapter 3. Cooktown's Chinatown compared to North American Chinatowns is unique in a global context in that development has not heavily modified the site. There is comparable potential for Cooktown with other Far North Queensland Chinatowns, for example recent research on the pig oven in Atherton Chinatown. Are there similarities or differences between the two pig ovens and does Cooktown's pig oven support communal feasting?

Practice and engagement

Cooktown Chinatown contains subsurface resources that have the potential to support a future archaeological research project. Does Cooktown have any archaeological evidence that supports anti-Chinese sentiment such as the research conducted by Baxter (2008)? The lack of strategic archaeological research on Cooktown Chinatown and limited findings from previous archaeological projects creates potential avenues of investigation.

Future research on Cooktown Chinatown should focus on the temple, to try and incorporate it into a greater regional project. Comparing the regional landscape and the layout of Cooktown Chinese temple with other Chinese temples, could assist with the interpretation of all of them (Croydon, Charters Towers, Atherton and Cairns). Is there any information the surviving Cooktown temple artefacts can reveal if re-examined? Reflecting on the collection of Chinese artefacts from the Cooktown sewerage scheme salvage project (Grimwade *et al.*, 2007) that were accidentally destroyed, how can this be prevented for the future? One way of preventing the loss of artefactual information is to incorporate the artefact catalogue as an online database. Finally, the methodological approaches in any future archaeological investigation at the site should include a transect spaced at regular intervals and focusing on the centre of the Chinese temple. The

stratigraphy could also be examined to provide information on the duration and mobility of the Chinese across Cooktown Chinatown.

Cairns

Background, raw data and characterisation

There is enough background information from May (1996), archaeological excavations conducted by Grimwade and Rowney (2004) and Robb's (2012) research on Cairns Chinatown to provide heritage management options and further context of Cairns Chinatown. Cairns Chinatown has moderate archaeological potential due to the richness of artefacts that have been salvaged from the site. There has been no further analysis done on approximately 3500 artefacts.

Context

The development of that part of Cairns Chinatown under Rusty's Markets has severely impacted on any future site archaeological research. The site has been included on the local planning scheme and this supports awareness and protection from further disturbance. A comparison between Cairns Chinatown and San Jose Chinatown's layout would be informative for both.

Practice and engagement

If the artefacts from Cairns Chinatown were re-analysed, what archaeological questions should be asked that can provide further insight into the Chinese in Cairns? The Market Street Chinatown approach to artefact analysis used methods such as chemical, microbotanical, wood and charcoal analysis which could be used for Cairns. Research objectives of Cairns Chinatown can inform future postgraduate research topics. The artefacts could potentially be photographed and the results of the analysis published online.

Cairns Chinatown could benefit from an examination of the remaining Chinese temple artefacts, the analysis subsequently used to compare with evidence from Atherton Chinatown and other surviving temple artefacts (possibly in North America). Involving the local Chinese/Australian community can further develop archaeological research themes. Finally, pursuing Chinese networks and landscape use would be worthy of exploration. Rains (2005) successfully investigated the Chinese and their use of the landscape surrounding Cooktown Chinatown. This application can add to information already known about Cairns Chinatown.

Atherton

Background, raw data and characterisation

Atherton Chinatown is arguably the most thoroughly researched Chinese site in Far North Queensland. The strong Chinese presence was mainly along both sides of Fong On Road and the area has not been subject to any development. From previous historical research, there is a solid body of information known about Atherton Chinatown. Previous archaeological excavations have provided a sample coverage of the entire site and the artefacts recovered have had some analysis conducted, comparing them with artefacts from other Chinese sites in Australia (Dunk, 2010). Atherton Chinatown is the best example of the archaeology of the Chinese in Far North Queensland.

Context

From previous research by Dunk (2010), Atherton Chinatown has comparable data to be examined against Victorian Chinatowns if not compared against North American Chinatowns. Further avenues of discussion are differences in archaeological approach that can apply to Atherton Chinatown that have been influenced by North America. Can Atherton Chinatown's pig oven be compared to any North American pig ovens, like Woolen Mills Chinatown (Baxter and Allen, 2002:391) or the Chinese camps along the Lower Salmon River (Sisson, 1993)?

Practice and engagement

If 'slow archaeology' was to be conducted across the Atherton Chinatown site, what additional information would potentially be revealed about the Chinese? Future archaeological work should focus on publishing the complete set of existing archaeological research data and looking outwards towards global context and perspectives. The National Trust of Queensland currently manages the site (including the Hou Wang Temple, museum and artefact collection) and provides conservation and protection of the site and collection. There is potential for the creation of an online artefact database, which can be added to the already existing temple website (Atherton Chinatown and Hou Wang 2016).

Croydon

Background, raw data and characterisation

Croydon has high archaeological potential due to the lack of development across the temple site and surrounds. The only archaeological research conducted on the Chinese in Croydon is by Grimwade (1998). Croydon Chinatown contains archaeological evidence but unfortunately based on a single study so not enough can be said about the Chinese who occupied this area.

