Imagined Asia: Archaeology and Museum Anthropology of the Chinese Diaspora and the Ainu

By

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Abstract

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Archaeological sites and ethnographic museums preserve materials, and the human lives to which they connect, in different ways. Sites preserve evidence of peoples' everyday lives in the form of their material contents, but by their nature as buried and often fragmented artifacts and features they also indicate some degree of loss or even erasure during the process of the site's formation. Ethnographic museums, by contrast, purposefully preserve both material and documentary evidence of people's lives. However, they also maintain the context of the collection's creation, the agencies of the original owners, collectors, and institutions involved in their assembly.

This dissertation examines an archaeology site and museum collections in tandem to discern their shared context in transpacific interactions between the United States and East Asia in the late nineteenth century. First, I use a combination of oral history and historical archaeology to understand the lives of Chinese immigrants living at the Arboretum Chinese Quarters at Stanford University in California between 1876 and 1925, the era of both widespread Chinese diaspora and increasing racialization and discrimination against immigrants in the United States. Second, I examine ethnographic museum collections initially created during this same time period between the 1870s and 1920s. These collections of material culture from the Ainu, the Indigenous people of Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands, share a social context with the archaeological remains of the Chinese diaspora beyond their contemporaneity. Both the site and the collections formed as they did due to the racialization of Asian ethnic groups in the nineteenth century United States. Through uniting these material remains with historical documentation, oral histories, and records of oral traditions, I explore this shared context, the evidence they both provide about everyday lives shaped by colonial policy, and present ways that objects, both archaeological and ethnographic, continue to matter for descendent and other stakeholder communities today.

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Chapter 1: Introduction: Theoretical Framework and Chapter Overview

Archaeological sites and ethnographic museums preserve materials, and the human lives to which they connect, in different ways. Sites preserve evidence of peoples' everyday lives in the form of their contents, the artifacts and features remaining from the time of the site's last occupancy and their location and relationship to one another. By their nature, archaeological sites consist of materials left behind by the people who owned or used them, on the ground's surface or fully buried. These things are often fragmentary, having lost pieces through destruction or decay during the process of the site's formation. They may, in some cases, indicate the purposeful erasure of the place or the people who once lived there, acts that lead to forgetting.

Ethnographic museums, by contrast, can be thought of as creations of selective memory. They preserve both material and documentary evidence of people's lives, but these are removed from their original spatial and cultural contexts. Most major museums in the United States archive their contents according to systems of knowledge based on European enlightenment philosophy of the discrete nature of things, the ability to name and classify as a form of producing understanding, but also control. In the case of materials that belong to Indigenous peoples, which make up much of ethnographic museums' contents, this classification system falls short of preserving a whole culture, the explicit goal of many museum anthropologists working during the heyday of ethnographic collecting in the late nineteenth century. Instead, these collections indicate the combined agencies of the original owners, collectors, and institutions involved in their assembly, and must be remembered as linked not only to the lifetimes of the objects, but to the events and conditions of their transitions through multiple hands and into museums.

This dissertation examines an archaeology site and museum collections in tandem. Contemporary to one another, but from different geographical and cultural contexts, they reveal the similar processes of imperialism and racialization at work in their creation. Separately, archaeological analysis and museum research of their materials shows how the practices of everyday life changed for individual people in the past.

My case studies on the Chinese Diaspora and on Ainu material culture are united by common themes of imperialism and racialization in the United States and Asia during the nineteenth century. First, I use historical archaeology and oral history to understand the lives of Chinese immigrants living at the Arboretum Chinese Quarters at Stanford University in California between 1876 and 1925, an era of both widespread Chinese diaspora and increasing racism and discrimination against immigrants in the United States. Second, I examine ethnographic museum collections initially created during this same time period between the 1870s and 1920s. These collections of material culture from the Ainu, the Indigenous people of Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kuril Islands, share a social context with the archaeological remains of the Chinese diaspora beyond their contemporaneity. Both the site and the collections formed as they did due to the racialization of Asian ethnic groups in the nineteenth century United States. Through uniting these material remains with historical documentation, oral histories, and records of oral traditions, I explore this shared context, the evidence they both provide about everyday lives shaped by colonial policy, and present ways that both archaeological and ethnographic materials continue to matter for descendent and other stakeholder communities today.

Frameworks of Imperialism and Racialization

Both imperialism and the process of racialization form central themes throughout my dissertation, enmeshed as they are with concepts of classification and hierarchy that fed persistent structural inequalities across the world. Colonialism, the occupation and control of territory through settlement with the intent to exploit land and resources for the benefit of another homeland, also encompasses efforts to control the people already living within the targeted territory. I use this and the related concept of imperialism, a metropolitan center's pursuit and practice of rule over territory (Said 1994, 9), to consider the effects of territorial expansion on minority groups. This expansion existed as both governmental policy and as social mindset in the nineteenth century United States, both of which influenced and often bolstered one another in a reciprocal relationship. These United States policies and social attitudes went on to greatly influence Japan, especially following the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

Colonialism and imperialism in their modern senses are deeply linked with the mass settlement of Europeans in many parts of the world beginning in the sixteenth century. This led not only to new networks of interaction and reciprocal influences between cultures in contact, but also to sharper social categories born of these interactions (Silliman 2005). These categories have a lasting legacy as "distinctions of race, class and gender [made] in new ways . . . so that [today] each of us exists within a cultural matrix of different categories, which are not necessarily consistent, but powerful none the less (Gosden 2004, 115). Both of my case studies consider not only the historical circumstances of imperialism suggested by material remains, but also how these materials continued to play a role in the legacy of peoples' identities through the materials' use, trade, and eventually survival, whether on museum shelves or in the ground.

Gosden places the fluidity of identity formation at the heart of considering the past and ongoing effects of colonialism, and as both archaeologist and museum anthropologist, considers these formations through material. To examine colonial effects as a process, I draw on Gosden's work as well as concepts of "othering" through social and political discourse (Said 1978), and racialization (Omi and Winant 2015) with an acknowledgement of intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989). While Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) addressed the history of Western attempts to exert power with the aim of hegemony over peoples of the Middle East, his description of the process of "othering," reliant on the repetition of literary and cultural representations of difference, draws attention to similar discourses within the power dynamics of imperialism when considering both Chinese immigration and the Ainu. This orients much of my discussion in Chapter 2 toward a combination of political and popular press sources, in addition to academic writing. This follows both Alexander Saxton's argument that politics provide historical context because it was through such movements that a majority population expressed opinions on economics, ethics, and emotions (1971; 1990), and Stuart Hall's observation of the creation of hegemony through "political and ideological leadership, in civil, intellectual and moral life as well as the material level" at any "specific historical moment" (1980: 331-332).

Critical race theory, which understands race as a social phenomenon, flexible, and historically contingent, plays a central role in uniting discourses of othering and the documentary and material remains produced by these social practices. Michael Omi and Howard Winant's theory of racialization describes race as not only socially constructed, but also beyond any neat social

bounds, a "dimension present to some degree in every identity, institution and social practice" (1994: 17) and affecting the micro-level of the individual simultaneously with the macro-levels of the collective and social structures in a continuous and reciprocal relationship (1986: 58). This multi-scalar effect creates historically contingent segregation and discrimination. What may at any given moment appear to be social "fair play" (Omi and Winant 1986: 1), what a young W.E.B. Du Bois acknowledged he mistook for "a matter of clear, fair competition" (Du Bois 1940: 66), should be recognized rather as bound to a history of unequal privilege and opportunity. Archaeologists are especially equipped to synthesize evidence from a wide variety of sources over time to understand this formation. In both case studies, I examine neither race as a state of being nor racism as an established fact, but rather how racist discourse helped build concepts of race, contingent on time and place, and how that informs analysis of the material record and understandings of communities today.

Yet imperialism affects more than one aspect of identity. Internal divisions have alternatively been viewed not only as articulating with one another (Hall 1980), but further cross-cutting and intersecting one another. Seemingly contradictory forces can be approached from the standpoint that race, class, gender, age, sexuality, and other aspects of identity dynamically intersect. As Michlin and Rocchi observe, there is a dichotomy between the degree that race and sex "strongly condition the materiality of our lives," and yet evade definition: it is only through "exploring the crossing of lines" that it is possible to grasp the range of plural and shifting human experiences and identities (2013: 3). Intersectionality is implied in Omi and Winant's original stance that race was a part of every identity and institution, but has been incorporated explicitly into their return to their racial formation thesis, building off the work of Crenshaw (1989), Collins (2008), and Glenn (2002) in their understanding of the mutual co-constitution of these components of society (Omi and Winant 2015: 106, 133n.2). Archaeologists use the concept of intersectionality to understand the meeting of multiple influences on identity, studying constructed social positions (Wilkie 2003; Wilkie and Hayes 2006), the fluidity of identity (Brandon 2004, 205), and the exertion of oppression (Franklin 2001, 109, Battle-Baptiste 2011), rather than attempting to focus on race as an isolated phenomenon. I explore this concept particularly in Chapter 4, but these theories inform my understanding throughout.

To discuss either the Ainu or the Chinese diaspora in terms of imperialism and racialization, with both populations considered as suffering their ill effects as minority groups, may appear to be an odd choice. Chinese immigrants arriving in San Francisco in the mid-nineteenth century set foot on land only recently incorporated into the United States. Within the span of a lifetime, the terrible process of missionization and subsequent changeovers from Spanish to Mexican and then United States control had transformed the lives and landscapes of the land's original Ohlone people, much like other Indian tribes throughout California. Were the Chinese themselves not colonizers of a sort? California was not their homeland, and they did seek ways to exploit its resources to support themselves and their families, whether they intended to stay or to return to their home villages. Yet, the historical circumstances of their arrival and subsequent treatment through both social and political disenfranchisement suggest that the hierarchical power dynamics of colonialism still played an important role in Chinese immigrants' experiences. As I discuss in Chapter 2, while numerous precedents of cultural interaction and imagination shaped encounters between Asian and Euro-American immigrants in the western United States, the ideology of the United States' manifest destiny played a significant role (Almaguer 2008; see

also Chang 2012 and 2015; Miller 1969). The belief that the western North American continent should be claimed by white and Christian settlers, even that to do so was preordained by divine right, drove social ostracization, denial of rights, and exclusion from legal protections that lay the groundwork for the restriction and ultimate exclusion of Chinese immigrants over the subsequent decades.

Said's definition of imperialism, with its emphasis on metropolitan power rather than nation, is a helpful distinction since the former definition leaves room for examining the colonial effects of internal policies within land claimed to be within national boundaries that may be disputed. Such was the case of the Ainu, whose ancestral homelands or *Ainu mosir* included much of northern Japan, primarily Hokkaido (historically Yezo or Ezo), as well as territories like Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands claimed by both Japan and Russia at different times. While territories, trading rights, and subject status had been a matter of dispute between the Ainu and the Japanese between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries (Hudson 1999), it was only following the Meiji restoration of 1868 that the Japanese government, taking their cue from European and United States powers, began a system of both Japanese settlement and Ainu disenfranchisement that purposefully replicated colonial practices, going to far as to hire United States government advisors who had overseen expansion and the removal of American Indians from western North America (Siddle 2012). Viewing Japan as conducting internal colonialism necessitates awareness that such actions not only drew inspiration from western Imperialism, but also occurred because of imperialist interests in exploiting Japan. While Japan's industrialization in part protected it, the transformation in racial understanding had severe consequences for the Ainu. In this sense then, both Chinese immigrants in the United States and Ainu people in their own homelands simultaneously faced colonial policies that stemmed from the same ideological sources.

Community Collaboration

My methodologies for both sets of case studies derive from the fields of historical archaeology and museum anthropology. Both disciplines within anthropology have considerable scholarship examining a combination of material, archival, and varieties of historical evidence as means to understand imperialism and racialization (Gosden 2004; Lydon and Rizvi 2012; Morris 2017; Silliman 2005; Sunseri 2017). However, studying not only the historical effects of imperialism, but also the development of anthropology as a discipline, makes clear the field's deep roots in colonial and race-based discourse. Anthropology's agenda has often been the study of the "other," which Chris Gosden (2001, 245) points out is exactly the colonial tool of governance that dissociated Indigenous people from their livelihoods in the past and their heritage over time (see also Gosden 1999; Lydon and Rizvi 2012; Pels 1997). While acknowledging that aspects of my knowledge production, such as reliance on archival sources, survey and excavation methods, and the use of museum collections all stem from the same Enlightenment philosophies of science that informed colonialism, I sought ways to decenter these approaches and foreground methodologies and interpretations drawn from the epistemologies of the communities directly related to and affected by my work.

To that end, in addition to the theoretical, historical, and area studies literature cited above, my remaining methodological practices are largely drawn from practices of community collaboration and storytelling. Integrating oral tradition and oral histories into all stages of research expands

ways of knowing that cultivate collaborative research (Atalay 2012; Colwell 2016), especially with local communities (Hodder 2008; Moshenska 2007; Praetzellis, Praetzellis, and Van Buren 2007), and communities united through common belongings in social organizations (Wilkie 2001; 2010). A turn toward collaboration has transformational potential in archaeology. Collaboration is not only cultural but intellectual as well; the pluralism of collaborators introduces both varied and contextual viewpoints that strengthen the credibility and relevance of research products (see Wylie 2015).

I planned the project at the Arboretum Chinese Quarters based on community collaborative guidelines including cooperating with members of stakeholder communities during the entire research process (Atalay 2012, Silliman and Ferguson 2010). Listening from the outset helps to ensure that projects are not skewed toward interests outside the community (see Schmidt and Kehoe 2019). The history of collaboration between Santa Clara County's Chinese American organizations and archaeologists at Stanford University has led to easily identifiable local stakeholders with established community-generated research interests (see Voss 2005). My own experience and identity growing up in Palo Alto meant I also had community contacts through family friends and acquaintances. Following similar examples from Laurie Wilkie (2001; 2010) and Mary and Adrian Praetzellis (2011), I reached out to, consulted, and identified opportunities for collaboration with local Chinese American communities through oral history interviews, lectures, public outreach events, community meetings, and engagement with Chinese and Chinese American students. Over the course of the research project between 2014 and 2017, I traveled to meet with members of the Chinese Historical and Cultural Project, shared the site's history and potential research directions at Asian Studies and Chinese Historical Society of America meetings, and conducted multiple IRB-approved object-aided oral history interviews with descendants of Stanford employees as well as Chinese American community members with family stories linked to Stanford history (see Lowman 2018a). I discuss this work, including attention to community-generated research questions, in Chapter 4.

While community collaboration was the explicit goal of my historical archaeology research at the Arboretum Chinese Quarters, it has not yet been a feature of my work with Ainu museum collections. While I visited an Ainu community in Nibutani Hokkaido in August 2016, a trip which informed my analysis in Chapter 5, my sites of research so far have been primarily in United States museums. I reached out to Ainu Studies experts at Hokkaido University's Ainu Studies Center and the Nibutani Ainu Culture Museum to identify the gaps in or limitations to Ainu community access to information in museums outside Japan. These interviews drew my attention to the continued importance of village origins and ongoing difficulty for both Japanese and Ainu scholars and community members to access information in old or handwritten English-language archives. With these problems in mind, I focused on identifying precise geographic origins for the collections I studied and documented hand-written or other non-digitized archival materials for transcription in future projects. In addition, building on the example of Yuriko Fukasawa's "Ainu archaeology as ethnohistory" (1998), I drew on recordings and translations of Ainu oral traditions, *yukar* (epic songs) and *oyna* (myths), for the analysis of Ainu objects present in these Ainu-language sources, rather than relying on outside observations alone. I believe community collaboration is a necessary direction for future studies that can more strongly link United States and other international museum collections with their source communities and descendants of their makers or owners.

Archaeology of the Chinese Diaspora

As part of my research, I draw on archaeological, historical, and other studies from a broad range of disciplines that discuss the experiences of Chinese immigrants and Chinese Americans. These publications range in date, and while late nineteenth century academic books and articles may be considered primary sources, all sources must be considered within the context of their time and individuality of authorship. As noted by Judy Yung, Gordon Chang, and Him Mark Lai in the preface to their edited volume *Chinese American Voices*, "The story of the Chinese in America has been curiously told. In most accounts, they have been mute . . . they were ignored" (2006, xv). This is far from an isolated phenomenon of silencing, part of a "repression of oral literatures and a colonial determination *not to listen*" unfortunately common in academic histories (Schmidt 2019, 178). This silence regarding Chinese American history in books, classrooms, and interpretative resources for much of the twentieth century means that even descendants of earlier Chinese immigrants may continue to be unaware of their own family's history.

In the late nineteenth century, academic writing on the subject of Chinese immigration dealt overwhelmingly with the subject of "the Chinese Question," debating the social and economic value of immigration rather than the experience of the people themselves (Gilliam 1886; Seward 1881). Later books and articles on Chinese diasporic history largely focused on acculturation of the Chinese into specific places and societies (Davis and Schwartz 1920; DuFault 1959; Rodecape 1944; Speek 1926). This began to change in the 1960s, with a renewed focus on both the historical context of Chinese immigration and the immigrant experience (Barth 1964; Saxton 1971). When the voices of Chinese Americans themselves entered academic scholarship, they often did so through disciplines other than History, such as Sociology (Lee 1960; Nee and Nee 1972; Siu 1987), Ethnic Studies (Chinn, Lai, and Choy 1969; Takaki 1978), folklore (Hoy 1948) or through local historical societies and community organizations (for examples from Santa Clara County, the location of the Arboretum Chinese Quarters, see Handley 1997; Hom 1971). Recent historical studies have increasingly relied on interdisciplinary scholarship, including a rise in reference to archaeological studies of the Chinese diaspora (Chang 2019; Chang and Fishkin 2019; Lew-Williams 2018; Tsu 2013).

Just as in the field of history, Chinese and Chinese American perspectives entered archaeological studies of the Chinese diaspora slowly. Archaeological interest in the potential of historical sites to inform understandings of Chinese immigration rose during the late 1960s and 1970s (Chase 1976; Chase and Evans 2015; Farris 1979; Greenwood 1976). Many projects started through Cultural Resource Management, and the reports and articles they generated make up the bulk of publications during the 1980s (Felton, Lortie, and Schulz 1984; Pastron 1981; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1982). In 1982, Priscilla Wegars established the Asian American Comparative Collection at the University of Idaho to facilitate similar studies, an incredibly valuable resource that continues to facilitate research in 2019. Multiple studies from this time and into the 1990s conclude by acknowledging the necessity of involving Chinese community organizations and oral histories in the future, for the sake of avoiding what Roberta S. Greenwood called the

common “closed loop” of relying on materials and documents (1993, 380; see Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1997). However, acknowledgment alone did not effect change, and a lack of collaborative practices often led to an over-emphasis on questions of acculturation. As Singleton and Bograd point out in their critique of acculturation in the context of African Diaspora archaeology, in an acculturation framework, an “object comes to define the group rather than the group defining the significance of the artifact” (2000: 9). Kelly Fong (2007) discussed this problem in relation to archaeology of the Chinese diaspora. The lack of Chinese American voices involved in archaeological research led to an overemphasis on theories of acculturation and, in some cases, to the perpetuation of racial stereotypes regarding foodways or drug use that had their origins in nineteenth century stereotypes.

Since the mid-2000s, archaeological work on Chinese diaspora sites and archaeological collections has increasingly relied on consultation and collaboration with Chinese American communities. For example, the Chinese Historical and Cultural Project in Santa Clara County partnered with History San Jose and archaeologist Barbara Voss at Stanford University to support the curation, interpretation, and educational use of artifacts recovered from San Jose’s Market Street Chinatown. This partnership led to one of the first community-driven research projects focused on Chinese diaspora archaeology, with research questions generated through dialogues between the project’s partners (Voss 2005, 434). These questions, including themes such as community and kinship connections, home-village origins, and an interest in the use of archaeology to promote public awareness, served as the basis for my own conversations with local community members when starting my dissertation work. Kelly Fong’s dissertation, focused on her ancestor’s hometown of Isleton in California’s Sacramento Delta, incorporated oral histories as well (2013), and further projects based at Stanford, including Bryn Williams’ dissertation work at Point Alones (Williams 2011), the Chinese Railroad Workers in North America Project (Chang and Fishkin 2019), and the Cangdong Village Project (Voss et al. 2018) have all continued to rely on community collaborative practices. These projects strongly inform my own work, specifically their use of community-collaborative practices, attention to transpacific ties of kinship and trade, and engagement with the scholarship of multiple disciplines.

Throughout my dissertation, I use the term “the Chinese diaspora” to refer to the mass migration of Chinese people out of southern China, primarily the Pearl River Delta region, beginning in the nineteenth century. This is in preference to terms such as overseas Chinese. Diaspora, inherently transnational and requiring diachronic and multi scalar exploration, has been recognized as a useful framework for guiding research on the history of Chinese immigration and global movements. Edward Gonzáles-Tennant (2011) drew archaeological data from Montana, Peru, and New Zealand in his outline of an explicitly diasporic approach. Gonzáles-Tennant challenges the critique that referring to the Chinese diaspora is reductive of geographic and cultural diversity within China (as suggested by Mackie 2003 and Wang 2003), indicating that diaspora implies just the opposite, heterogeneous “situational and complex connections” to diversity abroad and in the homeland (2011, 511). Gonzáles-Tennant emphasizes the key aspects of Chinese global movement that validate the term diaspora: dispersal under multiple historical situations, connection to sustained inequality, and the diversity of identity construction. Fong

finds the term "overseas Chinese," a common descriptor, to be inadequate partly because its origin, the Mandarin word *huáqiáo*, means 'Chinese' and 'sojourn'" (Fong 2013, 12). This bears the historical context of a Qing-era legal class of Chinese citizens living in Southeast Asia, as well as the implication that people of Chinese descent are perpetually foreign and will return to China, a connotation of othering that Fong suggests was likely by design (2013, 13). In contrast to this, diaspora carries not only the archaeological traditions described above, but also the connotations of movement and networks, and fosters the examination of the circumstances of that movement. Together, Fong and González-Tennant not only supply reasons why diaspora is a more compelling term for reexamining existing scholarship from a different political stance, but also use it to open a greater scope for comparison and current relevance for future research.

Museum Anthropology and the Ainu

It is no coincidence that the rise of nationally funded, globally focused museums as part of the development of the discipline of anthropology coincided exactly with the time of the United States' expansion and its fueling ideologies of manifest destiny. William C. Sturtevant identified the "Museum period" as falling between 1840 and 1890 (1969, 622), and George W. Stocking, Jr., identified the 1860s through the 1920s as the heyday of museums' importance as sites of anthropological research (1985, 7-8). The practice of collecting stemmed from a variety of histories, ranging from the gathering of specimens in the natural sciences to the aesthetic appreciation of art, and involved both the creators or owners of the collected objects and the wide range of individuals who became collectors: travelers, traders, government officials, missionaries, and anthropologists (see Herle 2003). As collecting moved from a practice carried out by individuals or scholarly societies to a venture funded by institutions, museum collections often coalesced around explicitly colonial interests. J.B. Avé's description of the collecting practices of the Dutch National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, founded in 1837, highlights some of the common practices in the earliest national museums in Europe: collecting was "unsystematic . . . In most cases, only the form of objects [was] described. There [was] little or no information about their function in society or on their makers . . . The presentation correspond[ed] to colonial times: it [was] the foreign, the differences from Western culture, the exotic aspects which [were] shown" (1980, 12-13). While anthropologists soon developed far more systematic typologies of culture, races, and the materials collected to represent them (see Bouquet 2012; Chapman 1991; Thompson and Parezo 1989), the notion that power could be extended through knowledge founded on collection, classification, and ownership remained, as did a focus on the "exotic" prospective colonial territories and their peoples.

Collectors' personal motivations, as well as the institutional directives from museums as sponsoring institutions, fundamentally shaped their collections, producing resources for preservation, study, and exhibition that reflected the collector as well as the makers and users from the culture of origin (Gosden 2000, Jacknis 1996, Oppenheim 2016). As described by Jacob W. Gruber, "It should not surprise those engaged in the search for understanding and knowledge that the kinds of data we seek – and therefore find – are conditioned by the particular problems we define" (1970, 1289). Gruber went on to outline one of the dominant paradigms that shaped many museum collecting endeavors throughout the museum period: salvage ethnography. In the mid-nineteenth century, many anthropologists adopted the viewpoint that non-Western cultures faced imminent destruction in the face of colonization and industrialization. This was aided by

the popularization of not only Charles Darwin's observations of evolution, but also a belief in the unilinear development of human societies advocated in various forms by Herbert Spencer and Edward B. Tylor, among others (Ratnapalan 2008; see Tylor 1871). The idea that entire cultures not only could vanish, like a species, but also that doing so might be inevitable given unilinear cultural progress, served as the basis for a "sense of urgency, [a] notion of an ethnographic – indeed a scientific – mission, not to stem the tide of civilization's advance but to preserve that which was about to be destroyed" (Gruber 1970, 1294). Based on this, I argue that salvage ethnography emerged based on the same celebration of the progress of western civilization and the corollary disappearance of non-Western cultures that defined both manifest destiny and its necessary disenfranchisement of any cultural traditions that stood in its way, Indigenous or non-majority immigrant populations alike. Collectors frequently expressed a desire for authenticity contingent on pre-Western contact practices (Berlo 1992, Cameron and McCarthy 2017, Edwards 2000, Gosden and Knowles 2001). According to this view, the less contact between colonial governments and Indigenous peoples, the more desirable the cultural material, as this material represented not only a vanishing way of life, but also a way of life representative of a different, earlier step in the assumed development of a unified human cultural progression.

While major museum collecting often focused on the Indigenous peoples of North America, Africa, and Oceania, there also existed a serious, if less well-known, interest in East Asia (see Kendall 2014). Robert Oppenheim has referred to a concept of "Pacificist" history of United States anthropology, which regards "westward continental expansion and the U.S. venture into the Pacific from the late eighteenth century, largely oriented toward East Asia, as conjoined rather than separable dynamics" (2016, 7). Oppenheim points out that this "trans-Pacific tropism" concerned not only the western coast of North America, but also Washington DC, Philadelphia, New York, and other cities on the East Coast, as evidenced through the "materials" of anthropology at the time: museum collections (2016, 7). This led to major collections drawn from East Asian coastal regions, including Korea (Oppenheim 2016), the Amur River region (Freed 2011), early twentieth century attempts in China (Kendall 2014), and Japan. With increased foreign access to Japan in the aftermath of the establishment of ports of trade in the 1850s and the Meiji Restoration in 1869, Western anthropologists soon applied these views to Japan's Indigenous people, the Ainu, and influenced generations of Japanese scholars in the process, which I discuss further in Chapter 2. Nineteenth-century collectors arrived in the Ainu homelands of Hokkaido, the northernmost island of Japan, and surrounding islands of Sakhalin and the Kurils, seeking an answer to the question of Ainu origins (Fitzhugh 1999). They also sought to preserve what they believed were a soon-to-vanish people, a subject I discuss in Chapter 5. This led both Western and Japanese collectors sought Ainu-made materials while minimally representing, or purposefully refusing, items traded from the Japanese (Lowman 2018b).

In this dissertation, I consider two different kinds of Ainu collections among four museums. In the case of three of these, professionally trained scientists created the bulk of the Ainu collections at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History, the American Museum of Natural History, and the Brooklyn Museum. The collectors responsible worked just over a two-decade span between the late 1880s and early 1910s with the model of salvage ethnography in mind, as shown by their field notes and reports discussed in Chapter 5. In the case of the fourth example, the Ainu materials at the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology

at the University of California, Berkeley, the collection is more accurately a collections-assemblage, created neither by the work of a single anthropologist, or even mostly by anthropologists at all, and added to in small quantities over the course of a century of museum acquisitions. I discuss this collections-assemblage in Chapter 6, and how attending to collecting events outside the Museum Period builds understanding of the continuities in both cultural practices and collecting practices.

Dissertation Outline

I have used this introduction to outline a literature review and the shared theoretical and methodological frameworks that unite the study of both the historical archaeology of the Chinese diaspora and the museum anthropology of the Ainu. Each of the following chapters begins with a preface that explicitly links the chapter's subjects to my thesis. Chapter 2 provides a united historical context for the following four chapters, which each explore specific case studies. These case studies exemplify the effects of colonial policies and racialization on the daily lives of people in the past, the formation of the contemporary material record in the form of archaeological sites and ethnographic museum collections, and the ongoing importance of this time period for descendants of both populations today.

Chapter 2 explores the historical context of interactions between the United States and East Asia through the lens of the social actions and policies that created the ideology of manifest destiny. I begin by comparing the development of both "the Chinese question" and "the Ainu question" within the broader nineteenth-century "age of questions," when academic and political leaders often adopted single problem-question formulations for debating complex social issues (Case 2018; Lew-Williams 2018). I argue that the contemporaneous rise of both these questions occurred because of three factors: foreign imperialist interests of Western powers in Japan and China, the internal colonial policies of both the United States and Japan; and the academic-turned-popular pursuit of definitions of racial hierarchy. To that end, I first explore both recent and historical definitions of race, and the way nineteenth century anthropological definitions informed discussion of both the Chinese and the Ainu. I then describe the connection of racial hierarchical thinking to manifest destiny ideology, and how this ideology extended beyond the North American continent into Asia, a "Pacificist" view of this time-period as discussed by Oppenheim (2016). This chapter sets up the historical context of society and laws that greatly influenced the daily lives of both Chinese immigrant populations in the United States and Ainu populations under Japanese rule.

Chapter 3 describes the history, survey, and excavation of the Arboretum Chinese Quarters at Stanford University in 2016 and 2017. I first provide an overview of the documentary history of the site and the Chinese employees at the Palo Alto Stock Farm and Stanford University. I follow this with a narrative of the project timeline and the authorizations necessary for the survey and archaeological work. Next, I describe the survey methods, including the use of ground-penetrating radar (GPR), historical maps, and surface surveys, followed by their results. After describing my excavation of three 1x1 meter units and five 50x50 cm units in 2016, I outline the continued work by myself and a team led by Director of Heritage Services and University Archaeologist Laura Jones in 2017. I conclude this chapter by describing some interpretations

based on artifacts from the site, including previously excavated materials and those recovered in both 2016 and 2017.

Chapter 4 concerns the role of community collaborative practices and oral history in my research plan and interpretations, especially through document- and object-aided meetings and interviews with local Chinese Americans. Seeking to answer questions raised by the community concerning kinship and business practices led to an exploration of how the residents maintained relationships with the wider Bay Area and in China, and how their many ways of supporting themselves and their families on both sides of the Pacific continued long after the last residents departed the site in 1925. Based on these interviews and further research into documents and objects, I highlight two intertwined social spheres for the Chinese population at Stanford in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including organizational networks and competitive games and athletics. By using an intersectional analysis, I show how the site's residents forged new ways to perform an emergent Chinese American masculinity by combining practices from multiple cultural traditions.

Chapter 5 moves to a case study of Ainu ethnographic objects in United States museums, describing the context of nineteenth century anthropological interest in the Ainu during Meiji-era internal-colonization of Ainu homelands. Here, I explore how collecting took place using the salvage ethnography paradigm. Through operating on their individual interests and the circumstances of their collecting practices, collectors acted as mediators in the creation of outsider knowledge about Indigenous cultures around the world (Gosden and Marshall 1999; O'Hanlon and Welsch 2000). However, through studying marks and modifications on ethnographic materials, collected objects provide insight into Indigenous uses and meanings not always present in ethnographers' accounts. This is especially important when considering trade items, since they encompass evidence of changes in meaning as they moved through differing cultural contexts. However, such items can be hard to find in collections made using the paradigm of salvage ethnography. I use Japanese historical records, Ainu oral traditions, and Ainu language to explore how these trade goods served an important part of Ainu religious practice. Using these sources, along with an examination of Ainu-inscribed marks of ownership, I compare collections from the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History, the American Museum of Natural History, and the Brooklyn Museum made by Western collectors for museums, and reassemble their contents with a focus on Ainu understandings of the objects' meanings.

Chapter 6 adds the final case study of the Ainu collections at the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology. As discussed above, nineteenth century collections make up most United States museum contents related to the Ainu, and similarly early collections of Indigenous material culture tend to dominate museum anthropology scholarship. Instead, I explore how both diverse collecting events and changes in museum documentation over the twentieth century capture shifts in anthropological concerns over time, moving away from salvage ethnography and toward an increased recognition of ongoing and dynamic Indigenous cultures. I once again consider how collectors' institutional directives and personal motivations fundamentally shaped their collections, producing resources for preservation, study, and exhibition that reflect the collector as well as the makers and users from the culture of origin. By providing short biographies of collectors, the geographic or institutional origin of the various collections, and analysis of the

collection contents at the Hearst Museum, I hope to increase access to information in the museum archive for Japanese and Ainu scholars and Ainu communities for whom museum collections continue to be useful, providing knowledge about the location of particular community-related materials, models for replicas, and inspiration for the maintenance of traditional art forms (Aoyagi and Deriha 1999; lewallen 2016).

Chapter 7 concludes by reflecting on the strong influence that the colonialism and racialization of Asian populations in the late nineteenth century continues to have for Chinese Americans and Ainu people today. I reexamine each case study in terms of the interests of stakeholder communities, both reiterating how these interests structured my work and how the products of my research answer questions or serve needs identified by the consultants and collaborators who have worked with me.

Chapter 2: The Chinese Question, the Ainu Question: Imperialism, Manifest Destiny, and the Racialization of Asia in the Nineteenth Century United States

Preface

Imagination, and the perpetuation of stereotypes and myths through repetition in media and available publications such as newspapers, legal documents, textbooks, and exhibitions, played a great role in shaping nineteenth century racialization of Asian peoples on both sides of the Pacific. In this chapter, I explore how myths regarding race shaped legal and social structures in the second half of the nineteenth century. I do this through the lens of exploring the formulation of "problem questions," wide-spread and repeated debates regarding subsets of foreign and domestic populations typical of nineteenth century political and academic discourse.

Specifically, I examine two contemporaneous questions regarding race: the Chinese Question and the Ainu Question. I consider three major factors connecting both questions: foreign imperialist interests of Western powers in Japan and China, internal colonial policies of both the United States and Japan, and the pursuit of definitions of racial hierarchy. The "Chinese Question" became shorthand for the debate between the 1860s and through the turn of the twentieth century regarding Chinese immigration and naturalization into the United States. I trace how scientific endeavors to classify humans into races became intertwined with political and social movements, including the interlocking histories of the promotion of Manifest Destiny and the legislation that led to the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and its successors. The second is the "Ainu Question," a less well-known debate among anthropologists regarding the genetic and cultural ancestry of the Indigenous people of today's Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kuril Islands, the Ainu homelands. This had far reaching effects on Ainu livelihood and the ongoing perception of the Ainu in the United States. When the Ainu faced Meiji-era assimilationist and internal colonial policies modeled on Manifest Destiny in the United States, the pursuit of answering the Ainu Question led Western missionaries, travelers, and anthropologists to collect Ainu material culture to stock museums in the United States and Europe. In addition, the Ainu Question threatened the racial conceptions on which the Chinese Question was based: if racial hierarchy could not be determined through physical characteristics, what did that mean?

Together, these two problem questions helped shape many Western imaginings of Asia in the nineteenth century. This chapter sets up the historical context of society and laws that influenced the daily lives of both Chinese immigrant populations in the United States and Ainu populations under Japanese rule. Subsequent chapters explore case studies regarding these daily lives and the ongoing effects of nineteenth century beliefs and policies through the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Introduction: The "X" Question

On an April evening in 1876, local reporters claimed that 25,000 people gathered in San Francisco for "one of the greatest demonstrations ever held" in the quarter-century since California's admission to the United States. An editor for a newspaper on the other side of the Golden Gate, the *California Marin Journal*, described the scene a week later in the April 13 issue: "Both sexes, and all ages and conditions of people, took part in the proceedings, with a

unanimity never before beheld." The meeting's speakers, including the city's mayor Andrew Jackson Bryant and the state governor William Irwin, framed the lightning rod of the evening's discussion as a question: the Chinese Question. The topic that drew, and apparently united, a number of attendees equivalent to roughly a tenth of the city's total population (Layres 1876, 6), "the Chinese question" ostensibly concerned the debate over how the United States government should handle the influx of immigrants from China. Over the course of the previous decade, that population had nearly doubled, rising from 34,933 persons according to the 1860 census to 63,199 by 1870 (United States Census Bureau). Primarily young men speaking a variety of Cantonese dialects, most Chinese immigrants came from Guangdong Province in southern China. However, contesting the number of immigrants from a single country and questioning the freedom to immigrate at all represented new ideas at the time, built on the much longer history of laws with an explicitly racist motivation.

The Chinese Question was only one of many social "questions" current in the press, politics, and academic discourse in the second half of the nineteenth century. Historian Holly Case (2018) characterized the century itself as an "age of questions," during which the approach to these social questions betrayed both popular concerns as well as the troubling expectation that complex issues could be formulated as fundamental questions, with ultimate solutions. Far from open-ended, nineteenth century formulations of "the x question" suggested that instead "of being understood as questions to be answered, these were treated as problems to be solved" or recurring issues to be "cured" (Case 2018, 3-5). The very form of these "problem questions" suggested that they needed at the least some kind of correction, or sometimes more disturbingly removal. Case identifies the origins of these "question/problems" in the internationalization of the public sphere with expansion of the press and voting rights across Europe and the United States, which then spread throughout Asia, Latin America, and Africa as a form of discourse.

While Case makes only passing reference to "the Chinese question" (2018, 279n.146), it possesses some similarities to the patterns she identified among her array of other examples. In Europe, "The Eastern Question" was vague enough to encapsulate the presence of Turkish people in Western Europe as well as the expansion of Russia, depending on the context of the question, but always captured the dichotomizing self-definition of those who asked it: framing "the East" as a problem reified "the West" as normalcy and status quo (Case 2018, 5). The Chinese Question did the same, problematizing immigration and naturalization because of perceived difference, frequently alluded to through identifiers such as race, class, and gender. Similar to "the Irish question" in the United Kingdom and "the Jewish question" throughout continental Europe, "the Chinese question" in the United States possessed contingent boundaries as both a social concern and a geopolitical debate. The frequently racist ideologies undergirding these questions became clearer at the social, individual level, at which prejudice could not be so easily couched in policy. Attendees of the 1876 anti-Chinese meeting in San Francisco suggested an immigration treaty as a solution on the national level, while many of the same attendees "were armed, too, hundreds of them, with great clubs, as if for immediate work," ominously threatening individual violence as a viable answer to the question at hand.

The concept of race served as both implicit and explicit justification for asking, and answering, the Chinese Question. "Race," as a pseudoscientific biological distinction, implies that humans differ at the level of separate subspecies based on phenotype. This idea of race, of a "natural,

immutable, or global" distinction between supposed groups of people, emerged in the sense that it is still used in the 21st century during the Scientific Revolution (Marks 2008, 21). The eighteenth century works of Carl Linnaeus and Comte de Buffon through which "subspecies" and "race" transformed into the single concept of "a fundamental taxonomic division of the human species" became disseminated through the legal and political frameworks used to justify European colonialism, particularly in the nineteenth century (Marks 2008, 22). Race as a subspecies-level division has absolutely no biological basis. However, such pre-Darwinian biological classification systems have outlasted centuries of subsequent research and become engrained first through citation and later through assumption, in effect "inventing" what many still understand as scientific fact (see Fleck 1979 for discussion of this process in the sciences). While race does not exist, belief in it has and continues to do so, "a belief that is used by some social groups to construct an Other (and therefore the Self) in thought as a prelude to exclusion and domination" (Miles 1993, 42). For this study, the purpose of discussing race is not to reify it but rather to explore its affect as an imagined reality, giving rise to racialization – the process by which perceived differences became framed as natural distinctions – and racism – the acts of marginalization, disenfranchisement, and domination that employ race as a justifier.

The racialization of the Chinese in the United States becomes visible through a comparison of legal and academic arguments over time. As discussed below, the California Supreme Court's 1854 decision in *People v. Hall*, which stripped Chinese immigrants of the right to testify in court, directly cited archaeological research as justification for legal restrictions based on the separate Caucasian and Mongolian "types of the human species." Such explicit explanations were not always so apparent, but the precedents they set for legal racial difference remained as implicit factors in future arguments. Twenty three years later, another California judge John Boalt (future and now former namesake of the University of California's Law School) delivered a speech entitled "The Chinese Question" to the Berkeley Club in which he deemed the "fact" that "the Caucasian and Mongolian races are non-assimilating" to require no citation save personal experience (Boalt 1877, 7). The implicit racism of this distinction pervades the English-language record of debates on the Chinese Question.

In cases when these debates did cite sources for their generalizations, the California Supreme Court was not alone in turning to the emergent field of anthropology for answers. Arguments on both sides of social and political debates on race frequently evoked archaeology, the study of the human past through material remains, and ethnology, the comparative study of human cultural and biological distinctions, and understanding the way academics approached race elucidates the assumptions of politicians and the wider public. According to many nineteenth century writers in Europe and the United States, race consisted of both physical and cultural characteristics, the "notion that acquired characteristics could be inherited was widely accepted," and there was widespread belief that "the habitual behavior of human groups in different environments might become part of their hereditary physical makeup" (Stocking 1991, 63-64). These beliefs explain the racial connotations of the pursuit, by some, of "assimilation," or the subsumation of one culture or race of people into another. However, they also help to explain the arguments of those anti-Chinese advocates who, like Boalt, believed that assimilation, while possible in principle, was impossible given the unbreachable differences they believed existed between white and Asian peoples. These attitudes had more in common with the distinct, and hierarchical, ideas of race found in works such as Robert Knox's *Races of Man* (1850) or later in E.B. Tylor's

Researches into the Early History of Mankind (1865) and *Primitive Culture* (1871). Some went further, like leading English anthropologists of the 1860s James Hunt and John Crawfurd, who believed firmly in a "polygenist" explanation that humans comprised entirely separate species visible through racial characteristics (Stocking 1963). Newspapers and other popular writing of the nineteenth century tended to reflect this more static viewpoint, as well as the belief in a linear progression of culture through degrees of civilization, both of which are discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs.

The Chinese Question was a case of "othering" on behalf of those concerned in its debate. Its ideology literally problematized the presence of Asians in a context where many white people argued they should not belong. However, other problem questions concerned the nature of race itself, and one in particular threw into doubt all of the race-based hierarchy on which the Chinese Question tended to be founded: the "Ainu Question," more often further exoticized in English-language texts as "the Ainu Enigma." When anthropologists and other travelers to Japan raised questions about the Indigenous people they encountered in the northern islands under Japanese control, their concerns stemmed from perceptions of human physiognomy deeply rooted in race-ideology. As early as the seventeenth century, European visitors to Japan such as the Jesuit missionaries Diogo Carvalho and Girolamo degli Angeli (Jerome de Angelis), commented on the "European" features of Ainu faces, including prominent eyes, noses, and facial hair (Abé 2005). Such comments reemerged in travel accounts as Europeans began returning to Japan in the mid-nineteenth century but reached broader anthropological attention with an 1867 paper given by Albert S. Bickmore for the Boston Society of Natural History. Bickmore's concluding sentence seems calculated to produce immediate discussion: "Are they [a part of] the Indo-European races migrated from the high plateau of Central Asia . . . do their living representatives now appear before us in the persons of this isolated and ancient people, the Ainos?" (1868, 361). Bickmore's question set the precedent for questioning Ainu belonging in a wider racial context that has continued into the twenty-first century.

The contemporaneous rise of both the Ainu and the Chinese Questions, despite their very different cultural contexts and focus, was linked by at least three major factors: 1) foreign imperialist interests of Western powers in Japan and China; 2) the internal colonial policies of both the United States and Japan; and 3) the academic-turned-popular pursuit of definitions of racial hierarchy. While each question bears its own historical context, their commonalities reveal parallels in the way Westerners imagined Asia and its people, as well as similar effects of those imaginings on the people themselves. In the first case, the very presence of Western travelers in Japan came about due to the United States' "gunboat diplomacy" in establishing Pacific trade with Japan. Official visits and tourism in Japan rose quickly following the 1854 Convention of Kanagawa, the first step in negotiations between the United States, represented by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, and the Tokugawa shogunate that led to diplomatic relations with Western powers. This followed little over a decade after the signing of the Treaty of Nanking between the United Kingdom and China at the conclusion of the first Opium War (1839-1842), when China, too, had capitulated to violent Western demands for open trade ports and territorial concessions to the massive disadvantage to the Imperial Qing government. The Opium War remains widely credited as a major destabilizing factor that caused hardship and internal strife in southern China close to the treaty ports and spurred the diaspora out of Guangzhou Province. In this way, imperialist actions by Western powers helped spur the increased contact between Euro-

Americans and Asians that resulted in problem questions regarding both the Chinese and the Ainu.

The second major factor linking the two questions is both the Chinese immigrants' and the Ainu experience of internal colonial policies, especially those based on Manifest Destiny in the United States which were later used as a model for Meiji-era industrialization efforts in Hokkaido. One idea of the internal colony stems from the works of Robert Blauner (1969, 1972) and Robert L. Allen (1969), both of whom initially focused on racial oppression in the United States, particularly Black and Chicano communities (see Pinderhughes 2011). Blauner and the subsequent theorists who drew on his work not only acknowledged the deep "entrenchment of racial dynamics in such spheres as education, art, social policy, law, religion, and science" (Omi and Winant 2015), but also sought to explain their foundation in systematic disenfranchisement similar to that enacted in "classical colonial" contexts, but as an internal, domestic system rather than an external or foreign location. Ronald Takaki invokes Blauner in his assessment of mid-nineteenth century industrialists' efforts to take advantage of Chinese immigrants as laborers while imposing laws restricting their livelihoods as a "politically proscribed group," one proposed answer to the Chinese Question. Excluded from naturalization, Chinese immigrants "would be in effect a unique, transnational industrial reserve army of migrant laborers forced to be foreigners forever. They would be what sociologist Robert Blauner has termed an 'internal colony,' a racially subordinated group" (Takaki 1998 [1989], 99). In the case of the Ainu, multiple scholars have invoked the phrase "internal colony" to explain the Meiji, and subsequent Japanese governments', efforts at assimilation and disenfranchisement. As Richard M. Siddle describes, the Meiji government's establishment of the *Kaitakushi* (Colonization Office) focused on the transformation of traditional Ainu land as *tera nullius*, "an internal colony of the new Japanese state, a strategic empty land to be settled by immigration" (2012). This conception of the internal colony is independent of Blauner's (whose name does not appear in Siddle's work). Instead, it bears a closer resemblance to academic discussions of the frontier in the context of United States Manifest Destiny, a concept covered in greater detail below.

