

THESIS

MATERIAL CULTURE, SOCIAL NETWORKS
AND THE CHINESE OF OURAY, COLORADO, 1880-1920

Submitted by

Alexis Ryan Knee

Department of Anthropology

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Master's Committee:

Advisor: Mary Van Buren

Jeff Snodgrass
Jared Orsi

ABSTRACT

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This study examines a sample of artifacts recovered from the Vanoli Site (5OR30) encompassing a privy and trash midden located directly behind an historic Chinese laundry. Previous research in Overseas Chinese archaeology has focused on historically large Chinese communities and processes of acculturation, resulting in a homogenous perception of past Overseas Chinese experiences. The purpose of this project is to explore the small, historic Chinese community of Ouray, Colorado, and work to understand their past experiences in terms of social interaction rather than acculturation. Borrowing concepts from social network theory, artifacts recovered from behind the Chinese laundry drive the reconstruction of past social relationships. When these relationships are placed within the context of Ouray and the United States at the time, they can lead to an understanding of past experiences. Quantitative analyses included organizing artifacts by material type, stylistic traits, function and minimum number of items. The production, acquisition and use contexts were also determined for artifacts when possible. Using historical sources, qualitative analyses began with researching the local context of Chinese living in Ouray and the attitudes of Ouray residents towards them. The social meanings of activities associated with excavated artifacts were understood within the contexts of China, the United States and Ouray at the time. These contexts, combined with identified patterns in the assemblage drove the reconstruction of several possible past social relationships. These relationships reveal that Chinese living in Ouray likely shared many of the same experiences as Chinese living in larger communities, specifically negative experiences stemming

from racism and labor discrimination. However, they also likely had experiences that were unique to Ouray and were not completely dependent on ethnicity. Rather, a combination of factors, including occupation, place of business and residence, social status (within Chinese and Euroamerican communities), personal relationships, and wealth, seem to have had a more meaningful impact on experiences and whether those experiences were positive or negative. This was likely the case for most people living in the area. This study suggests that a close examination of local and historical contexts combined with archaeological evidence is necessary to illuminate Overseas Chinese experiences, and in doing such, could alter current perceptions of early Asian American history.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Chinese American history is an integral part of the American historical narrative. Chinese laundries are iconic of Chinese living in the West, and today there is a Chinese restaurant in every city around the country. Large waves of Chinese migrants began coming to the United States in the 1850s, and their lives and experiences have been a growing focus among archaeologists and historians. But a combination of factors has resulted in a somewhat homogenous perception of their early experiences; a perception that is grounded in stereotypical assumptions about past Chinese behaviors - specifically, that they isolated themselves from Euroamerican society because they were not immigrants but sojourners. Over the last ten years, some scholars have begun to criticize this point of view, suggesting that even the earliest Chinese migrants were in fact active participants in Euroamerican communities (Rains 2003; Voss 2005).

In the 1970s and 1980s, archaeologist Steven Baker conducted excavations at the Vanoli Site (5OR30) in Ouray, Colorado, an area that was an active part of the historic red light district. The site dates to the late 19th century and was once home to saloons, brothels, a dancehall, and a Chinese laundry. Baker removed archaeological deposits from several privies and trash middens located in the open alley space behind these historic structures. Among the excavations were those of from a privy and trash midden located directly behind the small Chinese laundry. This excavation unit is known as Operation 8 (Baker 1982; Gregory 1982:42).

To continue the exploration of early Chinese American history, this project uses artifacts recovered from Operation 8 to examine the daily activities and social interactions of the Chinese who lived at the site, how cultural values shaped their experiences, and how their experiences

compared to Chinese living elsewhere in Ouray and in Chinatowns throughout the United States. Working within the framework of interpretive historical archaeology, concepts of social and actor network theories are borrowed and *qualitatively* applied to bridge the gap between artifacts and experiences - artifacts are viewed as representations of various social relationships, and as such, are analyzed to understand the human interactions and activities of daily life (Carrithers 1996; Orser 2005). Primary and secondary historical sources, as well as previous Overseas Chinese research, were used to explore the local, historical and cultural contexts of the Chinese living at the Vanoli Site and in Ouray and the food, gaming and opium related artifacts recovered from the site. These contexts combined with the artifacts themselves drive the reconstruction of day to day activities. The results of these investigations suggests that Chinese culture played an important role in the lives of the Chinese living at the site, and indeed shaped their interactions; however, interactions with local Euroamericans were also an important aspect of their everyday lives and experiences.



Figure 1: Map of China, Guangdong Province, Google Maps 2012

The 1849 California Gold Rush attracted over 30,000 Chinese immigrants to the West Coast, many in search of the same riches that enticed Euroamericans (McKeown 1999; Dirlik 2001; Rohe 2002). Many of these migrants came from in or around the Guangdong Province (Figure 1) in South China, an area under heavy transformation during the early 1800s due to civil strife, government reform, and imperial invasion (Dirlik 2001; McKeown 1999; Orser 2005). By the 1850s, Chinese arrived on the West Coast, and worked in mines, on the railroad, and in agricultural fields (McKeown 1999; Zhu 1995). Others opened restaurants, shops and laundries to accommodate the growing population. As news of gold strikes in the Rocky Mountains spread after 1859, many ventured into the interior of the United States, following Euroamerican entrepreneurs and prospectors. Soon, Colorado, Arizona, Montana, Utah, Idaho and Wyoming also witnessed the migration of thousands of Chinese (Dirlik 2001; Hoe 2003; Lister and Lister 1989). By the late 1800s, Chinese migrants could be found working in many of the same industries as Euroamericans, and Chinese businesses could be found in most of the American West's cities and boomtowns (Hoe 2003; Jung 2007).

Multiple factors, including Chinese cultural values, competition for wage labor, and racist attitudes towards Chinese migrants, led to discrimination, isolation and even violence (Jung 2007; Wegars et al. 1993; Zhu 1999). Chinese laborers were forced to work in poor working conditions and for little pay, or were completely forced out of the wage labor force, while others were forced to live in low quality areas of cities and towns. Over time, many Chinese lived and worked in ethnic enclaves in which day to day activities and social interactions could occur within the Chinese community. This decreased the frequency and need for interaction with Euroamerican society and reinforced the bonds of the Chinese community (Jung 2007).

While Chinese enclaves developed in both rural and urban contexts, other areas of the United States witnessed very small Chinese populations over time, many too small to develop into Chinatowns. In these circumstances, specific local and historical contexts worked to create very different experiences. These Chinese experienced the same discrimination as Chinese in larger communities, but they were also further isolated by population size, demographics and geographic distance from other Chinese communities (Rains 2003; Wegars 1993). Different kinds of choices had to be made and different types of relationships had to be created – and it all had to be done *within* the dominant Euro-American community and without the immediate support of larger Chinese communities. It is these experiences that are the focus of this project, especially in terms of how they compared with the experiences of those Chinese living in larger communities.

The inclusion of the diasporic Chinese in the American historical narrative has only recently become a topic of concern. It was not until the 1980s and 90s that investigations into Overseas Chinese sites became an important subfield in historical archaeology (Voss and Allen 2008). While researchers have conducted hundreds of investigations into these types of sites, the field has not had the same kind of attention that other areas have had - including the African diaspora and immigrant archaeology - and remains one of the lesser explored areas of historical archaeology (Voss 2005). During the end of the twentieth century, work in many countries of colonial origin began to focus more on these communities, especially in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States. Scholars in Australia and New Zealand have examined many historic Overseas Chinese communities in both rural and urban contexts, including them in studies of race, gender, class and ethnicity (Rains 2003). In the United States, excavations of Overseas Chinese sites have also been conducted in both urban and rural contexts, the majority

taking place in large Chinatowns such as those in Los Angeles and San Francisco (Greenwood 1996; Lister and Lister 1989a; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2004; Voss 2005). Artifacts recovered from these sites include both Asian imports and Euroamerican items, the patterning of which is seemingly ubiquitous across Overseas Chinese sites around the world. But despite the fact that many Chinese lived in areas that witnessed small Chinese populations overall, few fully fledged archaeological investigations have been undertaken in these areas. This lack of research, combined with the similarity of artifact patterns at Overseas Chinese sites around the country, has resulted in a homogenous perception of past Chinese experiences in American, and is largely based on what is known about larger Chinese communities (Zhu 1999). Just because archaeological assemblages look the same or past people share a similar history does not necessarily mean all Chinese experiences were the same. Because of these factors, investigations into very small Chinese communities are needed to determine which experiences among Chinese were shared, and which were not.

The Overseas Chinese of Ouray are among the Chinese communities that faced these unique circumstances, however, little is known about their lives. Ouray is located in southwestern Colorado in the San Juan Mountain Range (Figure 2). By the mid 1870s, Euroamerican settlement began to take place in the basin following the discovery of gold and silver in the surrounding mountains (Gregory 1982). By the 1890s, the railroad connected the small mountain town to urban centers further east, including Pueblo and later Denver, allowing for the import of goods to the area (Smith 2003). Ouray quickly became a small urban center, housing a variety of establishments which serviced the growing population of permanent and transient residents (Gregory 1982; Smith 2003). Chinese immigrants were among the earliest residents of the area and are first documented as living in Ouray in 1880 (United States Census,

City of Ouray, 1880). These early residents worked at the only Chinese laundry in the town, did not speak or write English and were married, their wives likely remaining in China. The population in the area continued to rise, and peaked in 1900 when at least 19 Chinese migrants lived in Ouray, all of whom were men who worked as laundrymen, cooks, servants and merchants (United States Census, City of Ouray, 1885, 1900).

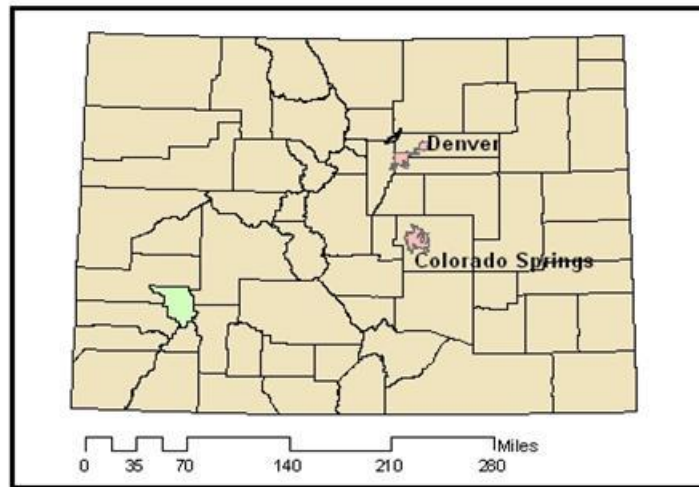


Figure 2: Map of Colorado and Ouray (in green) in relation to Denver and Colorado Springs. Used with permission, Horobik 2011

Like other Overseas Chinese, the Chinese of Ouray also faced isolation and found themselves far removed from their homeland and their families, however, they were also over 400 miles away from the nearest urban Chinatowns in Denver or Arizona. They faced sometimes extreme opposition from Euro-American residents in Ouray, fueled by the same anti-foreigner sentiment and labor discrimination affecting Chinese communities everywhere. But it seems that although racism was a part of their lives, not everyone in the community opposed the Chinese. Euroamerican attitudes towards them were affected by other factors besides ethnicity, including their occupation, business and residential location, personal associations and income levels. Whatever their story, the Overseas Chinese in Ouray faced a very unique set of life

circumstances, some of which were similar to other Chinese communities and some that were vastly different.

The daily lives and interactions of the Chinese living in the small mountain mining town of Ouray is the focus of this project because little research has been done in small and geographically isolated Chinese communities. In addition, the large majority of archaeological interpretations in this field have focused on processes of acculturation, emphasizing how and to what degree Chinese individuals and communities worked to either maintain their cultural practices, or assimilate into the dominant American and local cultures,(i.e. Diel et al 1998; Gust 1993 ; Lister and Lister 1989; Rains 2003; Stenger 1993; Voss 2005; Voss and Allen 2008). Acculturation models do not address the unique contexts of individual Chinese, circumstances which were greatly affected by geography, economics, other cultural groups, and even personalities (Rains 2003). Rather, acculturation models reinforce notions of homogenous experiences and overlook social diversity and the conscious creation of cultural landscapes (Orser 2005:79; Rains 2003:34). In this, it is assumed that human behavior is the product of “overarching systems of culture process [es], operating in an omnipresent, law like fashion,” (Rains 2003: 34). Or as Orser writes more simply, it implies, “their culture made them do it “(2005: 80).

Because of all these factors, it is the purpose of this project to learn more about the diversity of past Overseas Chinese experiences, and how they may (or may not) have diverged from homogenous perceptions (Zhu 1998). Alternative theoretical perspectives that focus less on acculturation and more on past social conditions and specific local and historical contexts, partnered with research on a lesser known Overseas Chinese community, work together to add a new layer of understanding to the history of the Chinese in the United States (Rains 2003; Voss

2008). Within the framework of interpretive historical archaeology, which works to understand the social conditions of the past (Beaudry 2006; Wilkie 2009), this project employs concepts drawn from social and actor network theories as presented by Orser (2005), Carrithers (1992), and Dolwick (2009), and as suggested by Voss (2005), Rains (2003), Praetzellis and Praetzellis (2001) and Wilkie (2009) to understand past experiences in terms of social interaction. The specific concept borrowed from network theories is the notion that the *things* of people's lives can be viewed as representative of social interactions. These interactions comprise the human experience.

Wilkie (2009) describes one of the tenets of interpretive historical archaeology as understanding how material culture is not only some *thing* people create, but that it is also an extension of us, and has meaning on social levels (Wilkie 2009: 340). She draws attention to a passage from Beaudry (2006) that is applicable here:

“An interpretive approach [to historical archaeology] acknowledges that material culture is not just something people create but [is] an integral component of our personalities and our social lives, deeply implicated in how we construct social relationships,” (Beaudry, 2006:7 in Wilkie 2009: 340).

Dolwick (2009) also addresses the importance of *things* to people and their relationships in his explanation of actor network theory,

“Besides performing practical tasks, objects help to stabilise, mediate, frame, articulate, reinforce, and give meaning to action [or relationships]. They even help us form identities. In this sense, ‘we’ (humans) are already hybridic collectives—we do not exist without things,” (Dolwick 2009: 41).

Archaeologists apply social network theory to discover the nature of past social interactions, how they were expressed in terms of material culture and how they comprise past experiences (Orser 2005). Because objects are imbued with socially constructed meaning that goes beyond economic and utilitarian value, material culture can be understood as the symbolic

expression of human interaction with the world (Dolwick 2009; Orser 2005; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001). Full scale social network theory is most often used as a quantitative measurement applied to large geographic regions and the dispersal of people on both vertical and horizontal scales. However, because this project is historical particularist in nature, and works to understand the day to day activities and interactions of individual Chinese living at the Vanoli Site and in Ouray, it is only the *concept* of network theory which is used as a qualitative tool to bridge the gap between artifacts and experiences through the reconstruction of past social interactions among people on a very small scale.



Figure 3: Ouray, Colorado, circa 1908. Red light district highlighted in red; Vanoli Block and 5OR30 indicated by blue star (Horobik 2011; Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, City of Ouray, 1908)

The Vanoli Block itself was an area made up of brothels, saloons, female boarding houses and cribs, a restaurant, a livery, a dance hall and a Chinese laundry (Figure 3). The block was owned by John and Domenic Vanoli, two brothers who emigrated from Italy in the 1870s. Upon moving into the San Juan Mountains, the brothers engaged in multiple businesses in

Ouray, Red Mountain and Telluride (Gregory 1982). The assemblage used for this research project comes from excavations of a privy and trash midden from behind the small Chinese laundry known as Operation 8 (Figure 4). Like other Overseas Chinese sites, recovered artifacts include multiple pieces of fragmented glass, ceramic, and metal of both Asian and Euroamerican manufacture.

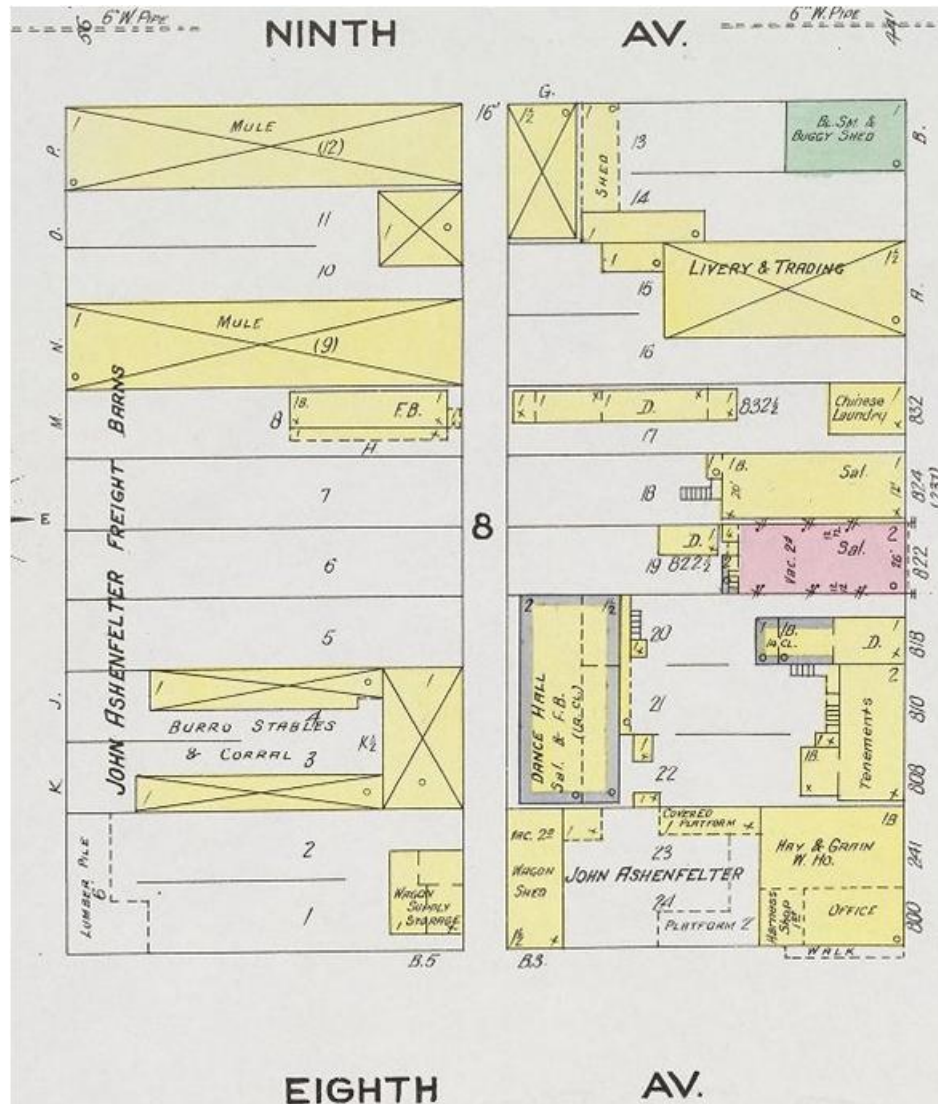


Figure 4: 1908 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Block 8, also known as the Vanoli Block

Items recovered from the excavations were cataloged and analyzed in order to find a minimum number of items (MNI) based on diagnostic pieces, as well as cross mended to ensure the most conservative estimates of MNI. The items were then further categorized according to function as outlined in previous Overseas Chinese research in an effort to maintain consistency, i.e. domestic items, personal items, structural items and activity items (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2004). Historical data, including both primary and secondary sources, were combined with the archaeological data to understand the local and historical contexts of the Chinese in Ouray, and the cultural significance of the artifacts to people in China, the United States and in Ouray. These contexts were essential in the reconstruction of past social relationships. Historical sources included United States census records, Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, four historic Ouray newspapers, historic photographs of Chinese in the West, and Paul Siu's ethnography, the *Chinese Laundryman* (1987). The Overseas Chinese in the United States are an integral part of American history. Migrants brought with them their own histories and experiences and grew to be among one of the most populous groups of migrants in the United States.