Context

The work on Croydon's Chinese temple has created awareness by the community and Croydon Shire Council that there was some Chinese presence in Croydon. One objective would be to generate regional and global awareness of this site. Looking at the physical remains, assumptions can be made about the layout of Croydon's Chinatown when compared to other Far North Queensland Chinatowns, such as comparing temple artefacts and architecture (Burke and Grimwade, 2013; Grimwade, 2003). Of benefit to the site would be to compare Croydon's pig oven findings to the Atherton Chinatown's pig oven. Likewise, the pig oven could be examined from a regional perspective, comparing it to other surviving pig ovens across Far North Queensland.

Practice and engagement

By utilising web spaces and project pages for future archaeological work, Croydon Chinatown can gain a global presence. What further information from future archaeological investigations can be gathered about the Chinese across Croydon's landscape? Opportunities for archaeological excavation across the site are limited to potential development requirements, tourism and research grants.

Past research has identified that there is potential for the site to contain archaeological remains. An excavation strategy similar to the one described for Cooktown above can be adopted, i.e. sampling the site through to use of a transect. Storage and retention of artefacts from the site would need to be explored further, as would be the aims of storage and potential analysis of collected artefacts.

Innisfail

Background and raw data

Like Townsville, the challenge with Innisfail is the limited opportunities for archaeological excavation. Further archaeological research should focus on a desktop study of Innisfail Chinatown with the aim of identifying sites associated with Chinese settlement. Previous research suggests that Innisfail Chinatown may contain archaeological potential but more research is required.

Comparing the landscape of Townsville and Innisfail can be explored to provide information about the Chinese presence across Innisfail. Even though Townsville did not contain a temple, the parallels between these Chinatowns are worth further investigation. In addition, questions arise on how can we apply and adopt archaeological approaches on the landscape of Innisfail Chinatown. Does the information align with historical records and Council data?

Characterisation

Historical information is certainly available on the Chinese in Innisfail. But a combination of more archaeological and historical research is needed before Innisfail Chinatown can be properly characterised.

Context

The descendent Chinese community of Innisfail can potentially influence archaeological research opportunity, as they sought a grant in order to fund an archaeological excavation of the Lit Sing Gung site. How does Innisfail compare regionally to Townsville and other Far North Queensland Chinatowns? More research will need to be conducted to further develop information on Innisfail Chinatown, utilising regional context to a broader national and global perspective.

Practice and engagement

Further research could identify additional heritage sites for inclusion on the local Council planning scheme with the hopes of inciting further research and local engagement. Limited recommendations can be made for precise locations of future archaeological excavations, given that the town has been subject to development. North America has been shown to overcome this problem by identifying sites of significance and therefore archaeological opportunities have been provided through modern site development and cultural heritage management e.g. Market Street Chinatown, Los Angeles Chinatown, Chinese Woodland Opera House (see Chapter 2). The potential for archaeological resources still remaining at the first Chinese temple site on the corner of Edith and Owen Streets in Innisfail would need to be explored further using historical maps.

Conclusion

In order to advance archaeological research on the Overseas Chinese, it is important to compare research between Chinese sites and across other types of Chinese sites and contexts. Table 5.1 is a summary of the suggested methodology for Far North Queensland Chinatowns and future archaeological potential at these sites.

Table 5.1: Summary of the future archaeological potential at Far North Queensland Chinatowns

	Archaeological excavation	Community awareness and engagement	Regional temple project	Landscape research	Artefact analysis	Online database
Atherton	?	X	X		X	X
Cairns		X	X	X	X	X
Cooktown	X	X	X		X	X
Croydon	X	?	X	X		
Innisfail		X	X	X		
Townsville		X		X		
Charters Towers	X	X	X			

Ross (2014:5683) notes that research should not be restricted to just Chinese sites but should include other non-Asian diasporas and ethnic groups, particularly as other migrants usually lived in Chinatowns. Praetzellis (2015:172) argues for a ‘descendent-generated’ approach that works with descendents before, during and after any archaeological investigations to influence and develop research themes. This may be difficult due to the mobility of Chinese communities across Australia during the Twentieth Century, leaving little or no descendents left in a town or region. Another point is that valuable information can be gained not only from the remaining local Chinese community but also from the non-Chinese community.

For a continued and sustained interest in the Overseas Chinese, experienced archaeologists must foster and engage with early career researchers. Unfortunately ‘one off research’ topics, such as Honours and PhD research, does not allow for a continuation of expertise on the Overseas Chinese through paid employment. Engagement may take many forms such as utilising project web pages, online collections and blogs and simply making publications available. One recent example is the Chinese Canadian Artifacts Project with access to over 6000 Chinese Canadian artefacts held by 16 local and regional museums throughout British Columbia, Canada (Chinese Canadian Artifacts Project 2016). The database provides an insight to the large research potential and awareness of the Chinese in British Columbia. Finally, Ross (2014:5684) argues that archaeologists must also collaborate with community groups. This can be improved across both Australia and

North America as archaeological projects have not traditionally made any efforts to engage with the general community.