Last of the three ways in which the Chinese and Ainu Questions shared their historical context were the ways that both questions were contingent on racially-based agendas. As discussed above, the Chinese Question concerned an assumption of racial difference between white people and Asians more broadly by asking how immigration and naturalization policy should address that difference. It was an inherently hierarchical formulation. However, the Ainu Question shook some of the basic tenets of the racism behind constructing this imaginary hierarchy. Comparisons to the Japanese and other Asian peoples caused a conundrum for observers attempting to place both within the established racial hierarchy. Inflicted repeatedly with the description "uncivilized" and cast by some as analogous to Native Americans in Japan in terms of their status in relation to the nation's majority population, the Ainu still "looked Caucasian" to those who ascribed to that racial categorization (Henning 2000, 150). Western observers in Japan including Romyn Hitchcock, a curator of the United States National Museum at the Smithsonian Institution, concluded that the Ainu were "incapable of advancement," so much so that the Ainu contrast with the Japanese was a "remarkable example of the persistence of distinct types together, when the conditions are apparently favorable for the absorption of one by the other" (1891, 433). The language of Hitchcock's observations, seen at the time as providing "a scientific stamp of approval" on labeling the Ainu uncivilized (Henning 2000, 152), echoes

almost exactly the race-based arguments over assimilation that appeared in anti-Chinese rhetoric (see the discussion of Boalt 1877 above). Yet the same Western observers had to grapple with their perception of the Ainu as potentially "white." Even after the end of the nineteenth century, as anthropology turned away from the cultural evolutionism that drove academic thought on racial hierarchy, "the Ainu problem" remained contested (see Sternberg 1929: "The question, who are the Ainu, has since the earliest times been of eminent interest to the scientists of Europe"). Perhaps the most salient example of this, with the greatest potential for entering the imaginations of the United States public, came with the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exhibition in St. Louis (see Rydell 1984). The anthropological organizer William John McGee, who modeled the exhibition layout on cultural evolution, had to insert an excuse for the "white" Ainu participants appearing early in the order of least- to most-civilized peoples (see Medak-Saltzman 2010, 608). While this could be seen as throwing a wrench into the popular racial categorizations of the time, it is important to remember that all of the underlying assumptions regarding physical difference and the hierarchy of civilizations stemmed from inherently racist rhetoric.

Both Chinese immigrants and the Indigenous Ainu found themselves caught in the crosshairs of imperialist and internal colonial policies, the former in the United States and the latter in Japan. While many sought means to resist or persist through these policies, as later chapters will explore, race-based structures of power often denied their voices and sought to prevent, or at least to hide, their agency in doing so. Both the Chinese and Ainu questions concerned racial definitions and the systematic separation of cultures, and human beings, as "types." They served as underlying principles in the formation of anthropology as a discipline, from definitions of race affecting legal status and livelihood to the creation of typological exhibitions and later museum collections. The rest of this chapter explores the origins and effects of the Chinese and Ainu questions in greater depth. First, I trace the context of United States Manifest Destiny in setting the stage for anti-immigrant movements and how related policies served as a model for Meiji-era frontier policy in Japan. Then, I consider in detail the development of the Chinese Question, followed by the Ainu Question, over time, attending particularly to the role that academic anthropology played in affecting legal and public opinions about race in the nineteenth century. I conclude with a reflection on some of the ongoing ramifications of both questions for Chinese Americans and Ainu today, before continuing discussion of related case studies in later chapters.

Westward Lies the East

During a 1904 speech commemorating fifty years of the Republican Party, Secretary of State John Hay reflected that the United States had built a "general plan of opening a field of enterprise in those distant regions where the Far West becomes the Far East" (1904, 15). Hay's own political career under President William McKinley had included the 1899 establishment of the Open Door policy, which protected equal trade opportunities among Western powers in Chinese markets, serving United States business interests by deterring competition for territorial conquests (see Drinnon 1997 [1980]). For Hay and many of his contemporaries at the turn of the twentieth century, Western influence in China and Japan might be debated in practice but was considered a foregone, even preordained, conclusion to the United States' expansionist mandate. Hay harped on the same theme to attendees of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in Saint Louis, lauding the "cosmic" and "invincible tendency" that had led to the acquisition of the territory for which the fair was named (1906, 250). Unstoppable, the expansion which Hay

deemed "the spirit of the age" proceeded as "other things were naturally added," including Texas, then New Mexico, then California. The western coast of the continent did not end Hay's speech: "Even the shores of the ocean could not long check the eagle in his marvelous flight. The isles of the uttermost seas became his stepping-stones." Hay refrained from explicitly saying where those stepping-stones lead, only implying the ultimate goal: Asia.

Where had this vision of progress through providential expansion arisen? Hay's words, to politicians and public alike, evoked the preceding six decades of policy and social debate surrounding the United States' "manifest destiny" to acquire territory spanning the North American continent – and in the eyes of some, beyond. The phrase had tremendous staying power, used as much to describe the Mexican-American War of the 1840s as to describe the United States' annexation of Hawaii and the Philippines at the century's end. Hays words were echoes: manifest destiny as the "spirit of the age" can be found in the *Daily Alta California* of May 24, 1850, its "invincible tendency" in the words of Frances Fuller Victor reflecting on the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869: "Fortune, Fate, Providence, or what you choose to name the invincible destiny, signified to whom the empire should be given." Yet manifest destiny was not a specific doctrine nor an expression of any innate national spirit, but rather an imagined objective repeated so frequently by politicians, newspapers, artists and authors that it became "a catchword for the idea of a providentially or historically sanctioned right to continental expansionism" (Stephanson 1995, xii). It was a "way of speaking," a *discourse* instantly recognizable in turns of phrase underpinning discussions at all levels "whether in lyrical or legal language," a concept employed in the strategic choices, the decisions, and the tactics of individuals and groups of the time (see Foucault 2002 [1969], 213 on the subject of discourse). Like understanding Orientalism in the analysis of the concept of Asia (Said 1978, 3), manifest destiny was both a source and a subject of thought defining the nineteenth-century United States and its occupants, citizens and not. Historian Gary Okihiro draws an explicit parallel between the two discourses, remarking, "In truth, America's manifest destiny was 'an additional chapter' in the Orientalist text of Europe's 'dominating, restructuring, and having authority over' Asia" (Okihiro 2010, 15). The drive westward pursued a vision of United States supremacy reaching and crossing the Pacific, bolstered by the popular discourse on emergent, and exclusive, national identity.

Beginning explicitly as a conviction "to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of [the United States'] yearly multiplying millions," (O'Sullivan 1845, 5), expansion was only one element of manifest destiny's implications. Expansionism carried with it the spread not only of territory, but also business interests. In this sense and from early in the consolidation of manifest destiny discourse, expanding businesses westward represented an ultimately transpacific endeavor. United States' frontier in western North America was deeply entwined with economic interests in Asia. In 1851, a writer for the *Daily Alta California* of March 13 glorified San Francisco's gateway to trade with Asia as something providential: "The whole Pacific seas are before us, and invite us to occupy them with our trade. We cannot escape our destiny if we would." Later the same year, a writer in the November 21 issue of *The Sacramento Daily Union* saw California as an "immense avenue to the moral and political amelioration and elevation of the people of Asia and the Pacific Islands — to the development of a free and commingling commerce between the Eastern and Western hemispheres." Already, mercantile interests were fused with a zealous desire to bring Euro-American values to Asia. The

dream of a China trade enticed the East Coast as well: *The New York Times* of April 30, 1852 imagined "We may reckon on having Cathay as a next door neighbor" (quoted in Chang 2015, 47).

The promise of Pacific trade, while aggrandized with manifest destiny rhetoric, had its origins in decades of exchange. Trade between China and the United States commenced only shortly following United States independence. Launched with *The Empress of China*'s trading voyage between New York and Guangdong in 1784, the ginseng and furs exchanged for Chinese tea, porcelain, and silk proved successful and lucrative for those involved (Smith 1984). Major Samuel Shaw, the first United States consul in China, recognized the long-term necessity of the trade while reflecting on his country's desire for tea, a commodity which shortly before had been worth the symbolic start of the Revolution: "The inhabitants of America must have tea, the consumption of which will necessarily increase with the increasing population of our country" (Shaw 1834 [1786], 464). Shaw's vision already anticipated the considerable growth of the United States population. In fact, historian Kendall A. Johnson has suggested that the publication of Shaw's journals, in 1847, was part of the publisher's strategy to rouse interest in western expansion by capturing the imagination of readers (2017, 9). Despite this ongoing fascination and the hundreds of ships to reach China through the mid-nineteenth century with up to 400 percent returns on investments, the Old China Trade amounted to "only 2 to 4 percent of total American foreign trade," but nevertheless "had a long and distinctive career in the American public mind" (Fairbank 1986, 2). Part of this, as historian John K. Fairbank put it, was a perpetual sense of China's "*potential*" (1986, 2, emphasis in the original), its vastness in terms of resources. Beyond that, staking claims on the Chinese trade provided precedents for territorial expansion. Thomas Jefferson's support of China merchant (and millionaire) John Jacob Astor's 1811 Astoria settlement on the Columbia River stemmed from a recognition that it would provide a foothold on valuable coastal territory (Stark 2015). These territories also ushered in the very first discussions of Chinese immigration. During the 1820s, Virginia Representative John Floyd suggested that Chinese immigrants might be attracted to the same Columbia River area: "They [the Chinese] would willingly, nay, gladly, embrace the opportunity of a home in America, where they have no prejudice, no fears, no restraint in opinion, labor, or religion" (quoted in Horsman 1981, 92; see Chang 2015).

Only the United Kingdom outpaced New England merchants' success in the China trade. The rivalry escalated following the opening of additional ports to the United Kingdom as part of the Treaty of Nanking (1842) at the conclusion of the First Opium War. To keep the United States' competitive trading edge, President John Tyler sent Massachusetts lawyer Caleb Cushing to negotiate new trade deals, leading to the Treaty of Wanghia (1844) which allowed United States merchants to buy land in five port cities, including Guangdong (Graebner 1983 [1955], 6). Cushing himself was a firm believer in expansionist policy, stating that "land is the footstool of our power, land is the throne of our empire" (Belohlavek 1997, 24). Cushing's goal was not colonial; nineteenth century United States foreign policy with China remained business-oriented, distinctly separate from the colonial interests expressed by European powers, and theme that continued decades later with Hay's Open Door policy (Chang 2015). It did include both the establishment of extraterritoriality and bringing new technologies to China, "in behalf of civilization" according to his own words, such that "knowledge is being rolled back from the West to the East" (quoted in Xu 2014, 45). In both his manner and mission, he displayed the

chauvinistic tendencies which would shortly coalesce as manifest destiny, although his interest in expansion was in territorial influence rather than territory outright. Upon his return, he would champion the cause of the Mexican War and publish in the same venue as O'Sullivan while promoting a similar vision of manifest destiny (Ruskola 2013, Johnson 2017). The condescension evident in his mission, the view that China was simply another "backward" country that would benefit from the United States as a guiding star, had grown steadily as the nineteenth century progressed.

Cushing's mission came at a turning point in the imagination of China among many in the United States. The Opium War brought China to the attention of a far wider United States public, now framed as an enemy to the progress of trade from Europe (Miller 1969, 113). While the anti-Chinese sentiment that would define immigration politics later in the century had yet to emerge, stereotypes of China itself clearly existed. An article from Washington DC's *The Daily Madisonian* of March 28, 1843 captures the paradox of these stereotypes, admiring Chinese history and engineering while deploring its ingenuity: "Their industry in cultivating their fields, making canals, levelling mountains, raising gardens, and navigating their junks and boats is highly exemplary . . . [Yet] it is melancholy to reflect how little light of knowledge they have shed." The writer attributed this "backwardness in the progress of useful arts" to lacking Christianity, hailed in contrast as "the pioneer to knowledge and civilization." Sentiments such as these sowed the seeds of condescension evident in Cushing's mission, which would erupt into the political debates and violence of the later anti-Chinese movement. Some rallied against these stereotypes. Two men who accompanied Cushing's mission, John Peters and George West, sought to convey a more nuanced counter-narrative upon their eventual return, setting up a Chinese museum and artistic panorama display respectively (Haddad 2006). Both attracted public interest, particularly the successful museum which toured the East Coast, but they also fell prey to exoticization and use as a platform by the growing anti-Chinese movement.

Praising Christianity as the pioneer of civilization premeditated the third pillar of manifest destiny discourse to come. In addition to territory and business ventures, this discourse featured the promotion of a Christian – and Anglo-Saxon Christian – way of life (see Paddison 2012). In historian Anders Stephanson's analysis, manifest destiny "began as a spatio-temporal notion pertaining to the North American continent [but] was transformed into a global aspiration, and became in the process messianic" (Stephanson 2009, 43). This way of life was defined at times as liberty, at others as civilization, and almost always as white, Christian, and male. The "manifest destiny life," according to one reporter for the *Daily Alta California* on May 24, 1850, encompassed an "age of enterprise" supported by "the Anglo-Saxon method of reasoning and principles of practical operation." More than any other population, this affected Native Americans who were displaced, dispossessed, and murdered in the wake of territorial expansion toward the Pacific coast (see Madley 2016, Lindsay 2015). Newspapers from the early years following California's statehood reflect a common combination of regretful acceptance that brutality toward Native Americans was, paradoxically, the only route toward civilization. A writer for the *Daily Alta California* on August 15, 1851 outlined the horrors of the massacre of California Indians, "the exterminating encroachments of their superior enemy," but contested, seemingly mournfully, that "many wild sections of country can only be reclaimed from the hands of the Indian, by the method usually adopted to redeem the forest land from its primitive, wild and unprofitable condition": a euphemism, made clear later, for "the rifle and the axe." Key to

understanding how such horrifying methods could be praised is the notion that civilization was not necessarily bestowed on *people*, but rather could be brought to the land itself as territory: space into which United States citizens (read: white and Christian) could live. In this way, proponents of manifest destiny often cast Native Americans, Mexicans, and other non-white occupants of the western United States as impediments to the divine progress of the United States (see Stanton 1960, Horsman 1981, Almaguer 2008).

Framing manifest destiny's chauvinism as deeply linked to the disenfranchisement of non-white populations serves as the backdrop for the complicated racialization of Chinese immigrants upon their first arrival in large numbers in the 1850s. Many young men in southern China had already begun to leave their home villages to seek the means to support themselves and their families abroad. By then familiar with decades of foreign interference at ports in southern China, they were spurred by internal political unrest, ethnicity-based violence in Guangdong, and eventually the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864), accompanied by floods and famine (Takaki 1998 [1989]). They found hope in the prospect of employment opportunities, as well as newly discovered gold in California which led to the Cantonese moniker for San Francisco, or California more generally, Gum San, "Gold Mountain." They left behind them the familiarities of family, homeplace, and language, often parting from parents, siblings, and in the case of many of the primarily male immigrants, their wives and children. By 1852 the Chinese population of California numbered 25,000, and rumblings of anti-Chinese sentiments, from cities to mining camps, began to increase. Rhetoric regarding civilization and progress that had become a part of manifest destiny discourse would be merged with concepts of race and citizenship, as opponents of Asian immigration began, for the first time, to raise "the Chinese question."

"An Aristocracy of Skin"

Some of the earliest legislation to single out the Chinese on a discriminatory basis did so by drawing on anthropological theories of race prior to the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*. Understanding the early context of race-based attitudes toward the Chinese in U.S. law helps to explain the intersection of "the Chinese question" and the anti-Chinese movement. With calls for abolition and the rise of the free labor movement dominating United States politics in the 1850s, discussions of Chinese labor often concentrated on whether it was free or unfree, coopting the language of debates on slavery. Phrases celebrating manual labor, such as "honor of the pick and shovel," arose among California miners (Pfaelzer 2008, 24). As early as the first constitutional convention held in Monterey in September 1849, a full year before California would be admitted to the Union, advocates of "free labor" pushed for gold mining to be a purview of white men alone, equating Black people themselves with unfree labor, whether or not they were enslaved: "It is a well established fact, and the history of every state in the Union clearly proves it, that negro labor, whether slave or free, when opposed to white labor, degrades it" were the words of the delegate from San Luis Obispo at the convention (Eaves 1910, 86). Already, the basis for discrimination was explicitly racial rather than merely economic. Chinese immigrants, who in 1849 made up only 791 persons according to official United States estimates (Coolidge 1909, 498), entered a California primed for an attempt at a whites-only future.

Racially based violence and threats of violence against the Chinese in mining camps were common. Although the often-quoted forty-niner diary of Alfred T. Jackson was a later work of

fiction from the early twentieth century, its accounts of white men threatening Chinese miners with pistols or forcibly ejecting them and burning their cabins, on the basis that they had become too "impudent," reflected the realities of racial discrimination even in the earliest days of the Gold Rush (Canfield 1920 [1906], 219, 232; see Aarim-Heriot 2003, 36 and Chan 2000, 77). Mining camps in Mariposa and Marysville outlawed Chinese miners on pain of punishment from white miners, going so far as to state that "no Chinaman shall hence forth be allowed on any mining claim in the neighborhood" (Pfaelzer 2008, 9). It was this early discrimination that led to the first camps inhabited by Chinese miners alone, segregation created through the necessity of self-protection that would play out as racially segregated living quarters for workers of all kinds throughout the nineteenth century. An early example, "Chinese Camp," sometimes called "Chinese Diggings," in Tuolumne County, was started in the summer of 1849 when a group of Chinese miners were driven off of nearby Camp Salvado, forcing them to trek westward to a new location (De Ferrari 1972, Gudde 1975, 58). "California for Americans!" was ostensibly a forty-niner slogan celebrating California's future entrance into the United States, but implicitly meant California for whites.

By 1852, when the Chinese population of California climbed to 25,000 or more (Choy, Dong, and Hom 1994), the state legislature began to propose the first explicitly anti-Chinese labor laws by adopting language used to disenfranchise both Blacks and Native Americans and finding ways to conflate the Chinese with one, or both. Senator George B. Tingley's 1852 introduction of a bill to address California's labor shortage via long-term labor contracts with Chinese workers was one of the first pieces of legislation to spur anti-Chinese immigration legal actions. Tingley, who had previously called for the exclusion of all foreigners, believed that Chinese labor might be the only answer to the shortage of white men willing to perform necessary jobs in the state. The suggestion that the Chinese would make a good contract labor force was borne out of the conviction that the Chinese were of a low ranking in a racial hierarchy and therefore were "particularly fit for the menial jobs essential to economic prosperity" (Aarim-Heriot 2003, 38). As the first entrance of anti-Chinese sentiments into legal proceedings in California, it spurred dramatic responses in the form of continued attempts at legislation, and emboldened anti-Chinese miners and other white Californians to act upon their prejudices.

An assumption underlying Tingley's proposition to use Chinese labor contracts was the widespread belief that most Chinese men in California were "coolies." Coolie, a word of disputed etymology but possibly either Tamil for "a payment for work" or Chinese meaning "bitter labor," gained widespread use as a term for all Chinese workers despite having origins in Indian, as well as Chinese, indentured workers in European colonies in Asia and the Caribbean (Amrith 2011, 47). While many Chinese men worked under indenture in Peru, Hawaii, and the Caribbean, very few ever entered the United States, and those who did easily broke their contracts because of a lack of enforcement (Chinn, Lai, and Choy 1969, 14). However, newspapers in the 1850s picked up "anti-coolie" arguments and helped mold the public opinion that all Chinese workers were indentured laborers, and moreover that they were no better than slave labor. These claims carried on for decades: as late as 1879, the *San Francisco Chronicle* of March 6 ran the following description of Chinese "coolies," supposedly a full nine tenths of the entire Chinese population in California: "When the coolie arrives here he is as rigidly under the control of the contractor who brought him as ever an African slave was under his master in South Carolina or Louisiana."

The coolie stereotype flourished despite statements refuting the existence of contract labor made by a special committee of the California legislature in 1862, or the statement of the lawyer for the Six Companies that, while contract labor had been used in the first few years after the Gold Rush, it was unprofitable and therefore discontinued (Sandmeyer 1991, 26; Zo 1978, 88-98). In the build up to anti-Chinese labor laws, Tingley's 1852 bill proposal was more reflective of white profiteering than it was of either inherent Chinese work habits or traditions of contract labor used in those early years by the Chinese Six Companies. In 1848, Charles Van Megan Gillespie proposed to fellow businessman Thomas O. Larkin that a system of indentured work might entice increased Chinese immigration, an enterprise in which he was personally invested (Chinn, Lai, and Choy 1969, 15). It was an idea far more suited for white business owners than either white men or Chinese men working as laborers.

Tingley's proposal elicited backlash that not only exposed anti-Chinese sentiment but led to its entrance into legal reasoning. Senator Philip A. Roach's argument against Tingley's bill set a precedent for legal arguments against Chinese immigration of all kinds that would echo in future legislation: Chinese labor was not free labor, that Chinese immigrants inherently adopted low standards of living. He interchangeably used the phrases "Chinese labor" and "Chinese contract labor," the implication being that all work done by the Chinese was necessarily unfree (see Aarim-Heriot 2003, 34). On this basis, Roach argued that those Chinese who did come should be restricted from all "honorable" lines of work and be excluded from acquiring citizenship: "I do not want to see Chinese or Kanaka carpenters, masons, or blacksmiths, brought here in swarms under contracts, to compete with our own mechanics, whose labor is as honorable . . . as the pursuits of 'learned professions'" (Roach 1852, 672). Even in 1852, the suggestion that the Chinese would "swarm" the United States labor market presaged the rise of Yellow Peril journalism. It is similar to the language used to promote "black peril," the fear of a "black tide" of freed Black people who would, supposedly, upset and overwhelm white society should they move northward if slavery were to be abolished (Stampp 1980, 116). In both cases, "white American hostility was sustained by the perception of black migration and Chinese immigration as illegitimate intrusions" (Aarim-Heriot 2003, 38). The debate over Tingley's bill, although it ultimately failed, paved the way for the succession of laws that would erode the livelihoods of Chinese immigrants for the following century via a conflation of Chinese labor with slavery. The first of these was a report, made by a committee from the California assembly in the spring of 1852, identifying foreign miners as a greatest economic threat to the state's mines. This, in turn, prompted Governor John Bigler to issue a statement that "the tide of Asiatic immigration" must immediately be checked (Yung, Chang, and Lai 2006, 9). Evoking images of tides and swarms, Bigler, Roach, and their supporters in the growing anti-Chinese movement were playing on white fears that the racial hierarchy would be upset.

Some Chinese immigrants sought ways to reject the direct and indirect discrimination caused by the legal debates. In May 1852, the influential community leader Norman Asing (also known as Sang Yuen) wrote an open letter to Governor Bigler, refuting the accusations that the Chinese lacked civilization and that Chinese labor was necessarily degraded or idle. A year and a half before, Asing had lead a contingent of Chinese merchants, dressed in traditional garments, in the celebrations of California's admission to the Union, and had also taken part in a ceremony officially welcoming the Chinese to San Francisco as well as the city's funeral proceedings for

President Zachary Taylor in August 1851 (Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet 1999, 288). Asing asserted that "we are not the degraded race you would make us . . . You do not find us pursuing occupations of degrading character, except you consider labor degrading, which I am sure you do not," emphasizing the chief concern with labor underlying the proposals of anti-Chinese legislation. Addressing the matter of race, Asing distanced himself and all Chinese from comparisons to either the Black or Native American populations of the state: "we are as much allied to the *African* race and the red men as you are yourself, and . . . as far as the aristocracy of *skin is* concerned, ours might compare with many of the European races." Asing had, earlier in the letter, admitted that "our population have been a little more tanned than yours" (Yung, Chang, and Lai 2006, 11, all emphases in the original). Asing positioned the Chinese as equal to whites, but accepted and attempted to leverage racial hierarchy, the "aristocracy of skin" in his own words, in order to do so. Caught within a system of racial discrimination, the language of hierarchy presented an already-made ladder toward social acceptance.

While debates over labor and its relationship to slavery took center stage in the first decade of Chinese immigration to the United States, the California legislature established other precedents linking the Chinese with Native Americans as well. Many of the disenfranchising measures against the Chinese had their origins in policies enacted against Native Californians. These included eviction from land, confiscation of property, and legal murder that amounted to genocide (Lindsay 2015). The attitudes of many white Californians toward the land's native peoples were reflected in the words of California's first governor, Peter H. Burnett: a "war of extermination will continue to be waged between the two races until the Indian race becomes extinct" (Heizer and Almquist 1971, 26). Inescapable Native American extinction, so likely to come to pass in the minds of Burnett and his contemporaries that helping it to do so was seen as no crime, was a corollary of the inexorable march westward of European-modeled societal structures that formed the basis of United States' Manifest Destiny. Like many writers on Manifest Destiny, Burnett framed his statements about Native Americans in terms of a higher power: "[W]hile we cannot anticipate this result but with painful regret, the inevitable destiny of the race is beyond the power and wisdom of man to avert." In 1852, Governor Bigler carried out, in his words, "an ultimate evacuation of the Northern Counties by the Whites of the Indians," again referring to this action as simply "unavoidable" (Pfaelzer 2008, 19). It was the same year that Bigler issued the appeal for "novel if not extraordinary legislation" to prevent Chinese immigration only a year later. Bigler's ideal California would rid itself of non-white occupants from within and without.

Anthropological views on race and racial hierarchy seeped into the legal proceedings that established laws conflating the Chinese with already disenfranchised Native Americans. In the case *People v. Hall* of 1854, the Supreme Court of California decided to reverse the murder conviction of a white man, George W. Hall of Nevada County, because three of the prosecution witnesses were Chinese. Hall had shot a Chinese miner named Ling Sing, killing him during an armed robbery of a Chinese placer mining camp. This kind of occurrence remained common throughout the nineteenth century and would inspire Chinese workers, like those living at Stanford, to arm themselves with defensive pistols fifty years in the future. During Hall's murderous raid, while there were three Chinese witnesses, an 1850 statute stipulated that no "black or mulatto person, or Indian, shall be permitted to give evidence in favor of, or against, a White man" (*People v. Hall* 1854). The court's decision, written by Chief Justice Hugh

Campbell Murray, relied on the interpretation that "'White' has a distinct signification, which *ex vi termini*, excludes black, yellow, and all other colors." In this view, the appellations of Indian, Black, and white were generic racial terms, and therefore, "Chinese and all other people not white, are included in the prohibition from being witnesses against Whites." Skin color itself was treated as a binary, more important than specific racial designations for confirming or denying legal rights.

Murray's racial hierarchical thinking, anthropological citation, and scientific racism that led him to identify the Chinese with Native Americans, emerged throughout the text. He cited "discoveries of eminent Archeologists," including the work of Georges Cuvier, to support the proposition that "there were but three distinct types of the human species," and that this meant "the American Indians and the Mongolian, or Asiatic, were regarded as the same type of the human species." Georges Cuvier, a French naturalist who became famous for his comparisons between living animals and fossils and who named the fossil flying reptile Pterodactyl (Rudwick 1997), was also opposed to nascent theories of evolution and instead subscribed to polygenism, the belief in distinct races of humankind that emerged in the aftermath of catastrophic changes on Earth rather than through biological evolution (Jackson and Weidman 2004). In 1817, Cuvier described a white race, Caucasian, as being "distinguished by the beauty of the oval formed by its head . . . To this variety, the most highly civilized nations, and those which have generally held all others in subjection, are indebted for their origin" (Kleg 1993, 69). In contrast, Cuvier described "Mongolians" as a static race devoid of the history or ability for progress toward the equivalent of white civilizations (Stocking 1964, 146). Cuvier's words were echoed precisely in Murray's decision, in which he classed the Chinese as "incapable of progress or intellectual development beyond a certain point, as their history has shown." Cuvier's racial designations allowed Murray to subsume both Native Americans and Chinese under the single category of Mongolian in order to strike upon the legal precedent that "Indians" could be denied the right to testify in court. The decision explicitly furthered white supremacy, by whatever twists of logic necessary.

Just as Tingley's proposed bill seemingly coincided with, and possibly encouraged anti-Chinese sentiments to take the form of actions, the decision of *People v. Hall* preceded both further acts of violence and additional anti-Chinese legislation. As Jean Pfaelzer wrote, "the promise of all-white juries and the absence of any Chinese testimony" meant that white vigilantes could do what they pleased with a lowered fear of legal reprisal (2008, 40). The classification of the Chinese as "non-white" relegated them to an inferior status under subsequent laws reliant on the white/non-white dichotomy. In 1855, a school law referencing "white children" set a precedent, which became explicit in a series of laws over the 1860s and 70s, that California public schools were meant only for white students, excluding the Chinese (Almaguer 2008, Kuo 1998). In 1859 in *Speer v. See Yup Co.* put *People v. Hall* to the test; the court took only two sentences to dismiss the case since it relied on Chinese testimony (McClain 1984, 550). Just as Norman Asing had responded to the increased anti-Chinese actions of 1852 with a letter to Governor Bigler, *People v. Hall* caused Chun-Chuen Lai, a San Francisco merchant, to write once again to the governor and defend the Chinese from what he believed were great insults. Lai's argument against "the conclusion that we Chinese are the same as Indians and Negroes, and your courts will not allow us to bear witness" was that the Chinese had maintained thousands of years of written history, and should justly be accorded recognition for their civilization (Lai 1855).

Individual Chinese citizens who did find themselves in court rooms learned to navigate their abridged privileges and hired white lawyers (Beesley 1991, 134). Despite this, and both Chinese and white campaigns to overturn *Hall*, the law remained in effect for two decades, even extending into civil cases as of 1863 (McClain 1984, 551).

The racialization of the Chinese by the white majority population pushed Chinese immigrants into preexisting and racial classifications with legal implications for disenfranchisement. This was done with the often-explicit goal of advancing white supremacy, building legal and social frameworks based on a unilinear and exclusive racial hierarchy. Always, race was a matter of comparison. For white legislators like Justice Murray, whiteness stood as primary and antecedent to non-whiteness, while Indian and Black were legally its opposites, with implications that there was a single descendent order of inherent intelligence among them. The three races, identified by Cuvier and turned into far-reaching legislation in California, did not form a triangle, but rather entirely separate rungs on a fixed ladder. Foundational in the anti-Chinese movement's legal triumphs was the successful infiltration of the broad terms of racial hierarchy into the law and the precedents it set. These broad terms, contrasting Caucasian and Mongolian, allude to geographical origins in their very names, one in the west of Asia and the other in the east. As described above, many believed race to be an unbreachable and "natural" gulf. If that were so, should race not determine social and legal hierarchy as well? In this ladder model, all people must fit somewhere on the ascent from barbarism toward civilization: many did not question the ladder, but asked only which race belonged on which rung.

Manifest Destiny and Opening Japan

Within the same decade as the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and Spencer's *Principles of Biology* (1864), the United States and European powers steadily gained unprecedented access to a part of Asia previously closed to outside trade and travel for over two centuries. The signing of the Treaty of Kanagawa in 1854 by a representative of Japan's military leader, shogun Tokugawa Iesada, officially ended the era of *sakoku*, the isolationist policies limiting foreign trade to only a few select populations, barring almost all outside visitors, and forbidding most Japanese people from leaving their homeland. Newly arriving foreign visitors to Japan had the opportunity to observe the cultures there and begin to introduce then-current Western scientific thought. Both had an impact on the future of the Ainu, the islands' Indigenous people, launching a vicious cycle that transformed centuries of conflict and uneasy trade into a situation of internal colonialism modeled on United States policies of manifest destiny. While the introduction of Western scientific racism informed these Japanese policies, anthropologists and foreign visitors who encountered the Ainu faced a complication to their preconceptions of racial distinction or hierarchy: physically, many Ainu looked different from the Japanese.

On December 4, 1867, less than a month after the last shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu resigned his position in submission to the newly crowned Emperor Meiji, the naturalist Albert S. Bickmore presented a paper on "the Ainos" to the Boston Society of Natural History. Bickmore's lecture, delivered shortly after his return from Japan, was one of the first anthropological discussions concerning the Ainu, frequently transliterated as "Aino" in mid-nineteenth century English-language sources. The first European descriptions of the Ainu dated to the letters of Jesuit missionaries Jeronimo de Angelis and Diogo Carvalho in the early seventeenth century (Abé

2005), but very little had appeared since that time relating anything about the islands to the north of Japan. These Ainu homelands included Ezo (alternatively spelled Yezo, Yeso, or Yesso, and shortly to be renamed Hokkaido), Sakhalin (also called Saghalin and later Karafuto), and the Kurils (or Kuriles), the string of islands extending northeast of Japan toward Kamchatka. Bickmore's 1867 lecture, discussed above, considerably elaborated on the earlier accounts by Buddhism expert Samuel Beal (1859) and British Royal Navy Commander Charles S. Forbes (1866), and in so doing introduced the first specifically ethnological assessment of the Ainu, comparing them both culturally and physically to other peoples and concluding that they were "Aryan." Bickmore repeated this and similar lectures repeatedly, arousing public interest as his lectures were reported in newspapers in New York, Hartford, Richmond, Memphis, and Cincinnati. Writing from San Francisco, geologist William Phipps Blake, who had worked on the Pacific Railroad Survey of the Far West in the 1850s and visited Ainu villages in 1862, agreed that "Mr. Bickmore's conclusion, that they are not Mongolian . . . is entirely in accordance with my own convictions" (Blake 1869, 86).

What the Ainu patently were *not*, that they did not fit the preconceived ideas of Western observers, suddenly became the primary topic of interest regarding Japan's indigenous people. Trying to solve the question of their origin, and in so doing assign them to a racial category, continued to captivate anthropologists and the publics they reached, European, American, and Japanese alike, for the rest of the nineteenth century. The context of this "Ainu question" arose from the same discourse on civilization and progress that was simultaneously affecting the United States relationship with China and Chinese immigration. A strong belief in the manifest destiny of the United States' commercial right to dominion over the Pacific drove the "gunboat diplomacy" and subsequent unequal treaties that established trade with Japan. Seeking to thwart Western colonial interests, a new government established with the restoration of the Emperor Meiji in 1868 sought to emulate United States policy, military, and education, and in the process widely accepted the social Darwinism, scientific racism, and colonial mentality popular in the United States and Europe at the time. The government's adoption of internal colonial policies with the aid of United States advisers, some who had been the architects of American Indian removal in western North America, led to a massive decline in the quality of life for many Ainu. The remainder of this chapter will focus on explaining this context as the backdrop for the nineteenth century anthropological descriptions of the Ainu, helping to explain the way they came to be imagined in the United States through travel accounts, anthropological writings, and exhibits.

A sense of manifest destiny had propelled both the social and economic support for Commodore Matthew C. Perry's expedition to Japan in 1853. From the perspective of United States merchants and entrepreneurs, Cushing's expedition to China in the 1840s had been a great success, and some began imagining what benefits could be gleaned with a similar expedition to Japan (see Chang 2015, 47). Following California's newfound riches and population boom in the aftermath of the Gold Rush, Japan suddenly seemed far closer than before, within reach of the providential province of United States commerce. Scarcely had California joined the Union when, on December 7 1850, a writer for San Francisco's *Alta California* laid out a vision of that future trade:

> Not the least important of the consequences resulting to the world from the sudden occupation of California by the *Americans*, will be the rapid development of communication between other parts of the world and the Japan Islands. We are not of those who loudly proclaim a "Manifest Destiny" for our great Republic, but with regard to the subject under consideration we fully believe there is an end to be obtained, and great results to be worked out, which hitherto have been kept in abeyance, waiting for their fulfilment by the new race, now planting their standards on the golden shores of the Pacific . . . We must now place our chief dependence on steamers, and let communication with Japan be another wonder to be inscribed on the long list already worked . . . The appearance of one of our fine steamers would undoubtedly do more to break down the prejudices of the Japanese against foreign intercourse, than all the iron arguments ever hurled from the cannon's mouth. (emphasis in the original)

The writer's language belies the claim that the *Alta* would not support manifest destiny: a "new race" was set to fulfill "great results" through the technology and impressiveness of steam-powered ships. This vision of commerce with Japan seemed already clear from the coastal vantage-point of California (see Nitobe 1891, 41).

The reality of such a venture soon followed. The first attempt under the leadership of Commodore John H. Aulick ended in failure (Melia 1998). As the second attempt under Commodore Perry prepared the expedition to Edo, the political capital under the Tokugawa which would later be renamed Tokyo, newspapers on the East Coast and in Europe responded with doubt, acclamation, or even wonder. The *London Sun* of October 19, 1852 portrays the combination of fascination and skepticism attendant on Perry's upcoming voyage, looking on "with some such interest as we might suppose would be awakened among the generality, were a balloon to soar off to one of the planets." Japan, in the imagination of this writer, "is to the rest of the world, almost as untrodden a region, as the surface of the moon, or of Jupiter." Just days before the expedition's departure, the *Baltimore American* of November 10, 1852 commented on the excitement: "The attention of the whole civilized and commercial world has been strongly attracted to the Expedition which our Government is fitting out for Japan . . . Yet it is in accordance with the spirit of the age, and it belongs to a species of progress which the most conservative may commend and support." For the United States public who would not see the events unfold, part of the imagined spectacle was this spirit of progress, summed up by the latest example of technological and military achievement in the form of steamships.

Almost exactly the events predicted in the *Alta* occurred two and a half years later, when the four steam-powered warships under Perry's command entered Edo Bay on July 8, 1853 after their long journey eastward around the Cape of Good Hope. Perry's initial negotiations were brief but dramatic, causing Japanese officials and onlookers apprehension as he refused to leave and threatened violence if his letter were not received by representatives of the emperor (Beasley 1972; LaFeber 1998, 14). Negotiations resumed the following year and concluded with the signing of the Treaty of Kanagawa, the first formal step in establishing diplomatic relations and setting up the possibility of future commerce. Perry would receive credit not only for establishing diplomatic relations between Japan and the United States, but also for opening Japan to the outside world, despite finding on his arrival that the shogun regularly subscribed to *The Illustrated London News* (Hahn 1964, 62-63). Japan might have had an isolationist foreign

policy, but it had not, as is still popularly repeated, shut itself off from knowledge about the rest of the world. Rapidly, leaders within the shogun's government, powerful daimyo, began making preparations to adapt the technology they had read about before, and now witnessed with the arrival of Perry, and use it to Japan's future advantage. Very soon, the attention of both Japan and the United States would be drawn northward to one of the two ports agreed upon in the Treaty of Kanagawa: Hakodate, on the southern tip of Ezo in the Ainu homelands.

Hakodate had a long history as a trading port between the Ainu and the Japanese. The history of this trade, both its long importance in Ainu daily life and religion and the circumstances of its unequal practice, contextualize many of the observations made by Western travelers in the Ainu homelands in the second half of the nineteenth century. Beginning in the early seventeenth century, Hakodate as well as Esashi and Fukuyama (called Matsumae after 1940) were the three ports on Ezo from which trade goods departed on ships bound for Edo and other urban centers on Honshu. The existence of this trade, and the expansion of Japanese control into these Ezo ports and beyond under the auspices of the powerful Matsumae clan, is one of the exceptions to the trade restrictions that formed sakoku policy. For centuries, the Japanese had regarded the Ainu as foreigners, and their lands as lying outside the realm of the Japanese empire, although that did not preclude attempts to extend Japanese territory or influence as far back at the eighth century CE (Hall 1970). Ainu communities, particularly those on Sakhalin, continued foreign trade throughout the period of Japan's sakoku, not only with Japan, but also with China and Russia.

The Ezo trade largely consisted of the export of surplus food such as fish and animal meat, oil, furs, and feathers, while the Ainu sought the import of guns as well as decorated objects such as embroidered fabric, fine lacquerware, jewelry, swords, and rice wine. The Ainu word for these things is *ikor*, or "treasure." As anthropologist Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney pointed out, the small population and rich knowledge of their surrounding ecology meant "there was little need for the Ainu to engage in trading for necessities. The treasures were most of all valued as offerings to the bear deities during bear ceremonies. From the Ainu point of view, the treasures expressed their respect toward the deities" (1976, 317). Ikor had a great deal of socio-spiritual power across Ainu culture, serving many different roles including prestige items, dowries, and methods of communication with spiritual beings (see Chapter 5). However, the circumstances of this trade relationship, conducted primarily with the Matsumae clan, were far from equal. The Matsumae gradually increased control over which items could be traded, established estates in Ainu territory, and forbid the teaching of Japanese to the Ainu in order to limit their ability to negotiate the trade (Walker 1996). The Ainu sometimes resisted, including the rebellion of the Ainu chief Shakushain between 1669 and 1672 on Yezo and the Menashi–Kunashir rebellion in the Kurils in 1789, both attempts to buck unfair trading practices (Howell 2005, Walker 2001). Matsumae power did not completely end until three months after the signing of the Treaty of Kanagawa, when the shogunate established a commissioner at Hakodate (Takakura 1960). The commission would be short-lived. By the time of Bickmore's raising of the "Ainu Question" in 1867, Ezo was about to have a new government and a new name.

The Meiji Restoration of 1868, ending the Tokugawa shogunate which had ruled since 1603 and beginning an era of direct rule by the emperor, involved a complete reorganization of the Japanese government influenced heavily by models from Europe and the United States. The practical aspects of the restoration, carried out in the name of the Emperor Meiji (formerly called

Matsuhito) who was only sixteen, were largely taken up by men from the two former feudal domains of Satsuma and Choshu, which had formed the Satsuma-Choshu Alliance in the conflicts leading to the end of the shogunate (Jansen 2000). Many innovations sprang from Western influences, including centralized government authority, formal legal equality, and a military based on conscription rather than class (LaFeber 1998, 34-35). At a state event in April 1868, Emperor Meiji read what would become known as the Charter Oath, a public document setting up a legal constitution. That document included the injunction that "Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule" (Tsunoda, de Bary and Keene 1958, 137). Achieving this goal involved both international travel for members of the Meiji government and the hiring of foreign experts.

The first of these would be partly accomplished through the Iwakura Mission, a diplomatic tour of the United States, United Kingdom, France, and Germany between 1871 and 1873, sought to negotiate the unequal treaties signed by the Tokugawa shogunate. In addition, the members of the mission were tasked with observing education and industrialization in the countries they visited (Nish 1998). At the same time, Meiji officials dramatically intensified the hiring of foreign advisers, employing experts in the fields of government administration, agriculture, medicine, military, mining, navigation, and a wide variety of other scientific and industrial fields (Fujita 1994; Umetani 1971). While foreign experts were stationed all over the country, many were sent to the newly established Colonization Commission (*Kaitakushi*) on Ezo, which the Meiji had rechristened Hokkaido in 1869. The renaming itself was a signal of the island's transition from the homeland of a foreign people (Ezo was a Japanese word that applied to both the island and its Ainu inhabitants) into a Japanese territory with a Japanese name (Siddle 2012). From the government's perspective, the island's sparse population and vast land area represented the potential for both agricultural and industrial development like that in the United States: Japan's own frontier (Mieczkowski and Mieczkowski 1974). The Kaitakushi transformed the world of the Ainu by introducing forced agricultural practices and placing legal restrictions on Ainu hunting, religion, and language among other assimilationist practices. The devastation, poverty, and health problems brought on by these changes help to explain some of the observations of Western visitors, and their impact continues to reverberate through the material outcome of those observations in United States museum collections.

The Root of Ainu Museum Collections

The Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) contains the first examples of Ainu material culture brought to the United States. The nine objects that make up the museum's foundational Ainu collection include carved wooden dishes, a knife with carved wooden handle and sheath (called a makiri), a loom, a box, a raincoat made of plant material, and a mouth-harp (a mukiri). These nine entered the collections of the United States National Museum, the precursor to the NMNH, in 1875, donated by General Horace Capron on his return from his position as a foreign expert in agriculture and the construction of roads, working for the Kaitakushi in Hokkaido. Another twenty-four objects, including prayer sticks (ikupasuy) and a sacred stick with wood shavings (inaw), arrived at the museum in 1876 donated by Benjamin Smith Lyman, a mining engineer who was also a foreign expert employed by the Kaitakushi. Acquired in 1878, eighteen archaeological objects collected by Edward S. Morse, including potsherds and animal bone tools and fragments, remain labeled as "Ainu?" in 2019. Although

they are likely Jomon pottery, the steadfast museum documentation reflects the former belief by archaeologists that the Ainu were not only direct descendants of Japan's ancient inhabitants whose coiled pottery has given them the archaeological name Jomon, "cord-patterned," but also representative of the same culture. Through entering their collections in the public institution of the museum, Capron, Lyman, and Morse established the precedent for similar collections of Ainu objects elsewhere in the United States. However, their work in Hokkaido as foreign experts for the Meiji government's Colonization Commission affected the everyday lives of the Ainu people with whom they came into contact.