Chapter 2 outlines the history of the diasporic Chinese in the United States - who they were, where they were from, where and why they migrated, what they did there, and the ways in which Overseas Chinese became isolated on multiple levels. This section is organized by scale, beginning with conditions in China during the mid 1800s, the large Chinese populations moving to the United States and the large Chinatowns they worked to settle. This is followed by discussions of rural Chinese populations in the West, as well as the small Chinese populations in Ouray, and the conditions that affected their lives. *Chapter 3* focuses on the body of archaeological research on Overseas Chinese, the dominant theoretical frameworks, and the problems with those frameworks as perceived by other Overseas Chinese scholars. This is

followed by a discussion of alternative theoretical frameworks for this type of research, how they are applied, and how they can address some of the problems with the dominant theoretical trends. This chapter concludes with an explanation of how alternative theoretical lenses are applied to this project. *Chapter 4* discusses the archaeological assemblage from Operation 8 at the Vanoli site, the data collected, the quantitative methods used to analyze the data, and the results of those analyses. *Chapter 5* follows with discussions of qualitative data and analyses, and the primary historical sources used to understand the local and historical context of the Chinese living in Ouray. *Chapter 6* builds on both the quantitative and qualitative analyses by exploring the cultural significance of the artifacts in China, the United States and Ouray at the time. The local, historical and cultural contexts are then combined to reconstruct the social relationships represented by the artifacts, and the networks that connect the Chinese to other Ouray residents. This chapter concludes with final interpretations of the Chinese experience in Ouray in terms of the social relationships that are represented by the material culture and the social networks those relationships represent. *Chapter 7* describes the Chinese who lived at the Vanoli Site, their daily activities and social interactions, and how their experiences compared to Chinese living elsewhere in Ouray and in Chinatowns throughout the United States.

CHAPTER 2: OVERSEAS CHINESE IN AMERICA

Between 1850 and 1900, over three hundred thousand Chinese migrated to the United States, many in search of new economic and social opportunities. Multiple push and pull factors drove people from all social classes to seek new lives outside of China (Liu 2002; Dirlik 2001: xx; McKeown 1999: 313; Orser 2005: 130). They laid the foundation for later generations of Chinese immigrants, and their stories, make up the early history of Asian America. This chapter reviews the historical context of Chinese migration into the United States.

Prior to the 1800s, the Chinese government considered the emigration of its citizens an act of treason which was punished with severe and sometimes deadly force (Tsai: 1983:8). This attitude extended into the trade economy after 1757, in which embargoes prohibited the movement of most goods and people outside the mainland and almost completely eliminated trade with Europe, effectively sealing China off from the rest of the world for almost 100 years (Orser 2005: 134; Tsai 1983: 9). Attitudes began to change in the 1840s, however, as the Chinese government grew weak from imperial invasions, war, and severe food shortages (Liu 2002: 24; McKeown 2001:20; Tsai 1983:12). In 1842, Hong Kong was ceded from China to Britain as a result of the First Opium War and the Treaty of Nanking (Hoe 2003; Lee 2006). After the Second Opium War in 1856, British control over multiple ports in the Guangdong Province increased dramatically, and as a result, overseas trade and the movement of people began to increase (Okihiro 2001:68; Orser 2005:133).

Britain's control of Hong Kong helped renew China's participation in global trade networks and drew rural Chinese to cities in search of work (McKeown 1999:317; McKeown

2001:21; Okihiro 2001:69). As such, the first Chinese migrations were internal and comprised of people who moved from rural to urban areas (Okihiro 2001: 67; Orser 2005:133). A series of natural disasters and decreased access to arable lands in rural Guangdong resulted in crumbled rural economies and the subsequent migration of whole families to cities in search of work and food (Hoe 2003:3-4; McKeown 1999: 314). Imperial invasions and new trade economies brought ever-spreading capitalism, which further mobilized various classes of people into wage labor, displacing them from lands and making them available in the cheap workforce, first in Chinese cities, and later in areas of the world (Okihiro 2001:71).

As trade and migration increased, the frequency of steam ships at port also increased, decreasing the costs of movement abroad (McKeown 1999: 313). Over time, Chinese began to leave the country, drawn by opportunities for a better life and the chance to increase social and economic status elsewhere, or by get-rich-quick stories of gold and silver strikes in the U.S. (McKeown 1999: 313; Orser 2005: 131; Tsai: 12-13; Zhu 1995). Most of these migrants came from southeast China, near or in the Guangdong Province (Figure 5). Wealthy merchants moved first because they could afford the costly journey out of the country. They opened mercantile and import/export shops in cities in the United States and Australia and sent their children to study in Western schools in hopes of increasing or reaffirming the family's social status back home (Orser 2005: 138). As access to transportation continued to increase, others from more diverse occupational and social backgrounds also began to leave China (Liu 2002: 24; Siu 1986:107). People from all social classes made the journey across the Pacific, including doctors, farmers, teachers, merchants, sales clerks, wealthy merchants and businessmen (Liu 2002: 26).

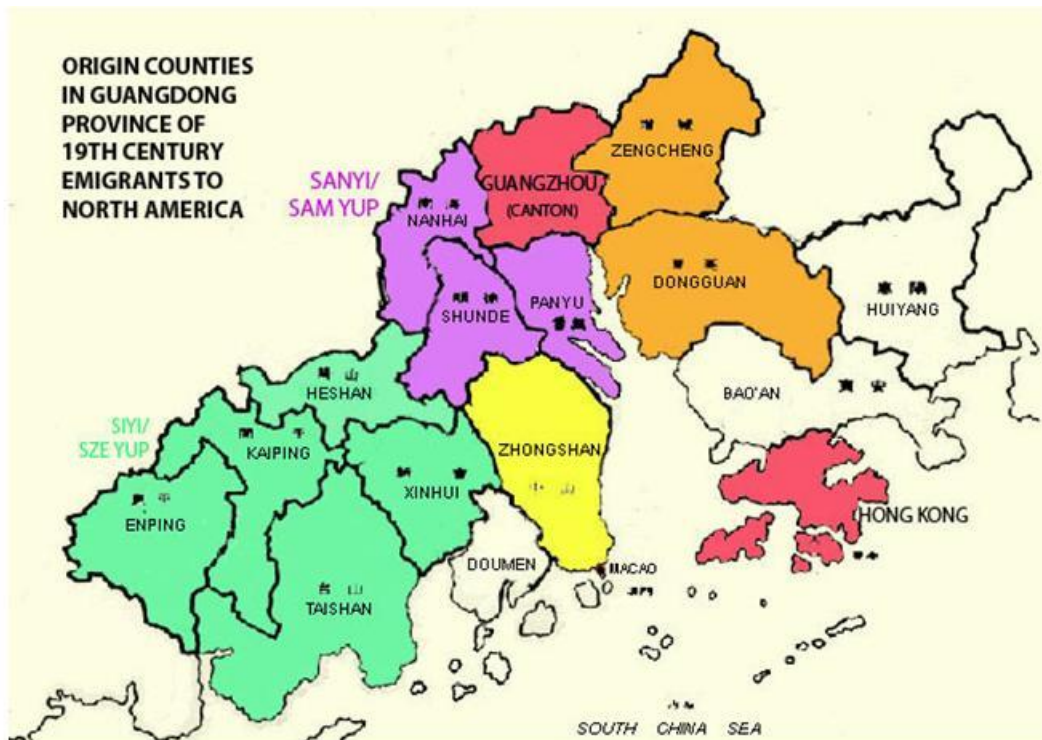


Figure 5: Historic counties in Guangdong Province, China. Used with permission of Chinese in Northwest America Research Committee, 2012

In the United States, the largest waves of Chinese migration began in the 1850s. Many migrated as sojourners, with plans to return home once substantial profits were made; others came as true immigrants, seeking new opportunities in new lands (Zhu 1995:39). A second large migration took place during the 1860s and 1870s, as the need for laborers on the transcontinental railroad grew and as news of new gold and silver discoveries in the Rockies travelled to both the West and East coasts (Zhu 1995). By the end of the 19th century, hundreds of thousands of Chinese lived throughout the United States. The first found themselves on the West Coast of California (Greenwood 1996; Orser 2005; Zhu 1999: 38). Work on the coast was found in mines, resource-rich agricultural fields, fish canning factories along rivers, and later, on the Pacific railroad (Lister and Lister 1989b; Liu 2002; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1997). As gold discoveries moved up the coast into Oregon and Washington, and east into Idaho, Chinese

miners followed. Many also worked as servants and cooks, making food and cleaning clothes for middle and upper class Americans (Lister and Lister 1989b). Others left wage labor for entrepreneurial ventures, taking over abandoned or under producing mines, or opening restaurants, laundries and groceries (Liu 2002; Orser 2005). As more people ventured into the interior of the United States, Chinese followed, opening businesses wherever they went (Hoe 2003).



Figure 6: Chinese men on Colorado railroad, 1869-1880. Used with permission Denver Public Library, Western Genealogy Collection, z-3335

Because of the laborious nature of mining and laboring jobs, most of the earliest Chinese migrants were “able-bodied men,” many of whom were “married bachelors”, having left their wives, children and families behind in China (Liu 2002:26; Siu 1987). However, this was not an abnormal circumstance as it was customary in China for women to stay home with children and

to take care of aging parents, while men journeyed for work (Wei 2004:381). Other Chinese were single, young men, whose journey abroad was undertaken in hopes of earning income that could be used to woo a young woman (and her family) into marriage and to increase social capital back home (Fan 2003: 264; Liu 2002:25). Prior to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and its subsequent renewals in 1892 and 1902, many Chinese women also made the journey to the United States (Jung 2007; Okihiro 2001:75). Some came as the wives of men already working in mines or as agriculturalists, while others were brought in as prostitutes or servants, put to work in both Chinese and Euroamerican homes and businesses (Wegars 1993: 230-231, 237). The migration of Chinese women was all but halted when government regulations made it extremely difficult for any Chinese to enter or leave the country, resulting in low populations of Chinese women and children over time (Okihiro 2001:75-99).

CHINESE LAUNDRIES

In the later 1800s, as mines frequently went bust, and the railroads were finally completed, Chinese looked for work in other areas of the labor force. Many turned to the laundry business, in part because of racial discrimination which made it difficult for most to enter into new lines of work or remain working as laborers; and also in part because owning and operating a business was a chance to increase social status back home (Hoe 2003:5-6, 11; Takaki 1994:51). Further, a severe shortage of people to conduct domestic activities in the West led to a growing need for laundry workers - without access to the labor force, or the funds to open a merchant shop or restaurant, this niche was filled by Chinese men, who offered low cost, quality laundry service (Hoe 2003:11; Wang 2004: 63). The start-up costs were low, and the pooling of funds among entire social groups made purchasing equipment and renting space a relatively easy alternative to the struggle of finding work in other industries (Greenwood 1996: 143; Wang

2004:61). Also, language limitations and little business knowledge did not affect the laundry business as much as these factors would have in other business ventures, making it an even better line of work for many Overseas Chinese (Hoe 2003:13). Owning laundries allowed Chinese men the opportunity to own their own business and for many Chinese, the profits earned in the laundry business were far more than could be earned in China, even for those who came from middle class households (Jung 2007; Siu 1987). Laundrymen were able to find work in both rural and urban areas of the country, servicing multiple social classes, and Chinese laundries began to take shape all over the United States (Hoe 2003:4; Siu 1986:26).

Because Chinese social structures were often characterized by deep kinship ties that moved immediate and extended families to work in the same occupation, many Chinese moved to areas overseas where friends and families were already established and learned the business they were in. This phenomenon resulted in family-run businesses and even whole sections of many communities' Chinese population to be comprised of people who were related (Liu 2002: 27). These transplanted social networks provided established support systems which made it easier for other Chinese to immigrate into the United States by sometimes paying for the migration, or by providing housing and labor placement for incoming family and friends. This is a trend that characterized many Chinese laundries, where brothers, fathers, uncles, cousins or fellow community members learned the laundry business from a relative or friend and later went on to open their own laundry (or other) business (Hoe 2003; Liu 2002; Wang 2006).

Laundry work was arduous and demanding and the laborious working conditions were completely new to the middle class Chinese migrants. Sixteen or more hours per day were spent scrubbing, soaking, wringing, ironing, starching, packaging, collecting and delivering clothing, and work could go on six and even seven days per week (Hoe 2003:19; Siu 1987).



Figure 7: Sam Wah Laundry, Georgetown, Colorado 1890-1900. Used with permission Denver Public Library, Western Genealogy Collection, x-7502

In the West, miners, frontiersmen and laborers also became patrons of laundries, adding to the pool from which laundry workers could solicit and extending the length of the workday and week. They (Figure 7) became extremely profitable in terms of income, and substantial earnings could be sent back to families still in China, or money could be invested in other business ventures (Wang 2004: 73-74). Money was a major factor that kept Chinese in the laundry business. Chinese working in laundries overseas were able to earn more money than could be earned back home, and some even earned more than miners and railroad workers working in the United States (Wang 2004:74). This lured many Chinese in the United States to

enter into the business, and drew even more emigrants, despite the fact that many laundrymen did not make enough money to pay rent on a home and a business space and were forced to live and sleep inside of the laundries (Hoe 2003:23; Wang 2004).

Over time, Chinese laundries became known for fast and efficient work for very low costs, which attracted Euroamerican patrons from all classes, and they began to dominate the laundry business. Chinese laborers in other fields also continued to make up large portions of both mining and railroad labor pools (Hoe 2003:39). In these lines of work, Chinese workers competed directly with Euroamerican workers in multiple low-wage industries, and as such, they soon came to be perceived of as a threat. And because many Chinese were known to send their earnings home and exert efforts to maintain Chinese cultural practices, they also became perceived of as a nationalistic sojourners (Bronson and Ho 2012; Jung 2007). These perceptions resulted in numerous kinds of discrimination which sometimes grew into violent conflict.

Economic and labor discrimination came in the form of Chinese boycotts (Lister and Lister; Zhu 1995). Those who would hire Chinese workers often employed them in dangerous working conditions for extremely low wages (Jung 2007; Orser 2002; Takaki 1994:47). State governments and city municipalities increased business licensing fees for Chinese businesses, or made it illegal for Chinese to own property or to even marry - some anti-Chinese laws even forced incarcerated Chinese men to cut off their queues (Norton 1924:283-296). Public propaganda aimed at Overseas Chinese depicted them as dangerous heathens, rat eaters, barbarians, opium addicts and traders of Chinese slave girls (Bronson and Ho 2012 2011; Orser 2005; Lister and Lister; Dirlik 2005). Slanderous nicknames replaced “Chinese”, and included *coolie*, *celestial* and *Chinee* (Takaki 1994:65). Other manifestations of racism came in the form of violence; Chinese businesses were robbed, individuals were beaten and even killed and whole

Chinese communities were burned to the ground (Voss 2005; Wei 2004). The American public became “fearful” of its Chinese populations, further widening the divide between Euroamericans and the “Other” (Orser 2005; Takaki 1994; Voss 2005). By the turn of the century, many Americans shared the notion that “the Chinese must go” (Wei 2004:375).

Federal regulations were devised to decrease the number of Chinese coming into the United States. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 suspended the migration of all “skilled and unskilled [Chinese laborers] and Chinese miners” into the United States for ten years (Ferraro 2012: Chinese Exclusion Act 1882; Tsai 1983:67). This included incoming Chinese who wished to open a laundry business, or seek wage labor in mines, on the railroad or in agricultural fields. Chinese men already established in the United States who wished to return only briefly to China were forced to obtain a certification document from United States customs officials prior to leaving the country, which they would present upon their return (Chinese Exclusion Act 1882: Section 4). However, the documents were not always accepted by customs officials, and as such, returning migrants were forced to go back to China (Tsai 1983). And for those Chinese who were not laborers but wished to work in the United States in other occupations, a costly certification process for entrance into the country was enacted, making migration available to only those who could actually afford it (Tsai 1983:66). This law was renewed in 1892 and again in 1902, and was not only socially exclusionary, but resulted in low populations of Chinese women and children until after the 1910s (Hoe 2003:49; Tsai 1983:67).