From this research, a methodological model for interpreting future Chinatown sites that involved four elements has been constructed. This model provides a solution to research that lacked holistic perspectives and simplified methodological approaches. In this model, there are many significant aspects worth considering when applied to the Overseas Chinatowns including Chinatown characteristics, context and archaeological practice and engagement.

By taking a more holistic approach to archaeological research on the Overseas Chinese, both countries (Australia and North America) can share and learn from each other's resources and findings, which subsequently can be applied to research on Chinese sites. For future research to continue on the Overseas Chinese, we must continue to collaborate across different disciplines, work together with local communities, create online spaces to share research frameworks, methodologies and to present results meaningfully.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Based on the research presented here, the results show a consensus on the lack of theoretical discourse on Overseas Chinese archaeology in Australia. This is not a problem exclusive to Overseas Chinese studies as it is also the case more generally with historical archaeology. A review of the literature revealed a range of research topics including: multiscalar, diasporic, and transnational theory. It is important to note the limitations with this research: firstly its focus on one site type, Chinatown, and secondly, not all past literature on the topic is accessible. It has also become clear that Overseas Chinese archaeology hosts a myriad of complexities. The model for addressing Overseas Chinese sites speaks to the specific aspects and applies a simplified approach to researching Overseas Chinese sites. This final chapter summarises the research and reiterates the main findings and outcomes of the thesis.

Conclusions from this research not only explored and contextualised archaeological methodologies but provided an interpretation on the Overseas Chinese in Far North Queensland, i.e. determining the extent to which the archaeological practices, so far applied to the Overseas Chinese in North America, can be applied in Chinatowns in Far North Queensland. By providing a model for interpreting future Chinatown sites, previous research that lacked a holistic and developed theoretical and methodological approach can be re-examined.

The model presented in this paper offers a solution to these issues by applying a methodology, which develops on current archaeological practice: Collection of site specific historical and archaeological information and data. A more detailed and nuanced characterisation of the site, whether it be a Chinatown, market garden, agricultural sites, mining sites etc. A Chinatown in Far North Queensland during the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century, was a permanent Chinese residential, business and cultural space that provided a range of services to a permanent as well as transient population. Comparing context on a regional, national and global scale provides different perspectives on understanding and incorporating Chinese culture in archaeological research. Archaeological practice and engagement should direct site methodology from the archaeological findings and engagement with the local community. This provides a plan for artefact management, storage and analysis. This model considers many significant aspects of application to Overseas Chinese archaeological research.

Chinese American archaeology has developed steadily over the last 50 years, beginning with site descriptions from development opportunities to theoretical approaches. In North America, research began in the 1960s, as did the Society of Historical Archaeology and the *National Historic Preservation Act 1966*. Research on Chinese American heritage has seen multi-disciplinary collaboration and opportunities which focus efforts on bringing greater awareness, whereas, the

majority of archaeological research in Australia has been driven by opportunistic studies more than theoretical approaches. The research in North America far exceeds the work on the Overseas Chinese archaeology in Australia.

Future research on the six Chinatown sites across Far North Queensland could benefit from a consistent methodology and a more consolidated approach. This can address future complex research questions on race, gender, class and social identity. It is also evident from the archaeological results that further analysis of a site and its artefacts can be compared with other Chinese settlement sites and therefore provide a holistic picture of the Overseas Chinese experience. For example based on previous research, a prosperous Chinatown correlated with the construction of a Chinese temple. All Far North Queensland Chinatowns erected a temple except for Townsville. The artefacts discovered across the sites revealed a combination of Chinese and European goods. Modern site development, disturbance and short occupation periods affected site integrity and therefore the artefacts found across Chinese sites lacked context. The absence of information and inconsistent methodological approaches, by which the artefacts were analysed, existed within collections and between collections.

Finally, the differences between Australia and North American Overseas Chinese Archaeology are: 1) when research began, 2) legislation that is driven by cultural heritage management and dictates the interpretation of the archaeology, 3) developmental differences between North America and Australia, 4) different perspectives and disciplinary approach and 5) different site types examined. Similarities between Australia and North America have acknowledged that Overseas Chinese archaeology has previously lacked theoretical frameworks that hinder further development. Researchers from many disciplines across Australia and North America present at conferences and publish a variety of research topics on the Overseas Chinese. When comparing archaeological evidence, there are obvious similarities among the artefacts that are found at Chinese sites. The same types of Chinese tableware were exported out of China and relied heavily on a network of exchange. The Chinese shared similar experiences across Australia and North America and were impacted by exclusionary legislation. In some cases, the Chinese managed to retain their traditional beliefs and practices and an ability to survive and adapt in a foreign land, where other sites show a greater degree of acculturation to the host society.

In order to advance archaeological research on the Overseas Chinese, it is important to compare research between and across other Chinese sites and contexts. Archaeologists must also continue to collaborate across a multitude of disciplines and plan to create online spaces, so that research can be both shared and made accessible. As an outcome of this dissertation, the framework for Overseas Chinese archaeology can close the gap between Australian and North American archaeological research.

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