Capron, Lyman and Morse were only three of the seventy-six foreign experts hired to work in Hokkaido during the first decade of the Meiji era. The majority, forty-five, came from the United States (Mieczkowski and Mieczkowski 1974, 487). Capron had been personally recruited by Kuroda Kiyotaka, one of the members of the Iwakura Mission who would later become Japan's second prime minister. Even during their initial meetings in the United States, Kuroda made clear to Capron that the inhabitants of Hokkaido were ignorant and possessed "repugnant practices" and "inferior customs" (Irish 2009, 193; see Harrison 1953, Starr 1925). By this time, the Ainu bore a new name in the official documents of the Kaitakushi: *kyudojin*, or "former natives." The term emphasized the growing number of assimilationist policies that would be enacted under Kuroda which, by 1871, already included the banning of earrings, religious house-burnings, and the traditional charcoal tattoos worn by Ainu women on their face and limbs (Harrison 2007, 52). From Kuroda's perspective, these policies helped "make efforts to spread welfare, education and morals with kindness" (Siddle 2012, 53). Siddle's translation of Kuroda's phrase into English makes clear the similarities between moralistic manifest destiny treatments of non-White peoples and the attitudes of the Japanese toward the Ainu.

Kuroda had a special interest in recruiting United States advisers for his new work in Hokkaido. While the majority of the over 3,000 foreign employees in Japan during the Meiji period (1868-1912) were British, followed by the French, people from the United States, and Germans, Hokkaido was unusual in employing predominantly United States employees. This may have been influenced by the contemporary Japanese image of the United States, which emphasized its success in territorial expansion. A popular 1869 book *Sekai kuni zukushi* [All the nations of the world] written by the Meiji intellectual Fukuzawa Yukichi after visiting Europe and North America, described the United States as "opening up a new land and pushing back the frontier . . . increasing the number of states three times from the original thirteen to thirty-six" (quoted in Fujita 1994, 6). As historian Fumiko Fujita pointed out, Kuroda and Fukuzawa were friends who occasionally visited one another, and therefore Fukuzawa's opinions might have been known through both publications and conversations (1994, 6). Kuroda's later recommendations for Hokkaido included employing an adviser "experienced in the opening of a new land" (*Shin Hokkaidō shi* 7, 788), laying the groundwork for the Kaitakushi's imitation of United States expansionist policies.

Capron's appointment to the Kaitakushi aroused great interest in the United States public when it was announced in June 1871. Officially, hopes centered on the establishment of economic and political alliances. President Ulysses S. Grant wrote to Capron on June 23, 1871, "From [your mission] I expect to see early evidence of increased commerce and friendly relations with a hitherto exclusive people, alike beneficial to both" (Horace Capron Papers, Library of Congress).

Other government officials emphasized the belief that such relations would help to "civilize" the Japanese. A month before the public announcement of Capron's mission, the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Joseph Henry, wrote about it to geologist and former minister J. Peter Lesley, then secretary and librarian of the American Philosophical Society (Fujita 1994, 8). In his letter of May 8 1871, Henry lauded Capron's mission in terms of the spread of Western culture and religion: it would be "a means of extending the blessings of high civilization and more Christianity to a very interesting portion of the human family" (J. Peter Lesley Papers, American Philosophical Society).

Henry also helped to recruit assistants for Capron's appointment (Fujita 1990, 90). Henry's belief in the civilizing and Christian tone to Capron's mission was echoed across the United States press the following months. The *Pittsburgh Weekly* of July 7, 1871 announced that Capron would "introduce into that far away region a knowledge of American methods of agriculture and other industrial achievements of our progressive civilization, including railroads and railroad machinery." Some believed the mission could signal widespread changes in foreign relations across the rest of Asia as well. A writer for the *Chicago Tribune* on August 14, 1871 saw missions like Capron's as an important step toward increased influence in China as well: "China may stand out from [sic] time, but the leaven of Japan will assuredly work its way among the Chinese, and there are already signs of that country being indoctrinated with Western ideas." Few newspapers clarified that Capron's appointment was specifically to Hokkaido rather than the entirety of Japan (see Fujita 1994, 9). Rather, the aggrandized symbolism of the United States as a "progressive civilization" offering to teach a "far away region" prevailed. The *Pittsburgh Weekly* concluded: "Imagination cannot picture the magnificent results which thus mission of General Capron may[sic] accomplish."

Once in Hokkaido, Capron met Ainu for the first time and formed his own conclusions about them, separate from those of his employer Kuroda (Irish 2009, 147). In his memoirs, Capron recorded his positive impression of the Ainu he met: "Their intelligence is remarkable, they fully understand and appreciate the object of our Mission" (Capron n.d., 93). However, relations between Capron's assistants and the Ainu did not always go smoothly. In August 1872, just after Capron's summer visit, his assistant A.G. Warfield became annoyed at barking dogs outside an inn where he was drinking, and proceeded to shoot and kill several of them without regard for their Ainu owners. This incident angered Kaitakushi officials and, compounded with several other incidents, eventually led to Warfield's dismissal according to a letter from Kuroda to Capron on November 8 1872 (Horace Capron Papers, Library of Congress; see also Fujita 1994, 28-29). While Capron's treatment of the Ainu was not so cavalier, many of the traits he imagined to be charming, such as the fact that they "exhibit nothing of the warlike disposition of the Native American savage, in fact this present generation have never had wars, and singular to say, have no weapons either offensive or defensive" (Capron n.d., 93) spring from misunderstanding centuries of conflict and unequal trade between the Ainu and the Japanese. One reason for the apparent lack of weapons was the recent restriction on Ainu carrying sword blades or other weaponry not useful in hunting. Some U.S. museum collections, including the NMNH, have later examples of Ainu knives where the blade has been removed. Restrictions only increased with time: shortly after Capron's departure, in 1876 the Kaitakushi would outlaw Ainu traditional hunting practices entirely. Despite Capron's positive if naïve observations, his development recommendations to Kuroda would have dire consequences for the Ainu. At Capron's insistence,

agricultural development led to the full partition of Ainu lands into allotments, severely limited the traditional Ainu hunting and migratory practices (Siddle 2012, 56). A similar allotment policy would be adopted a decade later in the western United States as a means of disenfranchising American Indians (Paddison 2012).

The enforced agriculture and bans on hunting and fishing took their toll on the Ainu, who began dying of starvation in the 1870s following overhunting and the periodic bans on fishing; forced population transfers excluded the Ainu from the most productive land, and alcoholism and disease hurt the population (Siddle 2012, 62-63, 67). This was the context for the observations of the increasing number of foreign visitors to Hokkaido during the 1870s and 1880s. Bickmore's 1867 paper, while emphasizing the curiosity of Ainu physical traits, makes no mention of any widespread illness or uncleanliness. Merely a decade later, Morse had a very different impression of the Ainu he encountered as "low unlettered savages without moral courage, lazy, and strongly given to drunkenness" (1877, 1). This should be read this in the context of the depression and alcoholism subsequent to Kaitakushi policies building suddenly on centuries of discrimination, rather than as a description of inherent traits as Morse, unfortunately, seemed to ascribe to the Ainu. When a later collector for the Smithsonian, Romyn Hitchcock traveled Hokkaido in 1888, he observed that the Ainu seemed "incapable of advancement. After a century of contact with the Japanese, they have learned no arts, adopted no improvements" (1891, 443). Reading between the lines of the racially hierarchical language, Hitchcock's statement takes on a far different significance when remembering that the Matsumae forbid the Ainu from learning the Japanese language. Arnold Henry Savage Landor's "Alone with the Hairy Ainu" published later in 1893, frequently mentions the squalor of Ainu homes and the people living within them. While in part this could be due to the style of writing, and Landor's sensationalistic and exoticizing adventurer style, his observations do reflect the increasingly poverty-stricken state of many Ainu at the time of his journey.

These travelers and others, many of whom had scientific backgrounds, did not fabricate their observations of the hardships of Ainu life in the decades following the Kaitakushi policies. Rather, they frequently assumed that Ainu ways of life belonged not within the internal colonial historical context of Meiji Japan, but rather to an inherent and unchanging culture, crystalized in an ancient past and now fated to disappear. The epithet of the "vanishing people" reflected a very intentional agenda of the Kaitakushi, to destroy the Ainu way of life and force their assimilation. Unfortunately, representatives from the United States had a part in setting up and enacting those policies. More than that, the writings of Euro-American travelers and the collections they brought home with them for museums and expositions helped to establish the same image of the Ainu on a widespread basis. The description of the Ainu run by a writer for *The San Francisco Call* on November 12, 1900, summed up the worst descriptions of Ainu life while ascribing them, just as professional authors had done, as inherent traits:

> The curious Ainu race, which originally occupied the whole of the Island of Yezo, is rapidly vanishing before the influx of Japanese Immigration. According to recent investigations they now only number some 16,000, and in a few more decades they will probably be totally absorbed. They are the hairiest race in the world, are filthily dirty in their habits and terribly addicted to drunkenness.

This was the impression left for most of the United States public, who would never themselves visit Japan or see an Ainu in person. While the Ainu have certainly not vanished, their way of life was altered irrevocably. Reflecting that these accounts were written at a time when culture and race were intertwined in the minds of many, it seems likely that from the perspective of many of the historical authors quoted here, the Ainu as they assumed them to be did disappear. Yet culture is dynamic, not static; contextualized in history, not timeless. The Ainu in late nineteenth century descriptions reflected the fallout of very specific colonial policies aimed at their assimilation.

Conclusion: Moving Beyond the Historical Record

Why does understanding attitudes toward China and Chinese immigration, Japan and the Indigenous Ainu, and the intersection of exploration and imperialism, academic research and racialization, matter today? This chapter has focused on this historical context of attitudes toward Asia in the nineteenth century United States, drawing heavily on English-language sources and perspectives to do so. While these sources are abundant, there are many other lines of evidence regarding the same history. Historian Connie Young Yu once praised Alexander Saxton's *The Indispensable Enemy* (1971) for providing "essential reading for students of Asian America," but observed critically that in his "book as in so many others, the Chinese [came] off as the faceless horde" (1976, 60). Moving beyond the historical record alone is one way to see the presence of the many individuals who have always been a part of history, but who have not always received attention.

Consideration of oral traditions, the voices of descendants, and material evidence in the form of archaeology and museum collections can help make a sprawling history not only more personal, and more relevant for people today, but also more accurate as well. The following chapters will explore specific lines of evidence concerning the nineteenth century Chinese diaspora in California and the collection, acquisition, and display of Ainu material culture in United States museums. In both cases, material culture – preserved in different fashions – helps tell the stories of the Ainu and the Chinese immigrants who lived through the late nineteenth century.

Chapter 3: Survey and Sampling at Stanford's Arboretum Chinese Quarters

Introduction

Early on the morning of Tuesday November 17, 1925, freshman students at Stanford University set out to find fuel for a bonfire. Bonfires had become a traditional part of the rallies held in advance of the Big Game, the annual football game between Stanford and its rival, the University of California. Unfortunately for the freshman responsible for setting up the bonfire that year, an accident had set their first attempt ablaze too early. That Tuesday, the Class of 1929 needed to find replacement fuel fast if they were to regain the respect of the senior students who expected to attend the bonfire rally. As they searched for, salvaged, and stole what wood they could find, "the bonfire [grew] to gigantic proportions," as recorded by the Stanford yearbook published the following spring and recounting that day's events, "as nearby communities [found] that all their old lumber [was] missing" (*Stanford Quad* 1926, 256). Accompanying photographs (Figure 3.1) show students hoisting timber planks into the back of a cart, surrounded by trees somewhere on Stanford's park-like campus. These planks joined other wood salvaged and sent from alumni or other supporters of Stanford and its football team, coming from as far away as San Francisco and San Jose, growing to a forty square foot pile that reached over sixty feet in height, surmounted by a mock-coffin emblazoned with the University of California's "C" (*Daily Palo Alto*, November 18, 1925). It burned, intentionally ignited with oil this time, the night of Wednesday November 18, in what was at the time the largest bonfire yet in the school's history.

Figure 3.1: 1925 Big Game bonfire preparations at Stanford, CA. Source: *The Stanford Quad*, 1926

Not until a week later did an article appear in the student newspaper, *The Daily Palo Alto*, noting that the source of some of the bonfire fuel had been the Arboretum Chinese laborers quarters, three recently vacated buildings that had stood on the edge of the campus's extensive arboretum. They had housed Chinese employees who had worked for the university and the Palo Alto Stock Farm, the estate of former California governor and senator Leland Stanford and his wife Jane Lathrop Stanford. "Historic Landmark Pulled Down for Bonfire Fuel" read the headline on Monday, November 23, 1925:

> The three cabins that were pulled down last Tuesday by the freshmen to provide fuel for the second bonfire were the last vestiges of a historic landmark. The cabins, situated in back of the Arboretum, were all that remained of a once flourishing Chinese camp begun over fifty years ago. The Chinamen who lived there were employed by Senator Stanford long before the University was founded. The last Chinaman to inhabit the camp was Ah

> Wu, who left about six months ago for his native country. He was over eighty years old, and had been at the camp for fifty years.

The details of this article do not quite align with other historical documents from the same time. Leland Stanford did not purchase the Stock Farm until 1876, so the Arboretum site was fewer than fifty years old and possibly much newer than that. Ah Wu appears elsewhere as Ah Wah (United States Census Bureau 1920; Culver 1927; *Daily Palo Alto* June 5, 1925), although "Ah" was not a proper name at all but rather a familiar, vocative prefix assigned to many names in southern China (Chinn, Lai, and Choy 1969, 2). Also, according to both the 1910 and 1920 census on which he appeared listed as a laborer at the university, Ah Wah was born in about 1854, making him at most 71 years old when he departed and not over 80 as the student paper claimed (United States Census Bureau 1910, 1920). What the paper got right, however, was that the cabins represented a legacy worthy of an historic landmark. Chinese employees at Stanford had helped create first the farm and then the university, working as carpenters, gardeners, cooks, and in many other capacities, all while supporting themselves and their families, some of whom remained separated from them across the Pacific still living in southern China. Those who stayed for decades, like Ah Wah, persevered through the rampant racism which had contributed to the instatement of the first Exclusion Law in 1882 and helped propel subsequent policies that made immigration and land ownership impossible for all but a select few Chinese immigrants. The destruction of the cabins marked an end of an era when there was a visible reminder of the lives of the Chinese people who had been a part of Stanford for so long.

The many mistakes in the student paper highlight something else about this legacy. Memories of the lives of Stanford's Chinese employees faded quickly for many non-Chinese residents of the university and neighboring Palo Alto, already blurred mere months after Ah Wah's departure. The Chinese population across the state was declining in numbers. The previous year had marked the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, which barred immigration from China and would not be fully lifted until 1965. Evidence of cultural misunderstandings or stereotypes pervade the English-language records of students, staff, and faculty at Stanford, marking bias in the little information recorded in university documents or official histories outside those written by members of the ongoing Chinese American community. The site of the Arboretum Chinese quarters itself became just another corner of the arboretum where people occasionally wandered under the oaks and eucalyptus. However, the site's long occupation, followed by its rapid destruction, left traces in the form of archaeological artifacts and features. Ceramic, glass, metal, and animal bone all appeared visible on the site's surface, having been disturbed first by a brief but undocumented excavation between 1981 and 1984 (Cain, Ozawa, and Wilcox 2014, 4). The presence of these artifacts affords the opportunity for a new look at the site's history and the daily lives of Chinese employees living outside of urban Chinatowns.

Site Location and History

The Arboretum Chinese Quarters stood on the western edge of the Stanford Arboretum, southwest of the Arizona Garden and oriented along the eastern boundary of what were once the Stanford vineyards, later a parking lot and, as of 2019, a construction site. Their location on the side of the Arboretum is partially responsible for the preservation of the site, since the Arboretum remains largely undeveloped parkland today. Originally envisioned as "one of the

most magnificent arboretums in the world" according to the announcement of its construction in *The San Francisco Call* on December 24, 1879, the idea of the Arboretum predated the death of Leland Stanford, Jr., in 1884 and any thought of the site of the Stanford estate becoming a university (see Rogers 1926). The same rich soil that had led to a boom in agriculture, and the employment of many Chinese immigrants on the San Francisco peninsula, inspired Leland Stanford's idea: according to the *Call*, "That section between San Francisco and San Jose, where Menlo Park is situated, more than any other portion of the State, combines the characteristics of soil and temperature which have been found adapted to the growing of a greater variety of trees and plants in the open air." The Stanford's Stock Farm lay on the northwestern edge of Santa Clara County, although they used the address of Menlo Park, on the other side of the San Mateo county line. Palo Alto did not exist until after the founding of the University, its first plat filed in 1889 and ultimately incorporated in 1894 (Gullard and Lund 1989).

The arboretum was only one of the Stanford family's modifications to the 650-acre estate they had purchased from George Gordon in 1876. Over the next decade, the Stanfords significantly enlarged the house, formerly called "Mayfield Grange," and expanded the surrounding estate to a total of 8,727,64 acres into the new Palo Alto Stock Farm. By 1889, Palo Alto was the "largest and best-equipped trotting farm in the world" with 775 horses and eight trainers (Tutorow 1971, 162). The Stanfords hired landscape designer Rudolph Ulrich to create elaborate landscaping across the entire estate, including geometric flower beds, wide lawns, and specialty gardens like the succulent-rich Arizona Garden (Cain and Nilan 2003). According to one map made by Alfred Poett in 1880, the Stanfords planned a garden shaped like a five-pointed star in front of their residence, and a short walk away, beds arranged to grow flowers that spelled "Palo Alto" flanked by the initials "L" and "S" (see Figure 3.3 below). These gardens needed care and an extensive workforce to maintain them, and Stanford began to hire Chinese gardeners within the first two years of his purchase of the estate.

Stanford himself already had years of experience interacting with and employing Chinese immigrants in a variety of capacities. In 1852, soon after Stanford's arrival in California, he started a store at Cold Spring (now Cold Springs) in El Dorado county, about 4 miles west of Placerville in the same county where gold had first been discovered by James Marshall at Sutter's Mill four years before. The store bore a prominent sign in Chinese characters reading: "The store always has Chinese goods"; as historian Gordan Chang has pointed out, Stanford may have been one of the first white merchants encountered by the many Chinese immigrants arriving as part of the Gold Rush (Chang 2019). Stanford later employed Chinese laborers when he, along with Collis Potter Huntington, Mark Hopkins, and Charles Crocker together making up "the Big Four" financed the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad, the western extent of the First Transcontinental Railroad. Chinese employees working on the railroad numbered anywhere between 10,000 and 15,000 at any given time until its completion in May 1869 (Tutorow 2004, 242). In his role as a politician, serving both as Governor of California between 1862 and 1863 and later as a United States Senator from California from 1885 until his death in 1893, Stanford has a mixed personal legacy regarding both the employment of Chinese workers on his estates and the railroads and his stances on immigration exclusion (see Chang 2019). Stanford acknowledged the tremendous contribution of Chinese labor to the building of the railroad, writing to President Andrew Johnson in 1865, "Without them, it would be impossible to complete the western portion of this great national enterprise, within the time required by the

Acts of Congress" (Stanford 1865, 990). However, he later supported the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, and continued to do so as further restrictions were added in 1888. Newspapers paraphrased interviews given by Stanford in Washington in 1889 in which he upheld his support for the Exclusion Act, and repeated his belief that the Chinese were "a most undesirable class," as reported by the *Morning Union*, January 17, 1889 and the *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 16, 1889. However, throughout this time he continued to employ Chinese workers on his private estates, from his vineyard at Vina Ranch to his residence on Nob Hill in San Francisco. At the Palo Alto Stock Farm, one third of the one hundred fifty staff were Chinese, many living in various bunkhouses on Stanford's land (Elliott 1937: 256).

Chinese immigrants in Santa Clara County primarily arrived from southern China via San Francisco. Southern China's large port cities, including Guangdong (then called Canton), Macao, and Hong Kong, gave the people of the nearby counties along the Pearl River Delta a means to escape the economic hardship and political turmoil in the region. Over the course of the nineteenth century, more than 2.5 million people left China to live and work abroad in places like the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Latin America, and Southeast Asia. Most of the immigrants were young men, many of whom maintained split households with families remaining in their home village in China (Voss 2008). They often sent remittances, transfers of money to individuals in their home country, not only to their immediate and extended families but also to their clan, district, and business organizations, in this way supporting the entire *qiaoxiang*, the name applied to migrants' home villages transformed through the support of those living abroad (Voss et al. 2018). Most of the immigrants to Santa Clara County came from a single area called Huangliang Du (or Wong Leung Do), modern day Doumen District and its neighboring islands (Lai 1995; 1998). Once one member of a kinship group took up residence in a location in California, it was common for that person to invite other members of the same group to live together or nearby, creating a migration chain that helped to establish community networks in an unfamiliar and sometimes hostile country.

Some of the first Chinese residents in what would become the Stock Farm area included a large workforce employed by Peter Coutts in building roads in the mid-1870s (Kimball 1905, 144) and Yuen Lung who opened a store in Mountain View in 1879 (McReynolds 1997). Mayfield, a town south of Menlo Park that would later become incorporated into Palo Alto, possessed a Chinese laundry by the 1880s and numerous Chinese residents. By 1900 Mayfield's Chinese population was double that of 1880, making up just under 20% of all residents in Mayfield (United States Census Bureau 1900). The census itself likely underestimates even these numbers: the census taker for Mayfield swept a pen down some of the columns, leaving out names, employment, and all other information besides the population numbers.

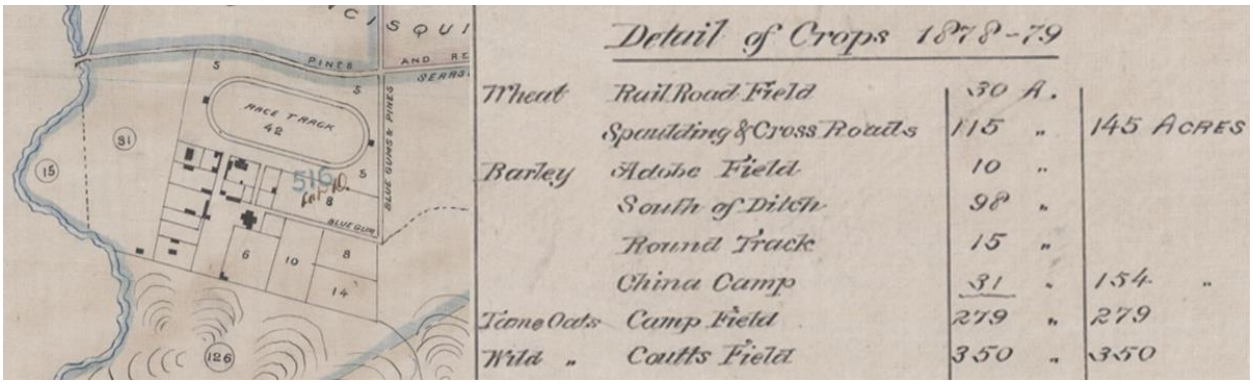


Figure 3.2: Excerpts from Sketch of Ranch shewing [sic] farm operations 1878 to 1879, Fremont Township, Santa Clara County. Filed in Co. Assessors Office, March 6, 1882. SC1049 M153 1882. Stanford Digital Repository. Available at: purl.stanford.edu/hz844bc7667

One of the earliest references to the Chinese employment on the Stock Farm itself appears on a map of the property showing operations between 1878 and 1879 (Figure 3.2). This map records 31 acres of barley grown in an area designated “China Camp,” suggesting Chinese employees worked on that land particularly. “China Camp” was a common nineteenth-century name for Chinese sites of work or settlements of any size throughout California. Most famously it remains the name of China Camp State Park in San Rafael, established in 1976 on the site of the Chinese shrimp-fishing village from the 1870s onward. “Chinese Camp” is also the name of a census-designated place in Tuolumne County where Chinese miners congregated and settled after being exiled from neighboring towns during the Gold Rush (De Ferrari 1972; Gudde 1975, 58). At Stanford, the first map with a labeled structure associated with the Chinese appeared in an undated map by Alfred Poett (Figure 3.3 below). The “China House” was an L-shaped structure on the southern edge of the residence grounds, just west of San Francisquito Creek and east of a vegetable ground (on the lower far right of the map). This is the same map showing the decorative star and lettering in the Stanford flower beds, likely made possible through the work of their Chinese employees. The separation of the Chinese quarters from those of the white employees, simply labeled “Boarding House” and located northward and in the midst of other stock farm structures like the lumber yard, wood sheds, and an office, reinforced the structural racial segregation common across the United States in both rural and urban communities (see Almaguer 2008). Chinese employees continued to be housed separately for the duration of the Stock Farm’s activities, which lasted until 1903.

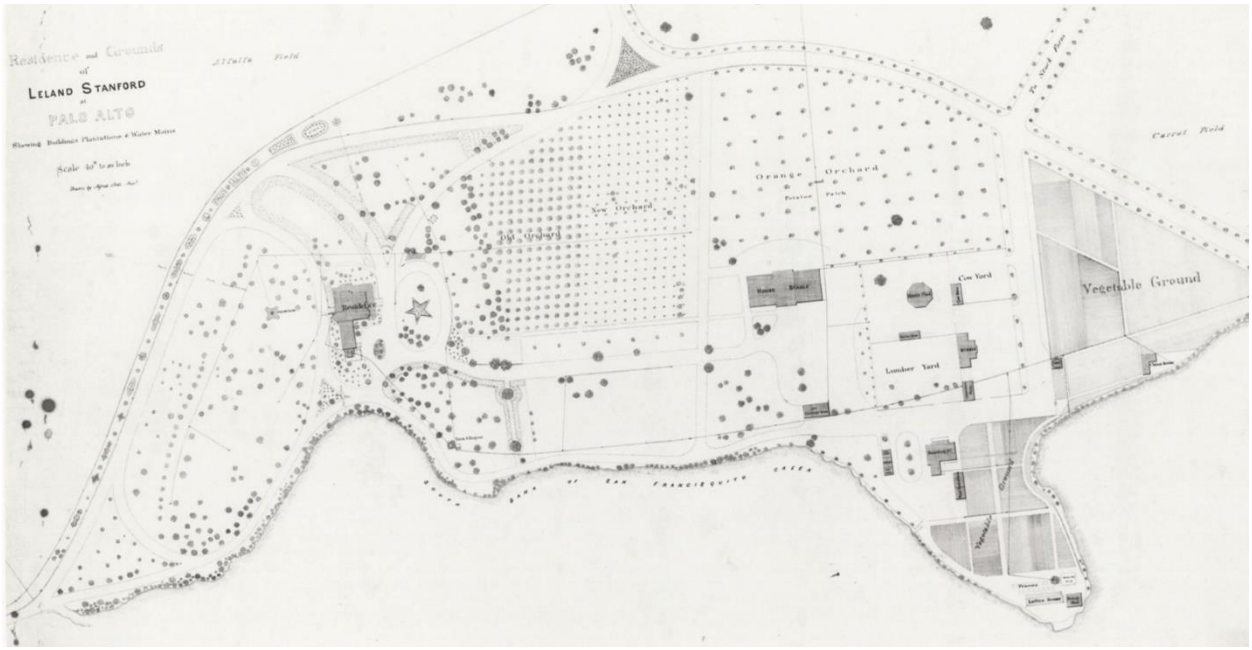


Figure 3.3: Residence and grounds of Leland Stanford at Palo Alto. Undated. Stanford Digital Repository. Available at: https://purl.stanford.edu/rm909xq4982

"Quarters of the Chinese" appears as number 34 on a list of Stock Farm buildings from a sketch map created between 1883-1892 (Figure 3.4 below). Here, the mapmaker drew the structure as a single long rectangular building, separated from most of the other farm operations by hay barns and located southwest of the racetrack and just north of the horse cemetery. It also appears to be the only building oriented along a different grid than the rest of the farm structures. A later map of the Stock Farm, produced after its closure in 1903, neglects to include the Chinese quarters structure at all (SC1049 M151). The different shape and orientation of the buildings on the maps that do show them suggests that there may have been at least two Chinese quarters operating on the Stock Farm in the 1880s, and possibly that such structures began as temporary buildings.

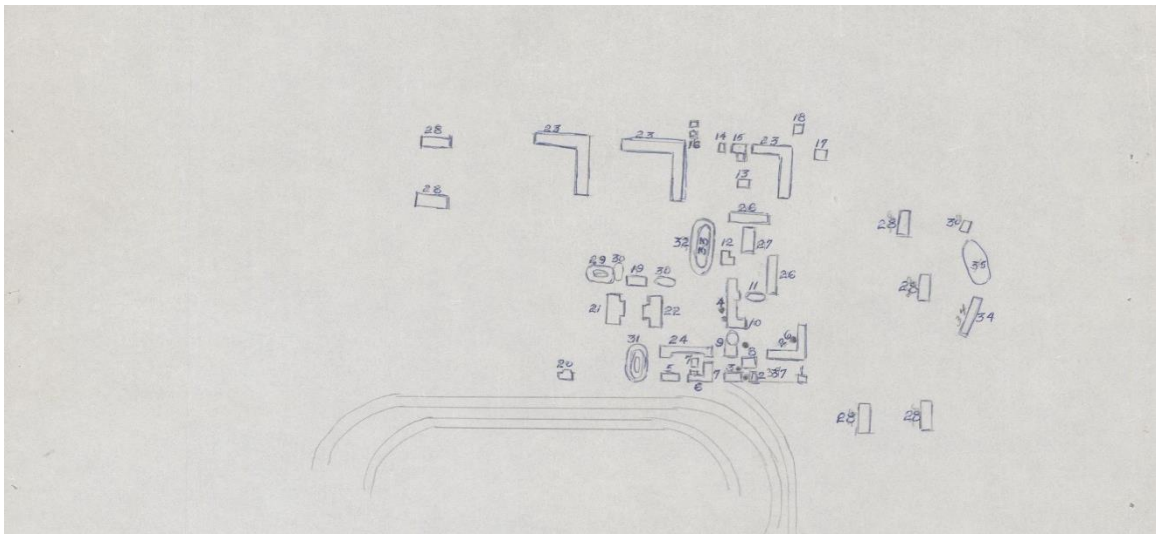


Figure 3.4: Palo Alto Stock Farm, 1876-1903, after survey at request of Stanford. SC1049 M154. Stanford Digital Repository. Available at: https://purl.stanford.edu/dr270jw2172

The documentary ephemerality of the Chinese employees' houses makes it difficult to establish exactly when the structures in the Arboretum were first built and occupied. The same 1878-1879 map that indicated the "China Camp" shows a set of four buildings on the eastern side of the Stanford vineyard labeled "Farm," but these are shown north of where later maps indicate the Arboretum Quarters to have been, at the southern tip of the vineyard. Later, a 1908 map of the university campus surveyed by A.T. and F.A. Herrmann includes three rectangular structures and some additional markings, possibly indicating a small orchard at the location of the Arboretum Quarters, but does not label the buildings (Figure 3.5) This map also indicates a road leading directly from the buildings southwest toward Quarry Road. At the time, this would have been the most direct route to the Stanford nursery, providing access for Chinese employees working there.

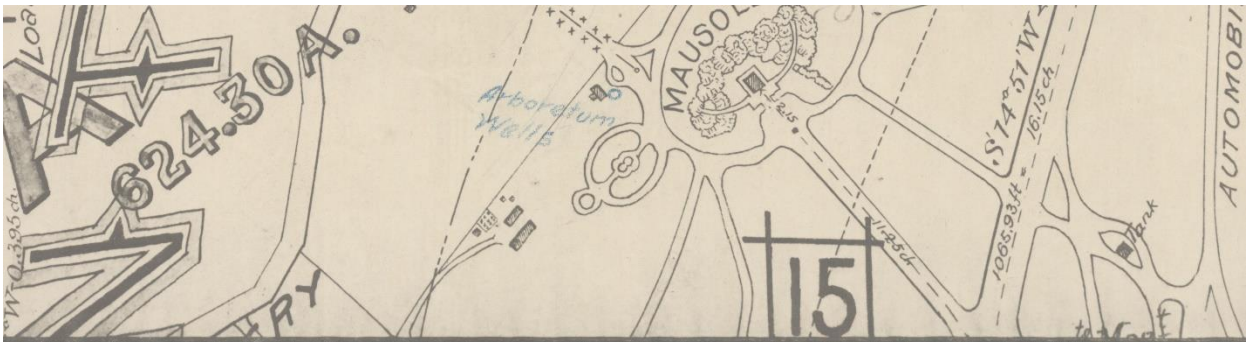


Figure 3.5: Section Enlargement Map: Upper Right Midsection of "Map of the lands of Leland Stanford Junior University at and near the site of the University and in the counties of Santa Clara and San Mateo, California, surveyed at the request of the Board of Trustees, by A.T. and F.A. Herrmann. Lithograph by Britton and Rey." SC1049 M700h. Stanford Digital Repository. Available at: https://purl.stanford.edu/pn257xr4696

The only map to fully label the quarters comes from a book of insurance maps presented by Michael J. O'Brien to the university Board of Trustees in 1917 (Figure 3.6). Map 61 identifies many details of the site's three structures, listed as 94 A, B, and C and called the "Chinese Laborers quarters." The largest, just over 50 feet on its longest side, is labeled "Kitchens" with a central structure and two slightly smaller and asymmetrical wings flush with the building's northwest side but set back on the southeast side. One wing extended about 15 feet from the central structure, while the other only extended about 11 feet. Further southeast was a rectangular building about 40 feet long and 15 ½ feet wide labeled "Rooms," the bunkhouse. Aligned with this and further south was the slightly smaller unlabeled building of the same width but only about 28 feet long, which could have been a storage shed or a second boarding house. A fence runs north of the buildings dividing the Arboretum land from the vineyard. The dimensions calculated here are based on the 1:50 scale of the insurance maps, the same scale used on Sanborn Fire Insurance maps.

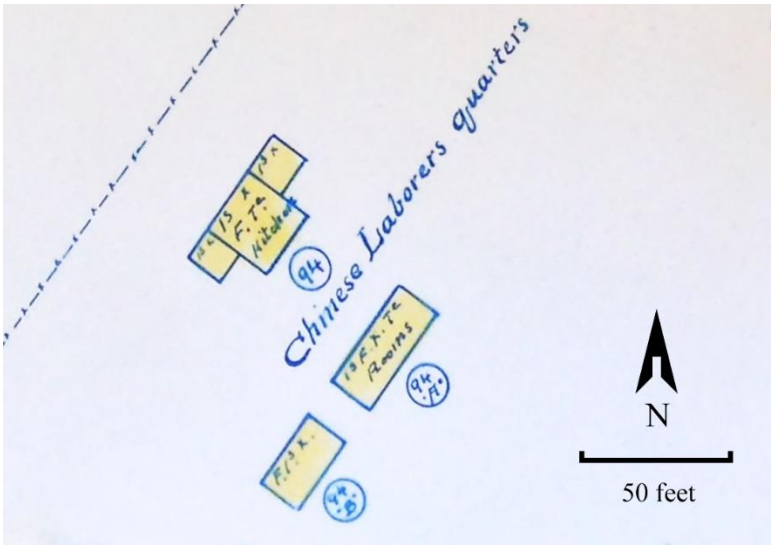


Figure 3.6: The Arboretum Chinese Quarters on Map 61 of the Leland Stanford Junior University Insurance Maps (1917). Stanford Digital Repository. Available at: http://purl.stanford.edu/wy529ys4736

What would the Arboretum structures have looked like? While no photographs have yet been found that show the buildings, there are other clues. The 1917 insurance map indicates they were single-story timber frame structures with shingle roofs. The kitchen and bunkhouse both possessed clay chimneys. They would have been surrounded by oak and eucalyptus, the latter planted with the intent to shelter more delicate plants throughout the arboretum, although instead they took over and already dominated the landscape by the turn of the century (Rogers 1926). Yet these were not the only trees in the arboretum, thanks in part to the efforts of the Chinese employees. Francis Henry Douglas, superintendent of the Stanford nursery from 1889 to 1892 during the years when the university was constructed, recorded how Jim Mock, the foreman in charge of both the grounds and gardens on the Stanford estate, had planted numerous trees on the land: "When I came to Palo Alto to start the Arboretum for Leland Stanford Junior University I found Jim the Chinaman (who had charge of Governor Stanford's grounds and conservatory) had quite a number of oaks, bay, laurel, bamboo, privet, etc., of one and two years' growth" (quoted

in Rogers 1926, 131). The Chinese employees lived amid this variety of trees and tended to them, as well as to the nearby Arizona Garden.

Some clues about the cabin's appearance also exist in historical documents. Writing in 1926, Stanford University Dean of Men George B. Culver described a long walk through the Arboretum and his memories of the recently destroyed cabins.

> It seemed to me the last vestige of pioneer days had disappeared from the cactus garden when I began to miss Chung Wah, the ancient Chinaman who cared for the place. Chung and his comrade, Ah Wah, old retainers of Governor Stanford, lived in a little whitewashed bunkhouse not far from the garden on the western edge of the arboretum. These two Chinamen, after their long years of service were happy to return to China with transportation furnished by the University – emeritus laborers, as it were. With the two old Chinamen safely on their way, the bunk-houses were torn down. They were located near what was once the old Stanford vineyard, but the grapevines have long since disappeared, and the field is now given over to alternate crops of hay and tomatoes.
>
> Culver 1927, 335-336

Culver had reason to be nostalgic for Stanford's "pioneer days" in the 1890s, since he had completed his A.B. in zoology at Stanford in 1897, and may have remembered some of the employees from that time. While he brushes over the 1925 destruction of the cabins, his attitude toward the structures and their last remaining occupants Ah Wah and Chung Wah echoes the sentiments of nostalgia and loss present in the preceding year's *Stanford Daily* articles about the bonfire. His reminiscence also indicates that by the 1920s. the buildings had been whitewashed.

Although very few turn-of-the-twentieth-century bunkhouses remain standing, some photographs of similar structures still survive. Between 1903 and 1907, Ira Brown Cross traveled around California photographing agricultural employees in Sacramento, San Francisco, San Jose, Gilroy, Fresno, Merced, and Los Angeles, as well as Stanford, where Cross completed his PhD in 1909 and stayed as a professor until 1914. His photographs are unusual in that they focused on the living conditions of California agricultural employees, including bunkhouses and their interiors. Some of the photographs may been taken for a 1908 U.S. Immigration Commission study conducted by Stanford University professor Harry A. Millis, who Cross assisted (McDonald 1996, 3). In one photograph of a Japanese bunkhouse (BANC PIC 1905.02644), the interior is completely open and lined on one side with bunks, each of which has sheets hanging from the rafters to give the occupants some privacy. Most bunkhouses in Cross's photographs appear to have been constructed of single walls made of vertical or horizontal timber with either gable or lean-to shingled roofs.

This style of architecture, called "box," "box and strip," or "plank-frame" construction, was used for small or temporary buildings throughout California in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly for agricultural employees. Some, like the Japanese boarding house (BANC PIC 1905.02645), consisted of a central rectangular frame with smaller rectangular additions. This method of construction may be how the Arboretum quarters kitchen came to have its two unequally sized wings. Designed expediently, these buildings seldom survive in the twenty-first century, although a few have been preserved. The house of Wong How in San Luis

Obispo County, built using the box and strip method, was still standing when archaeological surveys took place in the early 2000s (Greenwood and Slawson 2008). On the opposite side of San Francisco Bay from Stanford, a single wall "plank-frame" bunkhouse used by Chinese and other employees still stands in Shinn Historical Park, and may be the subject of future archaeological work thanks to the efforts of the "Bunkmates" dedicated to its preservation.

Cross captured several photographs at Stanford itself. One shows an unidentified ranch house somewhere on the Stock Farm (BANC PIC 1905.02731). Although its architectural footprint and second story are quite different from the kitchens, it may be a good indication of other elements of the Arboretum bunkhouses. It is also a timber frame, shingle-roofed house with whitewashed walls. Whitewashing would have helped the ranch structures last longer, protecting the wood from mildew and insects. The windows in the photograph are multi-paned glass, and archaeological remains from the Arboretum site suggest those structures had glass windows as well. Another set of Cross's photographs show a Chinese man carrying baskets on a pole across his shoulders, possibly holding vegetables to sell (BANC PIC 1905.02694A and BANC PIC 1905.02694B). This method of selling vegetables was common throughout the 1890s and 1900s. Another undated photograph, a cyanotype from Stanford Special Collections shows a Chinese man on Stanford's Alvarado Row selling vegetables with a similar set of baskets carried on a pole over his shoulders (Figure 3.7).

Figure 3.7: Cyanotype of a Chinese vegetable seller. Faculty housing -- Alvarado Row. Rotated by the author. Stanford Digital Repository. Available at: http://purl.stanford.edu/ps853jn6762

Photos are a reminder of the movement of Chinese employees around campus. In addition to the employees on the Stock Farm, Chinese people were employed in the Stanford residence as well as the homes of neighboring landowners. Memoirs from the first year of the university record "dozens of Chinese servants" among the houses of the Stanfords, Timothy Hopkins' estate in Menlo Park, and later some at Escondite Cottage, the residence of President David Starr Jordan (Elliott 1937: 176, Svanevik and Burgett 2000). Upon their arrival to the new university, Registrar Orrin Elliott and his wife Ellen Coit Elliott were met by Ah Sam, employed in the house of the university's President David Starr Jordan. Ellen Coit Elliott had never been to California before, and she recalled excitedly that Ah Sam "was our first Chinaman, and furnished an early thrill when we spied him squatting by the door of the red barn eating rice out of a bowl with *chopsticks*" (Elliott 1940, emphasis in the original).

Chinese employees were instrumental in the creation of the new university campus in 1891. While they had previously worked on the stock farm tending to horses, crops, and gardens, as well as in the Stanford household, Chinese employees were also responsible for the construction of campus roadways. Prior to the university's completion, Ellen Coit Elliott recalled seeing Chinese workmen "in blue blouses and overalls," and hearing them talk to one another as they laid down the surface of Alvarado Row, one of the first paved roads to connect the university with the planned neighborhood constructed at its edge (Elliott 1940, 222). The Row and the surrounding streets, Mayfield and Lasuen Avenues in particular, would go on to become the main residential section of the campus. As such, it was to be where many Chinese employees spent their working hours, employed as cooks or in other work within faculty and student houses. Fruit and vegetable sellers, like the man in Cross's photograph, were common sights on the early campus selling lettuces and strawberries (Elliott 1940: 222). Lucy Allabach, a resident of Roble, wrote to her family on October 11, 1891: "We have a Chinaman cook who has two assistants, but girls for waiters. The boys have young Chinamen waiters" (Student Letters and Memoirs collection (SC0103), Stanford University Archives.). According to Lucy's memories of 1891, all of the cooks in the dining halls were Chinese, as well as servers in the men's dining hall.

Apart from Encina's dining hall, there were other Chinese-staffed restaurants and eating clubs on campus. Male students who could not afford rooms in Encina Hall, or who were attracted by the promise of a "self-supporting" lifestyle, began to take rooms in the former construction worker shacks called "the Camp" (Elliott 1940, 210). One Chinese employee named Mock Chong had been a cook for the construction workers, and opened a restaurant for the Camp's occupants as well as visitors from Encina. Relations between the students and Mock Chong were not always smooth: according to student-turned-Camp administrator Dane Coolidge, "Certain men from Encina were in the habit of boarding with the Chinaman and then showing their scorn of his restaurant by booing and throwing cups at the waiter" (Elliott 1940, 211). This behavior was frowned upon by the Camp's student staff, so they banned students who continued to abuse Mock Chong. Even after the reprimand, Mock Chong seems to have either had a kind heart, or relented out of interest in keeping his job: Coolidge recalled, "The first man to throw a cup after was dismissed, and when [Mock Chong] again began to feed him, I warned [Mock Chong] not to do so again on pain of losing his lease" (Elliott 1940, 211). Although the Camp would be described by California historian Kevin Starr as "the symbolic domicile of self-reliance" and a "self-managed, democratic co-operative . . . filled with serious, hard-working students" (1973,

326), the tensions with Mock Chong suggest that it was also a stage for testing the power of the predominantly white male students versus the Chinese restaurant manager.

The majority of Mock Chong's menu was never recorded, but the sentiments expressed by students and by campus staff suggest that there was some distrust of it. Whether this had to do with the cuisine, the origin of the ingredients, or only the cook is not clear. Chinese cooks would sometimes serve their traditional food to their employers. An undated article from *The New York World*, reprinted in *Good Housekeeping* in 1888 or 1889, described how "Everybody is talking about Mrs. Stanford's Chinese cook's recipe for bird-nest soup." However, most cooks who prepared food for students did so according to Euro-American recipes. In her October 11, 1891 letter home, Lucy Allabach described, "The variety is something to tell about but not all is good," prophetic of ongoing trends in college cuisine. Later, there is anecdotal evidence that other college students at Stanford's rival, the University of California, may have felt prejudiced against ingredients supplied from Chinatowns. In the 1920s, at the Zeta Psi fraternity at the University of California, the residents reprimanded a Chinese employee for negotiating grocery contracts in Oakland's Chinatown rather than, in the words of an alumnus, with "a proper Italian grocer" (Wilkie 2010). The belief that ingredients could be prepared, but not supplied, by Chinese people echoes perceived divisions of class between Chinese cooks and other "laborers."