These factors resulted in ethnic enclaves of Chinese, and later whole Chinatowns throughout the United States, in both rural and urban contexts (Greenwood 1996; Lister and Lister 1989b; Okihiro 2001:78). Chinese migration into the United States dropped dramatically after 1882, and continued to do so into the mid 1900s (Takaki 1994:79). While the Chinese were

initially forced into isolation by discrimination, many also further isolated themselves by creating internal social and economic networks, limiting the amount of contact needed with the “outside” world, and in turn, buffering against the negative attitudes of Euroamerican society and allowing for more freedom to maintain Chinese cultural practices (Lister and Lister 1989). But, despite their negative beginnings, Chinatowns all over the country developed into bustling communities colored by Chinese cultural practices (Fosha and Leatherman 2008; Voss 2005). Chinatowns were mostly made up of Chinese-run businesses and households, and Chinese traditional holidays continued to be celebrated, especially the Chinese New Year. Fraternal organizations and businessmen worked to create far-reaching social and economic networks of Chinese from which to draw international, national and regional connections (Greenwood 1996:20-21). Despite the predominance of negative attitudes towards Overseas Chinese, Chinatowns were by no means completely cut off from the rest of Euroamerican society, and many intercultural relationships did take place in economic and social spheres (Fosha and Leatherman 2008; Zhu 1995). Western clothing, goods, food and cultural practices were all aspects of Chinese life which hinged on interactions with non-Chinese (Voss 2005:423). Similarly, Chinese celebrations and traditions (Figure 8) were often open to the wider Euroamerican community in which non-Chinese were invited to events and gatherings (Fee 1993: 69; Fosha and Leatherman 2008; Voss 2005).

Attitudes of Euroamericans in the West and the Rocky Mountain interior largely paralleled those of their urban counter parts (especially in the mining industry) and resulted in the same discrimination and isolation as found among urban Chinese (Fee 1993; Staski 1993). Chinese living in these areas, however, were further isolated by geography, making access to important Chinese social and economic networks extremely difficult. While large Chinese

communities were present in many areas of the Rocky Mountains, many small mining settlements only witnessed a few dozen Chinese over many years. This required Chinese living there to depend on Euroamerican social and economic networks - Chinese businesses were situated right next door to Euroamerican businesses and Chinese relied on Euroamerican goods, especially before the arrival of the railroad (Fosha and Leatherman 2008; Wegars 1993). These factors forced different kinds of interactions between Chinese and non-Chinese, resulting in vastly different experiences for Overseas Chinese living in these circumstances. So while many Overseas Chinese experiences likely included those characteristic of stereotypical histories - specifically those entailing violence and anti-Chinese sentiments – they were not homogenous but uniquely shaped by local contexts and conditions.



Figure 8: Chinese funeral procession in Denver, 1875-1885. Used with permission Denver Public Library, Western Genealogy Collection, z-21496

Chinese miners could be found all over Colorado towards the end of the 1860s, including in Clear Creek, Central City, Idaho Springs, Gunnison, Silverton, Alamosa and Denver. Populations in Colorado never reached those found in other areas on the West Coast or in the northern mountain states, due in large part to the vastness of the Rocky Mountains, the rugged topography and the extreme weather conditions (Rohe 2001:14). Hop Alley in Denver became

Colorado's single Chinatown, located in a low income area where Southern and Eastern European immigrants also lived (Wei 2004:375). Situated on Wazee Street in today's downtown Denver, Hop Alley was named for its wide spread opium businesses. The area and its residents were feared by Denverites because it was thought to be "plagued" by sex, gambling and drugs (Wei 2004:377). However, this stereotypical perception was largely a result of sensationalist journalism and competitive labor tactics that worked to drive the Chinese out of the labor force (Wei 2004:381). In fact, racial discrimination was projected onto numerous immigrant communities in Denver for the same reasons, including Italians, Germans and Slavs, many of whom were forced into poor living conditions and low-paying jobs (Grinstead and Fogelberg 2004). And despite popular belief, Hop Alley housed very few prostitutes, and the opium dens in the area were more often patronized by Euroamericans and not Chinese (Wei 2004: 378-379).

Like other Chinatowns, Hop Alley offered social and economic support that buffered against discrimination. Chinese bought goods and services from other Chinese, continued Chinese cultural practices and created social and economic ties (Wei 2004:379). Chinese laundrymen followed suit, and began opening laundries in the 1870s. The laundry business became so successful, that by 1880, most of Denver's Chinese owned or worked in a Chinese laundry, a field they dominated until the advent of steam laundries in the early 1900s (Wei 2004:382). Racial and labor discrimination would later displace the Chinese from the laundry business in Denver, moving many into the restaurant business instead (Wei 2004:382). Denver's Chinatown became a stopping place where incoming Chinese made labor connections, learned of mining operations, and gathered supplies before heading into the mountains (Wei 2004:382). Chinese made it to southwest Colorado by the 1880s. Among the many small mining towns in

this area was Ouray where only a little more than a dozen Chinese lived at one time, most of them working as laundrymen and cooks (United States Census 1880).



Figure 9: Chinese men dressed in western-style clothing, Georgetown, Colorado, 1890-1910. Used with permission Denver Public Library, Western Genealogy Collection, x-21660

OURAY, COLORADO

Ouray sits in the San Juan Mountains, a range that spans over 10,000 square miles and is the largest in the Rocky Mountains (Benedict 2008:26). The Uncompahgre River runs south, along the western side of Ouray and several large waterfalls drop from sheer cliffs, visible from town. The river itself is contained by steep mountain walls on its west side, the path of which is followed by the railroad. The town is surrounded by forested mountains which are riddled with natural gorges and remnants of mining's past. A large rock formation called the "amphitheater" towers over the community to the south, and radiates purple, pink and gray hues (Figure 10). Over millions of years, volcanic activity has created numerous hot springs that dot the landscape of the San Juans, including in Ouray (Smith 2003:6).



Figure 10: Southeast view of Ouray towards “amphitheater”, 1890-1910 Used with permission Denver Public Library, Western Genealogy Collection, MCC-1503

Prior to the arrival of Euroamericans, Ute communities moved through the San Juans as a semi-sedentary group who traveled into the mountains during warm seasons, and moved to lower elevations when temperatures dropped (Smith 2003:6). By the 1860s, miners made their way into the San Juans, first placer mining along the many tributaries in the area, and later establishing numerous corporate mines across the landscape (Smith 2003:8-11). The movement of these men marked the beginning of the removal of the Ute from the area. Chief Ouray, for whom the town is named, was the most famous of the Ute in the area. He was well known for his tolerance of incoming miners, his work to maintain peaceful relationships, and his fight to save his ancestral homeland (Smith 2003:7). Miners were often found trespassing on Ute lands, gold panning in rivers or using one of the many hot springs considered sacred to the Ute. This inevitably led to conflicts, and soon, the Ute community was pressured to move (Smith 2003:17). In 1874, the Brunot Agreement ceded the San Juans to the United States, and despite Chief Ouray’s efforts,

the Ute were forcefully removed from the area to reservation land in New Mexico (Norman 2004:15; Smith 2003:60).

After the first silver strike of 1876, miners staked and registered their claims all over the area. Those who settled in the area faced harsh winters, and often had little access to resources during the coldest months. Travel outside of Ouray was made difficult by rugged and dangerous topography, and the small trails that paved the way for people and supplies to move in and out (Smith 2003:24). The area officially became a town in 1875, first named Uncompahgre City and later Ouray (Smith 2003:40-42). The first residents were miners who built log homes in the basin, below the amphitheater. Euroamerican women also came to the area in the 1870s, many as the wives of miners who set out to make their homes there (Smith 2003:14). In 1875, the first post office was established, along with the first grocery, which supplied much needed outside contact and goods to settlers and seasonal miners (Smith 2003:20). In 1876, the first hotel and the first saloon opened their doors and Uncompahgre City changed its name to Ouray (Smith 2003:19). Several toll roads established in that same year, which allowed for somewhat easier access in and out of the community.

Ouray witnessed economic booms through the late 1870s and 1880s (Smith 2003:21, 23). News of silver strikes spread quickly, and thousands of miners came to the area as laborers, prospectors and entrepreneurs. Silver was also discovered in 1882 in the Red Mountain area located south of Ouray. This resulted in a second mining boom for the area (Smith 2003:45-47). Around the same time, the Million Dollar Highway was built by Otto Mears and ran between Ouray and Red Mountain, making the movement of ore and supplies easier and less expensive. The town continued to grow in size and permanence; frame buildings replaced log cabins, and more businesses continued to be established. Multiple churches and stores, a courtroom, a town

hall and numerous brothels and saloons lined the streets of Ouray by 1880 (Smith 2003:23, 29-30). At this time, over 800 year-round residents lived in the town, while the weekends realized huge influxes of miners who came into town to eat, gamble, drink and find female companionship.

It was in large part because of these miners that the town fared so well; they brought with them money to spend in Ouray's various businesses, allowing for the town to boom not only from its wealth in natural resources, but also from its mini-urban sprawl (Smith 2003:25). In 1885, the town's population reached over 2,000 people, became an official city and was illuminated by electricity (Smith 2003:58). Brick buildings replaced wood-framed ones, and a fire department, two more newspapers, a school, and an opera house were established (Smith 2003:49). In 1887, the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad made its way into the San Juans, easing the transport of ore and supplies in and out of the area, which lowered the cost of living in the growing town (Smith 2003:58-59). New gold discoveries were made around Ouray and Red Mountain, resulting in new work for old miners, and the continued flow of money into the town, which continued to grow into the early 1900s, (Gregory 1982:1-2; Smith 2003:75-78).

Like any boomtown, saloons and brothels comprised a large portion of Ouray's businesses and over 35 were established by 1890. A red light district took shape on the northwest edge of town, on 3rd and 2nd Street, and between 7th and 9th Avenues (Smith 2003:54). This area was the first approached by travelers coming from the north and was located near the railroad on the west side of town, making its businesses easily seen and accessed. Among the numerous illicit businesses located in the red light district, were those owned and operated by the Vanoli brothers. Domenic and John Vanoli, born in the 1840s, immigrated to the United States from Italy some years earlier (Gregory 1982). Most of the Vanoli businesses were located on Block 8,

between 2nd and 3rd Street, and 8th and 9th Avenue. They included the Grand Pacific Hotel, which later became the 220 Dancehall, the raucous Roma Saloon, the Vanoli Saloon, a restaurant owned by the Cresto brothers, and most famously, the Gold Belt Theater. Most of these establishments were located on Block 8 along Third Street, which also served as Ouray's main street, providing easy and effective advertising to incoming miners (Gregory 1982: V, 42; Smith 2003:56-57). The rooms attached to the Gold Belt Theater and the 220 were cribs which provided prostitutes with small spaces to conduct their business (Gregory 1982:25). There were also several out buildings located in the alley space that were also used as cribs. These cribs sat in close proximity to piles of accumulated trash and a livery and stable located to the north (Gregory 1982:52; Smith 2003:63; Sanborn Map 1886). At the time, Block 8 was a noisy, smelly and filthy place to live.

Numerous newspaper articles report the frustration of the community with the red light district's affairs, as well as the lack of enforcement of the city's laws (Gregory 1982). Articles from the *Ouray Times* and the *Ouray Herald* report drunken prostitutes howling in the street; gambling discrepancies ending in gun fights; and violent, and sometimes lethal attacks on prostitutes, perpetrated by travelling patrons, men of Ouray, and pimps (Gregory 1982: 6, 13-14, 16). Even though municipal regulations were established to eradicate prostitution and gambling, businesses in the red light district flourished and witnessed both miners and Ouray citizens as patrons. The success of these businesses was the result of the large number of miners moving through the city for work and their economic contribution to the businesses, which then contributed to the community economically. This likely made it difficult for city officials to fully enforce municipal codes (Gregory 1982:2).



Figure 11: East side of Vanoli Block just prior to demolition in the 1970s. From the left: the 220 Dancehall/Boarding House , the Cresto restaurant, and the Roma Saloon. Courtesy Steven Baker, Centuries Research.

The era of the Vanoli brothers came to an end after a series of misfortunes. Red Mountain, another mining town where the brothers had established several businesses, burned down in 1895. In that same year John Vanoli died, presumably from a self-inflicted gunshot wound (Gregory 1982:40). After his death, John's properties on Block 8 were auctioned off to Domenic's son Tony Vanoli while other properties were purchased by John Cresto, the operator of the restaurant on Block 8 and a close friend of the John and Domenic. Cresto continued to build in the area, especially cribs, and Domenic and Tony continued to run the Gold Belt Theater (Gregory 1982:43-45). Despite their intentions, the red light district slowly began to close down towards the end of the 1910s. Prohibition passed in Colorado in 1916 and made the sale of liquor too difficult to undertake by 1919 (Gregory 1982:58-59). Several of the Vanoli properties were transferred to Minnie Vanoli, Domenic's daughter, who, with her disabled sister Mary, lived and grew old in the old Roma Saloon (Figure 11) (Gregory 1982:54).

Amidst the red light district, and situated between the Vanoli Saloon and the livery on Third Street, resided a small Chinese laundry (Gregory 1983: V). According to Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, the laundry was established sometime after 1893 and before 1899 – it was listed as a dwelling before this time (Ouray Sanborn Maps 1880, 1893). In 1899, the lot on Block 8, where the laundry was located, was purchased from Sarah Hockey by John Cresto (Gregory 1982:40-42). The wood frame building was small compared to the other buildings on the block, and most likely only housed a hand laundry rather than a residence (Gregory 1982:42). After 1893, a series of cribs was built directly behind the laundry, presumably for prostitutes, but may have also were been used as rentals, occupied by those Chinese working at the laundry (Ouray Sanborn Map 1893, 1899; Henn 1991:111).



Figure 12: Chinese and Euroamerican miners, 1880-1900. Used with permission Denver Public Library, Western Genealogy Collection, x-61120

Documentary evidence suggests that Chinese migrants first reached Ouray in the 1880s when at least three men were living in the area, all of whom were working in hand laundries (United States Census, City of Ouray, 1880). Sanborn Maps from 1886 indicate that at least one,

and possibly two Chinese laundries existed in Ouray. Photographs of Chinese miners working in the area corroborate the 1880s as an early arrival date for Chinese migrants (Figure 12). Chinese continued to come to the area and by 1899, Ouray housed nine Chinese laundries, one Chinese restaurant and two Chinese merchants, all of which were located in the business district, integrated among other Euroamerican businesses. In 1900, 19 Chinese men are listed on the United States Census. Most of them lived on 2nd Street while a few lived on 3rd Street (possibly in the rear of their businesses) and on Oak Street. Like the Chinese businesses, most of their residential neighbors were Euroamericans.

United States censuses reveal a sharp increase in Chinese residents between 1900 and 1910, followed by their rapid decline. This population change is reflected on Sanborn Maps from 1893, 1899, and 1908, which indicate a sharp increase and then decrease of Chinese laundries in the area. The rapid growth of Ouray from a mining town to a mini-urban settlement is likely responsible for the sharp increase of Chinese in the area, who took advantage of the miners' need for laundry work. As in other parts of the United States, documentary evidence in Ouray suggests Overseas Chinese there experienced many of the same situations as Chinese living elsewhere, including discrimination, boycotts and violence. These same sources, however, suggest they also had many experiences that were unique to their lives in Ouray (See Ouray Herald: April 25, 1902, March 17, 1907; Plaindealer: February 28, 1902, March 24, 1905).

CHAPTER 3:
ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND
AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Overseas Chinese communities have been a focus in historical archaeology since the 1960s and 1970s. Since that time, research has been conducted in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South America and the United States (see Greenwood 1996; Lister and Lister 1989a, 1989b; Rains 2003; Voss 2005; Wegars et al. 1993). Interest in Overseas Chinese archaeology as a subfield increased in the 1980s and 90s, during which time many historical archaeologists working at these sites tried to answer specific questions about cultural change and behavior among this diasporic group. Despite this increased interest, these communities have yet to take center stage in academic studies of ethnicity, racialization, power and class (Orser 2005; Voss 2005: 426). Rather, much of the previous research on Overseas Chinese communities has been focused on processes of acculturation, which seem to reinforce perceptions of homogenous histories. In recent years, this perspective has been criticized, and alternative theoretical frameworks have been suggested by several researchers, including Mullins (2009), Orser (2005); Rains (2003) and Voss (2005). This chapter focuses on some of the larger Overseas Chinese archaeological projects in both rural and urban contexts, the types of artifacts collected at those sites, and the nature of researchers' interpretations. Also, previous interpretations of acculturation are addressed and alternative theoretical frameworks are suggested. Concepts borrowed from social network theory are placed within the context of interpretive historical archaeology, and work together to offer a different lens through which to understand the experience of the Overseas Chinese living in Ouray, Colorado.

In the United States, archaeological work in historic Chinese communities has resulted in a large body of research that can now be used to identify Asian artifacts and draw comparative information. Chinatowns, located in the hearts of urban and rural communities throughout the country, have been the subject of many research projects in this subfield. Most of the archaeological information about Overseas Chinese sites comes from investigations like these, areas with historically dense Chinese populations like Chinatowns. In urban contexts, projects include Greenwood's (1996) excavation of Los Angeles' historic Chinese town, Lister and Lister's (1989a and 1989b) and Gust's (1993) work in Tucson's Chinatown, and Staski's (1993) work in El Paso's Chinatown. Most were initiated by urban development or construction projects, where efforts were made by researchers to salvage data and artifacts before they were lost forever (Lister and Lister 1989; Greenwood 1996: 3). Several archaeological projects have also been done in more rural contexts, which differed from their more populous and less isolated counterparts in terms of demography, access to goods and networks, and geography. Projects in Idaho have been conducted by Wegars (1993), Longnecker and Strapp (1993), and Fee (1993); Fosha and Leatherman (2008) have conducted work in South Dakota; Gardner (2011) has worked in Wyoming; and historian Liping Zhu (1995) has worked in both Idaho and Montana. These projects have resulted in a more thorough understanding of their experiences in the United States.

Almost all archaeological assemblages from Overseas Chinese sites include a combination of both Chinese and Euroamerican material culture. Assemblages usually include Asian imported tablewares, opium pipe bowls, and food storage jars, which are found with Euroamerican glass, tablewares, tin cans and more. The combination of these artifact types is ubiquitous at most Overseas Chinese sites and is regularly recovered around the world (Rains

2003). In the United States, Chinese imported goods were available to urban Overseas Chinese by the 1860s (Greenwood 1996; Lister and Lister 1989a; Staski 1993). As railroads made their way into the smaller, more rural communities of the West Coast and into the Rocky Mountains at the turn of the century, imports were available in these areas too. Early Asian imports included ceramic tablewares, including *Wintergreen*, *Bamboo*, *Celadon*, and *Four Seasons* styles, as well as Chinese brown glazed stonewares (CBGS) used for Chinese food export and storage (Hellman and Yang 1997). All of these items were manufactured in China, specifically for export to Overseas Chinese and not necessarily Euroamericans (Greenwood 1996; Lister and Lister 1989a; Rains 2003; Wegars 1993). Almost all Overseas Chinese sites also include opium paraphernalia, including opium pipe bowls and cans (Fagan 1993; Greenwood 1996; Lister and Lister 1989a; Rains 2003; Sando and Felton 1993; Wylie and Fike 1993). Other distinctly Chinese items recovered from excavations include gaming pieces, writing utensils, clothing, jewelry, ceremonial items, personal hygiene items, and medications (Greenwood 1996; Lister and Lister 1989a; Wegars 1993). Archaeological projects at historic Chinese sites have also recovered an array of Euroamerican items, the same kinds found in other historic sites across the country. Euroamerican ceramics, specifically plain and decorated whitewares, comprise the largest proportion of Euroamerican artifacts in many site assemblages. These whitewares include food service vessels, food storage vessels, cooking utensils and personal hygiene items (Greenwood 1996; Lister and Lister 1989a; Staski 1993). American manufactured bottles containing alcoholic beverages, soda water, food, liquor and medications are also recovered at these sites (Lister and Lister 1989a; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2004; Rains 2003; Staski 1993). The artifacts suggest that many Overseas Chinese throughout the United States were obtaining

customary Chinese goods while also incorporating American and European goods into their lives.

Faunal and food-ways analyses also reveal a combination of Chinese and Euroamerican consumption patterns. Many Chinese imported foods directly from China, as evidenced in the archaeological record by brown glazed Chinese stonewares. These wares once held soy beans, Chinese wine, pickled vegetables, soy sauce and other preserved foods (Hellman and Yang 1997). Faunal analyses, macrobotanical studies, and remnants of historic Chinese gardens suggest Overseas Chinese also consumed locally available processed and fresh foods, and that the majority of animals consumed were purchased from local, Euroamerican butchers already broken down into modern cuts, rather than hacked with a cleaver (Diel et al 1998; Gust 1993; Longnecker and Strapp 1993:115). Almost all Overseas Chinese sites include this combination of both Chinese and Euroamerican food items and associated goods (Diel et al 1998: 26-27; Gust 1993:183-186; Longnecker and Strapp 1993:181)

DOMINANT THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

The tremendous amount of research on Overseas Chinese sites has added to the narrative of Asian American history, but there are nevertheless still topics within the subfield that need to be addressed. Researchers' interpretations frequently focus on processes of acculturation and assimilation, suggesting the ratios of Euroamerican and Chinese artifacts adequately demonstrate cultural loss or cultural maintenance among Overseas Chinese communities (Rains 2003; Voss 2005). This perspective has grown to dominate the subfield, but has recently been criticized by Orser (2007), Rains (2003), Voss (2005) and Mullins (2008). Adding to the narrow perceptions of Overseas Chinese communities is the fact that only large Chinese communities make up the majority of the body of research and smaller Chinese communities have been neglected.

Interpretations of sites in larger communities are projected onto smaller communities, despite the differences in historical and local contexts (Voss 2005; Voss and Allen 2008). Further, the presence of Euroamerican artifacts at almost every Overseas Chinese site in the United States is often view as contamination rather than included in overall interpretations (Orser 2007; Rains 2003; Voss 2005; Voss and Allen 2008). All of these issues have led to a somewhat homogenized perception of the historic Overseas Chinese experience and associated assumptions about their past lives that may not be true for Chinese everywhere (Zhu 1995).

Within the framework of acculturation, Chinese communities and individual experiences are described in terms of how *Chinese* migrants remained or how *American* Chinese migrants became. Further, the presence of Chinese imports or evidence of efforts to maintain Chinese customary behaviors are most often described as *resistance* to assimilation into the dominant American society (Mullins 2008; Voss 2005), while conversely, the presence of Euroamerican artifacts or evidence of Euroamerican cultural practices is viewed in terms of cultural loss and assimilation (Voss 2005:432; Rains 2003:). Scholars in the subfield, including Barbara Voss (2005; with Allen 2008), Charles Orser (2007), Paul Mullins (2008) and Kevin Rains (2003) criticize this perspective because it puts too much emphasis on ethnicity and negates other factors that affect people's lives and identities. This notion of acculturation stems in large part from the colonial nature of anthropological studies in the United States (Cusick 1998: 127). Despite the possibility of this process occurring between both groups involved in culture contact, the power structures in American society and academia, as well as the very nature of colonial contact in this country, have combined to form an asymmetrical understanding cultural change, in which Western culture's impact on non-Western groups is emphasized (Cusick 1998:126). In Overseas Chinese archaeology, this has resulted in a black and white view of migrant Chinese

who either separated themselves from the dominant society through acts of resistance, or acculturated and assimilated almost completely (Voss 2005: 425-427; Zhu 2005).

Acculturation models were first employed by anthropologists at the turn of the twentieth century and were used to measure the degree of cultural change from *traditional* to *modern* or *simple* to *complex* within Native American communities (Voss 2005:427). This definition extends to the adoption of Euroamerican life ways and material culture by Native American groups, largely through the influence of American governmental policies (Cusick 1998:128; Voss 2005). Anthropologists working with Native American communities in the late 1800s and early 1900s worked to understand the effects of assimilation policies put forth by the government. To these researchers, the presence of Euroamerican material culture used by Native American communities seemed to illustrate that various levels of acculturation into American society had indeed taken place (Cusick 1998:132). As a result, these studies reinforced the idea that Native Americans were indeed a vanishing race, regardless of the power structures and agencies involved in this process (Cusick 1998:128). This concept of acculturation has been applied to numerous instances of culture contact taking place between Western and non-Western groups, most specifically those relating to colonial and capitalist expansion. In archaeology, the ratio of *things* has been interpreted as representative of acculturation or cultural loss. As Cusick (1998:135) writes about archaeology and acculturation, “cultur[al] traits are equated with material cultural, and quantifiable changes in material culture over time are equated with acculturation. These conclusions are made regardless of whether artifacts could be associated with changes caused by other factors like power structures, identity construction and environmental factors, or whether the artifacts are even associated with Euroamerican behaviors in the first place (Cusick 1998:135).

This is also the case in Overseas Chinese archaeology. The term “acculturation” in this area of research is used to describe the degree to which these migrant groups maintained Chinese cultural practices or adopted Euroamerican ones once contact between the two groups had been made (Staski 1993:128-130; Voss 2005: 425; Rains 2003). Staski (1993) writes, “Acculturation [is a process that] eliminates particular behavioral patterns which serve to identify those within or without the ethnic population,” (Staski 1993: 126). This almost strictly quantitative process of analysis has homogenized the Overseas Chinese experience and does not take into account individual choice and agency. As Mullins (2008) notes, this perspective specifically compares Chinese and Euroamerican experiences and the associated material culture against the backdrop of American culture – but the definition of *American culture* is different depending on who you talk to and where you are, making researcher bias and locale uncontrollable variables that greatly affect *what* constitutes cultural loss, cultural maintenance, or experience (Mullins 2008:153).

For example, Lister and Lister’s (1989a) interpretations of archaeological data gathered from the Overseas Chinese site in Tucson are among those focused on acculturation (Lister and Lister 1989a: 108-109). Their interpretation suggests that little to no acculturation took place in Tucson’s historic Chinese community. This is seen as being reflected in the maintenance of customary Chinese practices, the evidence for which is drawn from the presence of ethnically Chinese artifacts, despite the presence of Euroamerican items. These artifacts are interpreted as a strategy used to cope with the dominant Euroamerican society *without* assimilation into it (Lister and Lister 1989a:101, 108). These interpretations result in the conclusion that historic Chinese in Tucson resisted acculturation into the dominant society and put forth significant effort to maintain their customary cultural practices (Lister and Lister 1989a: 109).

Another example is Staski's (1993) study of El Paso's Chinatown, which also concludes that the Chinese there remained extremely culturally isolated, and that little if any assimilation into American society ever took place (Staski 1993:144-145). This interpretation is based on the abundance of Chinese imports in the assemblage, as well as the many American-manufactured glass bottles found altered by Chinese for new uses. Staski describes these ratios of Chinese imported ceramics and Euroamerican ceramics in terms of consumer preference and availability. According to this interpretation, Overseas Chinese in El Paso favored Chinese imports, at least for a time, while later favoring Euroamerican items, depending on which items were more readily available (Staski 1993:143). Because of this perceived consumer preference, he concludes that Chinese migrants in the area exerted tremendous efforts to obtain Chinese items, especially once railroads made these items available. He argues that this phenomenon is due in large part to the segregation of Overseas Chinese from the larger Euroamerican community, but also because of resistance to acculturation within this group (Staski 1993: 145). However, Staski's data also reveals that there was a far larger quantity of Euroamerican alcohol bottles than Chinese alcohol bottles or ceramics, despite the availability of the latter. This however, is not explored in great detail and he concludes there is not enough information to understand the results (Staski 1993:142). The motivations behind the perceived consumer preference are not explored any further as they are seen specifically as a result of segregation and discrimination.

Greenwood (1996) also interprets Los Angeles' Chinese as resisting acculturation through consumer preference for Chinese goods as well as the "revival" of Chinese cultural traditions (Greenwood 1996:142). Evidence for this interpretation is seen in the sheer volume of Chinese artifacts at the site, despite the area's close proximity to non-Chinese merchant centers. Like Staski (1993), Greenwood views this pattern as reflecting Overseas Chinese resistance to

assimilation into the dominant society, which she also attributes to the hostility of Euroamericans toward Chinese living in the area (Greenwood 1996:142). However, Greenwood's (1996) excavations also recovered hundreds of Euroamerican items, many of which are associated with other activities besides food. Rather than explore this, Greenwood attributes their presence to earlier Euroamerican occupants (Greenwood 1996:142-143).

The focus on processes of acculturation in much of Overseas Chinese archaeology has been criticized by several researchers for a variety of reasons, including the overuse of the framework despite the diversity of historical and local contexts of different Chinese communities (Mullins 2008; Rains 2003; Voss 2005). Some scholars suggest this perspective creates and perpetuates stereotyped assumptions about Overseas Chinese which emphasize the role of dominant Western groups. In this, Overseas Chinese are portrayed as passive participants in their own cultural landscape who are affected by the dominant society, rather than the other way around (Cusick 1998; Orser 2007; Rains 2005; Voss 2005). This assumption leads to other assumptions, including notions that Overseas Chinese communities were immutably traditional and culturally bounded groups who purposefully isolated themselves in segregated communities, regardless of types and levels of discrimination. This isolation was nationalistically driven in order to maintain traditional cultural practices associated with China, to resist acculturation into American society, and to avoid racial discrimination (Voss 2005: 426-427). And because of this assumption, it is then assumed that little to no interaction between Chinese and non-Chinese occurred anywhere, that Chinese migrants exerted little effort to learn the English language, and that Chinese migrants were true sojourners in which movement abroad was meant to be temporary (Orser 2007; Rains 2005).

OTHER CRITIQUES

There are other aspects of Overseas Chinese archaeology that need to be addressed in order to begin work towards a more holistic understanding of Overseas Chinese history. As mentioned before, almost all of the archaeological focus has been on large Chinese communities. Chinatowns in California sometimes numbered in the thousands, as did Chinatowns in the Southwest, including the neighborhoods examined by Staski (1993) and Lister and Lister (1989a). Some Overseas Chinese research has occurred in much more rural areas with somewhat smaller populations, however, most of these also witnessed numbers of Chinese in the hundreds (Fosha and Leatherman 2008; Wegars 1993; Zhu 1995). Research into very small Chinese communities has been rare despite the fact that thousands of Chinese dispersed and settled in small mining towns. And while the Chinese experience in these areas may have been similar in many ways to that of their counterparts in more populous areas – they also must have been very different. Focus on smaller Chinese populations could reveal different histories, regardless of how similar or different artifact assemblages may be.

Another issue in the discipline is that Euroamerican artifacts found at Overseas Chinese sites are not often integrated into analyses because they are viewed as contaminants (i.e. Greenwood 1996; Lister and Lister 1989a). In some cases, non-Chinese items are not even considered at all, and are either not collected during excavations or are thrown out (Lister and Lister 1989a; Voss 2005). The neglect to include these items in overall interpretations may have resulted in skewed understandings of Overseas Chinese which could alter notions of acculturation. Again, Greenwood associates their presence in Los Angeles' Chinatown with earlier occupations of Euroamericans, despite the fact that the Chinatown there was in close proximity to non-Chinese markets, or that many Euroamericans conducted business in and

among California's Chinese residents (Greenwood 1996:142; Voss 2005:432). In Staski's (1993) interpretation, Euroamerican artifacts are viewed only as replacements for Chinese items until access to the imports was gained (Staski 1993:144-146). Lister and Lister's (1989) assemblage in Tucson was made up of mostly Euroamerican artifacts, however they attributed their presence to other Euro-Americans and Hispanics living in the area, stating, "a few random pieces of Euroamerican ceramics were likely put to use by Chinese settlers," and they were not considered in further interpretations (Lister and Lister 1989:101).

Acculturation models assume ethnic boundaries and immutable cultures, and overlook specific contexts and experiences (Orser 1996, 2005; Voss 2005; Rains 2003). This combined with the lack of research into small Chinese populations, and the neglect of Euroamerican artifacts, have resulted in the perpetuation of the notion that past Chinese experiences were the same. People's experiences are complex and diverse, and are completely dependent on context, which varies from place to place. Context includes the individuals that make up a community, the history of that community and the environment within which a community exists. Further, personality, attitudes and individual histories also make up context. All of these factors affect how one person relates to and interacts with another person, which in turn affects experience. Alternative perspectives that focus more on historical, local and even cultural contexts, that also view culture as changing, are needed to understand Overseas Chinese experiences more accurately. There is greater flexibility in culture than has been recognized in Overseas Chinese research in the past. Culture is malleable and flexible, and can be molded to fit our needs - younger generations learn from older generations and apply what they have learned to new situations and in new ways (Carrithers 1992: 10). Orser (2005) notes that people are as effective at creating cultural diversity as they are at preserving cultural continuity (Orser 2005:85). It is the

diversity of cultures and experiences that unite humans as a species - a diversity created by human interaction and cultural practices, and all the changes therein (Carrithers 1992; Orser 2005). Chinese migrants were by no means “passive products” of Chinese culture who resisted assimilation at all costs, nor were they completely disconnected from the dominant cultures around them (McKeown 1995). They were people who made conscious decisions about their lives.

ALTERNATIVE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Interpretive archaeology offers one alternative perspective and works to understand “the social dimensions of human existence” (Marciniak 1999: 296) and the complex ways humans interact with their world, which, together, make up human experience and culture (Rains 2005: 35; Carrithers 1992). Also, interpretive historical archaeology employs multiple lines of evidence in order to illuminate the histories of racialized and socioeconomically marginalized peoples, whose stories are often overlooked by dominant Western historical narratives (Wilkie 2009). By understanding past social conditions and human interactions, this framework can allow for a more holistic understanding of the Overseas Chinese experience and also shift the focus away from processes of acculturation.

Voss (2005) and Fosha and Leatherman (2008) use interpretive archaeological frameworks in their interpretations of Overseas Chinese sites. Fosha and Leatherman (2008) investigated the lives of two Chinese men living in Deadwood, South Dakota during the late 1800’s. Deadwood witnessed a large population of Chinese who were geographically isolated from other Chinese communities by over 300 miles (Fosha and Leatherman 2008:98). Their work highlights the relationships between Chinese and non-Chinese in Deadwood, and the conditions that shaped both social interaction and individual experiences (Fosha and Leatherman

2008). Like most Overseas Chinese sites, artifacts recovered from excavations in Deadwood included a combination of both Chinese and Euroamerican material culture. Sanborn Maps, photographs and other historic sources were used to contextualize the material remains, as well as understand the types of social relationships that made up the Chinese experience in the area (Fosha and Leatherman 2008). The social conditions in Deadwood were found to be both similar to and also different from Overseas Chinese living elsewhere in the United States. Like other Chinese living in Chinatowns, the Chinese of Deadwood also worked to create a tight knit Chinese community with fraternal organizations, festivals, celebrations, marriages, and funerary practices. Many also maintained ties to China by importing Chinese newspapers, participating in traditional holidays and eating Chinese foods. However, the Chinese community in Deadwood did not isolate themselves from the dominant Euroamerican community. Rather, they invited non-Chinese to share in their culture, opening festivals and celebrations to the public, and also taking part in Euroamerican holidays and social practices. Many also worked to learn English, and engaged in various business affairs with Euroamericans (Fosha and Leatherman 2008: 99). Social interactions between Chinese and Euroamericans in Deadwood were found to have transcended economics and need (Fosha and Leatherman 2008). Further, historical sources revealed that many Chinese lived in Deadwood for long periods of time, in contrast to the notion of the sojourner Chinese. The result of Fosha and Leatherman's (2008) investigation is an illustration of experiences and relationships, rather than levels of acculturation. This alternative approach offers insight into the past lives of Chinese living in Deadwood and the heterogeneous nature of the diasporic Chinese experience (Fosha and Leatherman 2008).

Voss (2005) investigated the Chinese community of Market Street in San Jose, California (Voss 2005; 431). Excavations at the Market Street site also recovered both Euroamerican and

Chinese artifacts, which were found, intermingled, in the same archaeological contexts. The archaeological data combined with historical information about the local contexts of the site, lead Voss to the conclusion that the Market Street Chinese residents did not experience their lives in *resistance* to assimilation, or in degrees of acculturation, but rather worked to maintain their own cultural identity while at the same time negotiating their lives as immigrants who were part of the local, American community. This seems to be reflected by the fact that most Overseas Chinese living in the area did not live in the Market Street Chinatown, but in the agricultural areas outside of the urban center. Many only came into Chinatown to participate in celebrations or buy Chinese imports and interact with the Chinese community. Outside of the ethnic enclave, however, Overseas Chinese lived among, worked with and interacted with Euroamerican landowners and laborers, and as a result, developed various kinds of social relationships with them (Voss 2005). Like Fosha and Leatherman (2008), Voss concludes that Overseas Chinese in Market Street worked to both maintain their ethnic identity and integrate Euroamerican culture into their lives, simultaneously. Voss' work suggests the Chinese of Market Street were consciously constructing their identity and their lives (Voss 2005).