Some of the original Stock Farm staff remained at the university decades after the death of Leland Stanford in 1893 and Jane in 1905. According to the 1910 Census, 6 Chinese men had a permanent residence at Stanford and may all have been living at the Arboretum quarters: Ah Chong (age 53), Ah Wah (56), Ah Wah (46), Ah Bong (53), Ah Shing (39), and Ah Chue (52) (United States Census Bureau 1910). Ten years later, the census taker recorded four: Ah Suye (54), Ah Wah (65), Ah Gon (64), and Chong Wah (72) (United States Census Bureau 1920). The differences in both names and ages suggests there was still some turn-over of residents during the 1910s. Ah Wah, the last employee to leave before the cabins' destruction, remained until 1925. On June 5 that year, *The Daily Palo Alto* ran a story about Ah Wah's departure after 37 years of work for the Stanfords and the university:

> Ah Wah, the oldest employe [sic] of Stanford University, is going to leave for China as soon as he obtains his passport. Ah Wah is 74 years old, and has worked here for thirty-seven years. He was employed as carpenter on the old Stanford farm, before the founding of the University. At that time his job was to keep the picket fences and gates enclosing the four or five hundred horses in repair. Recently he has been working in the University greenhouse. When Ah Wah returns to China he will see his wife, from whom he has been absent for forty years. His grandson is employed as a cook in the Russell cafeteria in Palo Alto. He has lost three sons: two in Mexico, and one in China.

Ah Wah was one of the many Chinese immigrants living in a split household from his wife and whose children had traveled to Mexico, part of the Chinese diaspora beyond California. His grandson remained employed in Palo Alto, a reminder that family ties remained on both sides of the Pacific. Other employees may well have descendants who continue to live in the Bay Area or elsewhere in the United States.

Authorization and Project Timeline

My interest in the potential of archaeology at the Arboretum's Chinese Laborer's Quarters arose in 2009 during the completion of my capstone research paper for my degree in History at Stanford University. Inspired by the work of Barb Voss (2005, 2008), under the direction of Dr. Allyson Hobbs I researched the role of Chinese employees at Stanford and Palo Alto prior to 1910 (Lowman 2010). I discussed archival research with Laura Jones, who mentioned that some artifacts related to the Chinese employees had been recovered during a utility trench excavation in the arboretum in the early 1980s by campus employee Jeff Fairbairn and Jim Rutherford (see "Prior Excavations" below). Formal discussions of the potential for archaeological work related to the Chinese at Stanford began on October 25, 2012 when I sent an e-mail to Laura Jones proposing a future analysis of previously excavated archaeological materials and further excavation to recover more. This was followed by a meeting on October 31 when we discussed the potential locations for campus research, including the Arboretum Chinese Quarters site.

A team under the direction of Laura Jones, including Julie Cain, Koji Ozawa, and Tim Wilcox, completed the first formal survey of the Arboretum site in Fall 2014, registering it with the Department of Parks and Recreation. On Thursday, April 23 2015, I photographed all of the objects previously recovered from the surface by Jeff Fairbairn and Jim Rutherford and used these photographs extensively in my future community presentations and in my object-oriented interviews with community members (see Chapter 4). I submitted my first draft of a proposal for summer and fall survey and excavation on January 27, 2016. I proposed conducting a combination of three survey techniques (pedestrian survey, ground penetrating radar, and metal detection) to establish an area to sample, followed by a 6-week excavation period for the digging of 1 x 1 meter units using 10 cm arbitrary levels and screening dirt through a 1/8" screen. I received comments from Laura Jones on February 23 and comments from Barb Voss on April 21, including the suggestion to model sampling on the near-surface methods proposed by Furnis and Maniery (2015) in their work on Chinese worker's camps. I submitted a revisions May 27.

Following the submission of my draft proposal, on July 7 Stanford University Land Use & Environmental Planning Office provided me with a composite map of three layers in order to plan future excavations. These included the Leland Stanford Junior University Insurance Maps (featured above in Figure 3.6) created in October 1917, overlaid with a utilities map from Stanford Maps and Records created in 2015, an aerial image from May 2013, and topography from USGS LiDAR 2006 at a 1 ft interval. This composite utilities map (referred to below as "the composite utilities map") would help determine the placement of my site datum and future surface and subsurface surveys. I chose a site grid for excavation on Friday May 6, with the help of Kirsten Vacca and Alexandra McCleary from UC Berkeley. I selected a datum point northeast of the site area close to the Arizona Garden, using one of UC Berkeley's Sokkia SET 530r3 Total Station to backsite to a permanent fenced area west of the Arizona Garden. I marked the datum with a 2-foot length of rebar, spray painted white and then covered with a safety cone.
With invasive work suspended until a Land Use Agreement could be reached later in the year, I began remote sensing surveys of the site area using non-invasive techniques on Saturday October 8 with the approval of Laura Jones. With the help of Alexandra McCleary and Annie Danis from UC Berkeley, I conducted two sets of transects in the largest open areas close to the site. I chose the location of the GPR transects based on the proposed location of the buildings included on the

composite utilities map as well as the area's accessibility, free from trees and dense bushes. Results from these transect helped determine the placement of the first units when excavation began the following month.

I entered into the Land Use Agreement for conducting archaeological hand excavation during Fall 2016, signed by myself and Laurie Wilkie as co-Principle Investigators on October 13 and approved by Laura Jones and Vice Provost for Academic Affairs Stephanie Kalfayan and Director of Capital Planning and Space Management Craig Tanaka on November 4, 2016. This form allowed limited subsurface testing to take place. Terms of the agreement included the provision of temporary fencing by UC Berkeley, the protection of the area's trees, and an agreement for the temporary transfer of artifacts to UC Berkeley's Historical Archaeology lab for examination prior to their return to Stanford within a 2-year period. Because the approval period expired at the end of 2016, I significantly revised my plan of work, scaling back from my initial proposal of six 1x1 meter units by beginning only three, and instead focusing on 50x50 cm shovel test pits (STPs) in areas suggested by surface deposits or by GPR results.

Setup for excavation began on Thursday November 10. I arranged for the rental of ten 12-foot panels of chain-link fence with a plain canvas windscreen from National Rent-a-Fence to provide an enclosed area for conducting excavations, storing hand-held equipment including screens, shovels, trowels, and tape measures, and protecting any exposed materials from passersby. I based the initial location of the fence on an area where surface finds had occurred during earlier surface and geophysical survey and where foliage would not be damaged during the excavation process. Further survey and excavation proceeded intermittently from Friday November 11 until Saturday December 31, 2016 for a total of 18 workdays over this period. While not working at the site, I marked the STPs with safety cones and covered active excavation areas with tarp. The STPs yielded very few artifacts, however they helped to establish a site-wide pattern of similar soil changes that indicated the presence of historic artifacts at the surface and near-surface level with a soil change approximately 10 cm below the surface and sterile around 40 cm.

I submitted a request for renewal with a new work plan on December 23, 2016. On January 8, Laura Jones proposed a new workplan with her team from Stanford Heritage Services to conduct auguring and further STP survey in a grid across the entire site area. The results of Laura's team's work produced a new site grid with hotspots indicating greatest artifact density in an area outside of my previous survey areas located just east of the southern edge of the permanent chain link fence separating the Arboretum land from the neighboring paved parking lot. Work under Laura Jones' supervision continued from February through July, including an archaeological field school with Stanford undergraduates and volunteers. It was during this time that the likely kitchen midden trench was first identified in the survey hotspot area. Excavation ended in July 2017, when I helped backfill both Laura Jones team's midden area and my previous STPs. Interactions with Chinese American community members continued throughout and during subsequent artifact analysis, including a community day held at the Field Conservation Facility on Wednesday January 31, 2018. Analysis of the materials recovered from the STPs and midden area continued with the aid of UC Berkeley undergraduates Minxing Chen, Josie Miller, Halee Yue and Becca Fielding through the Undergraduate Research Apprentice Program (URAP) program. Physical analysis ended on June 1, 2018, when I returned all materials, except for one medicine bottle still being analyzed remotely, to the Field Conservation Facility.

Prior Excavations

During the early 1980s, campus employee Jeffrey Fairbairn stumbled upon surface artifacts in the vicinity of the arboretum site. “I was in the habit of walking around the campus on my lunch hour and just started poking around in some mounds and depressions near the cactus garden,” he recalled (personal communication, April 11, 2016). He had discovered what was likely the edge of the site’s kitchen midden, and found “pieces of china, butchered pork bones and other items including the opium tin lid.” It is possible that these materials had been disturbed during a recent trench for utilities which resulted in the small mounds of earth Jeff recalled. Jeff then brought his finds to Dr. Bert Alfred Gerow, a former student of Alfred Kroeber who had been a professor of California archaeology at Stanford from 1951 to 1979 (Fitzgerald, Hildebrandt and Leventhal 2004). Jeff said that at the time of his first discovery, Dr. Gerow maintained an office and collection in the basement of the campus museum, today the Cantor Arts Center. Gerow sent his assistant, Jim Rutherford, to assist Jeff with recovering materials. Jim and Jeff walked the site collecting pig bones, ceramics, and other materials visible on the surface. Jim returned several times on his own to add more material. All work by both Jim and Jeff took place between 1981 and 1984 (Cain, Ozawa, and Wilcox 2014, 4). As part of excavation preparations, I met with Jeff to walk the site together on Friday April 15, 2016.

While the site remained unmarked and unexcavated following the brief Fairbairn/Rutherford investigation, its proximity to the Stanford Medical School just southwest of it, a large parking lot to the west, and the Arizona Garden to the northeast meant that the site became a regular pathway for pedestrians and cyclists, which may have continuously disturbed the artifacts remaining on the surface. I first visited the site with the intent to locate surface artifacts on December 25, 2013 and noted glass, bamboo-pattern, wintergreen, and brown glaze stoneware ceramics easily visible scattered on the ground. The site was formally registered with the Department of Parks and Recreation in the fall of 2014 by a team from Laura Jones’ lab including historian Julia Cain, Koji Ozawa, and Tim Wilcox. During the 2014 survey, the team collected three artifacts including a stoneware sherd, a glass bottle shard, and a piece of folded tin (Cain, Ozawa, and Wilcox 2014). The team also brought a metal-detector to the site and noted that its readings indicated further subsurface deposits.

Ground Penetrating Radar

The use of ground-penetrating radar (GPR) was an important step in the process of determining the location of excavation work, although ultimately the results of these excavations indicated deposits would most likely be found outside the area accessible using GPR. GPR maps archaeological features in three dimensions by processing data from a tightly spaced grid of collection surfaces (Conyers 2006, 329). GPR can identify subsurface features that have no surface trace, or indicate soil change invisible to the naked eye. GPR “provides targets for excavation and therefore can provide optimal use of limited excavation funds and time” (Whittaker 2009, 71). GPR works by recording the two-way travel time of radar reflections, the amplitude of the waves, and the multiple frequencies of the recorded waves and producing images based on these (Conyers 2012, 31). When the density of the ground or materials beneath the ground’s surface differ markedly along a boundary between one another, the velocity of the

waves change, producing a corresponding change in the imagery (Conyers 2004). These interface changes cause the waves to move at different speeds depending on their substance. A hollow space would appear quite different from concrete or loose soil. Since the depth and accuracy obtainable from GPR varies by wave frequency, the choice of frequency should reflect the intent of the research question and the environmental conditions. Usually, the greater the depth, the lower the frequency (10-200 MHz) required to pick up phenomena, but also the lower the resolution (Conyers 2013, 62). A low frequency antenna might reach many meters underground, while in contrast, a high frequency, 900 MHz antenna will only penetrate 1 m into the ground.

GPR has been successful means for locating historical structures, including foundations and wells, when used as one line of evidence alongside historic maps and surface surveys. Wall foundations may not easily show up in GPR but a scatter of debris is often an indication of a buried building (Bevan 2006, 27). A variety of sources, including historical documentation and maps, helps when identifying these kinds of scatters (Bevan 2006, 31; Whittaker 2009, 71; see also Hyde, Montifolca, and Mattingly 2012; Mallios 2008). Oral history can be useful too, such as in Conyers' work at the Japanese-American internment Camp Amache. Conyers used a 900 MHz antenna, knowing that subsurface remains likely did not exist below a one-meter depth, and found that metal and brick foundations showed up clearly in the GPR grids (Conyers 2012, 125-126). Since metal is particularly visible in GPR readouts, while plastic will produce only a low amplitude (Conyers 2012, 35), GPR can be useful at sites where there has been later 20th century or 21st century deposits of trash. Given the availability of historic maps of the arboretum site, the dry conditions of the area for most of the year, and the success of GPR for locating artifact scatters, I believed that it could be a useful tool for identifying the location of potential archaeological remains at Stanford.

GPR work took place on Saturday October 8, 2016 with the help of Alexandra McCleary and Annie Danis, two graduate students from UC Berkeley with whom I had prior experience running GPR surveys. We chose two areas in which to run GPR transects. The choice of areas was partly based on the results of my georeferencing of the 1917 insurance map of the site, and partly determined by the areas accessible for running transects. While there were weeds and eucalyptus leaves as overburden, the ground surface was flat and easy to traverse. We set up two grids, one southeast of the possible location of the kitchen building and one to the southeast of this, closer to the possible location of the boarding house. We used the GSSI SIR 3000 GPR supplied by Berkeley's Archaeological Research Facility, fitted with a 900 MHz antenna since I anticipated deposits would be close to the surface. We set nanosecond range to 15 and the dielectric (DIEL) value to 4; ideal DIEL for completely dry clay is 3 but slightly wet conditions caused us to raise the value slightly (see Reynolds 1997). We set up two grids, the north grid 10 x 19 meters and the south grid 12 x 17 meters, using wooden flags to avoid interference with the machine (Figure 3.8). Running from south to north, we completed two grids using the survey wheel method of collection. In both cases, we brought the machine as close to the western side of the site (toward the parking lot) as possible before vegetation obstructed out work. Processing the two grids in the program GPR Viewer resulted in a series of vertical reflection profiles based on the GPR readouts, which I then knit together to form slice maps using the program Surfer 8 from Golden Software.

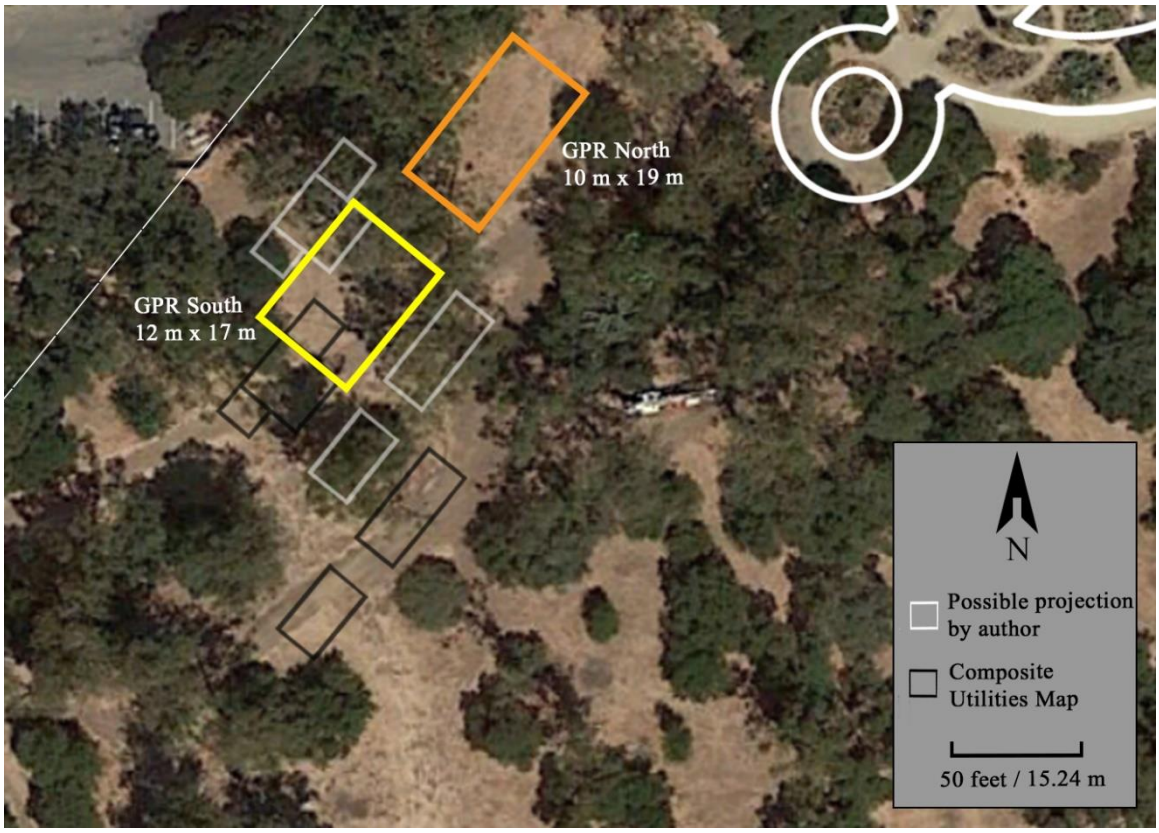


Figure 3.8: Map of GPR grids North and South, showing possible location of structures based on a projected version of Map 61 of the Leland Stanford Junior University Insurance Maps (1917) by the author (white) and the "Composite Utilities Map" (black). Background: Google Earth, 8/2018.

Results of the GPR survey indicated the highest changes in density in the two grids surveyed occurred between 20 and 40 cm below the ground surface. These areas are highlighted in the following images of the north GPR grid (Figure 3.9). Later, I placed the location of STP 4 according to the location of some of these readings. They also helped to determine the location of augering with Garrett Trask from Laura Jones' team in March, 2017. However, results from both STP 4 and the later auger tests indicated no substantial deposits related to the changes in soil density indicated by the GPR (see "STP 4" below).

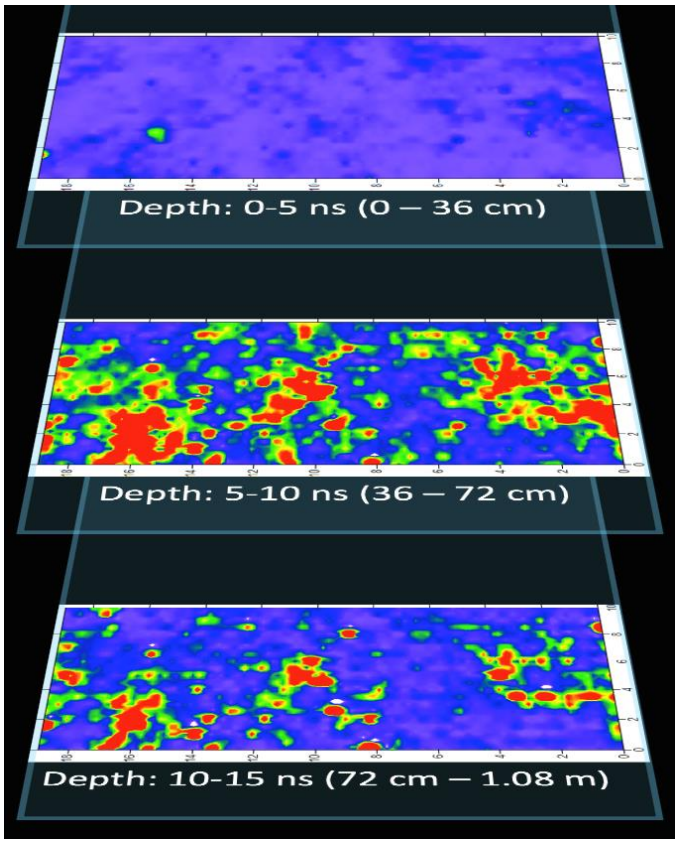


Figure 3.9: Readout of GSSI SIR 3000 GPR for Northern GPR Square, visualized in Surfer 8 from Golden Software and overlaid in PowerPoint.

I believe that GPR could still be useful at similar sites elsewhere, but foliage and the ephemerality of the wooden structures contributed to surface surveys and STPs being a far more accurate method for locating deposits. Laura Jones' sitewide shovel test pits in spring 2017 located more substantial subsurface deposits on the west of the potential site area close to the fence dividing the arboretum and the parking lot and covered by dense foliage. Ground plants and bushes had to be cut back to access this area, which would have been inaccessible to GPR. The GPR survey results were not ultimately a useful method for locating subsurface deposits, but the soil change they indicated at roughly 40 cm corresponded to sterile soil across the site.

Surface Survey

While artifacts such as glass and ceramic fragments could be observed on the surface during my first visit to the site area in 2013, the formal flagging and collection of surface artifacts did not occur until November 11, 2013. The goal of this survey was to help determine potential locations for future excavation. The survey was conducted with the aid of volunteers from UC Berkeley as well as Chinese American community members in attendance at the opening event. Using red polyvinyl pin flags, volunteers walked the site area from south to the north distributed four feet from one another in a straight line, adding flags whenever they spotted a potential artifact on the ground surface (Figure 3.10). Volunteers were instructed not to remove potential artifacts from the surface. After the survey was complete, the other archaeologists and I inspected each flag to determine whether the object was natural, historical, or modern.


Figure 3.10: Pin flags placed by archaeologists and volunteers marking potential surface finds. Photo by the author.

Refraining from picking up materials we deemed modern such as plastic or natural such as colored stone, we recorded the object locations and bagged 36 individual objects as potentially historical materials. These included 19 ceramic pieces, 6 bottle glass, 3 brick or other construction material, 1 white metal endcap possibly for a modern fence, 1 piece of charcoal, 1 shell, and 1 animal bone. They also included some important small finds: a white four-hole Prosser button, a black glass gaming piece, a Chinese medicine bottle, and an aluminum military token. Discussion of selected diagnostic materials continues below.

2016 Limited Excavation Methods and Results

Prior to formally breaking ground, activities on Friday November 11 featured an opening ceremony and acknowledgement of ancestors arranged by Gerry Low-Sabado. During an interview with Gerry on July 13, she had mentioned a still-extant bunkhouse structure where Chinese employees had lived on the estate of the Shinn family, now the Shinn Historical Park and Arboretum in Fremont. Although this structure had been moved from its original location, the Chinese bunkhouse on the Shinn property may be one of the few remaining structures where Chinese gardeners and groundskeepers once lived. At a meeting at the bunkhouse on November 7, Gerry expressed great interest not only in attending the opening of Stanford excavations, but also conducting a ceremony in acknowledgment of ancestors. Gerry had previous experience conducting a similar ceremony for Bryn Williams' excavations at Point Alones in Monterey, the homeplace of Gerry's ancestors who arrived shortly after the Gold Rush. Gerry held ceremonies on Friday in front of the small set-up crew including Laurie Wilkie, Laura Jones, and volunteers

from Berkeley (Figure 3.11), and again on Sunday for a larger gathering of volunteers and community members including representatives from the closest Chinese heritage organization, the Chinese Historical and Cultural Project (CHCP) based in San Jose and focused on Chinese American history and heritage in Santa Clara. Then-CHCP President Brenda Hee Wong and Connie Young Yu both attended.

Figure 3.11: Gerry Low-Sabado performs her ceremony honoring Chinese ancestors, November 11, 2016. Photo by the author.

Part of the ceremony included the distribution of cups to the archaeologists, volunteers, community members, and other attendees as Gerry suggested each of us pour the contents on the ground somewhere on the site and think about the people who lived and worked there (see Chapter 4). This concluded the ceremony, and excavation began.

Unit and STP Strategy

I used three different strategies for deciding the location of units and STPs. The first was to excavate areas where the GPR suggested soil density transitions. These tended to be located between 20 and 50 cm in depth according to the GPR readouts. The second was to excavate areas suggested by projections of historic maps. Because my own projection and the composite utilities map projection supplied by the university's Land Use & Environmental Planning Office differed, I chose areas where the possible locations of the buildings intersected (Figure 3.12). I chose spots where the composite utilities map suggested building walls, attempting to find stone, brick, or rubble related to box frame house construction, if any foundations existed at all. STP 4 was placed directly over changes in density indicated in the north GPR grid. STP 5 was placed in the vicinity of numerous surface artifacts including ceramics and window glass.

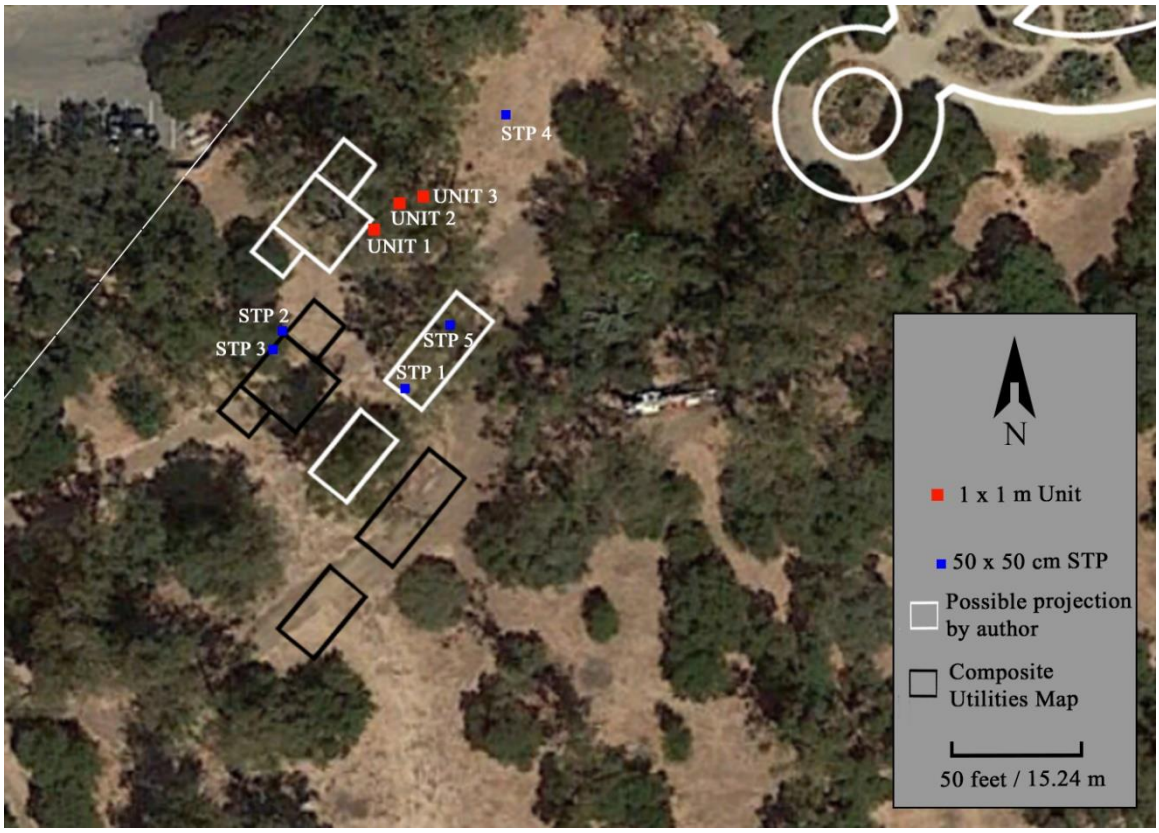


Figure 3.12: Map of Units and 50 x 50 STPs, showing possible location of structures based on a projected version of Map 61 of the Leland Stanford Junior University Insurance Maps (1917) by the author (white) and the "Composite Utilities Map" (black). Background: Google Earth, 8/2018.

Unit 1

I chose the location of Unit 1 based on the results of the GPR survey, which indicated a change in density about 20 cm below the ground surface in this area. Excavation by Laurie Wilkie and Alexandra Farnsworth began November 11, initially using hand tools including trowels and brushes and digging to natural levels. After removing the surface layer of gravel and pebbly soil with considerable eucalyptus tree debris, the excavators encountered an extremely hard, highly compacted ground surface at about 10 cm in depth. Excavation with hand tools proved difficult. On November 12, both volunteer Bright Zhou, a Stanford undergraduate, and I attempted to continue excavating this unit with the use of a mattock to loosen the compacted surface, but closed the unit after completing the first level down to 10 cm below surface (13 cm below the datum).

The first 10 cm of excavation yielded 62 artifacts, including 2 whiteware ceramic pieces, 11 pieces of glass, a screw, one wire nail, and one cut nail. There were also 31 pieces of charcoal. All artifacts were recovered from the 1/8" screens. The density and even level of the compacted surface, the lack of similar surfaces in all other areas of the site, and the presence of many pebbles suggested the possibility that the area had been purposefully compacted or paved with crushed stone, similar to a macadam road. Macadam roads, popular in the mid- and late-nineteenth century, were based on the design of Scottish engineer John Loudon McAdam (1756-

1836) who developed a technique for rapid road building using even layers of crushed stone (Lay 1992). Further excavation in the neighboring area could determine the extent of this compacted surface, but due to the limited number of excavation days available under the permit terms, I decided to focus work elsewhere after establishing the presence of the surface throughout the unit.

Unit 2

Unit 2 was located a little west of center in the fenced area, just west of two small eucalyptus trees. This was a location chosen midway between units 1 and 3 to test for continuity in natural soil levels between them. Excavation by Annie Danis and Katie Kinkopf began November 11, 2016 using trowels and brushes and digging to natural levels. The shallow Level 1 of loose mixed loam and sandy soil lasted 2 centimeters before transitioning to two very different soil surfaces below it. After I began on Level 2 on the first day, Annie and Katie chose to divide the second level into these naturally different surfaces, Level 2A for the looser, sandy loam located on the unit's northern half and completed on November 12, and denser sandy clay in the unit's southern half and completed on November 13 by Alyssa London. Alyssa employed limited use of the mattock due to the clay's density, but it broke easily compared to the solid surface encountered in Unit 1. Alyssa closed Levels 2A and 2B at a transition to a unit-wide lighter and sandier soil 10 cm below the ground surface. Alyssa continued to excavate Layer 3 on November 13, but closed the level after 5 cm due to a lack of any additional artifacts apart from stone and charcoal for an ultimate depth of 15 cm (21.5 cm below datum).

Unit 2 yielded 113 artifacts, including 53 in Level 2, 35 in looser Level 2A, 4 in denser Level 2B, and 6 in Level 3 (5 pieces of charcoal and a stone). Of these, there were 4 pieces of ceramic, 18 pieces of glass, and 2 pieces of metal, one ferrous rim of a 19 cm diameter can and 1 white metal end-cap with a screw interior of unknown use. The single piece of whiteware ceramic recovered from Level 1 has spots of color on one side that could be the edge of decoration, but unfortunately the object is too small to tell without further comparison. Many of the other objects recovered here were fragmentary as well. The contrast in artifacts found between Level 2A and 2B suggests further separation between the two soil types, the softer soil with more abundant artifacts in the northern half of the unit and the harder soil with few in the southern. While not as hard as the pebbly compact surface in Unit 1, the southern edge of the unit could represent a transition to that compact surface.

Unit 3

Unit 3 was located at the northeastern extent of the fenced area close to the southern edge of the GPR north grid. The GPR indicated subsurface changes in density lining this southern edge of the grid beginning at 20 cm in depth. Excavation by myself, Katrina Eichner, and Kirsten Vacca began November 11, 2016 using trowels and brushes and digging to natural levels. The shallow Level 1 of loose mixed loam and sandy soil continued only a centimeter down before transitioning to more compact clay. Level 2 continued an additional 4 to 5 cm down, consisting of loamy clay with numerous pebble and cobble inclusions but lacking the density or compactness of Unit 1. Tree roots from nearby eucalyptus ran through the northern half of the unit on both sides. The excavators closed Level 2 at a transition to lighter and sandier soil, noting that the Level 2 / Level 3 transition appeared similar to the soil change in Unit 2's Level 2 / Level 3 transition, although here the transition appeared slightly higher, about 6 cm below the

ground surface (12 cm below the datum). Due to the lack of artifacts in Unit 2's Level 3, the Unit was closed on November 13.

Unit 3 yielded 76 artifacts. This included 3 pieces of ceramic, 28 pieces of glass, and no metal. There were only 3 pieces of charcoal. All artifacts were recovered from 1/8' screens. 2 pieces of glass were colorless and flat, one with a thickness of 2.7 mm and the other 1.8 mm thick, likely window glass. With the transition to lighter yellow sandy clay, units 2 and 3 appeared to have reached sterile between 6 and 15 cm below the ground surface. However, this was significantly above the 20 cm depth that GPR suggested as a density transition, which was one reason that I transitioned my focus from the 1 x 1 meter units to smaller 50 x 50 cm units in a wider variety of places across the site.

50x50 STP1

After the first day of excavation and the discovery of the compact layer at 10 cm below ground surface in Unit 1, I began a new STP outside the fenced area (Figure 3.13). I chose a spot close to where the composite utilities map suggested the boarding house, or "Rooms" as it is labeled on the 1917 map, once stood. This was one of the areas where surface artifacts had been found during the survey on the first day. I also wanted to document whether the compact surface uncovered in Unit 1 extended southward. I chose to use a hybrid method between an STP and a full unit, laying out a 50 cm square oriented north to south but digging initially with a shovel before switching to using a trowel as the soil became denser. My intent was to go deeper more quickly than in the 1 x 1 m units, but maintain straight walls in order to judge stratigraphy.

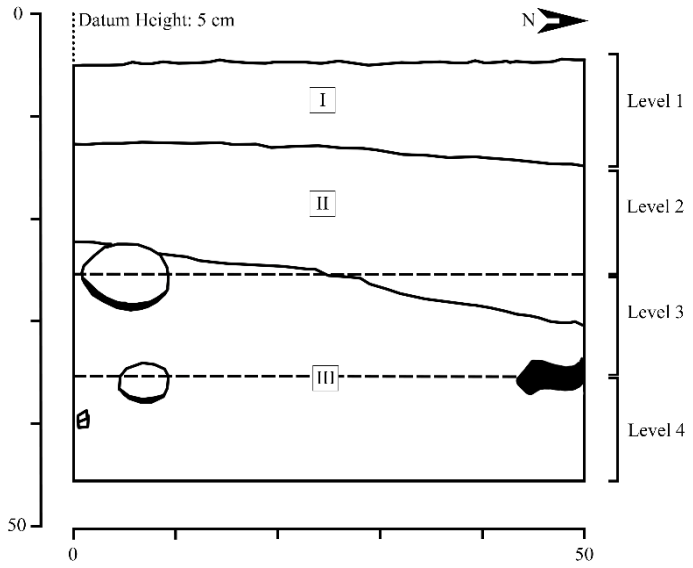


Figure 3.13: STP 1, final west wall profile.

Figure 3.14: STP 1, Level 4 close facing north.

I began digging STP 1 on November 12, removing a very dark brown loose loamy clay mixed with an abundance of fallen eucalyptus leaves from the surface and continuing down for ten centimeters. Modern trash like cigarette butts appeared for the first two centimeters below the surface. One piece of glass, an amber bottle base of 3.5 cm diameter with the Owens Illinois mark, was on the surface of the unit. After the soil change at about 14 cm below the datum or 9 cm below the ground surface, I switched to arbitrary 10 cm levels and used these for the other

50x50 cm units. The rest of the unit yielded a piece of colorless vessel glass and one piece of flat glass in Level 1, 2 pieces of colorless vessel glass in Level 2 where there was quite a bit of bioturbation and roots in the northwest corner, and 1 piece of brown glaze stoneware from Level 3 between 25 and 35 cm below the datum (20-30 cm below the surface). The soil darkened to dark yellowish brown with depth. Beginning at 29 cm in Level 3, small chips of red stone or bricks began to emerge on the southern edge of the unit, which I collected. The small chips of red stone or brick continued in Level 4 down to 44 cm. I closed the unit on November 18 at 45 cm below datum having reached the level at which GPR suggested changes in soil density elsewhere and not recovering any diagnostic artifacts for the last 10 cm.

50x50 STP2

I chose the location of STP 2 based on the projected location of the kitchen in the composite utilities map, positioning it on an area close to where the map suggested a corner of the building might be. I wanted to test whether there was any evidence of brick or rubble foundations or any separation between a former dirt floor and natural soil layers. I began digging using a shovel and transitioning to a trowel on November 20th, encountering large stones in the center of the unit which initially gave me hope that there was a building foundation of some kind (Figure 3.15). I recorded and photographed the rocks before removing them to dig deeper.

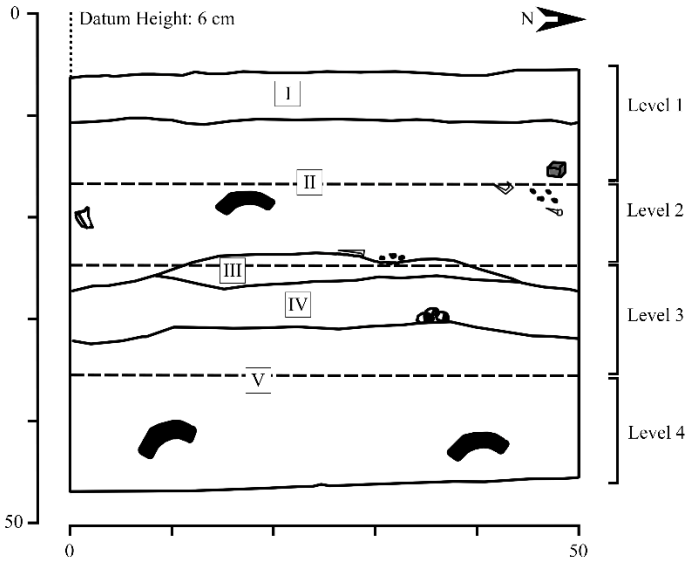


Figure 3.15: STP 2, final west wall profile.

Figure 3.16: STP 2, Level 4 close facing north.

Level 1 yielded 4 pieces of charcoal and 4 wire nails, all cut and incomplete, as well as two pieces of glass, one aqua and one colorless. Level 2 proved to be the most complicated layer. Although disturbed by roots throughout, it also yielded the most artifacts of any single arbitrary level among the 50x50 STPs. 4 wire cut nails, one of which was bent like a fishhook, emerged between 13 and 17 cm below the ground surface. There were numerous charcoal inclusions, and I collected the 25 large enough to be picked up without disintegrating. A piece of brown

glazeware emerged at 19.5 cm depth in the southwestern corner of the unit. Soil color transitioned at 21 cm to a lighter color of yellowish brown, but darkened again almost immediately below that. This alternating pattern of looser and lighter soil and darker, more compact soil continued in Level 3 between 19 and 29 cm below the surface. This level yielded a flat ferrous metal piece. 6 cm x 4 cm, as well as continued charcoal and chips of red stone or brick similar to the tiny pieces that had emerged at a similar depth in STP 1. While charcoal and the small stones continued in Level 4 through 40 cm below the surface, nothing further emerged and I closed the unit on December 2.

50x50 STP 3

After the relative abundance of artifacts in STP 2 Level 2, I chose to open a second 50x50 STP nearby but positioned further south along the wall of the Kitchens building according to the composite utilities map. Excavation was done by David Hyde from UC Berkeley and began on December 2 using a trowel. Small rock and charcoal inclusions appeared throughout. A spot of grey-green soil in the southeastern corner emerged at 2 cm below the surface. Artifacts in Level 1 included pink glazed earthenware with lines on the back resembling those on a tile, and a piece of bright green glass, both of which appeared modern. One other piece of colorless glass and small stones and a piece of charcoal were the only other artifacts. Level 2 yielded no additional artifacts. After David Hyde opened Level 3, I took over excavation when he had to leave. Level 3 had a root running south to north, with more compact soil on the north and south edges. A rodent burrow emerged in the center of the unit, along with a circular spot of differently colored soil 2.5 cm in diameter at 32 cm below the ground surface. I recorded the spot as Munsell 10 YR 3/3, contrasting with the rest of the unit's 10 YR 4/4 soil.

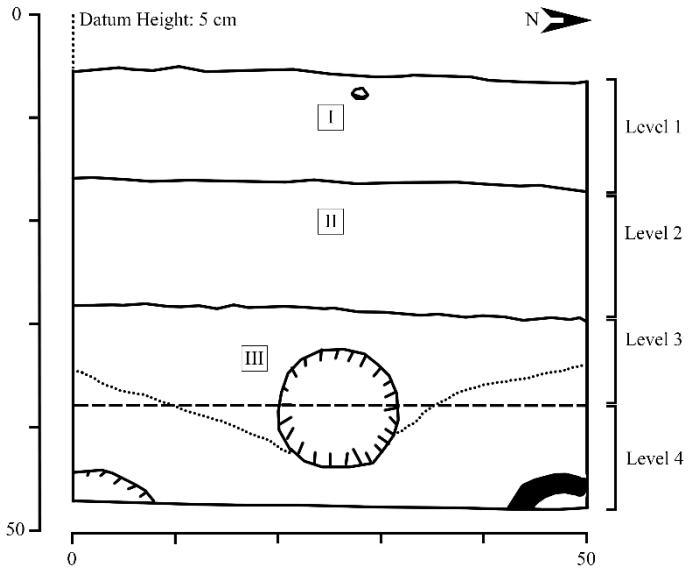


Figure 3.17: STP 3, west wall profile. Profile does not include Level 5A, dug in unit's center.

Figure 3.18: STP 3, Level 4 close facing north. Level 5A in center.

Continuing to Level 4, the circular spot continued the same throughout the next 10 cm, surrounded by a large rodent burrow that ran from the southwest to the northeast corner of the unit. While no further artifacts besides charcoal and small stones appeared, I designated a 20 x 20 cm area in the center of the unit surrounding the differently colored circle to dig more quickly and pursue what I hoped might be a feature. This led to Level 5A, dug to 53 cm below the ground surface at which point the circle disappeared and the soil became homogenous. The only

potential artifacts recovered from Level 5A were small stones. While the uniform soil density of the differently colored spot and its maintenance of a cylindrical presence between 40 and 53 cm suggested to me that it might be a feature or even a posthole, the small diameter and lack of any other corroborating evidence ultimately did not seem promising. It is possible that the spot was a natural occurrence or the result of previous bioturbation.

50x50 STP 4

The spot for STP 4 corresponded exactly with one of the most dramatic changes in soil density indicated on the GPR north grid. I also noted that the soil in the area slumped slightly down from the soil surrounding it. I began excavating the unit on December 21 using hand tools to dig 10 cm arbitrary levels. Loose loamy clay transitioned to more compact sandy clay at 12.5 cm below the surface. Most of the inclusions appeared just above this transition at 11 cm below the surface. These included a piece of animal bone, 3 pieces of brown glazeware, 6 pieces of glass including 3 flat glass, 1 gray green, 1 milk, and 1 colorless with a curved embossing, and one cut nail, 2 1/16 inches long but missing the head.

Level 2 yielded comparatively few artifacts: 3 small pieces of brown glaze stoneware in the southeast corner surrounded by small charcoal inclusions. An animal burrow ran through the northeast corner throughout this level. Digging further and beginning Level 3 at 23 cm below the ground surface, I encountered bioturbation in the southeast corner and roots in the northwest, but very few artifacts: only charcoal and stone. Finding only one stone in Level 4, I closed the unit on December 26 at a depth of 42 cm below the ground surface.

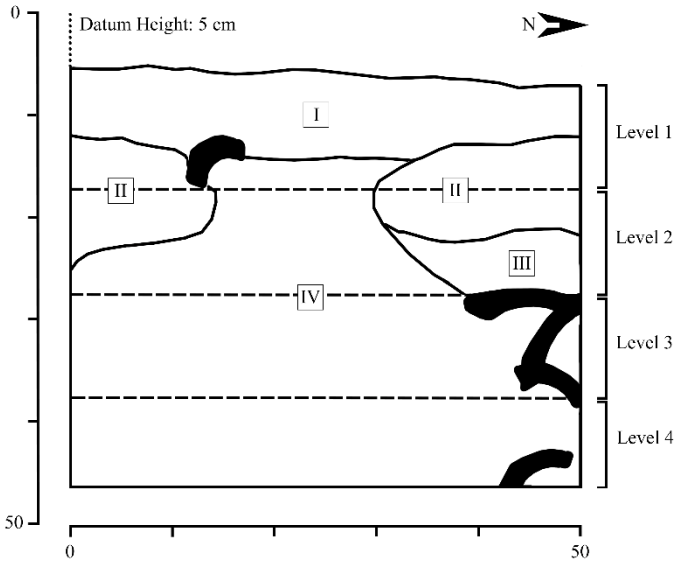


Figure 3.19: STP 4, final west wall profile.

Figure 3.20: STP 4, Level 4 close facing north.

50x50 STP 5

Based on the pattern of artifacts primarily occurring within the first 15 cm below the ground surface, I chose to dig a fifth and final 50 x 50 cm unit to only one level of 15 cm down. Given the lack of discernable below-ground correspondence to the GPR density maps, I also chose the located on my last STP based solely on surface artifact density. The location of STP 5 was east of where any of the maps suggested the buildings had stood, but the surface of this area had quite a few visible artifacts, including 4 pieces of brown glaze stoneware, 13 flat glass shards all 2 mm thick and some of which mended, and 2 pieces of bottle glass, one aqua and one colorless with a three dimensional bubble design on its surface, possibly modern. A further four pieces of brown glaze ware and 1 piece of whiteware were found between 2 and 10 cm below the surface. Most or the artifacts below surface occurred in the northern half of the unit, except for a single piece of glass at just below the surface in the southwestern corner. After recovering the artifacts to 15 cm in depth, I closed the unit on December 31.

Figure 3.21: STP 5, Level 1 open facing north, showing some of the artifacts on the surface.

Unit and Artifact Summary for 2016

The 1x1 m units and 50x50 cm units completed in 2016 established four patterns. First, they seemed to indicate that the GPR had not picked up changes in soil density that corresponded to the presence of discernable artifacts or features. Instead, surface scatters were more likely indicators of additional subsurface deposits. Second, artifacts tended to appear within the first 15 cm below the ground surface. Only a few occurred deeper than this, most notably the piece of brown glaze stoneware found in the 1/8-inch screen from a depth lower than 20 cm below the surface in STP 1's Level 3. Third, charcoal appeared throughout the site as inclusions in the soil, also primarily in shallow levels but continuing deeper than other artifacts. Fourth, soil

consistently changed from grey brown loose soil, with leaves and loam on the surface, to darker loamy clay around 10 cm, and yellower and more compact clay between 30 and 40 cm deep. Both roots and bioturbation were common, which is unsurprising given the number of trees and plants and the native population of ground squirrels and gophers.

Overall, the preliminary survey and excavation yielded a total of 623 artifacts: 148 from the surface survey, 198 from the three 1x1 m units, and 277 from the STPs. Between all three, we recovered 8 pieces of animal bone, 73 ceramic sherds, 134 samples of charcoal, 168 pieces of glass, and 36 pieces of metal including 14 nails. Of the 73 ceramic sherds, 32 were brown glaze stoneware, the largest single category of ceramic type. While some ceramic and bottle glass appeared to be modern, the brown glaze stoneware found both on the surface and at great depth almost certainly dates to the era of the site's occupation by the Chinese employees. See Appendix for a full list of artifacts recovered during the limited excavation in 2016.

Artifact Analysis: Previously Excavated Materials

The first stage of object analysis began in Spring 2015 with the cataloging, photography, and analysis of materials excavated by Jeff Fairbairn and Jim Rutherford between 1981 and 1984. That Spring, I was granted access to the collections. This collection consisted of 158 objects, primarily over 10 cm in size and including 40 pieces of glass, 74 pieces of metal, 24 ceramic sherds, and a small number of animal bones and shells. Small finds also include historical leather shoe soles and a coffee bean, which may be modern.

Object numbers in this section appear with the prefix ACQ_84, indicated "Arboretum Chinese Quarters" and the latest possible date of their collection by Jeff Fairbairn or Jim Rutherford. These numbers were my own for the purpose of keeping track of photographs, and are the same numbers attached to my photographs supplied to Stanford along with the photographs. At the time I photographed the objects in 2015, they did not possess official numbers within the Stanford University Archaeology Collections. These objects also do not include a second box of ceramics and glass, likely belonging to the same site, which had not yet been identified at the time my research began. As of 2019, both collections are located at Stanford's Field Conservation Facility.

Ceramics

Ceramics have been the focus of archaeological work on sites related to the Chinese diaspora because of their ubiquity and the ease of visual identification (pointed out by Williams 2011; see Pastron 1981, Sando and Felton 1993, Stenger 1993, Greenwood 1996, Wegars 2008). In local history, rice bowls and utensils were one of the visual cues for observations of the Chinese at Stanford by others (Elliott, 1940: 185).

The Asian ceramics include three pieces of Winter Green porcelain, which may all be part of a single celadon bowl, ACQ_84.017. The bowl includes an imperial reign mark on its base, but as Choy (2014, 10) has pointed out, these marks are often abstracted to the point of losing diagnostic dating value. However, the piece may have been made during Qing dynasty before 1911, although kilns sometimes added marks as a sign of reverence alone (Choy 2014, 10). Other pieces include a sherd of another common Chinese decoration type, the Bamboo pattern

(ACQ_84.022), hand painted on porcelaneous stoneware, and 9 sherds of brown glazed stoneware. Sando and Felton point out that Bamboo pattern bowls were less expensive than Winter Green ceramics (1993: 167). Stoneware would have been used for purposes such as food storage, while the porcelain and porcelaneous stoneware are often linked to food consumption. Two porcelain sherds, both hand-painted in red-orange, may be Japanese rather than Chinese since they do not fit the traditional Chinese patterns (ACQ_84.023). Stenger (1993) suggests that many ceramic wares identified as Chinese due to their presence on Chinese diaspora sites may in fact be Japanese in origin, but can be distinguished by examining their composition (1993, 319-328). This detracts from interpretations that propose the maintenance of specifically Chinese traditions, and instead suggests a lifestyle far more flexible and international.

Figure 3.22: Fragment of "Rebekah at the Well" teapot. Stanford University Archaeology Collections. Photograph by the author, 3 cm scale.

Slightly fewer in number to the Asian ceramics (14) are ceramics of American and European origin (8). The majority of these are white ironstone, including the base of a plate made by John Edwards and Co. from Fenton, Staffordshire, England and likely produced between 1880 and 1900 (ACQ_84.024, see Kowalski and Kowalski 1999, 184-185). The presence of several ceramic pieces from plates contrasts with single-residence sites such as the Wong How's home on the coast (Greenwood and Slawson 2008), where archaeologists recovered almost exclusively bowls. There, Greenwood and Slawson proposed that this suggested predominantly stir-fried cooking (2008: 75). The Euro-American ceramics include a sherd of Rockingham ware with a dark brown glaze, identifiable as a teapot due to the interior rim to hold the lid, and roughly molded with a tree (Figure 3.22). This is likely part of a "Rebekah at the Well" design (see Pastron 1981, 480 for another example).

Within the context of a single bunk house and single kitchen, there was great diversity in ceramic origins, vessel forms, and decorations. Such a mix of ceramic types in a concentrated context was found by Ritter (1986) in the mining town of Igo near Redding, California. However, with the combined living conditions of the Arboretum Chinese Quarters, this diversity may be indicative of flexibility, reliance on availability and the enmeshment of multiple traditions. The larger plates may also indicate more communal ways of serving and eating food.

Glass

The 42 glass pieces range in color, although the vast majority are from bottles with 6 exceptions. ACQ 84.028 appeared at first to be ceramic but I later identified it as milk glass, embossed letters reading "R MASON" on one side. This was a glass cap designed by Lewis R. Boyd as a lining for metal Mason jar caps, manufactured in large quantities between the 1870s and 1950s (Boyd 1869; Whitten 2013). The assemblage also includes two pieces of pane glass, possibly from windows, part of the rim of a glass lamp, and a glass cup with a handle. The windowpanes may have belonged to small windows like those in a photograph of a contemporary working camp in nearby San Jose (Yu 1991: 10). While several bottles have measuring marks and faint maker's marks, most of these will require further investigation to determine their origins and manufacturing dates. The lamp glass may be found in a Sears catalog, but may also be associated with the remains of two lightbulbs also found in the 1980s pipe trench. Two pieces of bottles recovered from the surface in 2013 and 2015 are easier to identify. ACQ13.002 is a complete brown glass bottle with marks indicating it was made by the Owens Illinois Glass Co. at the Oakland, California plant in 1947. ACQ15.002 is also brown glass, made by the Brockway Glass Co. out of Oakland in 1952 (Lockhart et al. 2018). These bottles suggest the site was used following the destruction of the cabins. Due to its secluded position and proximity to the Stanford mausoleum, it may have been a desirable and atmospheric gathering place for students with libations. The presence of these objects on the surface also suggests the possibility that the older layers of artifacts, encountered in a narrow area with the pipe trench, are still in good condition and available for future archaeological interpretation.

Figure 3.23: “Source of Beauty” Medicine Box. Rutherford/Fairbairn Collection, Stanford University Archaeology Collections. Photograph by the author, 3 cm scale.

Metal

The Rutherford/Fairbairn collection includes 76 metal pieces, mostly nails. Machine cut nails are mostly 6 cm in length. Both wire and machine cut nails are often bent, up to ninety degrees. Ritter has interpreted a similar assemblage as belonging to a demolished wooden structure, resulting from forced removal of the boards (1986: 46). This may be the remains of the rapid demolition of the buildings. Flat ferrous metal, in some cases folded, likely belonged to cans but is seldom preserved in pieces larger than 2 or 3 cm. White metal remains include a screw-end light bulb, with the filaments still intact. There is also a single Chinese coin, previously dated from between 1821 and 1850 (see Williams 2011, 291 for a discussion of coins in Chinese diaspora sites).

The collection includes a metal box, similar to those identified as opium cans at other archaeological sites (Figure 3.23). The characters on the box are those of the Shanghuan Li Yuan (historical spelling: Sheung Wan Lai Yuen, Chinese characters: 上環麗源) brand, translated as “Source of Beauty” (Sando and Felton 1993: 169, see also Ho and Bronson 2015). It is one of the most common brands found in the United States and Canada, with archaeological examples available in the Asian American Comparative Collection. A nearly identical tin is illustrated by Sando and Felton (1993, 168 Fig. 33), recovered from the Woodland Opera House site. Merritt (2009) has shown that the lack of rust on these boxes is due to a combination of their brass composition and lead soldering.

Reflection on Previously Excavated Materials
The presence of a mix of Asian ceramics, medicine and alcohol bottles, an "opium can," and a Chinese coin is a common feature of many sites, but this consistency requires context for interpretation: these artifacts are from a site in the heart of the Bay Area, whose residents would have had access to surrounding Chinatowns and Chinese communities. The similarities between the sample from this site and the completed excavations in far more remote locations, such as the mining camp at Igo north of Redding (Ritter 1986) are worth further investigation. It would seem that regardless of the frequency of access to the distribution of either Asian or European and United States goods, these items were mixed and maintained over time in Chinatowns, in working camps such as that in the Arboretum, and in far remote mining camps as well. The patterns across this geographic diversity indicate a flexibility in the use of materials. While the historical accounts may dwell on the salient material differences, the assemblage suggests something else, an English teapot poured into a Chinese-export Winter Green cup set next to a United States-made plate.

Artifact Analysis: 2016 Materials

Materials recovered during the 2016 survey and preliminary excavation and continued 2017 trench excavations are examined in greater detail in Chapter 4. However, several diagnostic objects do not appear in this further analysis and are worthy of attention here.

Figure 3.24: Medicine Bottle. Stanford University Archaeology Collections. Photograph by the author, 3 cm scale.

Chinese Medicine Bottles

One of the first artifacts recovered during surface surveys was a 6 cm long aqua glass Chinese medicine bottle (Figure 3.24). Bottles of this type were handmade in China and then filled and labeled by pharmacists in the United States according to the Chinese Museum at the Ng Shin Gung temple, part of History San Jose, where a similar bottle containing cinnabar is on permanent display. Bottles of this type are common throughout Chinese railroad camp sites, where they were small enough to be easily carried as the railroad workers moved from camp to camp (Maniery, Allen and Heffner 2016, 43). Another similar bottle was found in excavations at the Warrendale Cannery in Oregon (Fagan 1993, 222-223). Medicine bottles, like the opium can or medicine box discovered during previous excavations, are a reminder of the difficult conditions experienced by Chinese men working in manual labor. Medicines like cinnabar, or *zhu sha* ("red sand"), which is the contents of the bottle at History San Jose, were used to soothe nerves and physical pain. Another bottle with its contents in-tact comes from a railroad maintenance and repair in Terrace, Utah, this one containing Peppermint oil which was used orally to treat digestive issues and topically to ease muscle aches (Maniery, Allen and Heffner 2016, 54). The Arboretum bottle is currently at the University of Idaho for residue analysis to determine whether the contents have survived or can be identified. A second, broken bottle was later discovered in AA92 Level 3. This broken bottle was colorless and would have been larger than the bottle discovered as a surface find.

Figure 3.25: Token produced by L.H. Moise, San Francisco. Stanford University Archaeology Collections. Photograph by the author, 3 cm scale.

Military Token

Another small find from the first day of excavation was a 3 cm diameter aluminum token (Figure 3.25). One side displays the pattern of an equal armed cross with the letters "RED" across its center. On the other is the following: "Co. G. 1st BATL OF INFTY CALIFORNIA U.S. VOL. 320" followed by, in smaller letters, "L.H. MOISE S.F." The manufacturer's name, L.H. Moise, helps date the manufacture of the coin to between 1893 and the early 1900s in San Francisco. The token-making firm L.H. Moise only used the single-name stamp on their tokens during these years, while later tokens bore the name Moise Klinkner Co. (Akin, Bard, and Akin 2016). The date of manufacture suggests that it was struck during the Spanish American War. Company G

of the United States Infantry from California were assigned for overseas combat duty in the Philippines in May 1898, mustering in May 1898 and initially camping in San Francisco's Presidio, before being transferred to Benicia in June, and again to Fort Point in September before mustering out in December the same year (WPA 1940, 5). Even more helpful for the token's identification is the cross marked "RED." The Red Cross worked to provide identification tags for all volunteers and regulars mustering for the Spanish American War in San Francisco (Coats 2006, 160). The organization hoped to avoid the "long rows of graves marked 'Unknown' of the Civil War" and issued aluminum medals with the number, company, and regiment of each soldier, meant to be worn around the neck" (California State Red Cross 1902, 81-82). This pre-dated the creation of official U.S. army dog tags (Wiggins 2015, 147). The token found at the Arboretum Quarters site would have been one of these Red Cross-issued identification tags.

What could be the connection between the token and the Arboretum Quarters? Possibly, the original owner of the token dropped it by accident, either in the Arboretum, or somewhere where one of the Chinese employees found it and brought it there. While Chinese men both fought and worked in support services during the Spanish American War in the Philippines (Strobridge 1994), Company G never left California. Another possibility could be that one of the employees, or a friend or relation, worked as a cook or in another kind of support service for Company G. Stanford University lists the names of all of the students who served in the Spanish American War on a memorial marker in the university's Main Quad. Further research into the individual assignments of students or other people associated with the university at that time could provide further clues for identifying the original owner of the token. The token, by itself, is also a reminder of the continued ambitions of the United States in Asia, as the country engaged in a war that lead to gaining Asian territories and relying on Chinese support, even as it continued to restrict Asian immigration.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I described the historical context of the Arboretum Chinese Quarters site at Stanford University, as well as the process of setting up the survey and limited excavation I conducted in 2016. In spring 2017, I helped on the team led by Laura Jones to continue surveying and excavating the site. As newly discovered artifacts joined previously excavated collections, I continued to conduct oral history interviews and meetings with members of the Chinese American community, whose knowledge and interests shaped the topics I chose to pursue. In the next chapter, I examine some of these, particularly "charismatic" objects that inspired questions and conversations, and look at how these physical remains from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries continue to have relevance to communities now.

Chapter 4: Oral History and Storytelling at Stanford's Arboretum Chinese Quarters

Preface

Using archival, archaeological, and oral historical evidence, I explore how Chinese men living at Stanford University's Arboretum Chinese Quarters navigated changing attitudes toward gender and race at the end of the nineteenth century. Artifacts helped prompt oral history and stories shared by descendants and other members of the local community in California's Bay Area. Based on these interviews and further research into documents and objects, I highlight the intertwined social spheres for the Chinese population at Stanford in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including organizational networks related to kinship and business, and competitive games and athletics. Combining the oral history, documents, and artifacts, I show how these men forged new ways to perform an emergent Chinese American masculinity by combining practices from both sides of the Pacific. The research and excavations begun at the site in 2016 continued to foster the production of heritage for the Chinese American community at Stanford and elsewhere in the Bay Area. Parts of this chapter have previously appeared in an article written for *Chinese America: History and Perspectives* (Lowman 2018a), although I have edited them to incorporate them into a larger narrative.

Introduction

Lauren Yee's (2014) play "King of the Yees," is an autobiographical fantasy about the playwright's Chinese American family history set in San Francisco's Chinatown. The character of Lauren's father, Larry, gently admonishes his daughter, "Make sure you are telling their story, not telling *their* story." Expressed by the actors' voices, the difference between the identical phrases highlights the narrow line walked by a storyteller portraying the past of living communities. Historical archaeologists are just such storytellers, professionals in the interpretation of both material and documentary evidence of people's lives. Like historians and historical fiction writers, historical archaeologists not only synthesize documents, photographs, objects, or orally-recounted narratives, but also interpret them in the context of present perspectives (see Gibb 2000; Praetzellis 1998; Van Dyke and Bernbeck 2015). A thorough synthesis, particularly through the involvement of living communities, ensures that perspective is not one-sided. As Yee reminds the audience in the play, professional storytellers must seek methods that include the perspectives of the communities involved rather than superseding them. The power stories have, as both the substance and the generator of a sense of heritage, should not be ignored.

How does a storyteller help others tell their stories, rather than simply telling stories about others? One method is through *listening* to stakeholder stories prompted by the same source material a professional would use: documents, photographs, and particularly objects. Objects provide unique tools for storytellers. Their ongoing sensations as physical prompts for memories create a common basis for diverse interpretations to articulate with one another. Object-aided oral histories, along with other forms of community involvement, played central roles in the Arboretum Chinese Quarters project. Collaborative practices throughout the study site helped determine research questions and influenced interpretations of the site and its artifacts. These

memory-based methods foreground how physical things foster dialogue and promote understandings of race, class, and gender in the past.

Integrating oral tradition and oral histories into all stages of research expands *ways of knowing* that cultivate collaborative research (Atalay 2012; Colwell 2016). While theoretical discussions of oral history often appear in projects with the involvement of Indigenous peoples, they also feature in work focused on the African diaspora (Morris 2017; Barton and Markert 2012), local communities (Hodder 2008; Moshenska 2007; Praetzellis, Praetzellis, and Van Buren 2007), and communities united through common belongings in social organizations (Wilkie 2010) or professions (Cooper and Yarrow 2012). These projects engage oral history in meaningful ways, considering the personal interests and the culturally contextual ways in which community members engage with material. As noted by T. J. Ferguson and Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2006, 6), the integration of ethnohistoric and archaeological information via object-based interviews results in "a significant humanistic context for the public interpretation of scientific data." These interpretations can enrich that data, providing relevance as well as additional lines of evidence and bases for inquiry.

Below, I explore how feminist theories inform both my archaeological practices in the present and interpretations of the past. Through dialogue with stakeholders from today's Chinese American community in Santa Clara County, I describe how their personal memories helped launch new lines of inquiry about the site. When analyzing the artifacts through oral history and documentary evidence, understanding identity as intersectional and dynamic guided interpretations of the Chinese men who lived at the site and how they may have negotiated the changing ideals and realities of gender and race during their lifetimes. Using these approaches in tandem helps reveal the ongoing relevance of the site to the local Chinese American communities in the 21st century. The process relies on the sense of heritage from community members, but also helps generate new interpretations and understandings that feed into the continued production of that heritage.

Oral Histories

A turn toward collaboration has transformational potential in archaeology. Collaboration is not only cultural but intellectual as well; the pluralism of collaborators introduces both varied and contextual viewpoints that strengthen the credibility and relevance of research products (see Wylie 2015). The absence of collaboration between scholars and community members has a long history in the study of Chinese American experiences. The introduction of oral history, particularly interviews with "old timers" who lived in California's Chinatowns for many decades, formed a revolutionary component in the rise of Ethnic Studies scholarship (Chinn, Lai, and Choy 1969; Fong 2005; Nee and Nee 1972; Yung, Chang, and Lai 2006). Within archaeology, community collaboration including oral histories, community-driven research design, and an emphasis on transnational relationships in the past and present have led to a reframing of Chinese American experience as both diverse and dynamic (Fong 2013; Kennedy 2019; Voss 2005; Voss et al. 2018). With these precedents in mind, I sought to address the interests of community members and build oral histories into the center of the project.

Setting up a community-collaborative project involved not only preparation, but also sustained involvement. This included communicating with local community organizations during initial research and throughout planning, developing opportunities for participating in survey, excavation, and other research according to stakeholder interests, and sustaining ways to share research outcomes (see Atalay 2012; Clark 2017; Colwell 2016; Lightfoot 2008; Silliman 2008). Building a set of questions based on other Chinese diaspora-focused projects with oral history components (Fong 2013; Williams 2011), I created an interview protocol through the University of California Berkeley's Committee for Protection of Human Subjects to ethically engage with community members. Beginning in summer 2016, I reached out to individuals I had met during prior research and asked local historical societies to distribute my contact information. Some of those who responded were directly descended from people who lived or worked at Stanford, including Lorraine Mock whose ancestor Jim Mock had worked for the Stanford family for many years (Cain 2011; Lowman 2018a). Others had personal connections to Stanford, like Connie Young Yu who, in addition to her career as author, historian, and longtime leader in the Bay Area Chinese American communities, is also the daughter of Stanford alum John C. Young. Still others responded because of their sense of Chinese American heritage. Ben Kwong, whose parents immigrated to California in the 1920s, had helped his mother work in flower fields surrounding Stanford campus and recalled former campus employees living together as bachelors as late as the 1950s. Gerry Low-Sabado, a fifth-generation Chinese American whose ancestors lived in the Monterey Bay area, had participated in a previous archaeological project (Williams 2011) and was excited to get involved in something similar. This variety of respondents, communicating in person or by phone calls, e-mails, and hand-written letters, demonstrated not only that important knowledge regarding the site and its artifacts was not limited to descendants, but also that a sense of heritage was not based on direct descent alone.

As I met with Chinese American cultural consultants and listened to their oral histories, rather than learning what their heritage *is*, I instead learned how ideas about heritage have come to be and how they continue to change. For example, interactions with historians, and later archaeologists, impacted Gerry Low-Sabado's sense of her own heritage, both her connection to Chinese American history and her interest in learning more about her family. Older family members' personal memories and oral histories, along with the work of researchers seeking to tell local history, served as the impetus for Gerry and other younger family members to explore their heritage.

The interview protocol included guidelines for the presentation of objects to interviewees, along with historical photographs, maps, and documents. These "memory props" (Jones and Russell 2012) provided a medium for engagement through their materiality, their tactile and physical reality (see also Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006). Often, the objects prompted questions like "What is *that*?" while in other cases they became mnemonic devices. For example, when looking at a *wen* coin found at the site and dating to the reign of the Daoguang emperor (1820-1850) (Figure 4.1), Gerry Low-Sabado's recalled how it "reminds me of the coins my Grandma gave me" (personal communication January 10, 2018). The dialogue created by the presence of the objects fostered the building of multiple meanings for the objects by both of us in turn through our simultaneous interaction with the object and each other. Listening, and then sharing ideas about objects and the site, created convergent understandings derived from very different experiences, but contributing to ongoing archaeological interpretations.

Figure 4.1: *Wen* coin, reign of the Daoguang emperor (1820-1850). Obverse and reverse. Rutherford/Fairbairn Collection, Stanford University Archaeology Collections. Photograph by the author, 3 cm scale.

Expressly relying on artifacts to "spark stories" from multiple perspectives is a productive technique in community-collaborative archaeological projects. Analyzing these stories from the perspective of an academic researcher involves recognizing their multiple and sometimes ambiguous meanings for both what could have occurred in the past, and what is relevant to a community or its individual members in the present. As Paul Mullins observed, "Oral memories produce very distinctive constructions of material meaning—much more circuitous, personal, and emotive" than a single researcher's analysis, which "can significantly extend historical archaeology's conventional textual narratives" (2014, 107). While this is an important turn for a discipline with a history of categorical and proscribed classification (Pels 2014, 217), the ambiguity introduced by individual memories has the effect of blurring not only object categories, but also the entire spatial and temporal boundaries of a given site. During project interviews, discussion focused less on the specific residents of the Arboretum site or the time period during which the buildings stood, and far more on the site's representation of the larger Chinese population at Stanford in the late 1800s and through 1925. While individual artifacts spurred specific memories, the site prompted wide-ranging discussions of Chinese immigrant experiences in Santa Clara Valley. This influenced the direction of my own historical research as I looked for stories related to Stanford's Chinese population more generally, whether they lived at the site or elsewhere on the campus or in the surrounding towns of Palo Alto and Mayfield. Within this seeming distortion lies a strength: diverse memories revealed the site's enmeshment within a larger historical context than its structural existence alone, suggesting the networks of kinship, social belonging, conflict and cooperation that likely informed the lives of the Arboretum residents beyond their home

Memory and Masculinity

Undertaking oral histories as part of the Arboretum Chinese Quarters Project often led to family stories or personal memories that highlighted multiple meanings of the same object. Twists of barbed wire recalled not only disputes between rival tongs (social and political organizations), but also memories of protective wire fences from childhood. A coin prompted discussions of both talismans and game tokens. Frequently, participants shared transgenerational memories from their parents or grandparents: Stanford employees growing chrysanthemums, traveling to nearby Chinatowns, or participating in local sports. While the stories demonstrate the current interests of the descendants and other stakeholders involved, they also directed research toward contextualizing their stories. What dialects did the Chinese employees speak? Did they belong to specific business, family, or fraternal organizations? And how did they spend their time together beyond work? Each of these questions concerned aspects of gender, race and racialization, and the livelihoods once recognized as markers of class for the Chinese employees at Stanford.

While the Chinese employees living in the Arboretum were male, this does not mean they experienced masculinity as a singular or unchanging condition. Masculinity exists as a dynamic identity, influenced by age, place, experience, and more (Joyce 2005; Meskell 1999; Voss 2006). As A. Bernard Knapp observed, "no single factor constitutes masculinity: it is not only divergent and often competing, but above all continuously changing" (1998, 366; see also Alberti 2006). Upon arrival, Chinese immigrants entered a society in which conceptions of race, gender, and class had multiple historical and cultural trajectories, and in which the physical markers of these differences played a key role in the hierarchical power dynamics of the nineteenth century United States. Engaging with this requires a recognition of race, class, and gender as intersectional, that is "interlocking and mutually constitutive," a viewpoint born out of Black feminist theory (Hong 2006, x; see Crenshaw 1989). Chinese men had to negotiate how the majority white American population perceived them, as well as how they perceived aspects of their own identities. This led, not simply to the simultaneous existence of categorical identities such as Chinese and American, or Chinese masculinity and Euro-American masculinity, but rather to new ways that these identities altered and built one another at scales ranging from individual interactions to political movements. In this way, gender was deeply intertwined with racialization, the ongoing formation of race as it is recognized and signified (Omi and Winant 2015). Both processes depend on corporeal phenomena, and both are socially constructed categories. Genders and racial categories "can neither be taken for granted as stable constructions nor divorced from the social contexts in which they develop" (Kandaswamy 2012). The racialization of Chinese immigrant men often involved gendered stereotypes that played on extremes: Chinese men as emasculated and therefore disruptive to societal norms, or hyper-masculine and therefore dangerous (see Cheung 1998; Cheung 2007; Nguyen 2000; Lucier-Keller 2018). These stereotypes pervade the English-language historical record, particularly popular sources like newspapers, part of the discourse of Orientalism and "Othering" that exoticized and denigrated non-Euro-American bodies and cultures, especially those of Asia (Said 1978).

Intersectional approaches combat the tacit acceptance of white Euro-American males possessing a normal experience of the world against which to compare all "Others" (Collins 2000). Examining masculinity involves both attention to what men did as well as cultural and societal

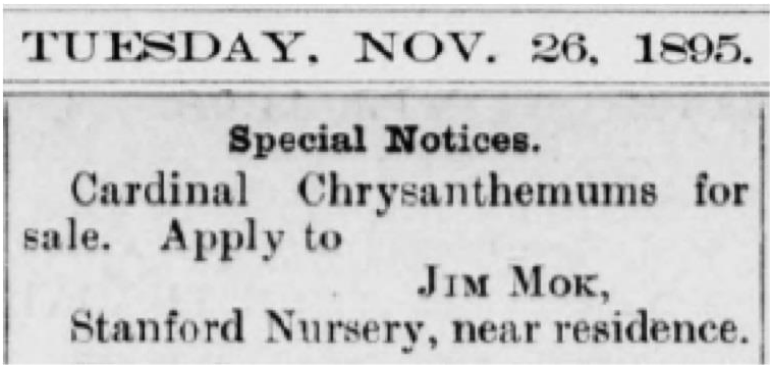
ideals of their place and time (Gutmann 1997). Chinese employees at Stanford would have recognized multiple masculine ideals from Qing-era China, including the contrasting concepts of wen and wu. Wen masculinity involved the cultivation of scholarly, restrained demeanors, while wu masculinity emphasized physical strength and a warrior mentality. Inspired by legends like *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and its warrior heroes like the Guan Yu (deified as Guan Gong), wu became particularly popular among Chinese immigrants (Williams 2008), although they would have understood both kinds as masculine ideals (van Gulik 2003; see Mann 2011). Wu masculine ideals would have helped young men seeking means to support themselves in the United States: according to historian Connie Young Yu, "The ideal for the Cantonese in America was to be strong and robust looking, which would insure employment" (personal communication, March 29, 2018).

Chinese immigrants had to navigate both their own ideals in a new setting, as well as the stereotypes they would have experienced as part of negative representation and discrimination surrounding them. In so doing, they formed new social patterns and took part in activities unique to the context of being Chinese in the United States. As I explore below, Chinese men adapted social organizations from southern China to suit their needs as immigrants in a new country. They took part in traditional Chinese men's activities, like gambling, but did so while also engaging in new activities, like football. Both social organizations and games had lineages in China but found new forms of expression in the United States. Archaeological evidence, historical records and oral histories significantly expand these stories. Echoing Williams (2011, 309), I advocate considering objects beyond their mere function, contextualizing them within specific local and cultural practices to highlight the multiple meanings they may have possessed. Below, I discuss the way these artifacts fit into narratives from documents and newspapers and how they generated reactions, suggestions, and stories from community consultants. This was a reciprocal process, the oral history feeding new material observations or new directions in archival research, layering the artifacts into the last century of family memories and heritage-building in the Bay Area's Chinese American communities.

Stanford Chrysanthemums and the Mock Family

Fragments of brightly colored ceramics invariably attracted attention from community consultants during interviews or lab visits. Gerry Low-Sabado brought her own bamboo pattern bowl to campus after seeing artifacts that looked nearly identical. Four Season Flower pattern bowls, cups, and ceramic spoons were the most colorful, and most common, of the decorative patterns. The predominantly pink and green ornamentation depicts four intertwining flowers: winter is represented by a plum blossom, spring by a peony, summer a lotus, and fall a chrysanthemum. These ceramics, along with the solid-colored Winter Green pattern, originated as export wares in the Jingdezhen kilns in northeast Jiangxi Province (Choy 2014, 7). A 2016 archaeological survey conducted in Cangdong Village, along the Pearl River Delta in Siyi (Sze Yup, or Four Counties) in Guangdong Province, found no examples of Four Season Flower ceramics among late Qing era materials (Voss et al 2018, 417). The pattern itself appeared less than a century prior to Chinese immigration to the United States, during the reign of the Jiaqing emperor (1796–1820) (Choy 2014, 7). However, the flowers and their symbolism possess a far longer history. Chrysanthemums, symbolic of longevity and endurance. have grown in abundance in southern China for millennia (Gong 2009; Li et al. 2014). The flower continues to

figure in cultural events and symbolism all over China, not only representative of the fall season, but also included in the Confucian allegory of the "Four Gentlemen of the Garden," *si junzi*, a popular theme in Chinese paintings (Bartholomew 2006, 176). Chrysanthemums enjoyed special popularity in the Guangdong region. Most famously, Xiaolan, a town in northwestern Zhongshan on the Pearl River Delta, remains home to chrysanthemum festivals with a tradition dating back hundreds of years (Siu 1990, 766). One Western traveler described the love of chrysanthemum cultivation among flower growers in China during the nineteenth century: "So great a favorite is the chrysanthemum with the Chinese gardeners that no persuasion will deter them from its culture, and they will frequently resign their situations rather than be forbidden by their employers to grow it" (Morton 1891, 8). The ceramics themselves were not traditional, but the flower decorations would have carried meanings and memories for the men who used them at mealtimes at the Arboretum Quarters.


TUESDAY, NOV. 26, 1895.

Special Notices.

Cardinal Chrysanthemums for sale. Apply to

JIM MOK,
Stanford Nursery, near residence.

Figure 4.2: Jim Mock's chrysanthemum advertisement placed in the *Daily Palo Alto*, November 26, 1895.

In addition to tending the gardens on the Stanford estate and the university, the Chinese employees also grew chrysanthemums to sell to students. An advertisement placed in the campus newspaper, then called the *Daily Palo Alto*, on November 26, 1895, reads: "Cardinal Chrysanthemums for sale. Apply to Jim Mok, Stanford Nursery, near residence" (Figure 4.2). Available in a profusion of colors, these flowers would have attracted students eager to represent Stanford with cardinal red. The great-granddaughter of the man who placed the ad, Lorraine Mock, still lives in the Bay Area today and shared her family stories with the project. Her great-grandfather worked as foreman of the Chinese gardeners on the Stanford estate throughout the 1880s and 1890s. He went by multiple names, like many Chinese men in the United States at the time, due to a combination of possessing formal and informal names and discrepancies in transliteration by non-Chinese writers: Ah Jim, Jim Mock or Mok, Jim Mok Joey You, and Jim Mok Goey You all appear in various documents. Historian Him Mark Lai, who interviewed some of his other descendants, wrote his Chinese name as Mo Zaiyao, or Mok Tsoi You (Lai 1995, 24; see also Cain 2011, 123).

Chrysanthemum cultivation was just one of the many ways Jim Mock worked to support himself and his family. According to Lorraine Mock, one of her aunts who remembered him personally recalled that he always seemed to have many keys, a memory that matches the breadth of his jobs and responsibilities (personal communication, March 8, 2017). Jim Mock and his wife, Lee Ho, arrived in California in 1875, one year before the Stanford family purchased the land that would become their stock farm, and then the university. Lai recorded family stories that Jim

Mock had worked on the Southern Pacific Railroad in the 1880s as well as becoming the foreman at the Stanford estate, where he and another employee, Ah King, also leased land from Jane Stanford (Lai 2004, 190). Subsequently, he became a part-owner of the Chung Sun Wo store at 832 Grant Avenue (then known as Dupont) in San Francisco (Lai 1995, 24). As historian Julie Cain pointed out in her thesis on the Stanford family relationship with their Chinese employees, this "provided him with the highly respected status of merchant," a tactical choice in an era when immigration authorities discriminated against "laborers" in particular (2011, 127). Lai also credits Jim Mock with fostering both the immigration and job placement of many people from his district, part of the Huangliang Du (Wong Leung Do) community living in San Francisco, San Mateo, and Santa Clara counties (Lai 1995). Although he died in 1909 according to papers from Lorraine Mock's family, much of his family and his extended kinship network from Zhongshan (Chungshan) were by then settled permanently on the Bay Area's peninsula.

Figure 4.3. Jim Mock wearing a jacket with chrysanthemum decorations. Photo courtesy of Lorraine Mock.

Jim Mock, like the other employees, was familiar with the chrysanthemum as both the flower he grew and sold, as well as its symbolic significance. He owned an elaborately decorated jacket with a chrysanthemum pattern, which he wore for a photograph (Figure 4.3) now preserved as part of Lorraine Mock's meticulously crafted family album. It is possible that he chose this

specific jacket because of the importance of chrysanthemum growing among fellow members of the Huangliang Du community. Jim Mock's first flower advertisement appeared in 1895, the same year as the founding of the Hee Shen Benevolent Association, the business organization or *tong* that supported Huangliang Du flower growers in the Bay Area. The tong helped to connect growers dealing with an increasing demand for chrysanthemums, a trend that began in the 1880s as a product of the entrepreneurship of predominantly Asian horticulturalists. The *San Francisco Call* on November 21, 1886, described how the chrysanthemum's "Asiatic varieties . . . are all the rage with florists and flower lovers." The same year John Thorpe authored *How to Grow Chrysanthemums*, the first book on chrysanthemums published in the United States, and three years later participated in the founding of the Chrysanthemum Society of America (Barker 1895). The sudden emergence of both Chinese and non-Chinese chrysanthemum growing organizations within such a short span of years suggests the rapidity with which appreciation of the Chinese flower flourished in the United States.

Chrysanthemum growing was not the sole province of the Chinese community. According to Him Mark Lai's research, Jim Mock likely acquired his horticultural skills from a Japanese gardener (1995, 33). While both Japanese and Italian families entered the flower business along with the Chinese, Japanese immigrants introduced a wide variety of chrysanthemums to California. One Japanese flower business, the Domoto family's nursery, also became one of the largest in the state. The Domoto brothers arrived in California in the early 1880s, and once established in Oakland they chose to specialize in chrysanthemums (Taylor and Butterfield 2003). A newspaper advertisement placed in the *Pacific Rural Press* on May 9, 1891, highlighted their "500 different varieties of Choice Chrysanthemums and 300 new varieties from Japan." The Domoto brothers were not alone in turning to chrysanthemums as a primary crop. One year prior to Jim Mock's newspaper advertisement, another Oakland-based Japanese grower, H. Yoshike, issued a catalog devoted almost entirely to varieties of chrysanthemums (Taylor and Butterfield 2003, 349). Other Japanese nurseries sprang up south of Stanford, including Unosuke Oku's nursery in Mountain View, established in 1902, and Tsunegusa Yonemoto's chrysanthemum greenhouse built in Sunnyvale on land leased after his arrival in 1905 (Lukes and Okihiro 1985). For both Chinese and Japanese immigrants, the late-blooming Asian flowers aided their ability to establish themselves in the United States.

By the early 1920s, when a few of the original Stanford employees still occupied the Arboretum Quarters, a new generation of growers tended the chrysanthemums and other flowers in greenhouses and fields around the university. Some were classmates of Toichi Domoto, the son of one of the Domoto brothers, Kanetaro. During Toichi's years as a Stanford student, between 1921 and 1923, Asian American students sometimes turned to flower growing to pay the $96 per quarter tuition. Toichi recalled that over summers, "fellow [Japanese] students…said they would be working out in the fields to earn money for tuition—their summer work was mostly agricultural work. They would go out to groups there" (Domoto 1992, 88). The line between university student and flower grower could be a matter of the season. It is possible that Chinese and Chinese American students also sought employment in the flower fields where current and former Stanford employees continued to work. Certainly, Jim Mock and his contemporaries established a business that supported their families and community throughout the following century. Dr. Ben Kwong recalled picking chrysanthemums and asters on land next to Stanford as a child in the 1950s. Even then, he remembered, a group of bachelors still occupied a house

together on the border of Stanford and Menlo Park (personal communication, July 2, 2016). They were possibly some of the last of the former employees from Stanford's early days. By the 1960s chrysanthemums made up the most abundant crop produced in Santa Clara County; and Asian Americans, both Chinese and Japanese in origin, grew at least half of all the chrysanthemums (Culbertson 1971, 49). These years fell within living memory of most of the community consultants on the project. This influenced research significantly in that personal knowledge of the flower growing businesses, and even participation in it, led to more stories and greater interest in this aspect of life for the Stanford employees. Yet the continued importance of chrysanthemums for people living today is also a testament to the long-term impact of the Stanford employees and their contemporaries.

One other memory, shared in conversation between Lorraine Mock and historian Connie Young Yu, related chrysanthemums to an ongoing Stanford tradition familiar to them both. As they recalled, at each November's "Big Game" football match between Stanford and rival University of California (now UC Berkeley), students used to wear large chrysanthemums as part of the campus festivities. Still in bloom for homecoming and Thanksgiving Day games across the country, Chinese chrysanthemums continue to be popular game-day adornments and remain known as "football mums." Chrysanthemums played a significant role in the Big Game beginning in 1895. That year, the game's program bore yellow and red chrysanthemum decorations, symbolizing the University of California and Stanford, respectively. The flowers appeared on subsequent Big Game programs throughout the 1890s, and their use as Big Game decorations continued well into the twentieth century. The word *chrysanthemum* itself was a part of football parlance in the early days of the sport. During the 1890s padding was not yet mandatory, much less helmets. Athletes wore "chrysanthemum locks" or "chrysanthemum bangs," long and bushy hairstyles that added a little cushioning to the inevitable blows sustained during a game (Metzger 1920, 67). The *San Francisco Call* of November 28, 1895, illustrated a Big Game football player with chrysanthemum locks surrounded by a shower of the literal flowers (Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4. The *San Francisco Call*'s November 28, 1895, illustration for the Big Game.

As amusing—or headache-inducing—as the picture may be today, the date is significant because it links this long-standing Stanford tradition with the lives of the Chinese employees. Prior to 1895 chrysanthemums do not appear at all in Stanford's campus newspaper or associated in any way with the Big Game. Jim Mock placed his newspaper ad for cardinal-colored chrysanthemums in November 1895, in the lead-up to that year's Big Game. The flower was already popular enough to be in demand at Berkeley too, but Jim Mock nevertheless participated in the very first instance of a tradition that would go on long enough for his great-granddaughter to recognize it 120 years later.

Community Gathering Places

Stanford's Chinese employees moved within multiple social spheres, including their homes at the Arboretum site, the workplaces where they interacted with other employees, employers, or students, the surrounding Chinatowns in San Francisco and San Jose, and kinship and fraternal associations operating internationally. The Arboretum Chinese Quarters was one of the many communities that existed outside of urban Chinatowns, situated instead within a varied landscape of private residences, agricultural buildings, fields, and the university. Chinatowns served as havens to live, eat, shop and celebrate with greater freedom than elsewhere (Kautz and Risse 2006). Yet even within Chinatowns, Chinese residents would have found themselves surrounded by a diversity of customs and heard a number of Cantonese dialects within the Yue branch of the Chinese language. Most nineteenth century Chinese immigrants came from Sam Yup (Sanyi,

Three Districts) or Sze Yup (Siyi, Four Districts), Qing-era administrative areas on the Pearl River Delta near Guangzhou (Canton) in Guangdong Province (Chan 1986). Much of Stanford's Chinese population, including Jim Mock and Kee Leung, the cook for Phi Delta Theta, came from what is now Doumen County in Zhongshan, and likely spoke a Sze Yup dialect (Lai 1998, 7). However, not all of the Stanford employees shared this origin. Wing Wong ("Ah Wing"), butler in the Stanford household, came from Wang Kwong (Hengjiangcun) village in Taishan, to which he eventually returned after the 1906 Earthquake, and likely spoke the Taishanese dialect common to many Chinese immigrants (Wong 1907). Different families, home villages, and businesses meant that Chinese immigrants in the United States, while united in their broader origins in southern China, would have wide-ranging experiences and dialects.

John C. Young, the father of Connie Young Yu and a graduate of Stanford in 1937, was a member of the Hee Shen Benevolent Association, the same Huangliang Du tong to which many Stanford employees and Bay Area flower growers belonged. Connie Young Yu described her family as "descendants of this Tong," language that underscores the multigenerational connections provided by such organizations (personal communication, February 4, 2018). The Hee Shen Benevolent Association was just one of the many district, family, business, and fraternal societies that would have bound the Chinese employees at Stanford to the wider network of Chinese people in the Bay Area, as well as to their families, friends, and former neighbors still in China. These included the powerful Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (the Chinese Six Companies in San Francisco), as well as individual family and district associations (Lai 2004, 62). The latter provided social support for the many young single men who had yet to establish their own families on either side of the Pacific (Yu 1991, 68). The associations helped recent immigrants find employment and housing and could aid in travel arrangements or settling legal disputes (Fong 2013, 56). Living outside of a Chinatown, the Stanford employees would have relied on these organizations, as well as gathering places in surrounding towns, for social events or festive occasions. Sometimes the employees would visit nearby Mayfield, where another hub of immigrants from Zhongshan resided; at other times they would travel to the much larger communities in San Francisco and San Jose (Lai 1998, 8).

Away from the stock farm or the campus, general stores often provided vital gathering places for friends or extended kin to meet. They also supplied goods shipped from China. Connie Young Yu's grandfather, Young Soong Quong, ran one of the stores where Stanford employees would congregate during their time off. As Connie Young Yu described it, the Kwong Wo Chan store at 34 Cleveland Avenue in San Jose served as far more than a grocery store: it was a "post office, hiring hall, pawn shop, [and a] place for workers of the clan to rest and have tea" (personal communication, March 8, 2017). Chung Sung Wo in San Francisco or Kwong Wo Chan in San Jose may have provided some of the bottles, jars, medicine boxes, or ceramics found at the Arboretum site. John C. Young related stories of how Stanford employees ventured down to Kwong Wo Chan during breaks in their working hours. Born in 1912, he would have been a child listening to adults conversing in the store, but remembered that at the end of the day, they said that they had to return to work at the "gwai jai guin." "Gwai jai guin," "little white devil boy clubs," were the employees' name for Stanford's fraternities.

The phrase, current during an era when anti-Chinese discrimination was rampant, sounds like the Chinese employees venting some frustration with their employers, which they very well might

have done. However, it likely carried another meaning as well. According to Thomas W. Chinn, Him Mark Lai, and Philip P. Choy, household employees elsewhere in California referenced their employers to demonstrate their connections to influential white families: "A favorite expression used, after such a domestic's visitation into Chinatown among his cronies, was 'Well, I must return to the *Kwei Lao*" (1969, 64). Chinn and his coauthors point out that phrases like this could also be "an expression of pride, as being able to work in an environment away from Chinatown, for a prosperous [white person], was a status symbol." These connections could make critical differences for Chinese employees whose livelihoods hung in the balance based on the judgment of immigration authorities. Laws changed rapidly, becoming ever more restrictive and more difficult to navigate as successive laws expanded the original 1882 restrictions. An affidavit signed by Jane Stanford helped bring Jim Mock's son, Wah Foon, safely into the United States in 1897, although thirteen years later it took not only the affidavit but also the intervention of university museum curator Harry C. Peterson to allow the oldest Mock son, Wah Ham, to reenter the country (Cain 2011, 128). In this light, however frustrating "little white devil boys" could be, they might also prove a tactical advantage for withstanding other forms of systematic racism.

Festivities provided another reason for the employees to leave campus. Mayfield possessed a large enough community to host Chinese New Year's festivities during the 1890s. Articles from 1893's *Daily Palo Alto* recount multiple days of celebration culminating in a feast (the Year of the Snake began February 16, 1893), and similar celebrations held in subsequent years. The following year's holiday, which marked the beginning of the Year of the Horse (February 5, 1894), even included a merry-go-round. These celebrations, an opportunity for the employees to gather with other members of the Chinese community, might also include members of the non-Chinese community. Thomas Douglas, the first gardener hired by the university rather than for the stock farm, recorded in his diary that in 1890 the Chinese employees on the stock farm held a lunar New Year's feast to which he was invited (Cain 2011, 101). The employees took the next day as a holiday too, and may have used this opportunity to visit Mayfield, San Jose, or San Francisco.