Interpretive archaeological frameworks are also used in this project to understand the experiences of the Chinese in Ouray, Colorado, specifically by reconstructing the social relationships the Chinese there worked to create and maintain. However, moving from artifacts and historical documents to understanding past social relationships is difficult and requires additional methodologies. Network theories are analytical frameworks employed in this project as tools, used to understand artifacts and historical data as representations of social relationships in order to understand experience. These are outlined by Orser (2005), Carrithers (1992) and Dolwick (2009), and are suggested for use in historical archaeology by Voss (2005), Rains

(2003) and Wilkie (2009). Employing these methods within the context of interpretive historical archaeology, this research works to understand the experience of the Chinese community in Ouray, Colorado by illuminating the social relationships they actively created and maintained - as represented by the material culture they left behind and the historic documents associated with them.

The goal of analyses used in social network theory are to outline the networks of relationships people create in order to negotiate life (Carrithers 1992; Orser 2005). According to Orser (2005), social network theory views the cultural landscape as built around the “consciously created” relationships of people, many of which are free to change as circumstances change (Orser 2005:80). And while social structures indeed work to shape the human experience, people can create, symbolize, maintain and destroy relationships in order to manipulate these structures and therefore, can change their cultural landscape and affect culture (Orser 2005: 82). In archaeology, this concept is used to discover the nature of the various relationships people create, to learn how those relationships were expressed in terms of material culture, and to understand these expressions through time and space (Orser 2005:80).

To understand social relationships, network theory deconstructs them into their basic parts. First, participants of the relationship are termed “nodes” or “actors,” which can be concrete individuals, groups of people, geographic places, or even nation states; or they can be abstract, like religious affiliation, cultural institutions or even ideas. The relationships people have with other people, places or abstractions, are termed “links,” and are created through the *action* of the *actors* in the relationship (Carrithers 1992; Orser 2005; Dolwick 2009). *Things* can be understood as an expression of these “links” between “nodes,” or as the physical remnant of a social relationship (Orser 2005; Dolwick 2009). What is important about this concept for this

thesis project is the idea that artifacts can be viewed in terms of social interactions – adding a significant layer of meaning to an artifact that goes beyond its utilitarian or economic value, and from which interpretations can be drawn.

Similar to Orser's (2007) explanation of social network theory as a way to understand artifacts in terms of social interactions, Hodder (2003) suggests that material culture can be viewed as the physical remnants of social relationships, which can be "read" and understood by archaeologists (Hodder 2003:157, 169). Objects in the archaeological record (or elsewhere for that matter) are "read" by understanding them as symbolic expressions of human relationships, as mediators of relationships, or as representative of the action(s) that leads to relationships (Dolwick 2009: 41-42; Hodder 2003; Orser 2007). In this, material culture is viewed as representative of human interactions, whether with other with people, ideas, places or things. The social relationships expressed by material culture can be discerned by understanding the different roles an object plays. How an object was made, obtained, used or discarded can reveal a variety of social interactions. And because things are imbued with social meanings that transcend economic or utilitarian value, understanding these different meanings within local contexts, can also reveal different social interactions (see Lev-Tov 1998; Praetzelis and Praetzelis 2001; Warner 1998). But to move from an artifact in the archaeological record to its socially imbued meaning, and further, its role in social relationships, is extremely difficult. This is in part due to the fact that any single object can embody a multitude of different social meanings - simultaneously and diachronically, and also, as Kenneth Ames points out, the meanings of *things* change all the time (Ames 1992:1).

In order to "read" the archaeological record and decipher the social meaning of objects, Hodder (2003) discusses the use of *contextual archaeology*. Objects are imbued with meaning

through emotions, intellect, events, belief systems, ideologies and even cultural representations (Hodder 2003:156). These meanings do not simply occupy the mind, but are, “public and social concepts that are reproduced in the practices of daily life,” and are publicly displayed through material culture (Hodder 1992:128). In the archaeological record, an object’s social meaning can be understood by identifying the various *dimensions of context*, or the “totality of the relevant environment,” that an object or group of objects occupies (Hodder 1992:143). In this, objects reflect multiple human conditions, practices and meanings within multiple dimensions of context, all at once. This includes local and historical contexts, but also cultural contexts, in which different objects mean different things depending on the cultural background of any given person.

So by understanding the various dimensions of context of artifacts, the various social meanings of any object can be understood. Contexts can be understood in a variety of ways. Hodder (1992:128-138) explains that the dimensions of contexts include comparing and contrasting the temporal, spatial, depositional and typological characteristics of artifacts *within* an archaeological context as well as *between* archaeological sites or features. By doing this, differences and similarities among and between artifacts can be distinguished which can illuminate social, symbolic or operational meaning in the archaeological context (Hodder 2003:173). The archaeological contexts must then be placed within other relevant contexts, including the local and historical context of the archaeological site, the various culturally created social meanings and uses of the artifacts themselves, and the actors who once made, used or had a perceptions of those objects (Hodder 2003:188). Historical archaeologists have the advantage of using historical documents to aid in the determination of these contexts. One way to do this consists of identifying the production, acquisition and use contexts of the artifacts at hand, which

can be learned through primary and secondary historic sources (Lev-Tov 1998:124). Also, stylistic traits of objects, including color, shape or design, can reveal different social meanings held by different actors associated with the objects, and how these meanings change over time. Primary historic sources work well here too, and offer varying historical points of view and attitudes about objects, their use, and their social meanings (Hodder 1992:144-146). This must all be understood, however, within the local, historical and cultural contexts – just because artifacts look the same, does not mean they mean the same things. Once the different contexts of an object, its environment and those people associated with it are understood, concepts of social network theory can be used to identify different social interactions, the nature of those relationships, and how they fits into the larger, social networks of the locale in question (Dolwick 2009; Orser 2005). So through the combination of data gathered from the various *dimensions of contexts* about artifacts, the people associated with them and the locale, the social meanings of objects can be understood. This information can then lead to the reconstruction of past social relationships, which can then lead to understandings of past human experiences.

Only a few archaeological projects have employed social network theory, but it has been used in multiple subfields, including prehistoric, Classical, Southwestern and Mesoamerican archaeological studies (See Orser 2005; Bernardini 2007; Lev-Tov 1998; Marciniak 1999; Warner 1998). For example, Marciniak (1999) investigated the relationships between animals and people in prehistoric farming communities of central Europe. Faunal analyses examined the types of animals found in a deposit associated with human occupation, the different markings made by people on the bones in those deposits, and the spatial distribution of faunal deposits and their characteristics within a region. These data led to an understanding of the significance of the local animals to people, and their relationship in terms of the social dimensions the animals

represented (Marciniak 1999:313). In the American Southwest, Bernardini (2007) employed social network theory to understand the use of specific ceramics created by historic Hopi villages and which villages were interacting with each other and how they were doing so. Bernardini diagramed social networks by tracing local pottery material type from village to village which revealed the movement of pottery between and within villages. These data were then interpreted as representative of the social relationships between those communities (Bernardini 2007). In historical archaeology, Warner (2006) used tea cups found at two African American households to demonstrate the use of tea consumption to enter into meaningful social relationships. The actors used the action of tea drinking as a way to seek, create and maintain advantageous social links. Similarly, Shackel (1998) also of the Annapolis school, used the maintenance of impermanent earthfast homes in the Chesapeake area to understand how people created and maintained community relationships, and how those relationships changed as permanent homes began to become more popular throughout the 1700's. The success of these projects suggest that concepts of social network theory can indeed assist archaeologists in interpreting the past through the material culture left behind.

These concepts of social network theory, combined with the dimensions of context form the interpretive framework for this project in hopes of understanding the experiences of early 20th century Overseas Chinese living in Ouray, Colorado, a town whose Chinese population never exceeded twenty people at one time (United States Census 1880; 1890; 1900; 1910; 1920). The relationships Chinese there maintained with each other and Chinese elsewhere, as well as the relationships they created with non - Chinese in the area are examined through the artifacts recovered from behind the Chinese laundry at the Vanoli Site (5OR30). The artifacts were first understood in their archaeological context. Next, primary and secondary historical documents

were investigated to understand the artifacts in terms of historical, local and cultural contexts, and also how they represent the people and the social relationships associated with them. Artifact and provenience comparisons, along with primary historic sources are used to understand the various dimensions context of the artifacts as well as the types of relationships they represent. Primary historic sources come from several historic newspapers, including the *Solid Muldoon*, *Ouray Herald*, the *Ouray Times*, *The Plaindealer* and the *Silverite Plaindealer*. These newspapers have been made available by the coordinated efforts of the Denver Public Library and the Colorado State Archives Office, who have digitized thousands of Colorado newspapers for easy public access. Other primary historical sources included historic photographs of Chinese in Colorado and Ouray, and government and personal records associated with the Chinese of Ouray, as available from the Denver Public Library, genealogy websites, the Colorado State Archives and the Ouray Historical Society's archives. The process of analysis and interpretation of artifacts from Operation 8 for this project consisted of five steps:

1. Content analysis: identification of artifacts; cross-mending and subsequent conservative estimates of minimum number of items in order to understand pieces of things as whole vessels; identification of the production, acquisition and use context of items when applicable.
2. Categorization of artifacts into functional groups: Euroamerican artifacts were categorized into functional groups based on South's (1977) categorization, which is widely used in American historical archaeology. Chinese artifacts were categorized following Overseas Chinese research, including Lister and Lister (1989a), Wegars (1993), Greenwood (1996) and Praetzellis and Praetzellis (2004), who follow South's

original categorization. This was done to maintain consistency within the field of Overseas Chinese research.

3. Identification and discussion of dimensions of context: archaeological, local and historical contexts. This was done by comparing the artifacts within their own provenience, as well as between proveniences. Further significance was understood through primary and secondary historical documents.

4. Identification and reconstruction of social relationships and networks: the concept that artifacts can be viewed as indicative of social interaction was applied. The possible social interactions represented by the artifacts were identified, which was based on the cultural, local, historical and archaeological contexts. The nature of those interactions was determined as to whether they made up *intimate*, *effective* or *extended* social networks (Gamble 1998).

5. Discussion of the Overseas Chinese experience at the Vanoli Site: how their experiences compared to other Chinese in Ouray and throughout the United States, what factors affected their experiences

CHAPTER 4:
THE VANOLI SITE AND OPERATION 8
ARTIFACT ANALYSES AND RESULTS

This chapter begins by outlining the excavations of 5OR30 conducted by Steven Baker in the 1970s, as well as the sample of artifacts used for this project and goes on to review the quantitative methods used to classify, analyze and understand the artifacts recovered from Operation 8. Artifacts from Operation 8 include both Euroamerican and Chinese ceramics, glass, metal and other items. The production, use and acquisition contexts of artifacts were also determined as part of these analyses when sufficient identifying characteristics were available. The results of the quantitative analyses are discussed, and pertinent data are extracted for use in later interpretations.

In 1970, archaeologist Steven Baker of Centuries Research visited Ouray, Colorado. He soon came to learn about the imminent demolition of several historic buildings located in the city's historic red light district (Baker 1972:7). The buildings of interest were located on Block 8 in Ouray and were among those once owned by John and Domenic Vanoli during the late 1800s and into the early 1900s (Baker 1972; Gregory 1982). The buildings remaining on Block 8 at the time included the Goldbelt Theater, the 220 Dancehall (formerly the Grand Pacific Hotel), the Roma Saloon, the Vanoli Saloon and a restaurant. To the city of Ouray, the run-down structures were an eyesore that represented the area's illicit past; to Baker, however, the buildings represented Ouray's early history were worth investigation (Baker 1972). The associated saloons and brothels were as integral to Ouray's history as the miners themselves. Taking advantage of the opportunity to observe these historic structures with some of their historic contents in place, Baker initiated a salvage project. The standing structures of Block 8 were photographed, and

their contents were documented (Baker 1972). Later, throughout the 1970s and even after the buildings were razed, Baker continued his investigations and conducted several excavations in the alley space behind the historic structures. Baker opened up several trenches and excavation units, largely in areas where historic privies and trash middens were located. Excavations (Figure 4) were located directly behind many of the structures, including the Gold Belt Theater, the 220 Bunkhouse, the Roma Saloon, several historic cribs, and the historic Chinese laundry (Baker 1972). The historical archaeological site has become known as the Vanoli Block (5OR30), and will be referred to as such from here on (Figure 13).

A large portion of artifacts recovered from excavations at the Vanoli Site was lent by Baker to Colorado State University's Historical Archaeology Lab. The collection consists of thousands of late 19th century and early 20th century artifacts, representative of Ouray and Colorado's early Euroamerican settlement and mining periods. This loan includes copies of the original field notes and maps created by Baker and other archaeologists working on the project. Most artifacts arrived at the lab already labeled and partially organized by operation, suboperation and lot, and also by material type. While at the lab, the collection has been and will continue to be used as a learning tool for archaeology students who have been afforded the opportunity to work directly with the historical artifacts. The use of the collection by students studying historical archaeology at Colorado State University will not only have the benefit of hands-on archaeological learning for emerging professionals, but will also ensure that this unique and informative collection is brought to life.

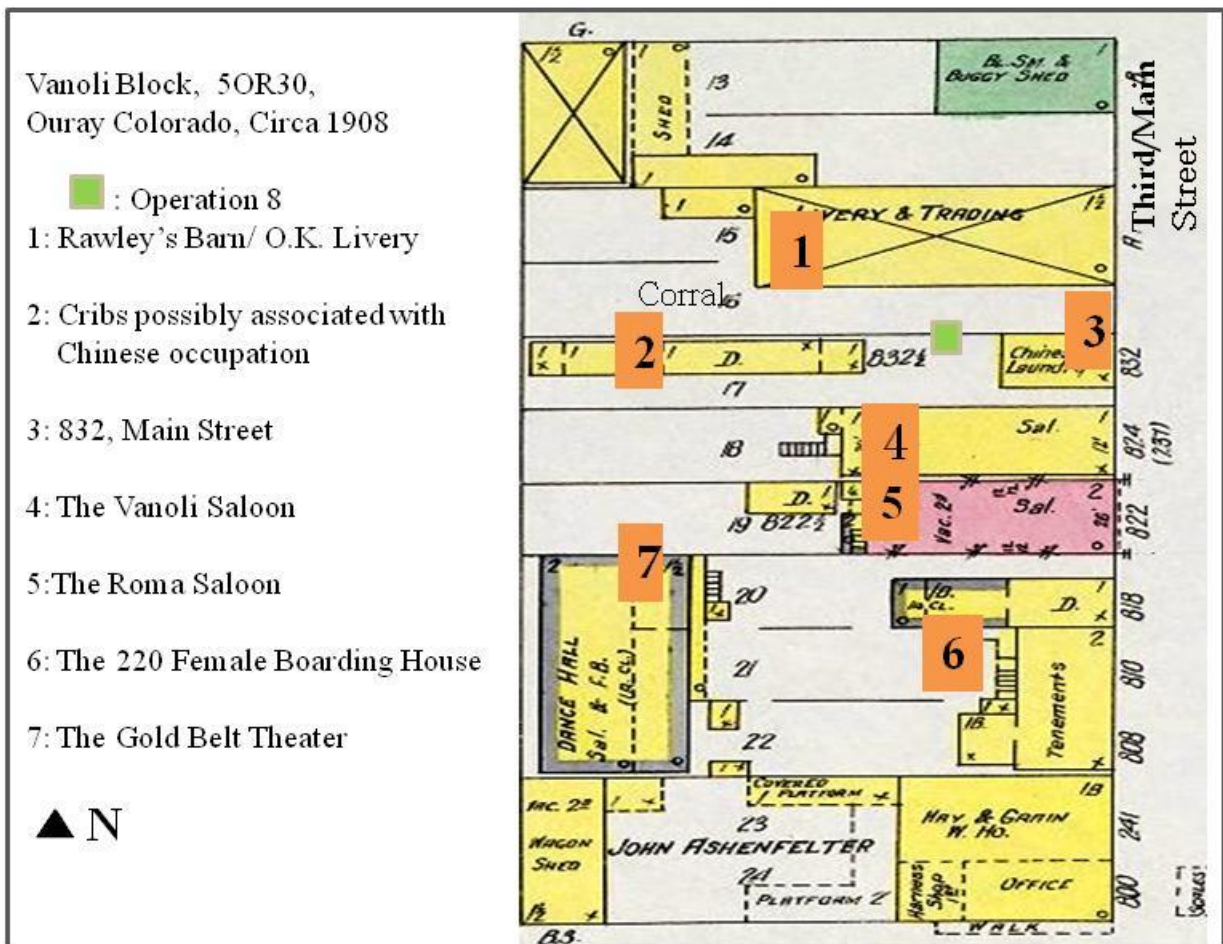


Figure 13: Map of the Vanoli Block and associated excavations. (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps 1908, Centuries Research Vanoli Block Map and Henn 1999).

Baker (1972) followed the Parks Canada (2005) system of excavation and provenience which is organized by operation, suboperation and lot, and is described by the organization as follows: An *operation* is a subdivision of a site based on significant cultural features. It is identified by an operation number which is preceded by a cardinal number preceded by the site number (Parks Canada 2005:4.3.1). This project's focus is on those artifacts recovered from Operation 8, the totality of excavations units in the privy and trash middens behind the Chinese laundry (see Figure 4 above). A *suboperation* is the subdivision of operations into manageable horizontal units (Parks Canada 2005:4.4.1). Operation 8 is broken down into 6 suboperations, A-

F. A *lot* is the subdivision of a suboperation and represents the most specific provenience in an excavation unit (Parks Canada 2005: 4.5.1). In Operation 8, each lot represents strata within a suboperation, most of which were in the privy.

The Chinese laundry once located on Block 8 faced Third/Main Street and was directly south of the C.H. Rowley/O.K. Livery Stable and north of the Roma Saloon (See Figure 4). Directly behind (west) the laundry was a set of cribs, occupied by prostitutes, and possibly Chinese migrants as well (Gregory 1982; Henn 1991:111). A privy and associated trash midden that once lay between the laundry and the cribs, directly linking the privy's contents to the laundry, was excavated by Baker in 1972 and again in 1976 and is known as Operation 8. According to the original field notes, the privy behind the Chinese laundry was standing until 1970, and was razed along with the rest of the buildings in 1972. Baker and his team excavated the privy in 1972 and later sampled several trash middens in 1976. Because Ouray's Chinese population was very small between 1880 and 1920, and because of the artifacts' direct association with the historic Chinese laundry, the material recovered from this operation were used as the sample for this project. However, not all artifacts were used in further interpretations, discussed in more detail later on. Also, preliminary analyses of other operations in Block 8, including Operation 4 and Operation 7, have revealed imported Chinese items, however, these operations and items are not included in interpretations for this project and are addressed in possibilities for research.