Even within the boundaries of Stanford land, the Arboretum Quarters was not the sole residence of the Chinese employees. There were five – or more – different Chinese boarding houses scattered across the Stanford property and inhabited at different times, including one near San Francisquito Creek, and another near the original Roble Hall. Jim Mock, with his wife and children, lived apart from the other employees, but likely knew the arboretum site well and may have eaten meals there with the men he oversaw in the gardens. The buildings at the Arboretum Chinese Quarters faced each other, creating a space between them that could have functioned as a gathering place. Depending on their work, employees might eat alone, bringing a bowl and utensils with them and eating outside, as Ah Sam did while working for the university's first president, David Starr Jordan (Elliott 1940, 185). The mixture of food storage containers and vessels used for dining found at the Arboretum Chinese Quarters likely had to do with a common area for their disposal, possibly a trench near the kitchen.

In the English language records of the time, few of the family, social, and business societies appear under their Chinese names or distinctions. Most sources focused exclusively on secret societies, one kind of tong. Tongs, social and political associations, originated as "underground,

anti-government movements in Guangdong," but took on other meanings for their members in the United States (Takaki 1998 [1989], 118). These included friendship and social gatherings predominantly fraternal in nature. Outside of their home, in the sense of both family and homeplace, these societies created a support system that crossed boundaries of district or lineage for the primarily young, male population of Chinese immigrants in the United States. They served to protect both the business-interests, and the lives, of their members (Merritt 2017, 187). They also provided support for education or control over certain kinds of businesses (Fong 2013, 75). This included businesses within and outside of United States law. It was in this capacity that tongs associated with gambling, drug-use, and prostitution entered into the imagination of the American press, fostering the belief that tongs operated exclusively as criminal organizations.

English-language primary sources tend to describe "tong wars" without distinguishing between legal and illegal activities (Lyman 1974; see also Merritt 2017, 170-171). This perception has persisted into the twenty-first century: "I've been asked a lot about 'tong wars' and people think 'tong' has a gang or mafia connotation," explained Connie Young Yu (personal communication, March 8 2017). Yet tongs organized around businesses like flower growing, such as the Hee Shen Benevolent Association founded in Santa Clara County in 1895, provided social and economic support for many Bay Area Chinese families including those at Stanford (Lai 1998; Lowman 2018a). The Stanford student population understood tongs through the lens of exoticism, the campus newspaper often highlighting the intermittent violence rather than any day-to-day activities. In early 1917, one article described how Frank Gin, a member of the Hop Sing Tong, fled tong violence with the aid of his student employers at Phi Delta Theta. At Stanford, and in nearby Mayfield, brothers of the Suey Ying Tong vastly outnumbered those in the Hop Sing Tong (*Daily Palo Alto*, March 21, 1917). While these newspapers emphasized the friction between tongs, they also suggest the protection provided by tong membership. Despite often lacking families in California, many Stanford employees would have supported one another as members of the same tong.

Despite tongs' role in Chinese American society, archaeologists have faced difficulty identifying material traces of the relationships they fostered (c.f. Merritt 2017; Morrow 2009). At the Arboretum site, material evidence of self-protection, including strips and fragments of barbed wire, could be related to tong disputes based on contemporary documentary evidence. Most barbed wire fragments recovered from the site consist of double wires twisted together, with two-point barbs folded over one of the wires (Figure 4.5). Barbed wire appeared in one specific historical account. "During one tong war," recalled the Stanford groundskeeper Carl Maeir in a 1940s interview, the Chinese residents "got so scared they built a high board fence topped with barbed wire all around their colony" (*Daily Palo Alto*, February 24, 1947). Maeir also recalled how the Chinese men selected a guard dog specifically for its propensity to bark, another measure to safeguard their home.

Figure 4.5: Barbed wire, surface find from the Arboretum Chinese Quarters site. Photograph by the author, 3 cm scale.

Bullet and shell casings found at the Arboretum site indicate the residents likely used firearms at the site as well. Among them were a shotgun shell for a Winchester 12-gauge shotgun and a .38 Long caliber Colt pistol bullet casing made by the Peters Company (Figure 4.6). Both artifacts suggest that accuracy was a particular concern for the people who used them. The shotgun shell, a 1901 Leader New No. 4 manufactured between 1904 and 1919, has a long base that would have covered the upper half of the shell. Long bases like these appeared in advertisements touting safety and the prevention of burst or torn paper on the shell (Schroeder 1969 [1908], 736). The .38 Long Colt began production in 1875, but despite its accuracy, it was underpowered as a military weapon; during the Spanish-American War in 1898, U.S. army officers reported that it merely injured rather than killed men when they were shot (James 2010; Mallari 2014). This might have been to the advantage of Stanford's Chinese employees. In 1898, occupants of the Chinese house near Roble Hall scared off nighttime trespassers by firing multiple pistol shots, but used the shots only as a deterrent rather than aiming to injure or kill (*The Daily Palo Alto*, April 26, 1898). The .38 Long Colt would have been a tactical choice for just such an event, since it was accurate but weak: perfectly suited for intimidation.

Figure 4.6: Peters Company .38 Long caliber Colt pistol bullet casing. Rutherford/Fairbairn Collection, Stanford University Archaeology Collections. Photograph by the author, 3 cm scale.

Artifacts like the bullet and shell casings and the barbed wire reminded some community members of the tensions within the Chinese community as well as threats from non-Chinese

Californians. For Gerry Low-Sabado, the barbed wire prompted a memory of her family's barbed wire fence in Monterey. "Much later," she recalled, "after hearing about the Chinese experience and history of my ancestor's village burning down, I grew to understand why the barbed wire was there" (personal communication July 13, 2016). The Chinese faced very real dangers of robbery, arson, and physical violence, and Gerry Low-Sabado's memory reflects how discrimination has continued to be a part of the experience of Chinese Americans. Sometimes, protective measures failed. In 1893, one of the Chinese residences on the Stanford Stock Farm was robbed of $4000 worth of possessions. The culprit was never identified in future newspaper reports (*Daily Palo Alto*, February 21, 1893). Crimes such as this, while not necessarily racially-motivated, nevertheless took advantage of an already disenfranchised population. Anti-Chinese sentiments permeated Palo Alto and its surroundings for decades, with frequent calls for forced evictions, the denial of business licenses, and open aggression in the form of beatings and even stonings of Chinese residents (Gullard and Lund 1989, 102-105). The Stanford employees lived with the knowledge that, despite their positions on the campus and stock farm, white people in their surrounding community might consider them threats. The barbed wire fence, erected to deter tong violence according to Carl Maier, would have simultaneously protected the community from the threat of violence from the surrounding white population as well. Gerry Low-Sabado's memory is a reminder that barbed wire like this protected multiple generations of Chinese communities from long-lasting echoes of the same anti-Chinese violence.

Games: Gambling and Football

Everyday life for the Chinese as Stanford was not solely structured by prejudice. Throughout years of conversations with community members, I have been reminded to consider the ways the community had fun, and not to dwell exclusively on hardships. One common form of entertainment for Chinese immigrants was gambling. Gambling's long cultural history in China and unique and enduring material signature in the form of coins and tokens make it a frequent subject of archaeological inquiry. Both coins and tokens appear ubiquitous at many Chinese diaspora sites, everywhere from the heart of Chinatowns to remote Summit Camp (Maniery, Allen, and Heffner 2016, 42). Costello et. al (2008) identify coins' and gaming pieces' multiple social uses including gaming, medicine, talismans, decoration, and trade (see also Akin 1992). While Chinatowns typically possessed at least one gambling hall, Chinese immigrants could use almost anywhere to engage in games like fan-tan using a variety of objects: glass gaming pieces, coins (Ritchie and Park 1987, 45), and even white buttons (Fong 2013, 86) or beans (Hom 1992, 306). According to Stewart Culin, one of the first anthropologists to study Chinese immigrants in the United States, fan-tan originated as a game played in army camps to encourage or amuse soldiers (Culin 1891, 12n1). Whether in camps or in town, in the virtually all-male Chinese communities in California, gambling activities "provided opportunities for camaraderie as well as luck" (Costello et al. 2008, 148). The Arboretum site yielded three dark glass gaming pieces, (Figure 4.7), as well as the *wen* coin discussed earlier. While no light-colored gaming pieces emerged, white buttons (which occurred frequently) might have served the same purpose if they were detached from clothing.

Figure 4.7: Glass gaming pieces. From left to right: surface find, AA90 L2, AA92 L2, 3 cm scale.

Despite its prevalence in the broader historical record of the Chinese diaspora, the subject of gambling emerged rarely during interviews about the Stanford site. Connie Young Yu pointed out that gambling was just a small part of traditional Chinese games popular among diaspora communities. For Chinese men, martial arts, whether practiced or not, were a "key part of their being," and "the movements and philosophy are essential in Chinese opera and lunar festivities" (personal communication, March 29, 2018). Other interviewees discussed a different sort of game and physical activity repeatedly: football. Beyond being a part of college life for Stanford students, interviewees reflected on the importance of football within Chinese American communities. In an early interview prior to excavation, Ben Kwong recalled the importance of sports for Chinese Americans in his generation in the 1950s: "Sports was a great equalizer, you know . . . [there was] the in-crowd and the out-crowd, but the equalizer was sports . . . If you were good at sports, you could cross those lines, that's what we all learned" (personal communication, July 2, 2016). The preceding generations taught their children and grandchildren, like Ben, that sports could be an effective social currency as well as a fun pastime.

Chinese gambling traditions like fan-tan and United States sports like football might seem merely to encompass different leisure activities. However, historical documents suggest something more. Tacking back and forth between frequently biased local documentary sources, philosophical and political writings of Chinese leaders of the time, and the memories of consultants today suggests that football was not only a regular part of Stanford employees' everyday lives, but also may have been tied to an emergent sense of a Chinese American masculinity. Gambling could have served as one entryway into the Chinese employee's enjoyment of sports like football. The only Stanford-specific references to Chinese gambling appeared at the turn of the twentieth century in the form of a football song, "Chin Chinaman" (Thorpe 1905, 50). Unfortunately as racist as the title suggests, it featured an imagined Chinese man betting money on the football victory of the University of California. Predictably, Stanford triumphed, prompting the gambler's loss and pledge of support for Stanford ever after. Despite relying on Orientalist stereotypes like pidgin English, its presence in the roster of campus songs suggests that white students at least imagined that Chinese residents of the campus would gamble on football. Other documentary evidence shows students engaged in football gambling themselves. In December 1893, University President David Starr Jordan condemned the practice:

"Gambling and drunkenness have followed football: they are not caused by it. The university has no place for a man who is not a gentleman" (*The Daily Palo Alto,* December 5, 1893). In Jordan's view, engaging in gambling amounted to a direct assault on the American masculine ideal of class associated with college "gentlemen." Perhaps Stanford students used the song to ascribe gambling to a stereotyped Chinese man, outside or in opposition to the activities considered appropriate for a white male college student. Perhaps, such gambling did take place, but did so as a way of combining two different cultural traditions into one.

Chinese men in the United States had to forge new ways to balance tradition, desires for acceptance, and simply finding enjoyment at a time of danger and uncertainty. Political leaders of the time latched onto football as one means to do this. In 1914, the Chinese diplomat Wu Tingfang observed that "[the Chinese] should be a more united people if as boys and men we learned to take part in games" (Xu 2014, 235). At exactly the same time, Stanford were watching football, rugby, and other university athletes as a regular social activity. In 1914, the campus newspaper reported: "Stanford may boast of a unique rooting section in the form of an Oriental squad, consisting of the Japanese working at Encina and the Chinese cooks along the row . . . twenty or thirty of these representatives of the Far East are always in evidence watching the workout of the players with great interest" (*The Daily Palo Alto,* September 25, 1914). While the Chinese employees may simply have enjoyed watching the sports, they likely knew that even their choice of leisure activity carried with it a political connotation, as I describe below.

In China and the United States, changing ideas of masculinity became bound to athleticism and bodily appearance. Football and other university sports played a significant role in the remaking of white American masculine ideals following the rise of industrialization (Bederman 1995; Deardorff 1994; Oriard 2001; Wilkie 2010). However, the nineteenth century also marked a major turning point in conceptions of male athleticism in China. Following disastrous military defeats and increasing distrust in the power of the Qing government, leading scholars and journalists like Liang Qichao advocated a "body reform movement" and the need to cultivate a "fighting spirit" or shangwu, the same wu that defined the Chinese masculine warrior ideals discussed earlier (Wang 2012, 151; see also Mishra 2012). Chinese Americans in the San Francisco Bay Area would have known Liang's work well. In exile following his attempts at political reform, he traveled extensively in the United States and Canada during 1903, including to the San Francisco Bay area (Merritt 2017, 171-172). Just as Liang's athletic encouragements circulated on either side of the Pacific, so too did sports themselves. Immigrants, who were predominantly from port cities, would have witnessed Euro-American sports introduced through institutions like the YMCA which "preached manly fitness in cities around the country" as early as the 1870s (Xu 2014, 237; see also Li and Hong 2015, 441). It was also the YMCA leadership that organized China's first national-level sport competition, the "First National Athletic Alliance of Regional Student Teams" in Nanjing in 1910. With 140 male athletes from across Eastern China, the sporting events included track and field, tennis, basketball, and football (Li and Hong 2015, 442). However, this increased interest in Western sports required a reframing of traditional Qing-era mindsets about male bodies. As explored by Susan Mann (2011), western athletics challenged traditional loose clothing and, possibly most significantly, the wearing of queues (a shaved forehead with hair worn long and usually braided). At the 1910 games, high jumper Sun Baoxin was disqualified when his queue dislodged the bar, causing Chinese historian Wang Zhenya to recall: "In that moment, people's hearts became indignant, their revolutionary spirit

welled up, and they longed to eradicate the customs that the Qing imperial court" (Wang 1987, 136 quoted in Brownell 1995, 42). Athletics, the remaking of the male body, was becoming linked with a new sense of what being Chinese could mean.

Chinese people abroad negotiated a different, but related, set of pressures regarding the physical appearance of their bodies. As explored in multiple case studies above, Chinese men living in California were contending with changes in the gender expectations of Euro-American men, as well as the racialization of Asian men. Bryn Williams' (2008) study of Chinese masculinity at Market Street Chinatown captures the interplay of changing ideas of masculinity for both white and Chinese Californians. Williams describes how alcohol cups, perceived as dainty and effeminate in the eyes of white observers, evoked the wu masculine ideals of power and restraint popular among Market Street Chinatown residents. At Stanford, perceptions of Chinese men as distinctly effeminate became directly linked to football through racialized perceptions of Chinese food. In 1901, a writer for the campus newspaper complained that Berkeley football players received superior food, in part because Chinese cooks were not involved. The trainer, "Dad" Moulton, is quoted as complaining about a player "filling up on mush" served by Mock Chong at the camp: "he should be eating porterhouse steaks—a man can't play football on chicken feed" (*The Stanford Daily*, October 4, 1901). The same conflation of red meat with United States masculinity, contrasting with "effeminate" rice, became the subject of a pamphlet published by the American Federation of Labor just a year later: "Some Reasons for Chinese Exclusion: Meat vs. Rice, American Manhood vs. Asiatic Coolieism. Which Shall Survive?" (American Federation of Labor, 1902). Chinese-prepared food was not only contrasted with a Euro-American dish, but more specifically described as unmanly.

Athleticism in United States sports among Chinese men was not lost on the subsequent generations of Chinese Americans in California. Connie Young Yu recalled "My grandfather, Young Soong Quong, told his children about Yung Wing" and how he, a "fellow Cantonese, played football at Yale" in the 1850s (personal communication March 29, 2018; see also Worthy 1965). By the 1910s, Chinese Americans had formed sports leagues at the college level (*The Daily Palo Alto*, October 13, 1916). Gerry Low-Sabado recalled that by the 1930s, specifically Chinese American sports teams existed in towns surrounding the Monterey area. These memories, and Ben Kwong's individual experience quoted at the beginning of this section, match up with the sports-advocacy expressed by the influential Chinese politicians writing at the turn of the century. When the Chinese employees at Stanford watched sports, they would have witnessed the masculine ideals supported by American institutions, and the opportunity for equality through athletics that was the object of the Chinese government. As Chinese immigrants, games of many kinds continued to be an important part of life in a new country. With time, for them and for their children, sports in particular became an avenue for social acceptance as well as friendship and fun. The combination of gaming artifacts with the documentary and oral historical context, suggest Stanford was one of the places where a Chinese American sense of games emerged.

Purposes of Remembering

The site's destruction occurred after the last resident, Ah Wah, departed in 1925. The Immigration Act passed the previous year precluded movement back and forth between the United States and China, which would have done nothing to encourage Ah Wah, who was already elderly, to stay. Since the structures were apparently empty when Stanford first-year students ripped them apart and carted them off to fuel the bonfire, it was not an act of violence directed at any individual occupant. Nevertheless, the site's destruction formed part of a pattern that has rendered Chinese American history, outside of Chinatowns, frequently invisible. "There's so much relevance to today, people fail to connect the dots," commented Mackenzie Lee, who graduated from Stanford in 2010 and whose family has lived in the Bay Area for multiple generations. "A lot of this history is not discussed" (personal communication, March 9, 2017). Connie Young Yu echoed those feelings during a group meeting in the lab: "If you ask people now 'who helped build this university,' no one would say 'the Chinese'" (personal communication, January 31, 2018). My own initial interest in the site arose, in part, because I grew up in Palo Alto and had attended Stanford for over a year before I heard anything about the Chinese involvement in the beginnings of the town and university. Only within the past few years has this received renewed attention, thanks in part to an exhibit in Stanford's Archaeology Center created by undergraduate Bright Zhou (Wilcox 2017; see also Davis 2017). The archaeology, historical research, and continued presentation and publication of information associated with the Arboretum Quarters project is one response to this long invisibility.

The storytelling that created the subjects of this chapter, chrysanthemum growing and community connections, reflects the predominantly positive focus of many, although not all, of the interactions with community consultants. There is ample evidence of the great difficulties the Stanford employees faced along with other Chinese and Asian immigrants to California. Stories skew toward those who possess direct descendants, but of course not all did. The *Daily Palo Alto* of June 5, 1925, describing Ah Wah's departure noted that although he had one son who remained a cook in Palo Alto, three of his sons had died before him, two in Mexico and one in China. As the last Stanford-based record of one of its longest-serving employees, the article is a reminder of how dispersed families could be. Ben Kwong, who had family members who arrived in California in the nineteenth century, reflected on how difficult immigration must have been and what strength it would have taken: "Could I go to Africa and start a family? I don't know if I'd have the guts to do that. But my father did that" (personal communication, July 2, 2016). Later he added, "It's something that as a kid, you don't appreciate as much, you know, you just want to assimilate. But when you get older, you understand more what it took to do that" (personal communication, July 27, 2018).

Figure 4.8: From left to right: Connie Yung Yu, Chris Lowman, Gerry Low-Sabado, and Brenda Hee Wong posing with the offerings prepared by Gerry Low-Sabado at the opening of the Arboretum Chinese Quarters excavation, November 13, 2016. Photograph by Ethan Bresnick.

At the site's opening, Gerry Low-Sabado expressed her reverence for the Chinese immigrant generation through her choice to treat them as ancestors to the wider community. Descended from Quock Mui, one of the first Chinese settlers in the Point Alones Chinese fishing village in Monterey, she had participated in a previous Stanford-led excavation in her family's ancestral hometown. Based on this prior experience, she requested that excavation not commence at the Arboretum Quarters until an acknowledgment of ancestors had taken place, volunteering to lead a ceremony for anyone who could attend. This is a clear example of how beginning a project collaboratively altered archaeological practice. On November 11, 2016, Gerry Low-Sabado set up an altar with traditional decorations, plates of fruit and seafood, cups of tea and alcohol, burning incense, and personal artifacts, including a bamboo pattern bowl.

The ceremony that Gerry performed was based loosely on practices of ancestor veneration, *bai san* ceremonies, she had engaged in as a child. *Bai san*, meaning to pay respects or to worship at the gravesites of ancestors, is part of wider traditions found throughout China and among Chinese diaspora communities around the world, which include offerings of foods, drinks, and incense at sites of graves, family shrines, and clan ancestral halls (Chung and Wegars 2005). Gerry remembered accompanying her paternal grandfather and siblings to the cemetery as a child in order to honor her own ancestors during the annual springtime *Qingming* festival, devoted to honoring ancestors and maintaining their gravesites. She recalled:

> He would have a big basket, and we'd have boiled chicken and boiled eggs, rice bowls with perfectly rounded rice – I learned later he took a bowl and did that . . . We had

> oranges. . . We also used to bring bunches, big bunches of calla lilies because we grew them in our yard, red candles, incense . . . [We] bowed three times at the waist with hands together holding three sticks of incense. We were encouraged to speak to the ancestors and tell them how our year was and how it's been . . . Grandpa would put out three cups for the tea, big cups . . . And three little ones for the Seagram's. In the old days it would be [a] very strong liquor, but in modern days we used Seagram's 7.

For Gerry, the significance of the ritual lay in the tradition itself rather than either a religious meaning or the symbolic meaning of its components. "The family ceremony was just a thing," she said, "I didn't perceive it be that important, it's just something we did." It had inspired her originally to conduct a similar ceremony at Hopkins Marine Station in Monterey, near the site of her ancestral village. "It was something I wanted to do" she said, ". . . because their footprint was there, their life experience was there, I felt that that's where I needed to do this ceremony in remembrance of these ancestors." The site itself, while not a gravesite, mediated connections between present and past through its physical space.

Her statement, accompanied by the lighting of incense and directions to attendees about pouring tea, emphasized the site's historical context during the era of Chinese exclusion which began in 1882:

> This place has remained quiet for a long time, many years. And I'm so thankful that Stanford University is working with Chris to search for the stories of the Chinese workers who lived right here, drank their tea right here . . . I just want to call to our minds that we're here to remember the lives of people who worked hard, who came to America during a time that was tough for the Chinese. And I'm glad that they had a home here, and they worked in the gardens, and just like my ancestors . . . they struggled during that time, during Chinese Exclusion . . . But despite the hardship, and despite how they were treated, the Chinese still persevered, they still moved on, and those are the stories that I like to tell.

Her statement reinforced how the site could serve as a physical reminder of Chinese American history, specifically a narrative of perseverance. While later excavation and analysis would reveal more details about the site's residents, about their foodways and trade networks, recognition of the site's existence alone was enough not only to attract Gerry's interest but also make it meaningful by bringing together members of the ongoing Chinese American communities surrounding it. Gerry also linked her family's immigration and perseverance story to those of other Chinese immigrants at the same time. During out September 17, 2019 interview, when I asked her more about her thoughts at the dig opening, she commented that despite not feeling a familial connection, "When I'm giving the thanks, it's just for ancestors, it doesn't matter who – they'll appreciate it."

She used the opportunity to highlight how sites like the Arboretum Chinese Quarters offer physical reminders of diversity in the past, and for this reason should be recognized and remembered. For her, a significant feature of the Stanford story was that it was not unique, but rather representative of the ways many other Chinese immigrants lived and supported their families.

Conclusion

Chinese employees helped create many parts of the Stanford campus that continue to define it today. They not only cultivated the original gardens and landscaping but also constructed some of the earliest roadways, like Alvarado Row, one of the first paved roads to connect the university with the planned neighborhood constructed at its edge (Elliott 1940, 222). Their work as cooks and janitors and in both dormitories and private households is less visible today, but no less important for the history of both the Chinese community and Stanford University. Despite these early impacts, the invisibility of the places they called home, like the Arboretum Quarters, makes it easier for successive generations of students, present for only a short time, to never know about their presence at all. A seemingly unmarked landscape aids forgetfulness as much as artifacts aid memory.

One legacy of the site's destruction, part of a long pattern of erasure through the arsons and evictions discussed above, is that the long-term presence of Chinese Americans at places like Stanford University has long remained invisible. Erasures and silences often indicate a history of oppression and delegitimation. It is difficult to say if the burning of the Arboretum site entailed overtly racist motivations, but the context for the site's abandonment earlier that year absolutely did. The last employees to leave the site did so in the wake of the Immigration Act of 1924, the capstone in the series of anti-immigrant and particularly anti-Chinese laws that had begun in 1882, restricting and ultimately excluding Chinese immigration. 74-year-old Ah Wah chose to return to China knowing both that he would never be able to cross the Pacific again, and that the country he had called home for decades did not want him.

Those erasures have long-term effects, although archaeology, offering physical evidence to the contrary, can help to mitigate them. On May 8 2017, while work at the site continued under Laura Jones' team, *The Stanford Daily* (descendent of the historical newspapers quoted above) published an opinion piece by Samantha Wong decrying the lack of Cantonese courses then available at the university, citing the Cantonese roots of the campus's early employees and the need for increased recognition, not just of Chinese, but specifically Cantonese culture. Wong's article drew on both the excavation at the Arboretum site as well as an exhibit of artifacts from the Arboretum and the Stanford family residence created by fellow undergraduate Bright Zhou. Wong's article represented the first time the campus's original Chinese employees appeared in *The Stanford Daily* in seventy years. Wong relied on the artifacts as testaments to the contributions of Cantonese-speaking people during the founding of the university. Even before the excavations had finished, the site and its artifacts were becoming bound up with present-day senses of heritage. They also underscored the need for greater attention. Wong concluded her article: "My language matters. My culture matters. My presence matters." Community member interviewees shared views similar to Wong's, agreeing that the site remained eminently related to Chinese heritage at Stanford and the wider Bay Area.

Life for the Chinese immigrants employed at Stanford university was structured along lines that included gender, race, and class, but all three aspects of identity and expectation were in flux, particularly as people from diverse backgrounds mingled in the newly built social and academic institution. For the Chinese employees, the transition of Stanford land from a stock farm into a

university meant not only physically building and working in the new environment, but also navigating interactions with the predominantly white students and faculty. While students relied on campus fraternities for social life, the Chinese employees also relied on wide-ranging fraternal networks based on origin, kinship, or shared tong membership, providing them both with inter-community relationships as well as safety. Social activities, including traditional gambling and American athletics, provided opportunities for camaraderie but also necessitated new, deliberate approaches to performing masculine identity. These practices, seldom described explicitly in the documentary record, emerge through fragments of personal accounts in newspapers and memoirs, and through artifact-prompted memories.

As of 2019, excavations have reopened at the site under the leadership of a new team based at Stanford University and are set to continue for the next few years as the Arboretum Chinese Labor Quarters Project. Community collaboration continues to be a tenet of this ongoing work. While no monuments exist dedicated to its memory – *yet* – the archaeological site itself and material objects including recovered artifacts, photographs, and original documents, continue to serve as the physical basis for memory and heritage-making. In this capacity, and approached through collaboration and consultation with the ongoing community today, they foster a shared understanding that makes the site visible again. In one sense this is part of a restoration, a reminder of a past that has been hidden due in part to structural racism. However, as demonstrated by their almost immediate use by Stanford's undergraduates and the resonance the site's materials have had with the wider community, they are also part of new efforts to receive recognition. They are helping people to tell their stories, which both create and confirm the community's heritage.

Chapter 5: Marking Ownership on Ainu Objects: Three Museum Collections in the United States

Preface

At the same time as the objects from the Arboretum Chinese Quarters went into the ground, preserving aspects of life for Chinese immigrants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, across the Pacific, objects served as one of the primary motivations for anthropological trips to northern Japan. As I described in Chapter 2, Chinese immigrants and the Ainu faced deeply linked processes of imperialism and racialization. The different ways their objects endured the past century, in the ground or in storage boxes far from their homes, reflect the double-edged nature of these processes that can simultaneously preserve and dispossess. In the following chapter, I turn my attention to museum collections of Ainu material culture in the United States, and show the process of their creation in the context of the Meiji era and anthropology's turn to the salvage paradigm. By looking at the individual objects themselves, and seeking alternative sources such as oral traditions, historical images, and continued cultural practices today – many of the same kinds of resources I have used in previous chapters – I also seek to show how Ainu ownership and agency played an important role in the creation of these collections. The following chapter is largely based on my previous published article (Lowman 2018b), which itself grew out of my research as part of the Smithsonian Institution's Summer Institute in Museum Anthropology.

Introduction

Markings on ethnographic objects draw attention to the objects' life experiences. Accumulated over time, marks indicating use or modification are a reminder that knowing an object's origin and purposes of manufacture are not enough. Rather, marks recall single events or repeated activities, intentional or accidental, that were part of its multiple uses and meanings. This is especially important to understand when examining trade items, since these objects may have been recognized differently depending on the viewer or context of ownership and use. Trade items can be hard to find in ethnographic collections, particularly those made in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Such is the case with collections gathered from the Ainu, the Indigenous people of Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kuril Islands. These contain primarily Ainu-made materials, as opposed to Ainu-used trade goods. Similar cases arise across collections made using the paradigm of salvage ethnography, whose practitioners favored Indigenously produced items. The Ainu collections are particularly compelling because some trade items, including lacquer cups called tuki (Figure 5.1), were not only incorporated into Ainu religious practice but also were carved with marks of ownership. These marks established a physical sign of individual possession, as well as a sign that the object belonged within an Ainu religious assemblage. Ainu marks specifically on lacquer "treasures," or ikor, provide visibility of Ainu concepts of individual and cultural ownership.

Figure 5.1: A photo of a tuki and its stand. (NMNH E150663-0, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.)

Some of the largest collections of Ainu objects are located in the United States. These collections are filled with Ainu religious objects, such as prayer sticks called ikupasuy, but examples of tuki and other trade items are scarce. The museums' lopsided contents are clarified by revisiting nineteenth-century collection paradigms, as well as ethnographic literature, museum directives, and the personal activities of the collectors themselves. Taken together, these suggest how an emphasis on origin and production, rather than object use and multiple meanings, led to this imbalance in museum contents. The Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History (NMNH), the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), and the Brooklyn Museum, all containing some of the earliest collected Ainu materials, serve as case studies. Material evidence, along with Japanese historical records, Ainu poetry, and photographs, reveal the importance of tuki in late nineteenth-century Ainu religious practice. Yet they, and their marks, remained relatively invisible through a combination of collector perception and Ainu desire to retain them. I address this invisibility and the reasons for it here. Furthermore, I consider how future research can build on these understandings by comparing collections across time and reassembling materials with a focus on Ainu understandings of their meanings.

Orientation Toward Cultural Origins

When nineteenth-century collectors arrived in Hokkaido, the northernmost island of Japan, and surrounding islands of Sakhalin and the Kurils, the question of Ainu origins was often their primary focus. Identifying cultural origins was central to theories of human development and cultural evolution popularized by John Lubbock and Edward B. Tylor. Lubbock (1870) conceptualized all cultures as progressing through stages in a unilinear development of

humankind. This concept was also critical for Tylor's (1871) "survivals," his term for customs that appeared to have continued through habit and tradition from ancient times (see Oppenheim 2016, 144). From this perspective, anthropologists imagined that hunter-gatherers provided windows on ancestral Western societies (Stocking 1991). Such were the interests of Albert S. Bickmore, a founder of the American Museum of Natural History. In 1868, Bickmore was one of the first anthropologists to speculate that the Ainu were related to Caucasians, a supposed connection that fascinated researchers in subsequent decades (Kreiner 1999; Ölschleger 2014). This research was thought to increase understandings of early Western cultures through comparison. Tylor himself, in his introduction to Basil Hall Chamberlain's Aino Folk-tales, expressed his belief that a chief value of the work was "embodying early but quite real stages of philosophy among mankind" (Tylor 1888, viii). Whether or not conclusions about Ainu origins supported these theories, and many did not, finding an answer to this question remained a long-term anthropological focus.

A corollary of the supposition that the Ainu represented a primitive stage of cultural development was the belief that hunter-gatherers (as the Ainu were then classified by anthropologists) would disappear through contact with industrial civilization. The "vanishing" epithet applied to the Ainu by the 1870s continued to echo through literature decades later. Long after Max von Brandt (1874) opined that the Ainu would soon disappear, the Ainu were still vanishing, according to Carl Etter's (1949) Ainu Folklore: Traditions and Culture of the Vanishing Aborigines of Japan and M. Inez Hilger's (1971) Together with the Ainu: A Vanishing People (see De La Rupelle 2005; James 1942, 132–40). The belief in the perpetual disappearance of the Ainu was a conflation of the people themselves with particular practices of everyday life as visible to outside observers. The Ainu did not vanish. While the Ainu population fluctuated in the early nineteenth century, it later stabilized and grew to upward of 24,000 by the year 2000 (lewallen 2016, 8, 135–36). The belief that the Ainu would disappear consigned them to a static position as people of the past, much the way that other Indigenous people were imagined by many Westerners.

In the nineteenth century, belief in the immanent disappearance of nonindustrial peoples had a profound impact on the practice of collecting. Ainu collections were made during the height of the "salvage paradigm," a common philosophy of the collecting methods of Franz Boas, Alfred L. Kroeber, Bronisław Malinowski, and many others (Clifford 1987). Salvage ethnography involved seeking evidence of authentic culture in the face of what anthropologists believed to be fatal change. Tylor, as well as John Wesley Powell at what would become the Bureau of American Ethnology, and Horatio Hale, an early supervisor of Boas, were all proponents of salvage ethnography and influenced their students or readers, including many collectors (Gruber 1970). These collectors were drawn to objects that exemplified ways of life that they believed would disappear through encounters with industrial civilization. Thus, stone tools might be collected rather than those made of metal (see Gosden and Knowles 2001); collectors might conflate living peoples with a remote and generalized archaeological past, referring to subjects of ethnographic study as Neolithic (see Edwards 2000); or "authentic" representations of Indigenous craftsmanship would be specifically commissioned by collectors in preference to the hybridized material cultures already evident through colonial encounters (see Berlo 1992). The resulting effects have been studied in collections drawn from around the world, including North America (Hinsley 1992; Jacknis 2002), the Pacific (Thomas 1991; Welsch 2000), and East Asia

(Oppenheim 2016). These examples are related to the collectors' idea of "authenticity," which implied an origin point immediately prior to contact with industrialized people, and the assumption that this contact inherently led to the spoiling and decline of the culture in question. As discussed below, sometimes these views of isolated purity overlooked historically ongoing cultural change, particularly the influences of long-term trade interactions.

Trade and Treasures

This concentration on cultural origins, and the "authenticity" believed to be accessible through studying them, specifically translated into the Ainu being perceived as removed from the modern world. German diplomat Max von Brandt observed that the Ainu "have adopted nothing from the Japanese; they are what they were, a race standing on the lowest stage of culture" (1874, 132–33). This view was shared by Romyn Hitchcock, the collector for the Smithsonian Institution's United States National Museum, today the National Museum of Natural History. Hitchcock wrote, "If we seek to discover Japanese influence changing the habits and improving the conditions of those Ainos who have lived in close contiguity with Japanese in Yezo for the last hundred years, we must confess that the signs are scarcely noticeable" (1891, 433). These Westerners' observations of Ainu isolation contrast with later analyses that rely on Japanese documentary records. Shinichiro Takakura's (1960) history of Ainu-Japanese trade from the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries, drawn from documents in the Hokkaido Administrative Office, described importation of Japanese materials and Ainu exportation of fur, fish, and crafts. Brett Walker (2001), Koji Deriha (2014), and Takuro Segawa (2015) used a combination of documents and archaeological evidence to demonstrate that trade was central to Ainu livelihood and daily practices. According to Deriha (2014), this shift in recognizing Ainu intraregional trade is due to the increased use of historical documents and an attention to a wider trade region spanning Northeast Asia. This view of the Ainu as traders over the long-term is receiving increased recognition after a long history of dismissal (Isabella 2017).

Among other trade goods, Japanese-produced lacquerware carried a multifaceted social significance when it entered Ainu possession. Lacquered containers of many kinds, along with decorated swords, were together known as ikor, "treasures" in Ainu. Archaeological evidence indicates traded lacquer in the Saru River region possibly as early as the sixteenth century, according to the Nibutani tomb display, Museum of the Historical Saru River (visited September 7, 2016). Lacquer became not only a measure of the accumulation of individual wealth but also a means to purchase fishing grounds, pay penalties for crimes, and buy betrothal presents (Takakura 1960, 14–15). It was central to the practice of iyomante, the bear-sending ceremony, when it was offered as gifts for the bear god (Howell 1999). John Batchelor described how wine-filled Japanese lacquerware casks called shintoko (things of beauty) and swords traded to the Ainu became prestigious possessions among them (Batchelor 1892, 49). The ikor were an exciting sight for Isabella Bird when she traveled through Hokkaido in 1878:

> The great urns are to be seen in every house, and in addition there are suits of inlaid armour, and swords with inlaid hilts, engraved blades, and répoussé scabbards, for which a collector would give almost anything. No offers, however liberal, can tempt them to sell any of these antique possessions. "They were presents," they say . . . "they were presents from those who were kind to our

> fathers; no we cannot sell them; they were presents." And so gold lacquer, and pearl inlaying, and gold niello work, and daimiyô's crests in gold, continue to gleam in the smoky darkness of their huts.
>
> Bird 1881, 87

This description of lacquered treasures in Ainu households suggests both their role in everyday space and Ainu owners' reluctance to part with them. Bird believed that collectors would desire these objects, but they proved less popular than she anticipated.

Instruments to Talk to Gods

Instead of ikor, another kind of object captured the interest of anthropological collectors: prayer sticks. Prayer sticks, or ikupasuy (drinking utensils), were, and continue to be, used as an instrument to communicate with kamuy (Ainu gods) and were traditionally among an Ainu person's most precious possessions (Dubreuil 2007, 24). Misnamed "moustache-lifters" or "moustache sticks" because outside observers saw the sticks' contact with the lip during Ainu prayer, their meaning is more complicated. Hitchcock described one ceremony in this way: "[T]he moustache-stick, which has thus far rested across the top of the drinking cup . . . is dipped into the sake and a few drops thrown into the fire, the stick being moved several times back and forth above the cup" (1891, 478). Bird (1881, 58) and Batchelor (1892, 64–65) provided similar descriptions. Bird's excitement to acquire one was typical of her contemporaries:

> I tried to buy the saké-sticks with which they make libations to their gods, but they said it was "not their custom" to part with the saké-stick of any living man; however, this morning Shinondi [Bird's Ainu guide] has brought me, as a very valuable present, the stick of a dead man!
>
> Bird 1881, 63

Bird's difficulty obtaining a single prayer stick did not preclude other collectors' efforts. A decade later, the first items Hitchcock collected were ikupasuy, and his fervent pursuit of additional examples earned him the name "Mr. Moustache Stick" while in Hokkaido (Houchins 1999, 149–50). By 1904, Frederick Starr, whose collection was purchased in part by the Brooklyn Museum, admitted that ikupasuy "had a great attraction for us and we secured scores of them" (1904, 65). Stewart Culin shared this fascination, and he purchased still more examples for the Brooklyn Museum (Poster 1999, 159). This shared interest helps to explain the presence of hundreds of ikupasuy in museums.

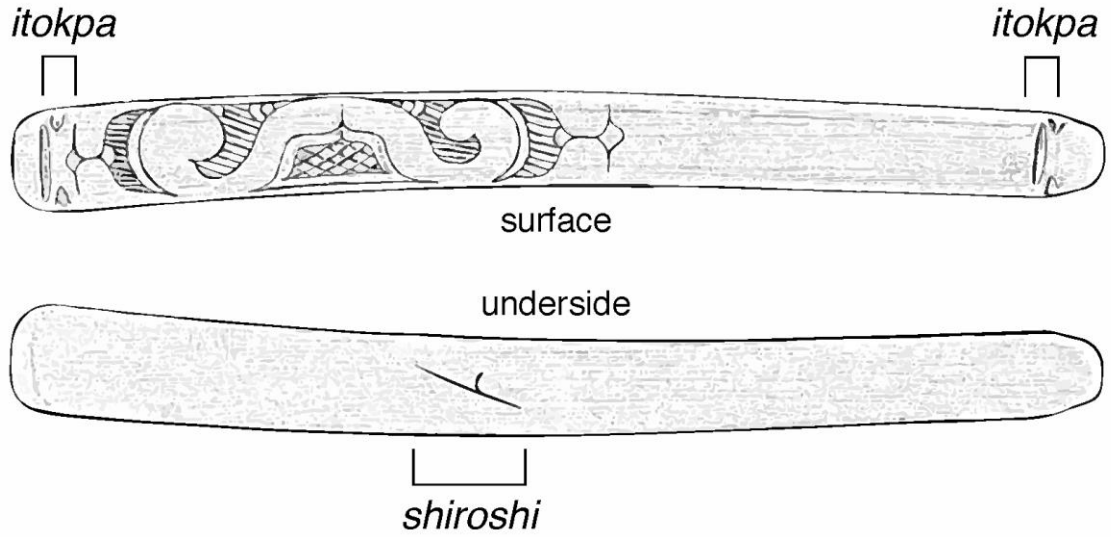


Figure 5.2: The surface and reverse of an ikupasuy (digital drawing based on NMNH E150698-0). (Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.)

One aspect of ikupasuy is missing from most collectors' ethnographic descriptions. An ikupasuy's carvings have specific Ainu names, indicating their separate functions within the object as a whole (Figure 5.2). One, the shiroshi (sign), is directly related to individual ownership (Slawik 1992, 29–30). This is separate from the sacred patrilineal marks called itokpa (notches) that appear on the ends of an ikupasuy (Maraini 1999, 332), themselves similar in meaning to the matrilineal textile markers of Ainu upsorkut (lewallen 2016, 107). Shiroshi are not always present, but when they are, they "represent individual marks . . . although they have very much a magical-religious and emotional value as they represent gods" (Maraini 1942, 31, my translation). The shape of the shiroshi sometimes references a god, such as the line bisected by a curved line, as in Figure 5.2, which is associated with the orca god repun kamuy (ibid., 32). Sometimes the sign is a Japanese character, or the meaning is unknown or undisclosed by Ainu informants (ibid., 34). In all cases, these marks were traditionally associated the object with its owner (Piłsudski 1912, 107). Collectors were generally aware of the marks' presence, but not of their significance. Starr (1904, 65) noted that an Ainu carver "used to leave his mark cut on the underside" of prayer sticks. Culin's assessment, albeit made prior to visiting Hokkaido, was that ikupasuy were "nearly all scratched with what were scarcely discernable marks," and he concluded that they "were once emblems of rank or authority" (1898, 812). Culin's analysis relied on material alone, rather than on Ainu informants. As discussed below, a different story emerges through ethnographers' interviews with the Ainu themselves. Bashford Dean was aware that the marks were associated with a family, according to the "Catalogue of Aino Material Collected by Bashford Dean 1900" manuscript (Accession Folder 1901-77, AMNH Anthropology Archive). However, his brief note in the "Religious and Ceremonial" section of his handwritten catalog was not used in any subsequent ethnographies.

Figure 5.3: A tuki with a shiroshi. (NMNH E150704-0, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.)

Shiroshi express ownership while also providing a key to material assemblages. Shiroshi appear not only on Ainu-produced ikupasuy but also on tuki, the lacquer cups and stands obtained by the Ainu through trade with the Japanese (Figure 5.3). Although they are frequently difficult to see except in direct light, their presence implies that like ikupasuy, tuki were items worthy of retention by an individual owner. This Ainu practice of linking objects through marks is absent in museum documents, and collected examples of tuki themselves are rare. Bronisław Piłsudski's 1912 description of shiroshi was one of the first to appear in the ethnographic literature. His knowledge came from interviews with Ainu from the Saru River area who visited London for the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 (Miyatake 2012, 110). Since the account was produced through direct communication with Ainu, rather than through observation alone, it is particularly valuable as an ethnographic record to compare to those of other collectors:

> These dishes, especially small pieces, are often lent from family to family on the occasion of a gathering with many guests. Also lent are the accessories for the sake cups, the flat chopsticks, about one foot long, used to protect the moustache, and covered with a beautiful Ainu carving ("ikupasuy"). Since these utensils resemble one another, and the enameled dishes are absolutely identical, the owners mark their undersides with a sign, which is ordinarily chosen once and for all.
>
> Piłsudski 1912, 107, my translation[1]

Piłsudski's informants' description suggests that although the ikupasuy and tuki might be shared during a gathering, the marks were treated as a permanent sign of ownership (Figure 5.4). This

[1] "On prête souvent cette vaisselle, surtout les petites pièces, de famille en famille, à Foccasion d'une réception de nombreux invités. On prête en même temps les accessoires aux tasses pour le "sake," des baguettes plaies, de la longueur d'un pied environ, pour maintenir les moustaches et recouvertes d'une belle sculpture faite par les Ainu ("ikupasuy") Comme ces baguettes se ressemblent et que la vaisselle émaillée est absolument identique, les propriétaires les marquent en dessous d'un signe, que l'on choisit d'ordinaire une fois pour toutes."

permanence implies two things. First, the marks are useful for understanding Ainu concepts of ownership, and second, they also hold the potential for researchers to match marks among objects. This could aid the future reassembly of materials using a traditional Ainu perspective, rather than the typology of collectors alone.

Figure 5.4: An Ainu gathering, similar to the one described by Piłsudski (1912), with men holding ikupasuy and tuki. (National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution [NAA 2011-13.30].)

Poetry and Language

Ainu poetry and linguistic evidence suggest that ikupasuy and tuki were used as a pair. Ainu oral traditions, including hero epics called sakorpe or yukar, have existed for centuries and continue to be recited today (Oginaka 1999). References to Ainu material culture appear in the poems, making them excellent sources for understanding the roles of objects from a traditional Ainu perspective. Scholars have used the poems to interpret archaeological remains (Fukasawa 1998), food practices (Moody 2014), and trade (Walker 2001, 208–14). Given the frequency with which humans and gods interacted in the poems, they are valuable sources for understanding how prayer sticks and cups are entwined as a pair in their delivery of prayers. In the following example, from the "Song of the Orca God," translated by Julie Kaizawa, the poem recounts how a prayer was received from the god's perspective:

> I saw something out of the corner of my eye. Then,
> When I turned around, on the sacred window frame,
> A metal tuki was brimming
> With wine. On top of it
> Sat a kike-us-pasui, and soon
> The kike-us-pasui began to sway and deliver the following message:
> "I am a resident of Otasut Village, and
> It is my honor to offer you wine through this kike-us-pasui."
>
> Katayama 2003, 333

The kike-ush-pasuy (or here transliterated as “kike-us-pasui”) is a prayer stick used on important occasions (Phillipi 2015 [1979], 94). Although the prayer itself was completed once the stick ceased moving, the god continued to interact with the objects, as in “Song of the White Weasel Goddess”:

> With that, I [the god] got up
> And took up the metal sake cup
> I raised it high and lowered it down
> I filled six shintoko casks, pouring just a little in each,
> And then placed the cup on the windowsill.
> Then, the pashui danced, fluttering, back down to the lower world.
> Moody 2014, 137–38

Although the prayer stick (here transliterated as “pashui”) transmitted the message and the sender’s identity, it was the cup that the god interacted with when receiving the offering. The appreciation of the sake cup is evident in its material description: Metal, or kani in Ainu, was a metaphor for “magnificent” (Phillipi [1979] 2015, 94) or “precious,” as applied to objects ranging from houses to bows (Fukasawa 1998, 91). It could also be literal: There is at least one example of a metal tuki (AMNH 70/4223), which I discuss below. Whether the poems were literal or metaphorical, the Ainu perspective on tuki makes the object no mere auxiliary for ikupasuy but rather a crucial tool in the worlds of gods and humans.

Modern descriptions by Ainu themselves also support this pairing. Shigeru Kayano, an Ainu political leader and a founder of the Nibutani Ainu Culture Museum, recalled: “Kayano Kowawatte (my father) cherished this vermillion-colored tuki-num (sake cup) together with its tuki-pasuy (tuki-pasuy and tuki-num were used in pairs)” (2006, 46). Kayano referred to the prayer stick not by the name ikupasuy but rather by a dialect variant, tuki-pasuy: “cup-utensil.” Kayano (1994) also used tuki-pasuy throughout his memoir. In adding Kayano’s language and description to the poetic and material evidence discussed above, the case grows for considering the objects as a pair, as does the significance of the absence of tuki from early United States collections.

Museum Collections

Despite ikupasuy and tuki appearing together in Ainu poetry and historical descriptions, they rarely are displayed together in United States museum collections. Examining collections from the Smithsonian Institution’s National Museum of Natural History (NMNH), the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), and the Brooklyn Museum, there are a disproportionate number of ikupasuy compared with tuki (Table 5.1). Yoshinobu Kotani’s (2004) research team identified these museums as having some of the largest, and oldest, collections anywhere. Two other resource-rich museums identified by Kotani’s team include the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology and the Royal Ontario Museum, although neither contains tuki. The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology does possess other objects with shiroshi, including ikupasuy and a wooden bowl used for pouring wine (UPM A452B). Other museums contain collections made later or through individual

purchases rather than first-hand collecting. These other collections are all worthy subjects for future studies, particularly in comparison to those discussed here, which were all made with specific anthropological goals. Other U.S. museums that contain tuki include the Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, the Field Museum of Natural History, the Milwaukee Public Museum, the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, and the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology.

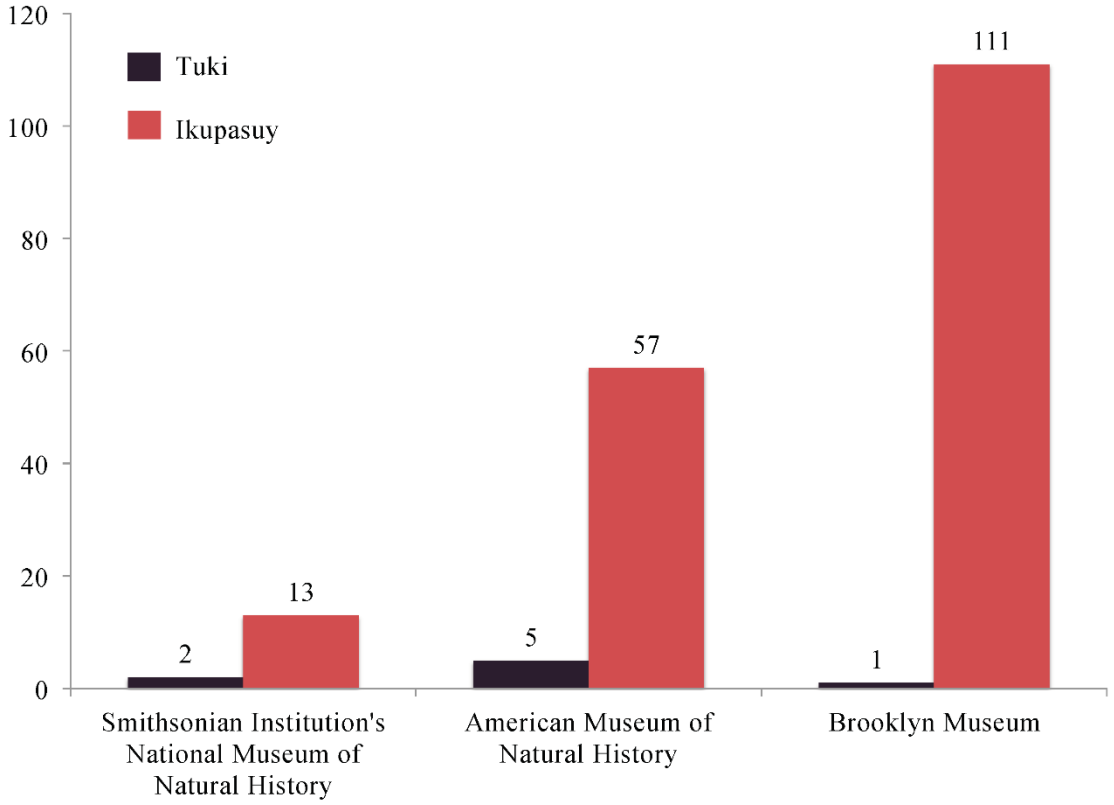


Table 5.1: The number of ikupasuy and tuki in three U.S. museum collections.

There are 181 ikupasuy among these three museums but only 8 tuki. While the previous sections focused on the philosophy of nineteenth-century collecting, prevailing Western perceptions of the Ainu, and counterexamples of Ainu perspectives, the following section will focus on each museum's tuki, and the roles of collectors and Ainu in the creation of the collections. Specific object information, such as the location where the item was collected, is drawn from museum catalog cards unless otherwise noted.

Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History

The majority of the NMNH Ainu materials come from a single collection made by Romyn Hitchcock in 1888. Hitchcock had a personal interest in the Ainu and feared they were fast disappearing. While residing as a teacher in Osaka in 1887, he wrote to George Brown Goode at the Smithsonian: "I believe the Ainu [to be] scarcely touched by our civilization and fast dying out" (Hitchcock letter to Goode, March 4, 1887, Smithsonian Institution Archives RU201, quoted in Houchins 1999, 149). In his later report to the museum, Hitchcock revealed his

perception of the Ainu as isolated, yet still possessing material traded from elsewhere: "They number among their household treasures old Japanese swords and curios. . . But it is scarcely a century since they emerged from the stone age, and otherwise they have not passed beyond it" (1891, 433). Hitchcock placed priority on material production rather than trade or use due to his evaluation of the Ainu from a culture evolution perspective. The sophisticated trading networks apparent to later scholars were obscured by an emphasis on origin, both of people and of things.

Despite this view, Hitchcock was the only collector for the Smithsonian Institution to bring back tuki. In contrast, among the museum's nine accessions of Ainu material prior to 1925, four contained examples of ikupasuy. Notably, Hitchcock (1891, 449) illustrated one of the first depictions of tuki found in any Western source. While the emphasis in the illustration is placed on the four ikupasuy rather than the single tuki, the illustration demonstrates Hitchcock's familiarity with the use, if not the importance, of the two objects together. The tuki depicted is NMNH E150663-0 (see Figure 5.1, which includes both cup and stand). It was collected in Biratori, while Hitchcock's second tuki, NMNH E150704-0 (Figure 5.3), came from Betsukai. NMNH E150704-0's catalog information includes its original exhibit description as simply "Made by Japanese." Both tuki have shiroshi on their bases (Table 5.2). However, the marks are partially obscured by old museum labels. The combination of the lack of any mention of shiroshi in Hitchcock's report, and their subsequent covering with stickers or museum numbers, suggests that this feature of these objects was either unknown or not considered of great importance.

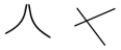
Institution	Object ID	Marks
Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History (NMNH)	E150704-0 (cup, no stand)	
	E150663-0 (cup)	
	E150663-0 (stand)	
American Museum of Natural History (AMNH)	70/4221 (cup, paired with stand 70/4224)	
	70/4225 (stand, paired with cup 70/4220)	 *
	70/4226 (stand, paired with cup 70/4222)	 *
	70/4227 (stand, paired with cup 70/4223)	
	70.2/3082 (cup, paired with *ikupasuy* 70.2/3081 and stand 70.2/3083)	
Brooklyn Museum (BM)	12.725 (cup, paired with stand 12.726)	

Table 5.2: Shiroshi on tuki and stands in three United States museum collections.
* indicates mark obscured by lacquer damage

The NMNH catalog lists several other lacquer cups in the collection. Some of these (including NMNH E150795) were collected by Hitchcock in Osaka rather than Hokkaido and are stored with other Japanese objects. Further research could determine, through the presence or absence of shiroshi, whether these belonged to Ainu owners before their sale elsewhere. Others are modern reproductions purchased for the 1999 exhibit Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People (including NMNH E430693-0 and E430694-0). These reproductions are not included in Table 5.1 and have no shiroshi. In this sense, shiroshi continue to signify not only past ownership but also past use in a particular religious context.

American Museum of Natural History

The American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) possesses 5 tuki and 57 ikupasuy, from two museum-sponsored expeditions and later gifts. The first collection, from 1896, was made by Arthur Curtiss James with help from Professor Inazō Nitobe and two Japanese students (Kendall 1999). Collecting through local experts in Hokkaido was common: Nitobe also helped Mabel Loomis Todd (1899) collect Ainu material now in the Peabody Essex Museum. Even through Nitobe, James' directives from AMNH Curator of Anthropology Frederic Ward Putnam helped shape the collection. Putnam requested Ainu religious objects, particularly "prayer sticks and various symbolic devises all of which are important, and still more so if you can obtain a knowledge of the meaning of the symbols" (Putnam letter to James, March 20, 1896, AMNH Anthropology Archive). Putnam's letter indicates his awareness of the symbolic significance of Ainu religious objects. James' collection contains 11 ikupasuy but no tuki. Since tuki were possible to obtain, as demonstrated by Hitchcock, and bore the kind of symbols that interested Putnam, it is possible that James was unaware of their importance, or that he and those assisting him specifically ignored them.

Bashford Dean's collection from 1900 includes 4 of the 5 AMNH tuki, as well as 38 ikupasuy and 1 kike-ush-pasuy (AMNH 70/4208). Anthropological collecting was one of a wide range of Dean's interests: He was a scientist, professor, and curator at both the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the AMNH (LaRocca 1996). In line with James' and Putnam's interests in Ainu religion, Dean's collection captured religious material assemblages in multiple instances. His selections indicate that he was aware of Ainu beliefs and personal meanings. In one instance, Dean noted the request of an Ainu man to pair sacred wood shavings with a mortar, which had "given food to his family for several hundred years," and the man did not want to "offend" the cherished mortar. The Ainu man's beliefs altered the future contents of the museum, and Dean demonstrated awareness that an Ainu worldview encompassed inter-material relationships. Of all the major collectors, only Dean recognized the presence of shiroshi on objects other than ikupasuy. A note in the margins of his catalog, on the page listing the tuki, reads: "On bottom is family mark." However, his careful notation was not a focus of later studies or displays of his collection. It is possible that Dean's attention to individual interactions are what led him to recognize the marks, and collect as many tuki as he did, although their number was still fewer than ikupasuy.

The tuki at the AMNH are diverse. In Dean's handwritten catalog, he carefully noted the specific origin, age, and decoration of each cup. He dated 70/4220 and 70/4223 to the seventeenth century, 70/4222 to the eighteenth century, and 70/4221 to the early nineteenth century,

according to his catalog (Accession Folder 1901-77, AMNH Anthropology Archive). Two (AMNH 70/4220 and 70/4221) were collected in Biratori; 70/4222 was collected from Abuta; and 70/4223 was from Usu. Three depict animals, including a fish, specifically a sea bream (AMNH 70/4220), possibly a raccoon dog or badger (AMNH 70/4221), and herons (AMNH 70/4222). For the Ainu at the time, depicting animals was not appropriate save for sacred or powerful objects like ikupasuy and chief's headdresses (Dubreuil 1999, 337). While the animals were Japanese decorations, their appearance did not deter their exchange and acceptance by the Ainu. It is even possible that the animal images were attractive to Ainu traders, since the cups were obtained for religious use. All four of Dean's sets have one or more shiroshi (Table 5.2). AMNH 70/4225 possesses three shiroshi, indicating multiple owners: Tuki, and occasionally ikupasuy, were passed between individuals, sometimes between generations of a family (Piłsudski 1912, 107). Adding shiroshi was enough to distinguish ownership, and even the addition of a line could indicate belonging to the descendent of an original owner (Maraini 1942, 35; see Kayano 1994, 24). 70/4223 is made of brass rather than lacquered wood. The multiple crests on its exterior surface include the quartered-diamond of the Matsumae clan, who controlled Ainu-Japanese trade intermittently during the Edo period. This brass tuki suggests that the metaphorical metal tuki of Ainu poetry literally existed, although as the only example of its kind among all U.S. collections, as well as the Japanese and European collections known to the author, they were likely extremely rare.

The marks on the fifth tuki (AMNH 70.2/3082) are a significant example of the way shiroshi can indicate Ainu object assemblages. It was a gift to the museum from George Ghika, a Hungarian ambassador to Japan, who in turn had received it from Neil Gordon Munro, a Scottish physician and anthropologist who lived for many years in Nibutani. The tuki itself possesses one shiroshi, while its stand is currently on display and unavailable for examination. The catalog card suggests that both date from before 1938, late in Munro's life when Ghika likely received the object. The majority of Munro's collection is in the National Museum of Scotland, and future work documenting collecting practices of Ainu religious objects will benefit from an international perspective. Munro's gift to Ghika included not only the tuki and stand but also a single ikupasuy (AMNH 70.2/3081). This ikupasuy bears a faint shiroshi, a line bisected twice by shorter lines, near the end that would have been grasped during prayer. This is both the same configuration, and of the same size, as one of the three shiroshi present on the tuki. The matching shiroshi show that the pairing of the objects as a gift was no accident. Rather than being representative of individual object types alone, the marks reveal the objects to be a set. While Ghika might not have known the original Ainu owner, that owner's matching marks indicate the objects' shared life histories.

Brooklyn Museum

The Brooklyn Museum's Ainu materials number over 1,100 items. Of these, ikupasuy alone make up 10 percent, at 111 individual prayer sticks. All three collectors who contributed to the museum, Frederick Starr, Stewart Culin, and John Batchelor, collected substantial numbers of ikupasuy, although Starr's collection of 85 is by far the most of any U.S. collector. Starr's first collection was the product of his visit to Hokkaido in preparation for organizing the Ainu pavilion at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition (Medak-Saltzman 2010). He supplemented this collection with two more in 1910 and 1911. Like many of his contemporaries, Starr specifically used Lubbock and Tylor's evolutionary concepts as guides for his anthropological work

(McVicker 2012). His stated goal was to understand the origins of art and invention through specimen collections (Starr 1895, 291). While in Hokkaido, he avoided materials that had evidence of Japanese influence, collecting them only grudgingly. He regretted, for example, the an assistant's "especial search for moustache sticks, with designs in high relief" in the village of Nibutani resulted in only two examples, both "unfortunately lacquered" according to Starr's assessment (1904, 62). This referred to the practice by some Ainu of having Japanese artists apply lacquer to their ikupasuy (Maraini 1999). Starr apparently viewed this as less desirable, possibly because it seemed less authentically Ainu in origin.

Starr was responsible for collecting the Brooklyn Museum's single tuki (BM 12-725, and stand, BM 12-726). Since the catalog card indicates it came from the Upper Biratori area, it was probably one of the objects collected while Starr was accompanied by John Batchelor, who gave him advice and helped him collect objects in the Saru River area above Biratori (Kotani 1999, 143). While the cup is lacquer, the outer surface is painted with metallic dust, which makes it look particularly metal-like. The base has a single shiroshi. Although the only tuki in the museum, the collections do contain other references to them. One ikupasuy (BM 12-282) has a three-dimensionally carved tuki in its center. Resting on a real tuki during use, the carving would have created a visual stack-in-miniature. Maraini, commenting on this particular prayer stick, guessed that it could have been "the owner's representation of the unending nature of the ritual cycle" (1999, 333). Although its metaphorical meaning is unknown, its presence in the collection can be juxtaposed with the absence of tuki to illustrate contrasting collector and Ainu values. It is an example of the "designs in high relief" sought by Starr, but the tuki as the subject of that design suggests the carver's regard for such an object, that is, it was appreciated by the person who would have used the ikupasuy on every religious occasion.

The records of Stewart Culin, the Brooklyn Museum's own curator of ethnology, illustrate how the absence of tuki was part of a systematic rejection of lacquerware. During Culin's trip to Hokkaido in 1912, he diligently recorded the process of his purchases and noted Ainu words for objects, but he was interested almost exclusively in Ainu-produced items. In his report for the museum, he noted his rebuff of a lacquered tray and bowl offered by an Ainu man, describing them as merely "the familiar objects seen in pictures" (Stewart Culin, "Report on a Collecting Trip in Japan (May 1912–January 1913)." Manuscript, Brooklyn Museum Archives. See pages 135, 175, and 194). Similarly, he refused offers of swords and decorated scabbards, other pieces of Ainu ikor, complaining in his notes that "these things that have been offered to me in such quantities. None of them have any practical use nor artistic or pecuniary value." Culin actively avoided objects save those manufactured by the Ainu themselves. Culin's quest for items he deemed worthy of collection was hampered by what he believed were too many Japanese, and even American, influences on the Ainu. Seeing metal cookware and American produce for sale, he concluded that "little or nothing of importance can be bought at any but the remoter towns and houses." His accounts also reveal that the process of collecting among the Ainu was dramatically different than it had been forty years before, when Bird had described the fierce possessiveness of ikor and the refusal of purchase offers. The absence of tuki in early collections, such as Hitchcock's, is likely due in part to Ainu desires to retain their treasures. However, in Culin's case the opportunity was there, but he refused based on his pursuit of purely Ainu-made items. Culin could have recognized the shiroshi from his attentive studies of ikupasuy, but they remained invisible since his attentions were drawn away from the Japanese-produced lacquer.

Conclusions

The markings on tuki are physical signs of the material's meaning beyond a trade good and transport it out of any singular functional category. For collectors who used systematized unilineal typologies informed by the salvage paradigm to understand origin, both of people and of things, tuki would have been difficult to classify. Collectors such as Hitchcock and Culin observed lacquer "made by the Japanese," but since it originated elsewhere, they gravitated away from these objects, considering them not to be authentically Ainu. This practice resulted in the creation of a biased material record, rendering the museum image of the Ainu as more isolated than historical documents and Ainu stories would otherwise suggest. When Ainu informants participated directly in the transfer of knowledge to ethnographers, as occurred between Piłsudski and his interviewees, a different story of the meaning of lacquer and its marks emerged. The method of collecting made a difference as well: Dean's attention to Ainu informants may explain how he came to recognize the "family marks," which could in turn explain why his collection contains more tuki than most others. Poetry and the Ainu language attest to the importance of tuki, alongside ikupasuy, as tools in the world of kamuy. Looking at shiroshi in combination with all of these sources, the marks take on another meaning. They are indicative not only of the object's possession by an Ainu individual but also of the passage of the object into an Ainu cultural context. It is an ownership mark, of both the person and the culture.

The stories of the collectors are not simple, and this chapter does not seek to paint them as ignorant. For collectors like Culin, collecting only Ainu-made objects stemmed from the concern that Ainu material culture was on the verge of disappearance. By understanding the contrasting beliefs and methods of the collectors, the collections can be interpreted as products of multiple understandings and worldviews. What the collectors did achieve was the creation of some of the oldest and best-documented collections of Ainu material anywhere in the world. As Yoshinobu Kotani wrote, the United States collections, and Starr's in particular, are "a resource that becomes more valuable year by year because of its scope, its early dates, and its documentation" (1999, 147). Japanese collections predominantly date from the 1930s and later, by which time Ainu daily life had changed considerably. While the Ainu had interacted with their neighbors for hundreds of years, the Meiji internal colonization policies were specifically anti-Ainu. Ainu language and participation in public ceremonies were both made illegal (Sasamura 1999). The people themselves never vanished, but they did face the enforced suppression of their traditions. Collectors participated in the selective removal of Ainu cultural objects for study and preservation, a practice that created remarkable resources today, but their actions also separated Ainu from the material culture central to their traditions. The relationship between Ainu and museums, particularly in Japan, is often one of ambivalence: ann-elise lewallen describes how exhibits can produce pride in Ainu heritage while simultaneously causing pain, reminding Ainu of loss and appropriation of their culture (2016, 182-183). One way for anthropology to move forward is to unite materials with Ainu understandings of them, and with living Ainu themselves (see Kato 2009; lewallen 2016; Nakamura 2007a). This can be done through traditional knowledge preserved in oral history or historical interviews, and through partnership with Ainu today.

Figure 5.5: Tuki and ikupasuy at the Nibutani Ainu Culture Museum, September 7, 2016. (Photo by the author)

The story of tuki is not over. In some cases, they remained in Ainu hands and continue to be valued possessions decades later. Many are in Japanese museums or in Ainu-curated collections. Newly made tuki and ikupasuy line storage shelves in the Nibutani Ainu Culture Museum, ready for use (Figure 5.5). Elsewhere, tuki are brought out on important occasions, filled with sake for the opening of new businesses, or placed next to the bride in an Ainu wedding. Their trajectories are worthy of their own stories: Over the course of the twentieth century, they were exchanged by curio dealers, they became central features in homes, or they entered collections or displays in Ainu cultural centers. Museums have a significant role to play as the story continues. They hold material evidence, like shiroshi, of Ainu ontologies of the world.

Chapter 6: Ainu and Collector Agency in a United States Museum: The Hearst Museum Collections

Preface

The endurance of objects as part of museum collections makes them important factors in understanding both the people who made and used them, and the process by which they entered, remained, or left collections of various kinds. However, older materials and large collecting events are not the only sources for this information. In the following chapter, I approach many smaller and more recent collections of Ainu materials as a window into changes in museum practice over time. In doing so, I describe some of the long-term effects of the imperialism that shaped Ainu lives at the same time as it inspired collectors from the United States in the nineteenth century, but also look at the changes in museum practice that have led to greater knowledge and accessibility today, albeit still within systems established using colonial methods. The Hearst Museum's large number of small collections lends itself to this kind of diachronic study, but also means that each one has received less visibility than some of the larger collections now in the United States. By examining their individual contexts, I hope to provide specific information that will lead to additional research and accessibility for Ainu communities in the future.

Introduction: Nine Sticks, Eight Names

As museums increasingly adopt digital platforms for cataloging their collections, the preservation of original documentation, from accession files to catalog cards, maintains unique information about collection contents. However, saving these materials also preserves the development of museum practice and changes in disciplinary understanding over time. Within anthropology museums, documents related to objects from the same culture but gathered in different times by diverse collectors are especially valuable. They chronicle dramatic changes in anthropological thinking and approaches to understanding and interacting with Indigenous peoples, whose belongings make up most anthropological collections in North America. Sometimes, even the same type of object was documented in such distinct ways that it is difficult to tell that the two objects, collected and cataloged under different circumstances, represent similar things. Because of this, collections made up of many different collecting events over a long period of time serve as particularly rich resources for understanding the development of museum anthropology. At the same time, collections like these often comprise small numbers of objects and tend to receive less attention than larger collections gathered by a single person or during a single collecting event. Understanding their contents and the context of their collection and acquisition not only indicates a disciplinary history, but also provides the potential to examine changes in practices among their source communities over time, if accurate times and geographic origins have been preserved in museum documents.

The Ainu collections of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology provide an example of both diverse collecting events and associated changes in museum documentation over time. Collections from the Ainu, the Indigenous people of Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kuril Islands, can be found in many major museums in North America and Europe. Because of Japan's history of internal colonial policies that sought to subjugate and disenfranchise the Ainu, many

originating during the Meiji period in the late nineteenth century (see Chapter 2), these international collections often contain materials older or rarer than those preserved within Japan (Kotani 1999). The Hearst's collection, comprising 58 objects (as of 2019), is small compared to the hundreds now held in East Coast museums such as the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History, the American Museum of Natural History, or the Brooklyn Museum (see Chapter 5). However, the museum acquired these 58 objects through over a dozen different collecting events, gifts, and exchanges with other institutions over many decades. The museum was founded in 1901 alongside the University of California's Department of Anthropology, with Alfred Kroeber serving as both an instructor and museum curator (Jacknis 2002). Kroeber and his students would go on to shape the future of the museum, originally located in San Francisco, and oversaw the first acquisitions of Ainu materials in the 1930s. Additional acquisitions occurred every decade between the 1960s and 1990s (during this time, the museum was renamed the Lowie Museum of Anthropology), with the most recent acquisition in 2012. Although Japanese artifacts featured in exhibits and previous studies (Jacknis 1994), the Ainu collections never received in-depth research.

The example of one object type conveys how different collectors, times, and origins contribute to complicated, but historically informative, museum documentation. Nancy Parezo examined a similar phenomenon in the way that museum documents "freeze" the meaning of objects through their permanence in the museum's collection (1996). The Ainu collections at the Hearst Museum contain nine examples of ikupasuy. Together, they look similar, clearly belonging to the same family of objects. Each around 30 cm long and between 3 and 4 cm wide, they once belonged to individual Ainu men who used them to communicate with *kamuy*, the spiritual beings central to traditional Ainu beliefs. Each one, like all ikupasuy, bears unique carved marks that include decorative curvilinear designs, lines (itokpa) and scratches (shiroshi) indicative of kinship and ownership, and sometimes specific carvings (parunpe) that allowed the sticks to speak in the spiritual world of kamuy during prayer. Despite their similarities, museum documents that indicate historical object names and descriptions contain eight different names for the same type of object. The names changed over time, the earliest examples indicating only English-language descriptions of the objects, while later examples contain various renderings and translations of their Ainu names.

The first example to enter the collection, an ikupasuy collected by Tetsuo Inukai in 1936 (9-1734), is described as a "libation sprinkler" on the catalog card. This reflects the actions outsiders would have observed during an Ainu prayer ceremony, during which Ainu men dipped ikupasuy into lacquer bowls (tuki) filled with sake and then used the pointed end of the stick to cast drops of the alcoholic drink as offerings to kamuy. Kilton R. Stewart collected the second ikupasuy (9-1742) in the 1930s, which the museum acquired in 1936. The catalog card again emphasizes an outsider perspective, even in the name given to the object: "moustach [*sic*] lifter." Collectors and anthropologists commonly used this term until the mid-twentieth century, since Ainu place the ikupasuy across the top of the tuki while drinking sake, but this has nothing to do with the stick's function from an Ainu perspective; in fact, Italian researcher Fosco Maraini titled an entire book chapter "*Ikupasuy*: It's Not a Mustache Lifter!" in the publication accompanying the Smithsonian Institution's landmark 1999 exhibit *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People* (1999, 327). Despite the incorrect names, the museum documents place the circumstances of the

objects' collection and acquisition into the historical context in which outsider descriptions remained widespread in anthropological literature.

By 1969, when five additional prayer sticks entered the collection through an exchange between the Hearst (then called the Lowie Museum of Anthropology) and the nascent National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku) in Japan, the catalog card's contents indicate a shift in values regarding information about the same type of object. For this Accession 2472 (9-8955, 9-8956, 9-8957, 9-8958, 9-8959), the cards use both "prayersticks" and "libation wands," and include the additional caveat: "mistakenly called 'moustache lifter.'" By this time, more anthropologists rejected the primacy of outsiders' perspective. A new subheading on the catalog card, "Native name and meaning," contains additional information: "ikubashui (drinking stick)." Since the Ainu did not use a traditional writing system corresponding to the spoken language, translators have rendered the same word in a variety of ways over time; John Batchelor used "iku-bashui" in the second edition of his Ainu-English-Japanese dictionary (1905), as did missionary Neil Gordon Munro, whose book *Ainu Creed and Cult* appears in the file for Accession 2472. The next acquisition three years later in 1972, 9-11999 from the estate of Daphne D. Stern, used similar language. The final ikupasuy to enter the museum, originally a gift to the linguist Haruo Aoki, included detailed notes from the collector himself regarding the "eating/drinking utensil," and an alternative Ainu name, "kamui pasui."

These many names for the same object offer one window into the complicated story of how anthropological collectors and museums as institutions shaped the official language and representation of people and cultures. Collectors' institutional directives and personal motivations fundamentally shape their collections, producing resources for preservation, study, and exhibition that reflect the collector as well as the makers and users from the culture of origin (Gosden 2000, Jacknis 1996, Oppenheim 2016). Collectors have a central role in creating academic work based on museum collections, as well as the popular imagination of cultures for the museum-going public. Understanding the role that collectors played in creating this context shows how certain objects become stand-ins for cultural understanding many decades after their collection. Jacknis (2002) explores patterns that emerge in collections because of collectors' influence as individuals, representatives of institutions, or their precedence before other collectors, specifically looking at case studies collectors of Kwakwaka'wakw material culture. While curators or exhibit funders may design museum displays according to personal interests, emphasizing typology, romantic ideas, or political affiliation (Sachedina 2011), the collections themselves play an even more permanent role. Among their objects, presences or absences of certain materials shape the possibilities open to curators, researchers, exhibit designers, and to Indigenous people and other descendants of the original makers and owners of the objects now in collections, who may use them as touchstones for understanding or maintaining traditions (Hardin 1989) or view them as part of the colonial process of dispossession when not owned or curated by members of their source culture (Kotani 1994). For some Ainu, museum objects have provided models for replicas and inspiration for the maintenance of traditional art forms such as work with textiles and embroidery (Aoyagi and Deriha 1999, lewallen 2016).

The complexity of the archival record, including museum documentation, and the diversity of individual events that created collections like those of the Hearst, mean that collections' accessibility remains an issue. On a panel at the 2019 Annual Meeting of the American

Anthropological Association, "Toward the Establishment of a Network for Ainu and Indigenous Studies in North America," Dr. Koji Yamasaki from Hokkaido University identified the need for collaboration between English- and Japanese-speaking scholars of Ainu Studies precisely because of the rich, but often difficult-to-access archival record related to Ainu collections outside Japan. In this chapter, I try to make a first step toward interpreting the history of the Ainu collections at the Hearst Museum, while using the museum's documentation to comment on the development of museum anthropology practices over time. In addition, by adding information from sources found outside the museum's acquisition folders and catalog cards, I hope to provide a greater context not only for each collector's activity, but also link objects to their specific source communities and circumstances of collection, whenever possible. These links offer vital information for establishing future collaborative work, and may increase knowledge of contents and access to collections for Ainu people today with additional collaboration and translation. Identifying objects' places of origin would help identify patterns of collecting over time as well as establish the basis for future community stakeholder involvement in research, and therefore I note any information about each collections' geographic origins.

The rest of this chapter is divided into sections based on the historical trends of the Hearst's archival documents, exemplified above with the examples of the ikupasuy. This chapter includes many of the collections acquired during the twentieth century, but does not include every example in the collections, including the latest Accession 4789, collected in 1996 and donated by Dai Williams and Karin Nelson in 2012. Part 1 covers the major collecting events up through the 1930s that formed the backbone of the Hearst's Ainu collection. During this time, many ethnographers viewed the Ainu as a "vanishing people" that might hold the secrets of Japanese or Native American origins. Collectors for the Hearst ranged from the botanist George Haley to the dream-theorist Kilton R. Stewart, and each collected materials with a distinctly individual agenda. Part 2, between the 1930s and 1950s, examines the influence of museum director Alfred L. Kroeber, and how his students and colleagues played a role in shaping the Ainu collection. It also covers Edward W. Gifford's role in acquiring chipped stone points and potsherds, identified in the museum's archive as Ainu due to still-developing understandings of the archaeological Jomon culture. Part 3 covers the major collections from the 1960s up until 1993.

Part 1: Early Ethnographic Collections 1906-1931

Harold Heath

Object 9-5134 is a round disk made of vegetable roots, boiled and dried, "ready for eating with the addition of hot water," and originally came from "north of Hakodate, Hokkaido" (Accession 1149). Ainu across multiple regions dried plants such as parsnip and lily roots, especially for use during winter months (Ohnuki-Tierney 1976). The Ainu traditionally believe that vegetables, like other living things and objects, contain kamuy, and Ainu women collected and preserved wild plants as a part of daily life for centuries (Kohara 1999). According to Toshihiro Kohara, "most preserved foods were made from plants that were collected in the spring and then kept in storehouses next to the family's main house" (1999, 203). Few objects like this exist in United States collections; the Smithsonian has three similar objects, although one suffered damaged in storage, likely because of the delicacy of the dried substance. Although it did not enter the museum until 1954, after the acquisition of other Ainu collections, 1906 remains the earliest definite date for any collecting event among the museum's Ainu collections.

Harold Heath (1868-1951) had taught zoology at Stanford University for eight years by 1906. He traveled on several expeditions to Alaska and along the coast of California on the *USS Albatross*, one of the first ships built specifically for marine research (Conklin 1951). Less than a month following the devastating 1906 earthquake, the *Albatross* began her voyage into the northwestern Pacific, including the Bering, Okhotsk, and Japanese seas, with Heath and other scientists aboard planning to study shells (Dall 1908). He likely collected the Ainu dried vegetables during this trip while in Hakodate, a trading port with a long history of trade between the Ainu and the Japanese, and later the site of one of the first open ports to Western travelers in the nineteenth century (see Chapter 2). Hakodate became a hub for academic research on the Ainu beginning at the turn of the 20th century (Aoyagi and Deriha 1999). The nature of Heath's maritime expedition likely limited his landfall on Hokkaido, and Hakodate's port would have been one of his few opportunities to gather Ainu material. Like many academic collectors at the time, Heath's expertise lay in the broader biological sciences rather than specifically sociocultural anthropology (Lyman et al. 1997, 2). Although Heath's career focused on zoology and embryology, he possessed a "keen interest in people and affairs" and later worked with the Pacific Grove Municipal Museum (Owens, Geise, and Blinks 1951). These interests may have influenced his collection of Ainu material unrelated to his personal research. Heath collected other items in Hokkaido as well, including bamboo shrimp scoops (9-4914a,b) and a bamboo basket for fish (9-5133), although their culture origin or whether they were used by the Japanese or the Ainu does not appear in the museum documents. Elsewhere in Japan, he collected several chopsticks (9-4913a,b) and a number of fishhooks (such as 9-4916); most of the items relate to foodways, especially the maritime environments of Heath's study.

The Context of Collecting Ainu Material

Heath visited Japan during a period of ethnographic collection that had been spurred thirty years prior to his arrival with the intensification of colonization efforts by the Meiji government (Medak-Saltzman 2010, 607, Watanabe 1972, 165). Most of the collections discussed in Chapter 5 came from around this same time, between 1880 and 1910. Some collectors worked consistently throughout these decades: missionary John Batchelor lived with the Ainu on Hokkaido for over 60 years from 1877 and 1940, collecting large numbers of Ainu objects (Poster 1999). For many collectors, the methods of salvage ethnography served as an impetus for their collecting. As discussed in the previous chapter, Romyn Hitchcock, on an expedition for the Smithsonian in 1888, wrote of his desire "to get a photographic record and items of daily use. I believe the Ainu [to be] scarcely touched by our civilization and fast dying out" (Houchins 1999, 149). Therefore, uniquely Ainu materials or examples of older objects became particularly prized by many collectors.

The legacies of the nineteenth century lived on even after the salvage paradigm began to fall out of use by anthropologists in the early twentieth century. Both Japanese and foreign researchers continued to be interested in the mystery of Ainu origins, leading to another intense period of collecting and anatomical examination during the 1930s. While the methods of collection differed between individuals, the Ainu themselves often suffered terrible experiences because of these practices. Ainu activist and political leader Shigeru Kayano vividly recalled his sense of violation by researchers. Remembering life in his home village Nibutani in the 1930s, he wrote: "In those days I despised scholars of Ainu culture from the bottom of my heart . . . Each time

they came to Nibutani, they left with folk utensils. They dug up our sacred tombs and carried away our ancestral bones" (1994, 98). The removal of objects by outsiders, whether Japanese or foreigners, was often a deeply painful experience. Because of the Ainu belief that both humans and things possess spirits and lifecycles related to their use (Fujimura 1999), removing objects still in use by living Ainu would have been particularly painful. Sometimes Ainu categorically refused offers by collectors to purchase their possessions. As discussed in Chapter 5, according to Isabella Bird, writing of her travels in 1878, the Ainu she met presented her with ikupasuy (which she called "sake-sticks") that had belonged to dead men, but denied her those belonging to living Ainu (Bird 1881, 246). Decades later, a traveler accompanying Italian researcher Fosco Maraini wrote of his experience asking for an "ikubashi": "I timidly suggested I would like an *ikubashi*. 'I won't sell an *ikubashi*, not for love or money. I am an old Ainu and I will die with them'" (Refsing 2000). These details of the collection process, and the Ainu experience of foreign collectors, is as much a part of the story of the Hearst collection as the individual collectors, but can be harder to discern in museum documents, especially from earlier collection events. Research that matches other accounts about the time and known locations of collecting events could continue to help fill in this present gap.

George Haley

Inaw, or inao, formed a vital link between the physical Ainu world—Ainu mosir—and the upper world of kamuy, kamuy mosir. These sticks with bark shavings on one end carried prayers between the Ainu and kamuy, sometimes taking the form of birds to fly between worlds (Kindaichi and Sugiyama 1942, 3-4; see also Fujimura 1999). However, Ainu also believed that inaw transformed from wood into glittering treasure (ikor) once received by kamuy, who would then be inclined to aid the generous humans (Strong 2011, 89). Since sacred ritual and everyday life intertwined completely for the Ainu, inaw appeared everywhere, from the hearth and the area where families stored treasures in their households to large outdoor altars (nusa) (Dubreuil 1999, 297). One of the earliest Ainu accessions in the Hearst Museum, Accession 1226 contains an inaw, although it is labeled far more generically "fetish stick" (9-5166). Its place of collection remains uncertain, since the catalog card lists its origins as simply "Ainu territory" on Hokkaido. However, the Haley's contributions to the Hearst also includes a photograph (13-1965), dated July 3 1931, with the description: "Photograph of nearly pure blood 'Ainu' from Shiraoi, near Sappora [sic] Hokkaido, Japan." Dr. and Mrs. S.C. Brooks donated the objects in 1958, along with earlier postcards, and Professor Joseph Grinnell donated the photograph from Haley's trip, having been sent it by Robert S. Lamon. The objects themselves lack much background, although the word "Mission" has been penned in following the place of origin on one of the accession documents, so that it reads "Hokkaido Mission, Japan." Beyond this, the documents lack much context and provide little indication of the collector's motivation or methods.

Like Heath, George Haley (1870-1954) studied natural sciences, rather than specifically anthropology. According to an article in the *Lewiston Evening Journal* of September 28, 1928, Haley specialized in circumpolar botany and zoology in the Department of Comparative Anatomy and Embryology at St. Ignatius College in San Francisco, later San Francisco University. His research took him on frequent Arctic trips throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Throughout his career, he maintained great interest in early human history and migration. The newspaper described his having "formulated accepted theories in regard to the transmigration of races of mankind . . . He believes that Asia was the original home of plant and animal life." This

interest in human origins provides one reason a polar naturalist might have collected ethnographic material, which he did in Japan and in the Arctic (Evermann 1927). However, his 1931 visit to Japan seems to have been made expressly to study the Ainu. *The Berkeley Daily Gazette*'s report from February 27, 1940 focused on the still-popular question of Ainu origins, and mention's Haley's trip specifically: "Dr. Haley went to northern Japan to study the Ainu people who were originally Caucasian and probably related to Russian nomads." For Haley, the Ainu likely represented an opportunity to research cultural evidence of the human migrations in Asia that he found so fascinating.

Haley had personal connections to Japan that might have encouraged this line of research. Prior to his 1931 visit, he had lived and worked in Japan for eight and a half years. As related in the *Lewiston Evening Journal*, from 1910 he taught English and math at the Tokyo Naval Academy, accompanied by his wife Cora. His fluency in Japanese later prompted the United States government to engage him to negotiate the end of Japanese seal hunting on Arctic islands, according to *The Berkeley Daily Gazette* of May 2, 1925. Later he worked as interpreter again in the Pribilof Islands in 1929 and 1930 (Teg 1966). His 1931 trip, sponsored by Hearst Publications – the newspaper, not the museum – followed these many years of experience working in Japan and as an interpreter.

Haley's experience and interests provide a context for his contribution of the inaw and photograph, along with a bear-baiting stick (9-5167). The location attached to the photograph from July 1931, Shiraoi, is one possible origin place for the inaw and bear-baiting stick. Shiraoi, over thirty miles south of Sapporo, continues to be a center for Ainu culture and tourism today. Originally a camp alongside Japanese fisheries in the Meiji era, it is now home to an Ainu museum and village (Howell 1999), and the site of the future National Ainu Museum and Park set to open in 2020. Long before Haley's visit to Japan, Shiraoi possessed a reputation as a fruitful location for collectors. Hiram Hiller wrote about acquiring Ainu goods by sale in Shiraoi in 1901 (Katz 1999), and it was the location of a scene for Benjamin Buloski's film "Beautiful Japan," when he visited in 1918 (Okada 1999). Already by Haley's visit, Shiraoi had a long history of foreign visitors, and he would have been able to purchase material easily there.

The subject of the photograph, and its description, become meaningful in the light of Haley's background. Whether or not it was Haley who wrote the description "nearly pure blood 'Ainu'," Ainu ancestry, a subject of academic fascination dating back to Bickmore's writings in the 1860s (see Chapter 2), remained a popular subject in the 1930s. Like collecting itself, this interest often negatively impacted the Ainu themselves. Shigeru Kayano remembered, in addition to the loss of precious objects borne away in collector's hands, the frequent blood tests carried out by researchers at the time: "Under the pretext of research, they took blood from villagers and, in order to examine how hairy we were, rolled up our sleeves, then lowered our collars to check our backs" (1994, 98). Demeaning to the Ainu, these practices and concurrent photographs continued to be a negative experience throughout the twentieth century (Nakamura 2007a). Haley's collection reflects both the interests and methods of anthropologists at the time, whose academic focus often outweighed the consideration of the collecting experience from the perspective of the people the collectors were trying to study.

Herman T. Friis

Accession 500 A-R includes three objects collected by Herman T. Friis, also in 1931. Object 9-769, a potsherd obtained at "Ozuku Gap," somewhere in Niigata prefecture on Honshu, came from well outside Ainu territory. The accession card itself is speculatively marked "Ainu(?)." Given that traditionally the Ainu did not use pottery, this sherd is likely either archaeological or comes from a different culture. Its attribution as Ainu may reflect the conflation of Ainu and Jomon cultures, discussed below in Part 2 of this chapter. Object 9-770, a leather pouch decorated in multicolored silk embroidery and glass beads, came from south Sakhalin (then known as Karafuto). 9-771, another bag, made from bark, came from "Murorou," somewhere on the eastern coast of Hokkaido. There is also some question regarding the identity of Friis. Herman Ralph Friis (1906-1989) seems to be the likely collector: he studied geography at the University of California, Berkeley, then taught for two years in Oakland and a year in Tokyo, Japan, prior to teaching at the University of Wisconsin and Southern Illinois University before 1937 (*The Daily Independent* Sept 10 1937). He would later go on to be a career in historical geography, working for the Office of Strategic Services in Asia during World War II (Friis n.d.), and then served as director of the center for polar archives at the National Archives for many years (*The Washington Post* Sept 26, 1989).

The time period, the year in Japan, and his academic interests make it seem likely that Herman T and Herman Ralph Friis are the same man. The locations are also puzzling: "Murorou" and "Ozuku" two locations of origin for Friis' objects, are not geographic areas identifiable on contemporary Japanese maps. "Murorou" might be Muroran, a port city on the northeastern edge of Volcano Bay in southern Hokkaido, but the catalog card for 9-771 specifically indicates Hokkaido's eastern coast. These multiple mysteries may be due to transcription errors, or differences in transliteration between Japanese and English alphabets, or changes in place names over time. Lacking a positive identity, and questionable transcription, the reasons behind the collection of these materials remain speculative. However, because they possess information about specific geographical locations, they remain good candidates for further research toward matching them up with their origins.

Part 2: Kroeber's Colleagues and the Building of the Ainu Collection 1932-1969

Alfred L. Kroeber

In 1931, the Hearst Museum moved from San Francisco to the campus of the University of California, Berkeley. Director Alfred L. Kroeber (1876-1960) had already worked for the museum for thirty years since being hired as a curator in 1901, and had acted as director for much of that time prior to his official director appointment in 1925 (Jacknis 1993). During his long career, Kroeber immensely expanded the museum's collections and maintained the museum's focus on anthropology rather than art, and it is thanks to Kroeber's work that the museum remains an archive of documents and recordings as well as materials (Redman 2011). Ira Jacknis characterized a major contribution of Kroeber's work as adhering to the salvage ethnography paradigm (1993, 23). His interest in both archaeology and ethnography led to the museum acquiring both kinds of collections.