Copies of the original field notes of excavations have been used in this project to understand the provenience of Operation 8 and the various suboperations and lots that comprise its totality. Operation 8 consists of six sub operations, A-F (Figure 14). Sub operation A, completely excavated in 1972, consists of the historic privy and includes lots 1-10. The lots are

representative of arbitrary stratigraphic layers within the privy. Lot 1 is the most superficial level excavated from the privy, while Lot 9 is the deepest. Lot 10 of Suboperation A consists of privy wall cleanings and is likely composed of a mixture of Lots 1-9. In 1976, field notes reveal that a trench was cut into one wall of the privy to determine if it was larger than first thought in 1972. This activity resulted in the artifacts from Suboperation B. Included in this second investigation were several test units throughout trash middens located around the privy and directly behind the Chinese laundry. These excavations comprise Suboperations C, D, E and F. With the exception of Suboperation C, which consists of Lots 1 and 2, Suboperations B-F all consist of a single lot because they were simply superficial test units (Table 1).

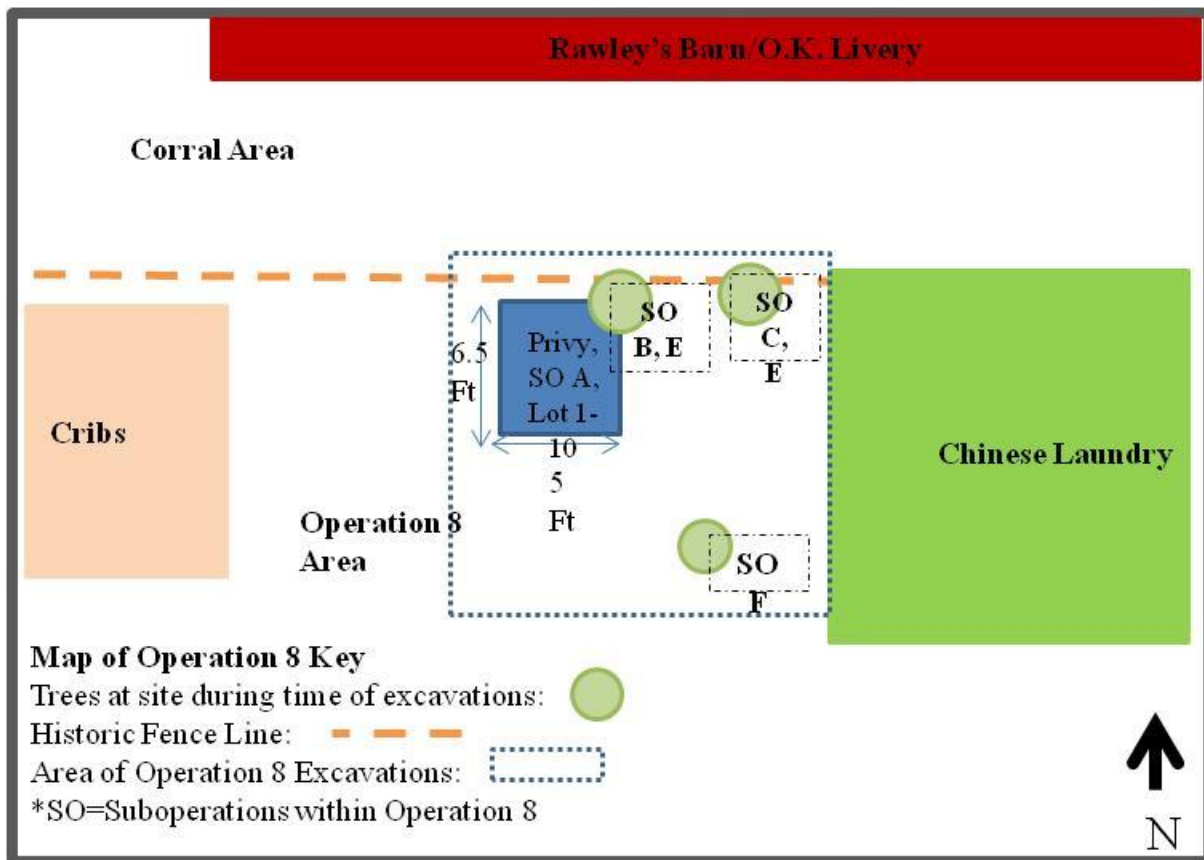


Figure 14: Operation 8 (5OR30) Excavation Units and Proveniences. Reconstructed based on original field notes, courtesy Steven Baker, Centuries Research. **Not to scale

Table 1: 5OR30 Operation 8 Excavation Units

Sub-operation	Lot	Provenience	Description based on Original Field Notes from Baker's Excavations (1972, 1976)
A (1972)			Small privy vault located against a box elder tree, samples of ash piles. 5 foot (NS) x 6.5 feet (EW). There were 3 total box elder trees located within the area of excavation.
	1	Top Soil above privy	Topsoil and sod clearing and removal organic rubble and ash above privy vault
	2		Rubble above privy
	3		Rubble located above privy, excavated to the top of the privy vault, exposing wooden boards covering the privy
	4	Privy Vault Fill, ordered shallow to deep	Privy Fill, first stratigraphic level in privy. Includes boards covering the privy.
	5		Organic material, second level
	6		Organic material, third level
	7		Lime-capped organic fill, fourth level
	8		Privy fill, fifth level
	9		Privy fill, sixth level
	10	Privy Wall Cleaning	Mixed organic and privy fill, wall cleanings
B (1976)	1		Hand excavated and back hoe cut into wall of privy to determine size. Privy wall cleaning encompasses all stratigraphic layers
C	1	Trash midden sampling	Trash area behind laundry, 10.8 feet west of the NW corner of the laundry, extending west 6.5 feet to the base of a large box elder tree, locate on the east edge of the privy. Includes ashy fill and trash above the modern ground surface
	2		Test unit inside C-1 to determine depth of trash pile below modern surface.
D	1		Sample of trash midden located to the northeast of Suboperation A, near box elder tree
E	1		Sample of trash midden located north of Suboperation A, and next to Suboperation B, near box elder tree
F	1		Sample of trash midden located next to Suboperation C, near box elder tree

A mix of glass, metal and glass artifacts were recovered from almost each provenience of Operation 8 (Table 2). There were also instances when older artifacts were recovered in shallower levels than more recently manufactured artifacts. Euroamerican household, food and structural items were found in all lots of the privy, along with all test units of the trash midden, encompassing the entirety of Operation 8. Chinese tablewares and food items were found in several lots of the privy, and in several of the test units of the trash middens, as were opium pipe bowls, opium tins and Chinese gaming pieces. Chinese items were less prevalent than

Euroamerican items, and while they were found in each Suboperation, they were not found in all lots of Suboperation A and C.

Table 2: 5OR30 Operation 8 Artifact Proveniences

Operation 8 Subops /Lots	Suboperation A	Suboperation B	Suboperation C	Suboperation D	Suboperation E	Suboperation F
	Privy	Trash Midden Test Units				
Euroamerican Glass	X	X	X (Lots 1, 2)	X	X	X
Euroamerican Ceramics	X	X	X (Lots 1, 2)	X		
Chinese Tablewares	X (Lots 2, 4, 5, 6)		X (Lots 1, 2)	X		
Opium Paraphernalia	X (Lots 2, 3, 4, 6,9)	X	X (Lots 1, 2)			
Gaming Items	X (Lots 2, 9)		X (Lot 1)	X		
Metal/ other Items	X	X	X	X	X	X

Artifacts recovered from the Vanoli site arrived at the historical archaeology lab organized by operation. Many artifacts were bagged by material type and provenience, and almost all artifacts were labeled with site number and provenience as well. However, artifacts from different operations and suboperations were found intermingled in the same bag. Because of this, the entirety of the available artifacts from 5OR30 was searched in order to ensure the recovery of all artifacts from Operation 8. These items were then stored as a single unit. Artifacts in Operation 8 were sorted into groups by material type and by suboperation and lot. Material types include glass, ceramics, metal items, and other (those items that do not fall into the other categories). Within each provenience, artifacts were further organized and divided by vessel form, stylistic features and diagnostic shards or pieces. Diagnostics include those shards that aid in the identification of the object. For glass and ceramics or other such vessels, this includes rim

and base shards that can be measured to identify the size of the vessel. Other diagnostics include maker's marks, labels or unique stylistic features.

All artifacts with diagnostic features were then organized into functional categories based on Praetzellis and Praetzellis' (1997) classification, which is based on the functional categories outlined by South's (1977) work, although, Praetzellis and Praetzellis (1997) have expanded on his work to include Chinese items (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1997:111-131). The artifacts from Operation 8 were categorized according to these previous researchers' categories, types and subtypes in order to maintain consistency within the field of Overseas Chinese archaeology and historical archaeology (Table 3). South's (1977) functional categories include: *Personal items*, which includes those associated with alcohol and drug use, clothing, items of adornment like jewelry, and health and grooming. *Domestic items* include those used for food preparation, storage and consumption as well as items for heating and lighting. *Activity items* include those used for commerce/business, firearms, games, tools, writing, sewing or civic activities. *Structural items* include those used in building structures and hardware materials (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2004; South 1977).

Table 3: 5OR30 Operation 8 Functional Categories

Category	Subcategory	Examples of Artifacts
Domestic	Food Related Items Household Items	Tableware, Cookware, Canned/bottled foods, Food remains, Lighting elements, Heating, Furniture
Activity	Business/Commerce Recreation Civic Celebration	Writing items (pens, ink wells), Firearms, Gaming Items, Sewing needle
Personal	Adornment Indulgence Medicinal Religious	Jewelry, Clothing, Medicine bottles or boxes, Drug paraphernalia, Alcoholic beverage bottle
Structural	Building materials Hardware	Nails, Wiring, Wood, Mortar

Quantitative analyses consisted of determining a minimum number of items (MNI) for each group according to Voss and Allen's (2010) methodology. The large majority of artifacts from Operation 8 were not whole vessels, but rather very small pieces that once represented once whole vessels. To compile the MNI for each artifact type category, the artifacts were first separated within provenience based on material type, color, surface treatments or other characteristics. They were separated again based on the vessel form or object they represented. Fragments were then cross-mended which sometimes transcended lots and suboperations. This reinforced the notion that the privy and the trash middens at the site had in fact been disturbed. Bases, and rims, as well as lids, labels, maker's marks or other diagnostic features were used to determine a very conservative estimate of minimum number of items for all artifact types. Body sherds without labels as well as non-diagnostic fragments were not used because of the chance they could belong to a diagnostic sherd that had already been counted or because they could simply be misidentified (Voss and Allen 2010).

Qualitative analyses in this phase consisted of defining the production, acquisition and use contexts (Lev-Tov 1998; Hodder 2005). In-depth qualitative analyses are discussed in Chapter 5. These contexts primarily consisted of understanding how the objects were used, where they were made and by whom, and how they were acquired at the time of 5OR30's occupation. Primary and secondary sources were used for this process. Similar and dissimilar artifacts were compared and contrasted by style, shape, estimated cost, and provenience to identify any possible patterns. For each artifact group, a catalog of the items was created which included the following information: group, vessel type and sub-type, function/use, provenience, measurements, weights, specific identifying characteristics and manufacture dates (if available). This catalog was created in Excel as a spreadsheet. Like artifacts were color coded to offer a

visual illustration from which similarities and differences among artifacts by type and provenience could be easily seen. Most of the artifacts transcend provenience - all material types were found in all proveniences.

I must make mention of the limitations of this project in terms of identifying artifacts, analyzing them, and directly associating them with the Chinese residents. Identifying many of the artifacts was extremely difficult, primarily because most were very small fragments. Without sufficient identifying characteristics, such as maker's marks, stylistic traits or labels, I was unable to understand all item contexts thoroughly enough to draw conclusions about specific use or meaning, let alone the social relationships that an item or group of items represent. Because of this, I chose only those objects whose contexts I could confidently identify and understand to use in later interpretations of social networks and experiences. These items include both Chinese and Euroamerican tablewares and faunal remains; several Chinese gaming pieces; and opium pipe paraphernalia.

Artifacts from Operation 8 used for interpretations in this project are only those which could be confidently associated with the Chinese occupation at the site. Because of the close proximity of Operation 8 to the Chinese laundry, this project assumes that the majority of the recovered artifacts are associated with one or more of the Chinese who historically occupied the site. However, Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps (City of Ouray: 1893, 1899, 1900, 1908) reveal Chinese occupation there dates from the mid 1890s to the 1920s, and as such, artifacts used for analyses in this project are only those whose dates of manufacture and use fall within that timeframe. The same Sanborn Maps also reveal that the building was occupied as a residence prior to its life as a Chinese business, and therefore, earlier manufactured items could be associated with those earlier residents. Similarly, people continued to occupy and frequent Block

8 after the 1920s, meaning that artifacts manufactured after that time were probably deposited by someone other than the Chinese occupants. Unfortunately, stratigraphy cannot be relied on for dating the artifacts because of evidence that the deposit was disturbed. Rather, dates (and thus their association with the Chinese occupants) are derived solely from diagnostic features on the artifacts themselves – if diagnostic features were not present, the artifacts were not used in later analyses.

Disturbance at the site may be the result of formation processes that are typical of privy deposits and surrounding trash middens. Privies were usually built for the purpose of human waste, however, most were also used for refuse disposal (LeeDecker 1994). As such how an item came to rest inside could be the result of several events, including the accidental loss of an item, the long-term or acute deposition of household trash, and even the re-deposition of trash from refuse piles or the yard outside of the privy (LeeDecker 1994:354). Further, the contents of privies have usually been disturbed, either by periodic privy cleanings, looting, or liquid contents in which heavy items fall to the bottom. So unlike other excavation units, chronologies of artifact deposits recovered from privies can be difficult to date based on stratigraphy. This means that the stratigraphic layers of the privy of Operation 8 may not correspond with chronology. Also, when privy contents were removed for cleaning, the contents were sometimes simply just deposited in adjacent or close trash middens, meaning that artifacts surrounding privies that are on top of trash middens could actually have been deposited in the area before those items underneath.

These issues have led me to rely on artifact dates of manufacture rather than stratigraphy in order to associate deposits with Chinese residents. It is very likely that most of the contents in the privy and the associated trash midden were specifically deposited by occupants living or working in the small building or the cribs associated with Operation 8, as there were other

privies located in close proximity to almost each business on Block 8. Therefore, it is likely that a large portion of the artifacts recovered from Operation 8 can be associated with the Chinese occupation, especially those which date between 1890 and 1920. As such, those that date within this time frame will be assumed to be associated with them.

CERAMICS

Within each provenience, ceramics were organized by material type, which included refined or coarse earthenwares, porcelains, stonewares, and other (See Table 4). Each group was then further organized by paste and surface treatments, including embossing, etching, hand painting, transfer prints, plain, glazes, decorations or lack thereof. Ceramics were then divided into diagnostic and non-diagnostic fragments. Diagnostic fragments include rims, bases and body sherds that included features useful in determining the type of vessel, its manufacturer, date and use. Rims and base sherds were measured using a standard potter's rim chart in order to determine the diameter, shape and vessel type the diagnostic fragments represented (Voss and Allen 2012). Vessel type categories include plates, saucers, mugs, cups, large bowls, small bowls, storage jars, cosmetics jars, cooking vessels, platters, basins, pitchers and opium pipe bowls. Ceramics were then organized into functional categories based on the vessel type and use. These groups include ceramics used for dinnerwares, food preparation and storage, toiletries, recreation/indulgence and writing. Most of the ceramics fall into the functional categories of personal, activity and domestic items (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2004). MNI was then determined for each group (Voss and Allen 2010).

Table 4: 5OR30 Operation 8, Ceramic MNI/Functional Category					
Functional Category	Subtype	Euroamerican Items	MNI	Asian Items	MNI
Domestic	Food Prep/ Storage	Plain Whiteware Shallow baking dish	1	Chinese brown glazed stoneware Wide mouthed jars Condiment vessel Earthenware CBGS lid	7 1 2
	Dinnerware/ Servingware/ Consumption	Plain Whiteware Bowls Saucers Plates Decorated Whiteware Plates Plain Ironstone Bowl Decorated Porcelain Teacup Majolica Pitcher	18 6 3 2 2 2 1 1	Porcelain <i>Celadon</i> Rice bowl <i>Four Seasons</i> Rice bowl Soup spoon <i>Polychrome/Nonya</i> Serving Bowl Unknown style Decorative or other Saucer Wine cup Stoneware <i>Bamboo</i> Rice bowl	3 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2
Personal	Indulgence			Opium Pipe Bowl s Total Type A, Technique I Type A, Technique II Type A, Technique III Type D, Technique III	31 25 4 1 1
	Toiletry	Plain Whiteware Basin: 2	2		
Activity	Writing			Chinese Ink Wells* (not included in analyses because they were not included in the assemblage lent to CSU)	NA

The large majority of the ceramics in Operation 8 consisted of plain, American or English whitewares, which make up nearly 80% of the ceramics assemblage. Ceramics also include several types of Chinese imports, including tablewares in *Celadon*, *Bamboo* and *Four Seasons* styles, and brown glazed stonewares, opium pipe bowls and Chinese ink wells. All of these ceramic types are found at many Overseas Chinese sites. Vessel forms include a few plates and saucers, one baking dish, a wash basin and a majolica pitcher. There is an abundance of both Euroamerican and Chinese bowls that seem to be tableware. There were also several larger

bowls recovered, the size of which resembles wash basins. There is a stark absence of food preparation vessels, like large mixing bowls or large serving plates. The abundance of bowls and the absence of serving and preparation vessels could indicate that the Chinese men did not live at the laundry, but somewhere else, and were eating mostly mobile meals (ex. modern sack lunch), or foods quickly and easily prepared. More evidence is needed to confirm this, however, and the possibility does not affect interpretations regarding their day to day activities and social interactions. It could also be that larger food preparation bowls were discarded elsewhere (see Table 4).