Even a casual glance through the accession documents covering from the 30s through the 60s reveals some role played by one of the students or colleagues recruited by Krober. When

recruiting his students, Kroeber often sought out potential character rather than relying solely on experience or academic merit. He also hired colleagues with backgrounds outside academia. He recruited students with unusual backgrounds like Omer C. Stewart, who had grown up in a Mormon family in Utah but grew interested in studying Native Americans' use of peyote. He hired colleagues like Edward W. Gifford, who lacked a college education but published prolifically, and Ronald L. Olson, whom he hired two years after his graduation from UC Berkeley. All three of these men contributed Ainu materials now in the Hearst.

"Ainu" Potsherds and Chipped Stones

How many Ainu objects does the Hearst museum possess, as of 2019? Type the keyword "Ainu" into the search bar of the Hearst Museum's online catalog, "CollectionSpace," and 264 items appear in a neat grid. However, the answer is not as simple as this. The keyword search picks up information found anywhere in the digitized catalog card and accession information in CollectionSpace, including information that reflects historical beliefs about the archaeology and ethnography of the Ainu no longer considered to be correct. For example, of the 264 objects, 57 are labeled "Aino pottery" (Acquisition 100 KZ), and 114 are described as "chipped stone points" (Acquisition 857). Although numerically this accounts for over half of the materials returned in the search, their catalog card descriptions reflect outdated assumptions regarding links between Ainu culture and the archaeological culture of the Jomon. Even so, these materials would have come to the museum chronologically prior to most other "Ainu" materials in the collection. Despite this misattribution, they served as the foundation for Kroeber and Gifford's acquisitions of material during their decades of work. The pottery itself is described in the catalog cards simply as "Aino" pottery, an archaic spelling of Ainu. This documentation reveals the preservation of the development of anthropological research and understanding of the Ainu at the time they were collected, as well as the power of individual collectors to shape the content of the Hearst Museum.

Correspondence between Japanese student Mamoru Kurahashi, and Gifford in the late spring and summer of 1930 reveals the origins of the potsherds in Accession 100 KZ (9-648 – 9-704). Kurahashi initiated the correspondence, writing "I should like to exchange with each other about the investigation of archeology" (Letter from Kurahashi May 10 1930). Gifford replied shortly after, supporting an exchange of potsherds from sites in the United States for Japanese prehistoric potsherds, and suggested that collections from Japanese shell mounds would be most desirable (Letter from Gifford May 29 1930). Kurahashi, in the letter accompanying the potsherds sent later that summer, called the potsherds "Ancient Aino pottery" from "prehistoric times" gathered from the Kashiwai shell mounds near the Bay of Tokyo (Letter from Kurahashi July 10 1930). This description led to the identification of all Kurahashi's potsherds as "Aino pottery" in the museum records. The potsherds in the Hearst are not Ainu, but rather belong to the archaeological Jomon culture. The Ainu have no pottery-making tradition, although they refer to their ancestors as having done so (Ohnuki-Tierney 1976). The disappearance of pottery in the archaeological record of Hokkaido continues to be used as an indication of a cultural shift between the earlier Satsumon period and the Ainu period, around 1200 CE (Hudson 1999). Kashiwai is in Chiba prefecture near Tokyo Bay on Honshu, far from Ainu homelands.

The chipped stone points in Accession 857 also likely date to the Jomon period, 12,000-300 BCE (see Habu 2004). The use of the shell mounds, such as those Kurahashi recorded as the pottery's

origin, is believed to have ended at the close of the Late Jomon period between 2500-1000 BCE (Habu 2004). Therefore it is likely that these materials are at least three thousand years old. Collected between the 1930s and early 1940s, both they and the potsherds share the "Ainu" label because of the ongoing debates of Ainu ethnogenesis.

The confusion between archaeological cultures and Ainu material dates to the first explorations of Hokkaido by westerners in the nineteenth century. Smithsonian collector Romyn Hitchcock undertook some of the first archaeological investigations on Hokkaido in 1888, prompting debates over the association or archaeological sites, such as pit houses, with living Ainu traditions (Houchins 1999). Then question of Ainu origins became the subject of such intense debate that they became a factor in the break between Japanese anthropology and archaeology in 1896 (Fukasawa 1998). During the 1930s, researchers such as Takemitsu Natori gave primacy to archaeological materials in their study of Ainu material culture, assuming links between the Ainu and prehistoric ancestors (Deriha 2014). In fact, the Hearst received a gift of Ainu ethnographic material from one of Natori's colleagues, Tetsuo Inukai (Accession 500 D-Z) in 1936. In a letter to Inukai, Gifford hailed this as an addition to material already in the museum's possession of the potsherds (Letter from Gifford June 29 1936). At the time of their acquisition and the creation of the museum's documents, anthropologists did not yet understand the archaeological and ethnographic culture' separation. Despite their origin as Jomon, rather than Ainu, Gifford's excitement in his letter to Inukai indicated his interest in expanding materials already in the museum's possession, even though those materials would later be shown to come from a different culture.

Kilton R. Stewart

Omer C. Stewart and Julian Steward donated the five objects collected by Omer's brother Kilton R. Stewart (1902-1965). These include a sword bandolier (9-1740), a figure of a god made of wood shavings (9-1741), an ikupasuy (9-1742, identified as a "moustache lifter"), and an iron-bound wooden scabbard overlaid with silver (9-1745) all in Accession 500 E-I, and in Accession 500 C-H, another wood-shaving "figure of a god" (9-832). The object records feature detailed descriptions of the objects that emphasize their religious aspects or the materials that went into their creation.

Identified in the Hearst catalog cards only as "K.R. Stewart," Kilton, like his brother, chose controversial subjects to study. Having grown up in Utah and received a master's degree in psychology from the University of Utah, Kilton Stewart had left the Mormon church sometime prior to his journey to Asia in the early 1930s. He had not yet achieved fame as a dream theorist, which would only occur after his graduation from the London School of Economics following World War II. According to Stewart's own unpublished autobiography, he left the University of Utah shortly after graduating, first staying in Berkeley and then stowing away on a ship bound for Honolulu (Domhoff 2003). After working as a "mental tester" on Chinese, Japanese, and Hawaiian subjects for psychologist Stanley Porteus, Stewart left Honolulu for Asia. He spent six months at his first stop, Japan, beginning in 1932.

An article in *The Salt Lake Tribune* from December 16, 1934 includes some details of Stewart's stay as a guest of the Ainu, as well as providing information about his motivations. Stewart used his observations of the physical appearance of the Ainu to draw conclusions regarding the

"modern spirit of Japan." Conflating genetics with character, Stewart believed that shared blood between the Ainu and the Japanese had created "the disposition of the Japanese to become more closely identified with Caucasian lines of development than . . . the Chinese." Other than physical observation, Stewart provided no further reasoning for his assertions. He saw the more-western looking appearance of the Ainu as indicative of their being "progressive in the occidental sense," a legacy of the notions of racial hierarchy left over from the nineteenth century (see Chapter 2).

All five objects (Accession Numbers 500 C-H and 500 E-I) list "Ainu, Nitai Village, Sakhalin" as their location of origin. Between 1905 and World War II, Russia controlled the north of Sakhalin and Japan controlled the south. After the war, its territory passed entirely to Russia, which forced the Sakhalin Ainu to relocate to Hokkaido (Fitzhugh 1999, 11). Catalog cards indicate the objects' origin more specifically in "Nitai village." "Nitai" means "forest" in the Ainu language (Landor 1893, 30). Although technically part of Japan, Stewart's collection from Sakhalin rather than Hokkaido or the Kurils is important for evaluating his observations. The Sakhalin Ainu had a long history as trading brokers with China and Russia, particularly people of the Amur River region, and had greater access to manufactured goods from across the continent (Fitzhugh 1999, 11, Sasaki 1999, 87). While Stewart's contemporaries emphasized the "stone-age" technology of the Ainu (Lee 2012), his collection of metal objects, including the ironbound wooden scabbard incised and overlaid with silver (9-1745), may have supported his own claims that the Ainu represented Western influences in Japan.

The objects by themselves indicate the importance of trade for the Ainu. The wooden scabbard 9-1745 bears a number of carved mon, the symbols of Japanese noble clans, including the quartered-diamond of the Matsumae clan. This clan held nominal control over trade with the Ainu during the Tokugawa shogunate (Howell 2005, Walker 2001), and this mon appears frequently on trade goods that came into Ainu hands, such as lacquer cups and containers. The documents indicate some of Stewart's tactics for acquiring his objects. The catalog card of the inaw (9-832) notes: "Purchased with lb. of tobacco from 80 yr. old blind Ainu ♂." By the 1930s, decades of legal restrictions on Ainu language, hunting, and religion, the separation of Ainu children from their parents through placement in Japanese schools, and lack of legal recognition by the Japanese government left many Ainu people lacking money or medical care (Hudson 1999; Siddle 2012). While the man's name is lost, his sale of a religious object for one pound of tobacco reflects the circumstances remembered by Ainu activist Shigeru Kayano, who recalled his elderly father selling family treasures to visiting researchers, inspiring bitter resentment and distrust in Kayano (1994). A fun or fascinating collecting activity for a visitor had much greater context and consequences for the Ainu people in the exchange. The other artifacts from Stewart's collection represent aspects of Ainu spiritual life, likely a primary interest of Stewart's as a dream-theorist. While he did not begin his experiments with hypnotism until traveling to the Malay Peninsula later in 1931, according to the *Salt Lake Tribune* article, his recorded observations centered on rituals such as the sacrifice of bear cubs, times when objects like the ikupasuy, inaw, and sword would have played significant roles.

Ronald L. Olson

When Ronald L. Olson (1895-1979) brought back seven color-transparencies from his trip to Japan in 1951-52, he added them to the growing Ainu collections at the Hearst. The

transparencies lack proper accession numbers, but are instead listed under the number "35MM" on all of their catalog cards (25-297- 25-303), probably relating to the film rather than cataloging. The photographs all appear to be taken in rapid succession, and in the same area around a traditional Ainu thatched house. An Ainu man appears in almost all of the photographs, dressed in traditional ceremonial clothing and carrying a small sword. A woman, wearing similar clothing and a large-beaded necklace, joins him in 25-299 and is in several subsequent pictures. The last photograph, 25-303, is a change of scene. The same Ainu man is shown in front of bear skulls that are decorating a wooden palisade. The photographs appear, at first glance, to simply be staged much like many earlier Ainu photographs.

Haley's earlier photograph of the "nearly pure blood 'Ainu'" (13-1965) belonged in a long history of depictions of the Ainu beginning with Japanese paintings and woodblock prints that depicted the Ainu as distinctly unusual, as "others." *Ainu-e*, stylized paintings of the Ainu done in Japan, began in the eighteenth century. While useful as ethnographic depictions of their costumes or the use of tools, these images often lack context and exaggerate physical features that differentiated the Ainu from the typical Japanese viewer of the paintings (Sasaki 1999). Bresner (2009) points out how this kind of decontextualization emphasizes the primitive aspects of the Ainu by removing them from a setting that is recognizably recent. This frequent lack of context is an important contrast to Olson's photographs.

Like his predecessor Haley twenty years before, Olson took his photographs at Shiraoi. Unlike his predecessor, all of Olson's photographs emphasize the setting, both the traditional and modern aspects depending on the image. 25-297, for example, captures Japanese men in western attire in the foreground, as well as the western-style shingled houses located just behind the traditional thatched Ainu house. In 25-298, powerlines and the corner of a green bus are both visible in the periphery of the photograph, while the Ainu man is almost obscured behind vegetation and two Japanese adults interacting nearby. The photograph is described simply as "Ainu house," but it seems to be setting up the context for a researcher examining the photographs in an archive. While 25-299 and 25-300 have some of the same problems that *Ainu-e* possess, looking much like staged photographs from twenty or fifty years before, they come in sequence after the photographs that have made it clear that this is staged, akin to a tourist attraction. The power lines remain visible in almost all the images. Olson may have taken the photographs to be used as research items rather than for aesthetic value. Olson's training in anthropology and photography allowed him to take both ethnographic photographs worthy of research or comparison with materials, as well as clearly demonstrating context.

Kroeber had hired Olson to teach at UC Berkeley only two years after receiving his PhD, and shortly thereafter employed Omer C. Stewart as his teaching assistant. Decades later, responsible for writing Olson's obituary, Stewart compared himself to Olson by describing them as sharing attributes of "late developing rugged country bumpkins" (Stewart 1980, 163). He cited this similarity as one of the personality types Kroeber seemed to favor in his appointments at Berkeley.

Olson's connection to Japan seems to have been minimal. At the time of his collection of the Ainu photographs, his main work focused on researching the Kwakiutl (Kwakwaka'wakw). His publications from the 1950s are exclusively related to the Kwakiutl and Tlingit, save one very

short paper on *Mioshie*, a messianic cult in Japan (Stewart 1981). While the circumstances of Olson's visit remain unclear, Olson's background and choice to include non-Ainu structures in the photographic series indicates that they are products of anthropological study rather than simply images meant to accentuate the exotic.

Part 3: New Ways of Collecting through Trade and Gifts 1969-1993

Acquisition through Exchange

During Kroeber and Gifford's time at the museum, individual collectors, or their families and friends, provided the main sources of many new acquisitions, including those of Ainu materials. The individual viewpoints of the collectors directly shaped which objects came to the museum. However, this began to change in the 1960s. Few Ainu objects in the Hearst after 1960 represented the work of identifiable individual collectors working on purposeful ethnographic collections, but rather came through gifts to the museum or museum exchanges that lack solid collection dates or even known individual collectors. Writing in 1974, museum anthropologist Frank A. Norick thanked Matilda M. Brooks for her gift of an Ainu bag collected in 1944 (9-12793, Accession 3054), and complimented it, complaining that similarly "good Ainu specimens are becoming as difficult to acquire as the proverbial hen's teeth" (Letter from Norick May 24 1974). Norick's reflection may also indicate a common preference among anthropologists for older Ainu materials from before the Meiji Restoration, an opinion shared among many collectors dating back to the nineteenth century (see Chapter 5).

At twenty-one objects, Accession 2472 is the largest single accession of Ainu ethnographic materials in the Hearst. Donated by Arctic archaeologist Hiroaki Okada in February 1969, museum documents identify the objects' origins only as Hokkaido, and the objects have no date of collection beyond "pre-1969." The museums arranged an exchange: the twenty-one Ainu objects, including textiles, swords, five ikupasuy, earrings, and necklaces, for seventeen objects related to Native American cultural groups such as the Tlingit, Athabascan, and Paiute. This was a similar regional trade to Gifford's exchanges with Kurahashi in the 1930s. A letter from Okada to the new director of the museum, William R. Bascom, acknowledged how difficult acquiring any kind of materials had become, particularly purchasing or borrowing them (Letter from Okada February 8 1969). Exchange was the best way to do so.

A stapled copy of *Ainu Creed and Cult* by Neil Gordon Munro is included in the accession folder for 2472. Munro's research on the Ainu, with whom he lived for the last twelve years of his life from 1930-42, changed the practice of Ainu ethnography and his work continues to be cited frequently (Wilkinson 2001, Dubreuil 2002). Munro was the subject of a 2002 study conducted by Koji Deriha that sought to understand Munro's view of Ainu culture and how it changed over his long study (Nakamura 2007b). Deriha recognized the importance of Munro's standpoint as an individual observer and how his own cultural background shaped his interpretations. These changes emerge in the museum documentation. The ikupasuy in this collection, (9-8955 – 9-8959) are labeled "prayer sticks" in the summary section of their catalog cards, reflecting the increased conception of the object's use beyond drinking alone. Rather than being mere "fetishes" or "moustache lifters," the continuing description on the cards includes a rendering of the Ainu name "ikubashi," and the cross-referencing name "libation wand," a literal translation of the word ikupasuy. The card specifically references the ethnographic information in Munro's

book. The Hearst's documentation reflects Munro's role as an ethnographic source in shaping how the museum recorded the objects. Some of the evidence of the collection event, such as the Ainu and home village involved or the collector's names or methods, disappeared in the process of exchange. "Pre-1969" objects could date back decades before Munro's book. Establishing stronger research networks between US and Japanese museums could help reveal the true origins of these objects.

Haruo Aoki

The Hearst acquired Accession 4574 as a gift from the original collector, Haruo Aoki, in 1993. It is unique in terms of the richness of its documentation, but is also exemplifies the roles played by individuals in source communities and among collectors in the collecting and documentation process. The objects include an ikupasuy, identified as a "kamui pasui" in the accession materials (9-18915), a tuki (9-18916), a "saucer" or stand that matches the tuki (9-18917), and a large container used for sake (9-18918). Haruo Aoki, now professor emeritus of Japanese Language & Linguistics in the East Asian Languages and Cultures department at UC Berkeley, formerly the Oriental Languages Department, received the objects as a gift himself during his time studying in Hokkaido.

Haruo Aoki visited Hokkaido in 1970 for a one-month study of Ainu dialects. Still a junior faculty member at the time, he had already conducted research in Europe, Asia, and the Americas, but was drawn to Japan because of the connection between Ainu languages, Proto-Siberian languages, and Native American languages (personal communication, May 5 2014). Aoki was born in Japan, and had a house there, but had been a student and worked for years in the United States by the time he visited Hokkaido for research. He spent some time in western Hokkaido, and then moved to the town of Memuro, in the southeast.

Because Aoki studied languages, collecting objects had not figured into his agenda, but he did carefully observe traditional uses of Ainu materials. The accession documents include a description of how Aoki presented his Ainu hosts with a bottle of sake that they then poured into a shintoko cask and dipped the "kamui pasui" into the sake before "dispersing the wine to the four corners and then to the fire." Aoki himself recalled more details in our conversation, now a part of the accession file. He had been warned that a man he intended to interview was "cantankerous," and so bought sake as a gift. However, due to a sudden downpour, he arrived soaking wet. The man became sympathetic and brought him inside by the fire. It was then that Aoki witnessed the use of ikupasuy, although not, Aoki clarified, the same objects in the Hearst collection. The man used his own ikupasuy: "He pulled out his ikupasuy, opened the bottle, poured it in the container. He was sitting on the other side of a large fireplace, and I watched while he sprinkled the sake in four corners of the house and then in the fire." Aoki recalled, "I was fascinated."

The sprinkling of sake into the fire was likely an offering to the Ainu goddess of fire, Fuchi, also an important protector of the household (Maraini 1999). Aoki's knowledge of language makes his documentation of the term "kamui pasui" especially valuable. Aoki speculated that "kamui pasui" might be a dialectical form of the more common ikupasuy. However, "kamui pasui" also reflects the distinctly ceremonial use of the objects, not in relation to libation (iku) but rather in relation to communication with gods (kamuy). This term is also a reminder that Ainu language

contained many dialects, not all of which have been completely recorded. Just like Shigeru Kayano's description of ikupasuy as "tuki-pasuy" (2006, 46), Aoki's record of yet another name used specifically in Memuro adds to understanding Ainu regional differences.

Unlike most of the other material in the Hearst collection, which appears to have been purchased or traded for other goods, Aoki's objects came to him as a gift. The family of one of Aoki's informants, Yaichiro Nakayama, waited at the Memuro train station until Aoki's train started to move, and then quickly handed him the objects which they had kept hidden until the last moment. Aoki believed that the family was wary of making other researchers jealous, and that was the reason for the surreptitious gift. Aoki recalled that objects like the ones he was given were known as takaramono, treasure, and highly prized by Japanese scholars. He did not open the bundle of objects until he had reached his home in Japan. Aoki knew how researchers often associated objects like tuki with trade rather than authentic Ainu traditions (see Chapter 5), and called the materials "trading commodities," comparing them to Native American objects made with trade beads. The objects remained in Aoki's office at Berkeley until his retirement in 1991. The circumstances of the gift were one of the factors in Aoki deciding to give them to the Hearst: "I was very much honored that they targeted me as a reliable caretaker of their treasure," he said. "I owe them, I thought, to give it to the university museum."

The objects themselves bear marks that corroborate their origins from an individual family. On the underside of both the ikupasuy and the tuki, where Ainu owners would traditionally carve shiroshi (Maraini 1999), instead both objects have faint scratches in the form of the two kanji for naka and yama: the family name Nakayama. The presence of these kanji, carved in the location where many generations of Ainu would have carved their personal marks, is an indication of both the strength of Ainu traditions and their dynamism and adaptation as families like the Nakayamas borrowed from both old and new practices when they marked their name, in Japanese characters, on their traditional Ainu objects.

Conclusion

This Hearst Museum's documents and other archival materials reveal the great influence of the individuals involved in collecting events throughout the twentieth century. The Hearst's Ainu collection came together slowly, and the diversity of communities, collectors, donors, and museum staff who played roles in its assembly has created an equally diverse collection. Collectors gathered the objects and donated them to the museum across multiple decades, and each acquisition reflects the contemporary practices of ethnography. Early collectors like Harold Heath and George Haley maintained an interest in Ainu origins as part of their research into the ancient history of human migration. The same interest motivated the collection of the "Aino" potsherds, even though current research has revealed them to be Jomon in origin. As anthropology became a discipline distinct from natural history alone, the influence of Kroeber and Gifford shows in the museum's acquisitions from collectors like Stewart and Olson. As collecting practices have changed, the documentation of individual experiences like that of Haruo Aoki can explain both the ethnographic context of the objects as well as the reasons for their placement into the museum's collection.

Understanding the agendas of collectors is a crucial part of the biographies of these objects. Materials collected in early ethnographic work not only reflect the agendas of the collector, but also can define understandings of the Ainu today. Ethnographic materials can be a source for contemporary artists, as well as movements resisting racialization and assimilation. In this specific context, material culture has been called a "medium for negotiating Ainu ethnicity in contemporary Japan" (lewallen 2014, 174), and understanding how that material culture has been collected is key both for researchers and for Ainu communities. Researchers inside and outside Ainu communities who study, view, or use these objects in the future can draw upon the museum's documentation to build a more complete picture of their connections to ongoing Ainu culture and communities. Ainu collections in North America have been a particularly rich source for Ainu people and scholars alike. From 1990-1993, a research team lead by Yoshinobu Kotani documented the largest collections in North America, mostly on the East Coast, and discovered that the documentation was vastly more detailed than was usually found in Japan (Kotani 1993). Many of the research questions identified as avenues that such documentation opened up are relevant for the Hearst collection as well, because of its diversity in origin and multiple time-periods: distribution and diffusion of cultural traits, Ainu socio-political adaptations, and changes in Ainu art over time (Deriha 1994, 15).

Yoshinobu Kotani stated that he was most interested in collections prior to the World War I (personal communication, May 18, 2013). However, that does not mean these same questions cannot be answered using the Hearst's diversity. For example, knowing that some of the Hearst's ikupasuy came from Sakhalin, others from Memuro, or Shiraoi, is the beginning of research into the diversity of art across Ainu regions in the past. The same materials could be used to look at changes in material choice or motifs over time, since they were collected in multiple decades, and be used to study the response of Ainu populations to the pressures from the governments of Japan and the USSR. The Nakayama carving in the traditional place of shiroshi on ikupasuy and tuki is only one example of this. It is because of this scale of diversity that the role of individual collectors and any information about the individuals within source communities are such important factors for future researchers to understand.

Some questions can only be answered through greater collaboration between researchers and Ainu people in both the United States and Japan. Is it possible to determine the age of the "pre-1969" material that is part of the large Accession 2472? How can the Berkeley collection contribute to research into regional variation among the Ainu, and how that changed over time and continues today? Is it possible to identify individuals or locations in the photographs from Haley's or Olson's collections, and do they have descendants? To answer questions like these, object-based study of the Hearst's Ainu collection has significant potential for future research. This study has been complicated by the richness of the documentary material, but this only reinforces the necessity to understand it and its capacity to reveal stories of the collectors that the objects alone cannot convey.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The Significance of Anniversaries

May 10, 2019 marked the 150th anniversary of the completion of the First Transcontinental Railroad, the joining of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific lines at Promontory Summit in Utah. The occasion made national headlines – again – but not merely as a celebration of "the Great Work" (*Daily Alta California,* May 11, 1869) or a reflection of the fulfillment of Leland Stanford's promise, as one of the Directors of the Central Pacific Railroad, of the productive unity "between the Atlantic and Pacific" (*Marin Journal* May 15, 1869). "Chinese-American pride celebrated in 150th anniversary of Transcontinental Railroad," read the headline from *Reuters* (May 9, 2019); the Associated Press bore the headline: "Descendants honor Chinese workers on railroad's 150th year" (May 9, 2019). "Thousands gather to reclaim Chinese railroad workers' place in history" read NBCNews.com, describing the crowds who came to see the historic location, a nearby recreation of the ceremonial placement of the golden spike, and prominent Chinese American speakers (May 10, 2019). Connie Young Yu, the historian whose father attended Stanford and who recalled her grandfather's memories of Stanford University employees in her family's Heinlenville store (see Chapter 4), reminded the crowd that the only one railroad worker descendent, her mother May Lee Young, had been present at the centennial in 1969. "We didn't grow up knowing this," she told the Reuters reporter before the ceremony, "We didn't ever have this sense of pride . . . The Chinese railroad workers didn't exist in the history books." Her words reminded me how many times I heard similar statements about the experience of erasure. "How did my generation not even know?" Gerry Low-Sabado had commented in an interview with a reporter while discussing her family's history, "We lived not far away, and we didn't know that story at all" (*The Californian* March 8, 2019).

Significant anniversaries not only serve as reminders of the past, but also can help build renewed senses of pride and of heritage. They also offer an opportunity to reflect on complicated or negative heritage. In October 2018, the Japanese government's small-scale celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Meiji Restoration encountered rallies and protests about failure to acknowledge the date as the beginning of Japan's expansionist imperialism (*The Mainichi* October 24, 2018). Japan's settler-colonialism policies in Ainu homelands began the following year, meaning August 2019 was the 150th anniversary of the renaming of Hokkaido. At official ceremonies last year, Hokkaido Governor Harumi Takahashi commented, "One hundred fifty years after the name change offers a chance for a new start, to work toward a diverse society that emphasizes Ainu reverence for nature and desire for co-existence" (*The Japan Times* August 5, 2018). Takahashi's words reflect the recent, although slow, progress toward greater recognition of the Ainu as an Indigenous people in Japan. Some Meiji-era laws remained legal for most of the twentieth century, including the Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act of 1899, which by its title as much as its imperialist provisions attempted to relegate the Ainu to a remnant of the past (Morris-Suzuki 1994). Following its repeal in 1997, the Japanese government formally acknowledged the Ainu as living Indigenous people in 2008. 2019 saw another landmark legal development: a new Ainu Promotion Act became official in May, mandating the Japanese government to adopt policies to end discrimination and set up applications for Ainu to regain special land rights, although the law fell short of an official apology for the last 150 years of attempts at Ainu subjugation and assimilation (*Nippon.com* April 26, 2019).

The simultaneous anniversaries highlight the interconnectedness of these two seemingly distinct events. It was the push toward the Pacific trading market that fueled both the industry and expansion that made the concept of the Transcontinental Railroad possible, but the context of transpacific immigration from China that made its construction attainable. The wealth generated through the work of Chinese railroad workers made Stanford the fortune that funded the estate at Palo Alto and later Stanford University, where the Chinese employees lived for decades negotiating the era of exclusion, and where some of their families still live today. But the same impetus of the manifest destiny of United States expansion provided the incentive and the model for Meiji-era internal-colonization of Ainu homelands. This in turn prompted the interest of collecting anthropologists who recognized the disenfranchisement of the Ainu as analogous to the treatment of Indigenous peoples elsewhere facing imperialism and racialization. Deeply enmeshed historical events, discourses, and social processes over the same span of years created both the archaeological site of the Arboretum Chinese Quarters and the museum collections of Ainu material culture in the United States.

The anniversaries of both the railroad and the renaming of Hokkaido share one other common factor: the continued importance of the material past for people today. Part of the 2019 Ainu Promotion Act is the provision of government funding to help construct the new National Ainu Museum and Park, set to open at the same time as the 2020 Olympics, which will be called *Upopoy*, Ainu for "singing in a large group" according to a brochure released by the Foundation for Ainu Culture in March 2019. Renewed interest in international collections generated by both the museum construction and recent repatriation successes (Kato 2017) has led to calls by the Hokkaido University Center for Ainu Studies to increase international collaboration. At Promontory Summit, reenactments of historic photographs and the placement of the spike served not merely to recreate the events that inspired them, but rather to do so with a renewed sense of justice, belonging, and presence after such long-lasting effects of erasure. In speaking with members of the Chinese American communities involved in the Arboretum Chinese Quarters project, both the site itself and its artifacts suggested ways that Chinese diaspora history could be restored and remembered more prominently in the future. Whether or not a plaque or other interpretive information becomes part of the site, as suggested by some consultants, remains to be seen. Stanford University is now conducting a follow-up dig at the same site led by Barbara Voss, Christina Hodge, and Megan Rhodes Victor. This new project, called the Arboretum Chinese Laborers Quarters (ACLQ) Project, builds on the community networks with which I engaged during my dissertation work, which themselves owed a great deal to earlier Stanford projects (Voss 2005). Gerry Low-Sabado returned for the dig's reopening in 2019 and performed another ceremony to honor ancestors in front of a large crowd, participating and enhancing the ability of the archaeology site to draw attention to an often-overlooked history.

Sum Up

In this dissertation, I have used both historical archaeology and museum anthropology to show how shared historical contexts can be useful frameworks for two seemingly distant and unrelated sites. The differences between the two sets of case studies added to their strengths as examples, since they make the existence of specific connections easier to discern. This tandem study draws attention to the way large-scale discourses, such as manifest destiny or the imaginations of Asia

by much of the white population of the nineteenth century United States, affected communities and individuals.

By beginning with the shared framework of the "problem questions" applied to political and academic challenges in the nineteenth century, I showed how foreign imperialist interests of Western powers in Japan and China, the internal colonial policies of both the United States and Japan; and the academic-turned-popular pursuit of definitions of racial hierarchy provide an important contextual backdrop to any study of either the Chinese diaspora or the Ainu in the nineteenth century. My understanding of race as a dynamic social construct produced through imagined difference over time – that is, racialization – led me to outline the "othering," perpetuation of stereotypes, and the manipulation of scientific facts in the production of an imagined East Asian other, an inaccurate representation that anthropological interest in the Ainu specifically called into question. I look especially at the double-existence of Meiji-era Japan as both resisting western imperialism, but also imposing internal colonial policies on the Ainu modeled on that same imperialism, and how the Ainu experienced these and responded.

In Chapters 3 and 4, I discussed the community-driven research questions, archival research, work with previously excavated collections, survey, and excavation of the Arboretum Chinese Quarters. Community collaborative practices begun prior to excavation helped define the plural communities with a stake in the research, including descendants, the local Chinese American community, students and alumni of the University, and members of surrounding Chinese American communities. Conversations with various members of these communities suggested research questions based on kinship networks, business activities, and games and sports. With this in mind I examine the artifacts that inspired these questions during interviews or group meetings, and discuss the rise of the chrysanthemum growing industry, the development of Chinese American engagements with football both on the sidelines and on the field, and the likely ties to home villages, business societies, and secret societies.

In Chapter 5, I showed how many of the largest Ainu material culture collections in the United States arose during a time of enforced internal-colonial policies by the Meiji government, which informed the practice of salvage ethnography and mistaken beliefs about Ainu origins on the part of collectors. By using Japanese historical records, Ainu oral traditions, and Ainu language for objects to explore how trade goods, I explore the way collector agendas shaped their collections. I pursue this further in Chapter 6, in which I continue my research into individual collectors and their experiences and motivations. Altogether, by charting the connections between two such diverse places and peoples, I have explored the very local effects of transnational policies and the discourses that created them.

As I described at the beginning of my conclusion, the events of the late nineteenth century continue to explicitly and directly impact the lives of the descendants of Chinese immigrants and Ainu communities now. By turning toward material culture, this work highlights the way documentary history must be combined with archaeological, ethnographic, and oral historical evidence in order to challenge assumptions about Asia as it was imagined through nineteenth century discourse in the United States. Objects, both archaeological and in museums, generate renewed visibility for these related histories, and spark opportunities for recalling different narratives, individual memories, and the stories that were always there.

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Appendix 1: Materials Excavated at the Arboretum Chinese Quarters, November / December 2016

Surface Finds

Type	Unit #	Level	Date excav.	Excavators	Material	CT	WT (g)	Notes
Surface Finds	Disturbed	Surface	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Metal	1	2.07	Military Token, Spanish-American War, c. 1898. L.H. Moise San Francisco.
Surface Finds	Disturbed	Surface	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Ceramic	1	1.51	Prosser button, four hole. Rounded edges, convex back, dish front.
Surface Finds	Disturbed	Surface	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Charcoal	1	1.29	
Surface Finds	Disturbed	Surface	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Shell(?)	1	0.19	
Surface Finds	Disturbed	Surface	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Bone	1	0.93	
Surface Finds	Disturbed	Surface	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Glass	1	1.11	Possibly a go piece. Made of melted dark glass. 10 mm across.

Surface Finds	Disturbed	Surface	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Ceramic	19		5 whiteware with crazing, 2 whiteware with gray cracks and base of plate with "A" and below it "KE" and below it "O, 1 whiteware with pale blue cast, 1 dragonfly and three friends pattern, 2 Four Flowers pattern, 6 brown glaze stoneware (at least 2 vessels). 1 porcelain, 1 whiteware with base fragment but no markings. MNI: 9.

Surface Finds	Disturbed	Surface	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Glass	6		2 amber including a base with clockwise order, "CGD, 78, Q, 10" and no center except circle connecting each stamp, double bumps around edge, 4 cm d. 1 brown, fragment of base, Top "2387" and left "15," center "B" double stamped, decorated edge, 6 cm d. 1 green, partial red and white label intact. 1 colorless rim, 2 cm d. 1 aqua, base fragment, possibly 4 cm d. 1 colorless with gray label pieces still attached.
Surface Finds	Disturbed	Surface	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Metal	1	32.3	End-cap (possibly modern for fence?)
Surface Finds	Disturbed	Surface	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Construction material	3	152.83	
Surface Finds	Disturbed	Surface	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Glass	1		Chinese medicine bottle.

1x1 m Units

Type	Unit #	Level	Date excav.	Excavators	Material	CT	WT (g)	Notes
1x1	1	1	11/11/2016	Laurie Wilkie, Alexandra Farnsworth	Botanical	5	2.5	Wood
1x1	1	1	11/11/2016	Laurie Wilkie, Alexandra Farnsworth	Ceramic	3	1.29	2 whiteware, 1 possibly modern (plastic?)
1x1	1	1	11/11/2016	Laurie Wilkie, Alexandra Farnsworth	Charcoal	32	31.25	Includes one burned rock
1x1	1	1	11/11/2016	Laurie Wilkie, Alexandra Farnsworth	Construction material	5	4.95	Plaster and mortar
1x1	1	1	11/11/2016	Laurie Wilkie, Alexandra Farnsworth	Glass	11	6.04	3 light amber, 5 colorless, 2 olive, 1 flat glass. 1 amber piece deocrated with the letters "RN." Flat glass thickness = 2.8 mm.
1x1	1	1	11/11/2016	Laurie Wilkie, Alexandra Farnsworth	Nails	3	6.16	1 screw (2 3/8th inches), 1 cut (broken), 1 wire (broken)
1x1	1	1	11/11/2016	Laurie Wilkie, Alexandra Farnsworth	Plastic	3	0.67	Modern plastic, recommend discard.
1x1	2	1	11/11/2016	Annie Danis, Karie Kinkopf	Bone	2	0.16	Small, sickle-shaped.
1x1	2	1	11/11/2016	Annie Danis, Karie Kinkopf	Ceramic	1	0.08	White ceramic, possibly from a Chinese pattern but too small to be diagnostic.
1x1	2	1	11/11/2016	Annie Danis, Karie Kinkopf	Charcoal	3	0.27	
1x1	2	1	11/11/2016	Annie Danis, Karie Kinkopf	Glass	5	4.4	3 colorless, 1 amber, 1 light green. 1 colorless piece decorated with the letters "Tr".

1x1	2	1	11/11/2016	Annie Danis, Karie Kinkopf	Plastic/misc.	1	0.01	Modern plastic, recommend discard.
1x1	2	1	11/11/2016	Annie Danis, Karie Kinkopf	Stone	3	2.1	
1x1	2	2	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Botanical	3	0.1	
1x1	2	2	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Ceramic	1	0.93	
1x1	2	2	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Charcoal	25	4.78	
1x1	2	2	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Glass	4	1.31	
1x1	2	2	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Nails	4	15.58	
1x1	2	2	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Stone	16	21.6	
1x1	2	2A	11/11/2016	Annie Danis, Karie Kinkopf	Burnt wood	2	0.12	
1x1	2	2A	11/11/2016	Annie Danis, Karie Kinkopf	Ceramic	3	4.25	3 white ceramic: 1 stoneware 2 porcelain. Porcelain includes rim (8 cm d, 2.5% remains). The other porcelain piece includes a decorative edge but no clear rim or base, possibly same vessel.
1x1	2	2A	11/11/2016	Annie Danis, Karie Kinkopf	Charcoal	2	0.08	
1x1	2	2A	11/11/2016	Annie Danis, Karie Kinkopf	Construction material	2	1.48	
1x1	2	2A	11/11/2016	Annie Danis, Karie Kinkopf	Glass	12	7.3	9 colorless, 1 light green, 1 aqua, 1 flat glass. Flat glass thickness = 2.5 mm.
1x1	2	2A	11/11/2016	Annie Danis, Karie Kinkopf	Metal	2	23.89	1 heavy ferrous rim, possibly 19 cm d. 1 grey metal end-cap(?) with screw interior, 0.5 cm d.
1x1	2	2A	11/11/2016	Annie Danis, Karie Kinkopf	Stone	9	10.2	7 yellow flat stone, 2 chert
1x1	2	2A	11/11/2016	Annie Danis, Karie Kinkopf	Stone	3	26.07	3 grey flat stone, distinctive break.

1x1	2	2B	11/12/2016	Kat Eichner, Laurie Wilkie	Glass	1	0.2	1 colorless
1x1	2	2B	11/12/2016	Kat Eichner, Laurie Wilkie	Shell	1	0.02	Possibly clam shell.
1x1	2	2B	11/12/2016	Kat Eichner, Laurie Wilkie	Stone	2	17.24	
1x1	2	3	11/13/2016	Alyssa Scott	Charcoal	5	2.05	
1x1	2	3	11/13/2016	Alyssa Scott	Stone	1	0.63	
1x1	3	1	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Botanical/bark	9	25.75	Possibly fire-affected wood.
1x1	3	1	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Glass	9	8.38	4 colorless, 1 aqua, 4 amber.
1x1	3	1	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Soil Sample 2 of 2			
1x1	3	1	11/11/2016	Chris Lowman	Stone	3	6.02	
1x1	3	2	11/11/2016	Kirsten Vacca, Kat Eichner	Bark	11	10.09	
1x1	3	2	11/11/2016	Kirsten Vacca, Kat Eichner	Bone	3	1.96	
1x1	3	2	11/11/2016	Kirsten Vacca, Kat Eichner	Botanical	2	3.98	Acorns
1x1	3	2	11/11/2016	Kirsten Vacca, Kat Eichner	Ceramic	3	3.09	
1x1	3	2	11/11/2016	Kirsten Vacca, Kat Eichner	Charcoal	3	0.33	
1x1	3	2	11/11/2016	Kirsten Vacca, Kat Eichner	Glass	19	18.89	8 colorless, 1 bright green, 2 aqua, 5 amber, 1 olive, 2 flat. Flat thickness = 2.7 mm, 1.8 mm.
1x1	3	2	11/11/2016	Kirsten Vacca, Kat Eichner	Misc. plastics	11	0.28	Modern plastic, recommend discard.
1x1	3	2	11/11/2016	Kirsten Vacca, Kat Eichner	Misc. rock	2	2.48	
1x1	3	2	11/11/2016	Kirsten Vacca, Kat Eichner	Soil sample 1 of 2			
1x1	3	2	11/12/2016	Kirsten Vacca, Kat Eichner	Unknown	1		Tiny sphere, gray-green.

50x50 cm STPs

Type	Unit #	Level	Date excav.	Excavators	Material Type	CT	WT (g)	Notes
STP	1	1	11/12/2016	Chris Lowman	Glass	3	26.97	1 amber base, Owens-Illinois mark in center, 9 on left and 8 on bottom, rest broken 3.5 cm d., 1 colorless, 1 flat glass 2.4 mm thickness.
STP	1	2	11/13/2016	Chris Lowman, Ezra Bergseon Michelson	Glass	2	2.71	2 colorless.
STP	1	3	11/13/2016	Chris Lowman	Ceramic	1	0.82	1 brown glaze stoneware.
STP	1	3	11/13/2016	Chris Lowman	Stone	6	2.49	
STP	1	4	11/14/2016	Chris Lowman	Stone	10	2.67	
STP	2	1	11/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Botanical	10	1.29	
STP	2	1	11/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Charcoal	4	4.19	
STP	2	1	11/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Glass	2	0.53	1 colorless, 1 aqua.
STP	2	1	11/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Nails	4	1.92	4 wire. None complete.
STP	2	1	11/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Plastic/misc	1	0.04	
STP	2	1	11/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Stones	4	5.79	
STP	2	2	11/23/2016	Chris Lowman	Botanical	3	0.1	
STP	2	2	11/23/2016	Chris Lowman	Ceramic	1	0.43	1 brown glaze stoneware.
STP	2	2	11/23/2016	Chris Lowman	Ceramic	1	0.93	
STP	2	2	11/23/2016	Chris Lowman	Charcoal	25	4.78	
STP	2	2	11/23/2016	Chris Lowman	Glass	4	1.31	2 colorless, 1 aqua, 1 olive.
STP	2	2	11/23/2016	Chris Lowman	Nails	4	15.58	4 cut, one bent like a fishhook. None complete.
STP	2	2	11/23/2016	Chris Lowman	Stone	16	21.6	
STP	2	3	12/2/2016	Chris Lowman	Charcoal	7	4.95	
STP	2	3	12/2/2016	Chris Lowman	Metal	1	33.08	Flat ferrous metal piece, 6 cm x 4 cm at widest.
STP	2	3	12/2/2016	Chris Lowman	Stone	6	2.5	
STP	2	4	12/2/2016	Chris Lowman	Charcoal	8	0.15	
STP	2	4	12/2/2016	Chris Lowman	Stone	1	0.54	

STP	3	1	12/3/2016	David Hyde	Ceramic	1	1.68	Pink glazed earthenware, lines on back like tile.
STP	3	1	12/3/2016	David Hyde	Charcoal	3	0.28	Long and thin
STP	3	1	12/3/2016	David Hyde	Glass	2	0.76	1 bright green, 1 colorless.
STP	3	1	12/3/2016	David Hyde	Plastic	1	0.02	
STP	3	1	12/3/2016	David Hyde	Stone	6	5.3	
STP	3	3	12/3/2016	David Hyde	Charcoal	1	0.99	
STP	3	4	12/3/2016	Chris Lowman	Bark	2	0.04	
STP	3	4	12/3/2016	Chris Lowman	Stone	4	1.81	
STP	3	5A	12/29/2016	Chris Lowman	Stone	4	90.7	
STP	4	1	12/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Bone	2	1.79	
STP	4	1	12/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Botanical	6	5.12	
STP	4	1	12/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Ceramic	3	12.19	3 brown glaze stoneware
STP	4	1	12/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Charcoal	2	0.01	
STP	4	1	12/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Glass	6	7.32	3 flat glass, 1 gray green, 1 milk, 1 colorless with curved emboss
STP	4	1	12/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Nail	1	1.07	1 cut, 2 1/16th inches (missing head)
STP	4	1	12/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Plastic	1	0.02	
STP	4	2	12/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Botanical	2	3.6	
STP	4	2	12/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Ceramic	3	6.42	3 brown glaze stoneware
STP	4	2	12/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Charcoal	4	0.27	
STP	4	2	12/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Misc.	1	0.16	
STP	4	2	12/21/2016	Chris Lowman	Stone	5	11.57	
STP	4	3	12/22/2016	Chris Lowman	Botanical	1	0.09	
STP	4	3	12/22/2016	Chris Lowman	Charcoal	12	2.81	
STP	4	3	12/22/2016	Chris Lowman	Stone	1	8.85	
STP	4	4	12/26/2016	Chris Lowman	Stone	1	4.1	
STP	5	1	12/31/2016	Chris Lowman	Ceramic	5	10.6	4 brown glaze stoneware, 1 whiteware
STP	5	1	12/31/2016	Chris Lowman	Charcoal	9	1.66	
STP	5	1	12/31/2016	Chris Lowman	Construction mat.	2	0.51	

STP	5	1	12/31/2016	Chris Lowman	Glass	20	27.06	1 amber, 1 olive, 3 multicolored textured, 12 flat glass, 1.3 mm - 2 mm thick, 2 thick dull colorless, 1 colorless
STP	5	1	12/31/2016	Chris Lowman	Metal	14	5.79	
STP	5	1	12/31/2016	Chris Lowman	Plastic	2	0.17	
STP	5	1	12/31/2016	Chris Lowman	Stone	3	4.34	
STP	5	1	12/31/2016	Chris Lowman	Wood	1	2.43	
STP	5	Nearby on surface	12/31/2016	Chris Lowman	Botanical	3	0.16	
STP	5	Nearby on surface	12/31/2016	Chris Lowman	Ceramic	4	5.36	4 brown glaze stoneware
STP	5	Nearby on surface	12/31/2016	Chris Lowman	Glass	15	18.63	1 colorless with bubble design, 1 aqua, 13 flat glass 2 mm thick.