Asian Ceramics

It is likely that most, if not all, Asian imported ceramics, including tablewares, food stuffs and opium pipe bowls, were purchased from Chinese merchants in Ouray or elsewhere. The Chinese tablewares recovered from this site are very different than Chinese tablewares recovered at Euroamerican sites which are often blue on white. Blue on white Chinese and Japanese tablewares became increasingly popular among Americans and Europeans during the 1800s. Because of this, these porcelains were increasingly made specifically for export to Euroamericans in the United States and Europe (Diagnostic Artifacts of Maryland 2012: Porcelain). On the other hand, the imported tablewares recovered from Operation 8 were made specifically for Overseas Chinese. This was based on the demand for these imports by Chinese living in the United States and elsewhere (Orser 2007; Staski 1993). In Ouray, Chinese resident Wing Kee owned an “Oriental Bazaar,” and was one of two Chinese merchants in Ouray. More is known about Mr. Kee because he advertised his shop in the local papers, making note that he carried both Chinese and Japanese imports (Plaindealer: September 18, 1903).

Chinese Brown Glazed Stonewares



Figure 15: From left to right - Chinese brown glazed stoneware shards, found in Operation 8, Suboperation C, Lot 1; Earthenware lids made for CBGS, found in Operation 8, Suboperation a, Lot 6 and Suboperation C, Lot 2. Note date on quarter does not represent date of these photographs.

The ceramic assemblage from Operation 8 includes at least seven Chinese brown glazed stoneware vessels (CBGS), several associated earthenware lids, and one smaller condiment jar lid (photo). CBGS are among the most recognizable ceramics at Overseas Chinese sites. Most CBGS were produced in Canton, China by hundreds of different potters (Hellman and Yang 1997:179). Dating CBGS is difficult because the methods used to manufacture it have been done in China for hundreds of years and are still even done today. Praetzellis and Praetzellis (1997) note their students are still able to find the import at Chinese mercantile shops in California Chinatowns. Many CBGS found at other sites do have a mark, which enables researchers to more accurately pinpoint the place of origin, however, this is not the case for the CBGS in this assemblage (Hellman and Yang 1997). The vessels in Operation 8 are comprised mostly of wide mouthed jars that could have once contained tofu, bean paste, pickled vegetables, or beans. The jars were also likely reused to store food items (Hellman and Yang 1997:61). There are probably

more types of CBGS in the assemblage, but most sherds were extremely small which made it difficult to determine vessel forms (See Figure 15).

Vessel form was based primarily on the size of the mouth and shoulders of the jars. The size of the earthenware lids confirmed at least two of the shapes of the jars. The diameter of the lids would have fit over only wide mouthed jars as opposed to narrow mouthed jars or very large barrel jars. There was also a small condiment lid, which was differentiated from the other lids because it was made of stoneware and was lipped. The condiment lid could have once formed the closure for pickled ginger, candy, medicines or spices (Lister and Lister 1989a:40).

Chinese Tablewares

Operation 8 includes several Chinese imported tablewares, three of which are ubiquitous across all Overseas Chinese sites. Imported tablewares were made of porcelain, stoneware and earthenwares and were usually thrown on a potter's wheel (Greenwood 1996:70). Most were mass produced in China, however, some were also made in Japan (Sando and Felton 1993). Customary Chinese table settings usually consisted of a small cup or tea bowl, a spoon, chopsticks, and a bowl and a saucer used to eat soups, stews, noodles, meats and broth (Anderson 1988; Lister and Lister 1989a:48). Bowls and plates usually have a footed base, and come in various forms and sizes. Although small cups have not been identified in this assemblage, they have been found in other Overseas Chinese assemblages and were used for tea and wine (Greenwood 1996; Lister and Lister 1989a). These tablewares were imported into the United States through ports in San Francisco after the 1850s, and were later distributed to Chinese and sometimes Euroamerican shops throughout the country by railroads (See Figure 16).

It is difficult to date these Chinese tablewares, as many of the styles were produced for long periods of time, and the same materials were used. Stenger's (1993) research into the

chemical composition of various glazes used on these tablewares has revealed some variations in chemistry that may correspond with dates of manufacture (Stenger 1993:320-329). Sando and Felton (1993) have also described some differences in style that may correspond to periods of time, specifically among the *Double Happiness* style tablewares (Sando and Felton 1993:160). Unfortunately, this project does not have the means to test each ceramic shard for chemical composition, nor does it contain any in the *Double Happiness* style. Although the ceramics recovered cannot be absolutely dated, the styles of Chinese imported tablewares that were recovered at the Vanoli Site, including *Celadon*, *Bamboo* and *Four Seasons*, are the same found at most Overseas Chinese archaeological sites whose occupation dates are similar to the occupation dates of the Vanoli Block. These styles of imports were available to Chinese living in the United States as early as the 1880s as Sando and Felton (1993) discovered from the inventory records of a Chinese merchant in Arizona (Sando and Felton 1993:151). As mentioned before, Chinese first came to Ouray in the 1880s, and as the railroads came to the area in the 1890s, it is likely they had access to Chinese imports around that time, which corresponds to the time of the Chinese occupation at the Vanoli Site. Further, Wing Kee advertised his bazaar beginning in the late 1890s. Based on this information I am confident these ceramics (and other Chinese imported items) can be directly associated with the Chinese living at the Vanoli Site.

Three *Celadon* bowls, two *Bamboo* bowls, one *Four Seasons* bowl and spoon, as well as one *Nonya* style bowl, one Japanese *Kutani* style bowl, one small condiment bowl or possibly wine cup, and an unidentified Chinese decorative bowl and saucer make up the Chinese imported tablewares of this assemblage. Based on sizing the bowls with a potter's rim chart, the openings are close to four to six inches in diameter, while the base rims are around one to two inches in diameter. These measurements reflect the size of medium rice bowls as opposed to small tea or

wine bowls or large serving bowls (Sando and Felton 1993:153). There is one very small bowl of plain, white porcelain which was likely used as a tea or wine bowl, but could have also been used as a condiment bowl (Wegars 1991).



Figure 16: Chinese imported ceramics, from top left to right; a.) *Four Seasons* spoon , 8-A-4; b.) *Four Seasons* bowl, 8-A-4; c.) Malay *Nonya* ware bowl, 8-A-5; d.) Japanese *Kutani* bowl, 8-A-4; e.) *Celadon* bowl, 8-C-1; f.) *Bamboo* bowl, 8-A-4 and 8-C-1; g.) small wine bowl, 8-A-4. All photos taken by author in January 2012.

The *Celadon* bowls (Figure 16, e) are a monochromatic mint green color, are undecorated, and are glazed on both the exterior and interior (Sando and Felton 1993:157-159). *Celadon* wares are the most inexpensive of Chinese imported tablewares and may have cost as little as two and half cents per bowl (Sando and Felton 1993:163). This style was manufactured in many vessel forms, including various sized bowls and plates, however, they were not regularly made into large serving dishes (Greenwood 1996:70; Hellman and Yang 1997:156). There is some question as to where the *Celadon* wares were manufactured. They were historically thought

to have come from China, but recent chemical analyses have suggested that the wares may have actually been made in Japan and then exported to China and the United States from there (Stenger 1993:315). Regardless of where they originated, they were the most inexpensive Asian import that could be purchased in the United States and are archaeologically associated with Chinese occupation abroad (Sando and Felton 1993:165).

Bamboo patterned ceramics (Figure 16, f) were indeed made in China for export to the United States and elsewhere. They were almost always made as medium sized rice and soup bowls, although some plates have also been recovered (Greenwood 1996:70; Sando and Felton 1993:160). They are gray pasted stonewares, glazed with grays, blues and browns and contain a bamboo or floral decoration (Lister and Lister 1989a:49). The small bowls in this assemblage have a very small lipped rim. *Bamboo* wares have been categorized in the less expensive group, costing only a little more than the *Celadon* wares (Sando and Felton 1993:165).

Four Seasons style (Figure 16 a and b) is one of the most expensive of the Chinese imported tablewares that are most regularly found at Overseas Chinese sites (Sando and Felton 1993:160). These porcelains contain polychromatic floral designs in pinks, peaches, greens, blues and yellows. These hand-painted designs are made to represent the four seasons, and usually include a symbolic peach that represents longevity (Greenwood 1998:70). They come in a wide variety of shapes and sizes including small, medium and large bowls, tea cups, saucers, spoons and small condiment plates (Greenwood 1996:70). Like most other Chinese tablewares found at Overseas Chinese sites, these wares were made specifically for Chinese households at home and abroad (Hellman and Yang 1997: 176).

There is a single shard of what is possibly a large serving bowl, however, the style cannot be determined for certain. The paste seems to be coarse earthenware. The exterior decoration

includes a multi-colored flower and the interior is matte glazed or maybe painted in a bright turquoise color (Figure 16, c). Greenwood (1996) came across several ceramics similar to this in her excavation. She calls it polychrome floral-on-white, suggesting it's related to the *Four Seasons* style (Greenwood 1996:76). Lister and Lister (1989a) also came across this style ceramic, however, they have called it *Nonya* ware (Lister and Lister 1989a:55-56). These wares have also been recovered at archaeological sites in Cape Town, South Africa (Klos and Malan 2000) and in Australia (Muir 2003). Lister and Lister (1989a) believe the *Nonya* style ware was manufactured from the late 1800s until the 1920s or 30s. Most of their specimens are intact and are larger serving vessels whose designs resemble the one in this assemblage. A similar item was found on an antique listing which indeed called it a *Peranakan Nonya Ware* (See trocadero.com). They have the item listed as dating pre-1900s.

There is a small, porcelain rice bowl in the assemblage that is indeed Japanese. It is hand painted in red, black and gray (Figure 16, d). It has a footed base and a red maker's mark which is worn, but still somewhat legible. The mark looks like that of a Japanese Kutani dish made specifically for export. It is a Shoza style Kutani ware from the Meiji Era, which dates from 1868 to 1912 (Nilsson 2012: Kutani). As mentioned before, Mr. Wing Kee did advertise that he carried both Japanese and Chinese wares. While it cannot be known for certain if he carried this specific dish, it is likely that this or other Japanese dishes were purchased from Mr. Kee by Chinese living in Ouray during that time. There are also several pieces of imported porcelain ceramics whose manufacturer could not be identified based on style, however, their manufacture and stylistic properties indicate that they are indeed Asian as opposed to Euroamerican. One is a possible porcelain saucer and the other is the small wine, tea or condiment dish (Figure 16, g).

Euroamerican Ceramics

The ceramics assemblage from Operation 8 consists of primarily plain whitewares, which comprise over half of all the ceramics (See Figure 17). Whitewares are refined earthenwares produced since the early 1800s in the United States and Europe, and are often termed American China, hotel china and bone china (Brown 1982:6). They are identified by a creamy to gray colored paste and a clear glaze, that when fired, gives the ceramic a stark white appearance (Brown 1982:19). This glaze often crackles and yellows over long periods of time. Whitewares were not always plain, but were also manufactured with a variety of decorations, including embossing, transfer prints, and hand painting (Brown 1982). For this project, ironstone is included in the whitewares category, simply because there were only a few ironstone pieces in the assemblage, and because ironstone dates of manufacture, as well as their utility, cost and function, are very similar to that of whitewares (Brown 1982:19-20).



Figure 17: Euroamerican Ceramics, from left to right: a.) Homer Laughlin Golden Gate China bowl, 8-B-1; b.) Brown floral transfer print plate, 8-C-2; c.) Ironstone Saucer, 8-A-2; d.) Majolica Pitcher, A-C-2. Note date on quarter does not represent date of these photographs. They were taken in January 2012 by the author.

The whitewares in Operation 8 are mostly inexpensive, plain hotel ware (Figure 17). Based on MNI analyses, there are at least eighteen plain serving bowls between four and six inches in diameter, six saucers, three plates, one shallow baking dish and one, possibly two, wash basins. Larger family-style serving bowls and plates, ten or more inches in diameter, as well as

cups and mugs, are absent. Only three fragments of decorated Euroamerican wares were found, two of which could be identified. Based on rim chart measurements, two seem to be plates six inches in diameter or larger. One of these plates included a brown transfer decoration on the face, and post dates 1860 (Figure 17, b). The entire decoration likely illustrates a floral scene (Brown 1982:19). The other identified decorative Euroamerican ware is a majolica pitcher glazed in bright pinks, yellows, browns, greens and yellows.

A total of five Euroamerican ceramics maker's marks have been identified in the entire ceramics assemblage, including the pitcher (Figure 17, d). The maker's mark located on the base of the majolica pitcher reveals it is "ETRUSCAN MAJOLICA," which was made by Griffin, Smith and Hall in Pennsylvania (Benton County Historical Society and Museum 2012: Etruscan Majolica). The company opened in 1876 and closed by 1893, meaning the piece must date within that timeframe. However, some ceramics manufacturers copied the maker's mark in an effort to sell their products for more money (i.e. see *Glazed and Confused Blog: Thoughts on Majolica* April 2012). Other marks include one found on a plain, whiteware saucer. The base mark includes an image in blue of a lion with a crown on its head which indicates the ware is ironstone, manufactured in Staffordshire, England by George Jones and Sons, sometime between the 1860s and 1907 (Figure 17, b; California Parks 2011: *Maker's Mark Type Collection*; The Potteries.org 2011: *North Staffordshire Pottery Marks*). There are two bowls which bear green letters that read, "VITREOUS CHINA/GOLDEN GATE." This mark (Figure 17, a) indicates the bowls were from Homer Laughlin's Golden Gate line, manufactured from 1897 to 1905 (Brothers Handmade Pottery 2011: *Pottery Marks*). Homer Laughlin was among the largest ceramics manufacturers of American or Hotel China in the United States. The last vessel bearing a maker's mark is also a bowl. It includes a dark blue-black royal crest with a lion and unicorn

and the letters, “OHN/EN.” This mark represents the Johnson Brothers company located in Hanley England. The bowl was produced sometime between 1883 and 1913 (The Potteries.org 2012: Maker’s Marks).

There was one porcelain teacup fragment recovered from Operation 8. It is hand painted in pinks and silver with a floral-like design. Not enough of the design is left to identify whether it was manufactured by Chinese or Euroamericans or the when it was made.

The Chinese and Euroamerican tablewares themselves are relatively similar in cost. Sando and Felton (1993) recovered a San Francisco Chinese merchant’s inventory records, which date to the 1870s and 1880s. The inventories list *Four Seasons* wares as costing between six and eight cents per bowl, while *Celadon* and *Bamboo* wares cost between two and five cents per bowl (Sando and Felton 1993:163). The Sears and Roebuck catalog from 1901 lists plain, white hotel china bowls as costing between five and nine cents, depending on the size (Sears and Roebuck Spring 1901:799). So based on cost, the Euroamerican bowls and the Chinese bowls were quite similar in price. What differentiates them is whether or not the vessel is decorated.

All of the Euroamerican ceramics (whose dates of production could be determined) would have been available during the dates the Chinese occupied the site. They were easily obtained throughout the United States by the 1890s because of the railroads, even in more isolated communities like Ouray. Several grocers in Ouray carried American China, including Stratton’s Grocer (Ouray Herald December 20, 1907), G.W. Strong Grocer (Plaindealer December 19, 1902) and J.J. Mayer’s Mercantile Company (Silverite-Plaindealer December 22, 1899). The items would have been easily purchased by Chinese occupants at the site.

Non-Food Related Ceramics

There are many non-food related ceramics, including two gaming pieces (Figure 18), over thirty opium pipe bowls and several Chinese inkwells. The Chinese inkwells are not included in this analysis because knowledge of the ink wells comes from the original field notes and not their physical presence in the assemblage lent to CSU. The first ceramic gaming piece is a terra cotta marble, roughly a half inch in diameter. These are found at historical sites across the country as early as the 17th century (Toys Through Time: August 2011). The second and more interesting item is a single piece of altered ceramic. It is a shard of whiteware that has been shaped into a small disc. It is about one inch in diameter and less than a quarter inch thick. It includes a small hole drilled in its center and the maker's mark of the ironstone ware can be seen on one side of the piece. It is unknown what this piece is or to whom it belonged. It could be a gaming piece used as a marker or counter in one of the many Chinese games, similar to the Chinese use of coins in games (Yang and Hellman 1997:201). In Pennsylvania, similar ceramic pieces have been recovered from archaeological sites which have been associated with Native American games (Children's Toys: April 2010). However, those ceramic discs date to the 17th century, predating the town of Ouray by over one hundred years.



Figure 18: Gaming items, from left to right: Unknown ceramic gaming piece, 8-C-1. Clay marble, 8-A-9; Please note, date on quarter does not represent the date these photographs were taken.

Based on the field notes from Baker's excavations in 1972 and 1976, items recovered from each of the suboperations of Operation 8 included several ceramic ink wells that were

assumed to be Chinese based on the Chinese characters on the faces of the vessels. Those same notes indicated they were high fired earthenwares and were found in red, gray, black and brown clay colors. This indicates that at least one or more of the Chinese who lived at the site could read and write Chinese. Because these items were unavailable at the time of this project, they are not included in any interpretations, nor were they included in analyses.

A wide array of opium pipe bowl fragments were recovered from Operation 8, and have also been found in other operations at the site. The pipe bowls were organized and analyzed in the same way as other ceramics in the assemblage. They were recovered from Suboperation A and C, and in most of the lots of each. Suboperation A represents excavations of the privy while Suboperation C represents two test units of a trash midden on the east side of the privy (see Table 2). Unlike other ceramics, however, a very conservative MNI was established based on the body fragments of the opium pipe bowls, rather than tops or bases. This is because most of the opium pipe bowls in this assemblage are round (Type A), meaning the top and bases are round and look very similar. It is the bodies of the pipe bowls that indicate shape, and include any decorative features or maker's marks used in identification (Greenwood 1996:96; Wylie and Fike 1993). Body and wall fragments were organized based on shape, stylistic features and paste color, when necessary, and afterwards sherds were cross mended. Using this information, a very conservative MNI of at least thirty-one opium pipe bowls was determined, however, there are likely more. Like Chinese imported ceramics, opium pipe bowl styles remained the same for many years and therefore cannot be dated with precision, however, the pipe bowls found at the Vanoli Site correspond with those found at other Overseas Chinese sites which date to the same time period (Greenwood 1996; Lister and Lister 1989a; Wegars 1981:7).

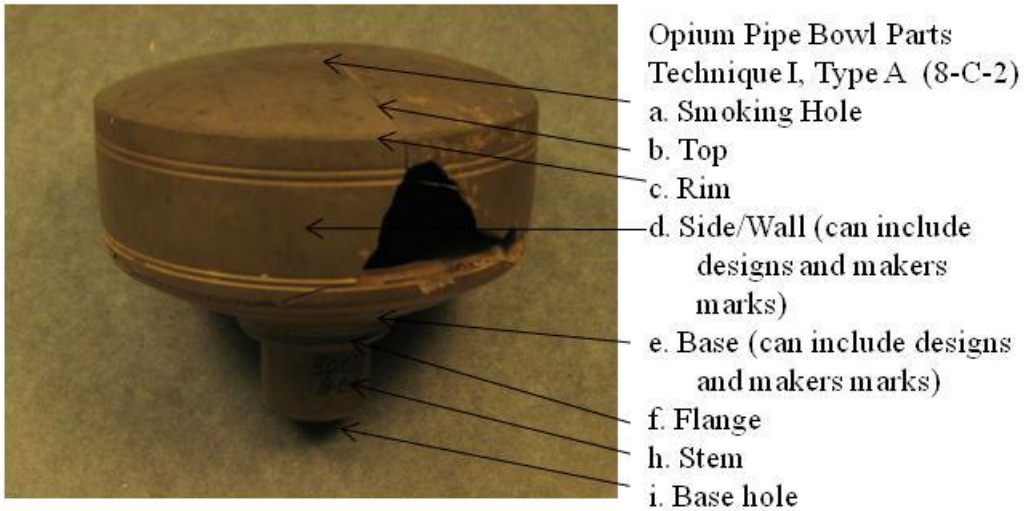


Figure 19: Opium pipe bowl parts, adapted from Wylie and Fike (1993:268)

While opium pipe bowls themselves are relatively small in size, they are complex in manufacture and parts (Figure 19). The pipe bowl is made up of several pieces: the top, which closes the opium pipe bowl off, includes the smoking hole and the smoking surface; the side walls and base usually include any stylistic traits and maker's marks to be found; and the flange and the stem, which connect the bowl to the saddle, which connects to the actual pipe for inhalation (Wylie and Fike 1993:268). The pipes themselves were often made of bamboo, but other materials have been found as well (CINARC 2012: Opium Pipes; Wylie and Fike 1993:268). Opium pipe bowls come in many shapes, colors and styles. Many of the pipe bowls seen in Overseas Chinese sites are round or multi-sided with four, six or eight sides. The bodies of the bowls can come with a variety of detail in which walls are shaped and images are etched or carved into the sides (Wylie and Fike 1993). The various physical attributes of an opium pipe bowl can reveal information like cost, where it was made, and the class of people who likely used it (Bronson and Ho 2012; Wylie and Fike 1993). Lister and Lister (1989a), Bronson and Ho (2012) and Wegars (1981) have already taken the time and resources to translate many opium

pipe bowl marks, including most of those found in this assemblage. Their character translations, opium pipe bowl categorization, and brand identifications are used for analyses here.

Wylie and Fike's (1993) opium pipe bowl classification is also used by other Overseas Researchers including Greenwood (1996:96). The bowls are classified based on two qualities: the shape of the smoking surface or top of the opium pipe bowl, and the manufacturing technique of the pipe bowl itself. Smoke surface shapes are indicated by letters: circular (A), octagonal (B), hexagonal (C), four-sided (D), and elaborate (E) shapes (Greenwood 1996:96). Wylie and Fike (1993:2271-274) have identified four techniques used by potters to manufacture pipe bowls, identified by roman numerals I-IV. All of the four manufacture types can come with any one of the smoking surface shapes, including multi-sided and round, however it is the manufacturing technique, paste color and bowl shape that can be used to determine manufacturer and even cost. Wylie and Fike (1993) provide a detailed explanation of this classification system.



Figure 20: Type A opium pipe bowls. All but the two on the bottom right were made by *Fu Ji* in China. From top left to right: a.) Technique I round, 8-A-10; b.) Technique I round, 8-A-3; c.) Technique II or III round, 8-A-2; d.) Technique I round, 8-C--1; e.) Technique I round, 8-C-2; f.) Technique II round, 8-C-1. Photos taken in January 2012 by the author.

The identification of opium pipe bowls in this assemblage was based primarily on paste color and shape, using manufacturing technique as a secondary identifier. This was done in order to be consistent with other Overseas Chinese researchers, as well as lower the rate of error in identification. All opium pipe bowls in this assemblage are circular, or type A, with the



Figure 21: *Fu Ji* stamp (Lister and Lister 1989a)

exception of one multi-sided bowl that is either type B or C. Twenty-five opium pipe bowls from Operation 8 were made using Technique I, making up 80% of the entire opium pipe bowl assemblage. As stated before, Technique I bowls are considered the least expensive of all four types. Also, the consistent gray-green paste found among the Technique I bowls seems to indicate that they all come from the same manufacturer or at least the same area (Wylie and Fike 1993:271). The Chinese in Northwest America Committee (Bronson and Ho 2012), however, states that low-quality and or inexpensive opium pipe bowls were easily made and the clay used to make them was easy to come by, indicating that many manufacturers probably made inexpensive opium pipe bowls for export (Bronson and Ho 2012: Brand Dominance in the Opium Pipe Bowl Trade). Supporting the notion of a single manufacturer is the fact that almost all of the Technique I opium pipe bowls in this assemblage that contain a maker's mark include some version of the same mark (Figure 21). Despite the different styles of the bowls themselves, the maker's marks all represent the same Chinese manufacturer *Fu Ji*, or *Fortune Shop* (CINARC 2012). This brand dominated the opium pipe bowl market during the turn of the

century, reflected in the fact that the brand's pipe bowls are found at most Overseas Chinese archaeological sites (CINARC 2012; Lister and Lister 1989a). Operation 8 includes many marks indicating manufacture by *Fu Ji*. The characters read by line: coin/zheng(surname)/coin; fortune/lotus/edge/water/fortune; shop/voice/voice/shop (CINARC 2012: Brand Dominance). CINARC (2012) notes that the number of coins included in the stamp could indicate the quality of the clay, but this is not known for sure. Also, the “voice” included in the mark could mean the ceramic is highly vitrified and can be heard by the “singing” sound made when the pipes are hit together (CINARC 2012: Brand Dominance).



Figure 22: Technique III opium pipe bowls, representing the two most expensive of the assemblage. From left: a.) Type A and elaborately decorated, unknown manufacturer, could possibly Technique IV bowl, 8-A-2; b.) Type C or D, 8-C-2. Photos taken in January 2012 by author.

Other types of pipe bowls recovered in this assemblage include four Technique II and two Technique III bowls. Technique II bowls were differentiated from Technique I bowls by differences in paste color – Technique I bowl paste was green-gray while Technique II bowl paste was rose-gray (Wylie and Fike 1993:275). The two Technique III bowls exist in stark contrast to all of the others because of their bright orange terra cotta colored paste, and more intricate decoration (Figure 22). One of the Technique III bowls is bright red in color and intricately carved. It seems to be made of stoneware, however, possibly indicating it is a Technique IV

bowl. However, the stem of the bowl seems to be part of the original manufacture and not added on later, indicating it could be a Technique III. In 1981, Priscilla Wegars (1981) of the University of Idaho was commissioned by Baker to identify some of the Chinese artifacts recovered from 5OR30. She identified the characters on this pipe bowl in 1981 as having the symbol for “double money,” and a combination of characters that reads ”Spring Gourd Family,” (Wegars 1981:7). These final characters could indicate the name of the owner of the pipe (Wegars 1981:7) or they could indicate the manufacturer (CINARC 2012: Opium Pipe Bowls). The other bright orange bowl is the only multi-sided bowl found in this assemblage. The fragment is very small and does not include any maker’s marks. Bronson and Ho (2012) note that orange and terra cotta colored bowls were likely made in the Yixing in the Jiangsu Province of China. The clay was known to insulate well and was not easily broken, making them a much sought after and more expensive bowl (Bronson and Ho 2012: Opium Pipe Bowl Shows Middle Class Values).

GLASS

Assemblages from Operation 8 are comprised of mostly glass, however, most of it is in the form of small, non-diagnostic body shards and associated bases, mouths, maker’s marks or other identifiers are not present. Although vessel shape could be determined for many of the glass shards based on curvatures, seams or glass color, often times maker’s marks could not. Because of these limitations, a *very* conservative MNI for all glass was estimated. Vessel type, function and the likely original contents have been determined by maker’s marks (when available), bottle shape and color, bottle mouth and finish. Primary and secondary historical documents and the Society for Historical Archaeology’s bottle identification website were also used to better understand the glass fragments at hand (Lindsey 2012).

Glass fragments were organized using the same methods as were used with the ceramics, however, their identifying characteristics are different. Glass from Operation 8 was first organized by provenience, glass color and diagnostic or non-diagnostic shards. Based on this information, glass fragments were then sorted and organized by type: bottle glass, plate glass, decorative glass, and serving glass. Glass that did not fit into one of the above categories was grouped as “other”. Characteristics used to identify the vessel included glass color, shape and size. Glass colors included modern clear glass, historic clear, aqua, amethyst, bright green, olive green, amber, and yellow. Diagnostic shards included bases, finishes, or body shards with identifiable features such as a maker’s mark or embossing. Bases and finishes were measured with a potters rim chart to determine size. This measurement combined with glass color and vessel shape helped to determine what it may have been used for, i.e. food, beer, wine, etc. Each glass-type group was then further subdivided into functional categories: personal, domestic, structural and activity. Within each group, shards were categorized again into subtypes of liquor, beer, wine, soda/water, medicine, chemical, toiletry, food/condiment or other bottles. Serving glass was also organized into functional categories based on vessel type, and included stemware, drinking glass, plate, bowl, other (Horobrik 2011:52-55). Plate glass usually did not require further organization into subtypes because its exact use (i.e. window glass or picture glass) could not be identified. Glass grouped in the other category was divided into functional categories when possible, which included Chinese glass gaming pieces (Table 5).

Bottle Glass

The largest portion of glass consisted of bottle fragments. Unfortunately, due to the lack of diagnostic shards, very few bottles could be definitively dated. Dates can also be determined by bottle manufacture technique or by color, however, this can prove extremely difficult if

sufficient manufacture identifiers are not available (i.e. length of seam either through mouth or base). Again, the nature of the glass made identifying bottles and other glass very difficult. Therefore, only a few glass items are discussed here and interpretations of which Chinese activities the bottles actually represent are not included in later interpretations.

Table 5: 5OR30 Operation 8 Glass MNI/Functional Categories

Functional Category	Subgroup	Euroamerican Items	Chinese Items
Domestic	Food Prep/Storage	Food jars:6 Soda/water:6	
	Dinnerware/Servingware/ Consumption	Serving Bowl: 2 Drinking Glasses: 2	
	Heating and Lighting	Lightbulb: 1 Lampshade: 1	
Personal	Indulgence	Wine: 8 Liquor: 1 Beer:22	
	Medicine	Bitters: 10 Medicine Bottle: 3	
Activity	Gaming		Black <i>zhu</i> : 2
Structural	Building Materials	Window Glass: 1+	

Based on the manufacturing technique of one bottle, the possibly oldest bottle in Operation 8 could have been made sometime around the Civil War in the 1860s (Lindsey 2012; Lockhart et al 2006; Newman 1970: 72). The bottle is very thick, dark olive green glass, and was likely once a wine or champagne bottle (Figure 23, d). There are no seams on the bottle, indicating it was likely turn-mold manufactured. The base includes a deep kick up with a very rough, open pontil called a blowpipe pontil, and the base does not include any maker's marks or label. The Society for Historical Archaeology's Bottle Identification Website (Lindsey 2012) dates the open pontil scar between 1860 and 1870, while the Newport Pagnell Historical Society's (2012) website dates the pontil mark to between 1845 and 1860, although, European

wine bottles were manufactured this way for some time. In both cases, it seems the bottle predates the Chinese occupation, and could be associated with earlier occupants.



Figure 23: Glass recovered from Operation 8, from top left: a.) light green Fernet Branca bitters, 8-A-2; b.) Carl Conrad and Company maker's mark on base of aqua beer bottle, 8-B-1; c.) clear glass tumbler, 8-A-1; d.) olive green wine bottle base with open pontil scar, 8-F-1). Photographs were taken in January 2012, not date on quarter.

Based on their shape and color, Operation 8 includes upward of twenty-two beer bottles, however only two have intact maker's marks. Beer and other Euroamerican alcohol bottles are found at most Overseas Chinese sites. Rains (2003) attributes their presence to the working class conditions of most Overseas Chinese, and the fact that these types of glass bottles are indicative of working class households rather than ethnic type households. The two beer bottles that could be identified are both aqua in color, and a maker's mark on each confirmed they were manufactured by Carl Conrad and Company (Figure 23, c), sometime between 1876 and 1882 for the Budweiser Company (Lockhart et al 2006). These bottles also predate the Chinese occupation in the area, suggesting they may have been deposited by someone else, or were reused.

Three medicine bottles, including one clear and two amber bottles, are included in this assemblage. The two amber bottles were recovered with caps intact and one still has contents inside. One of the caps is plastic, and the other is a metal "Alka-Seltzer" cap in blue and white

dating to after 1931 (Alka Seltzer Oral History Project 2012). Both items likely post date the time of Chinese occupation at the site. This bottle was actually recovered from the deepest layer of the privy, Lot 9 or Suboperation 10. This illustrates the disturbed nature of stratigraphic layers within privy fills. The other identifiable medicine bottle is one of the only completely intact artifacts in the assemblage. It is a clear bottle with a screw cap finish and embossed numbers on one face indicating measurements in ounces (photo). The maker's mark on the base includes a diamond shape with an "O" and an "I" in the diamond's center. Above the diamond mark reads "ILLINOIS." To the left of the mark is a "15" and to the right is an "8." Based on this mark, the bottle was made by the Owens Illinois Glass Company in Oklahoma, and dates to after the 1930s (Lockhart 2004:24). This bottle also post dates the most populous Chinese occupation at the site and in Ouray by at least ten years, and was likely deposited by other occupants or visitors to the area.

The final bottles that could be definitively identified were those of at least ten Fernet Branca bitters bottles, manufactured for the Fratelli Branca Company in Italy (Fratelli Branca History 2012). All of these bottles were excavated from the privy itself (Suboperation A) and from Lots 2, 4 and 6. They are all wine-bottle shaped, are light green in color and have a packer finish (Figure 23, a). Each includes a deep kick up with the Fernet Branca makers mark appearing on the base, as well as a Fernet Branca mark embossed on the shoulder face of the bottle. Some of the bottles included small pieces of tin foil attached near the mouth (Lindsey 2012). This product was produced in Milan after 1845 and exported them to the United States in 1896 herbs (California State parks 2012: Fernet Branca Bitters; Fratelli Branca History 2012).. This would have made the product available to Ouray residents sometime after that date. Based on the manufacturing technique of the bottles in which the seam goes through the mouth,

indicating it is a machine-made bottle, the bottle was likely made sometime after 1910, and possibly after 1920 (Lindsey 2012: Machine Made Bottles; Newman 1970:72).

It is hard to know who these bottles belonged to and if they were deposited before or after the end of the Chinese occupation at the site around 1920. Historically, bitters were made with medicinal herbs, and used to aid in a variety of health problems. In the early 1800s, bitters were also used in cocktails for recreational drinks, and by the late 1800s, bitters were more often consumed for recreation than medicine (Smithsonian 2012: A Brief History of Bitters). Greenwood (1996: 118) also recovered a large amount of bitters bottles from her excavations in Los Angeles' Chinatown. She associates the bitters with medicinal uses among the Chinese living there rather than recreational consumption. I would mostly agree, however, because Fernet Branca is Italian, and because the bottles post date the Chinese occupation, it could be the bitters were deposited in the privy by the Minnie and Mary Vanoli, who lived in the Roma Saloon after the 1930s, possibly because they did not want to fill their own privy too quickly.

The assemblage from Operation 8 also included several pieces of serving glass, some of which were recovered fully intact. Glass vessels include two drinking glasses: a tumbler and a pint glass. A decorative glass bowl resembling a modern crystal bowl was also found. A fragment of a glass lamp shade likely used to cover an oil lamp was also recovered. Not a single piece of the serving glass included a maker's mark or some other identifier. The two drinking glasses recovered could have been found at any one of the Vanoli establishments as they were often used for alcoholic beverages (Figure 23, c). Other glass fragments included structural plate glass that was likely at one time a window. Plate glass could have also been used for photographs and artwork, however, evidence for this is not available.

Chinese Glass Gaming Pieces

By far the most interesting glass pieces were two small, round, black pebble-like glass artifacts. They are each less than a half inch in diameter and less than a quarter inch thick. They have been identified as *zhu* (Figure 24), which are gaming pieces probably used in the Chinese games *fantan* or *weichi* (Hellman and Yang 1997:201; Lister and Lister 1989a:69, 76). The black *zhu* were often accompanied by white *zhu*, both of which were used in several different games as counters and gambling tokens. Greenwood (1996) points out that buttons and coins were also used as gaming pieces (Greenwood 1996:94). Because Chinese were not welcome in all places for social gathering and leisure (i.e. gambling halls, brothels, restaurants and saloons), leisure activities took place within the Chinese community (Greenwood 1996:94). Some Chinese met in restaurant kitchens, the back rooms of mercantile shops, and in opium dens to play games (Greenwood 1996:94).



Figure 24: Black *zhu*, recovered from 8-A-9 and 8-D-1

METAL AND OTHER ITEMS

Metal and other items were organized first by material type. Most of these items consisted of building material like nails, wire and wood, as well as personal, domestic and activity items like shell casings, gaming pieces and scissors (Table 6, Figure 25). Identifying features on the artifacts helped understand their use as well as the fact that many of the metal items remained whole or mostly intact. Based on use, they were also organized into functional categories (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1997). This group is made up of a variety of artifacts which

were categorized in each of the functional categories: personal, domestic, activity and structural. Identifying many of the artifacts in this group was much easier in many ways, because many items are still used in our modern world. However, there were also items that could not be identified at all. Also, there were many modern artifacts in this group, like a plastic cap (8-B-1), cigarette cellophane (8-A-1) and tin foil (8-A-9). These items are not explored in this project.

Table 6: 5OR30 Operation 8: Metal and Other MNI/Functional Categories			
Functional Category	Subgroup	Euroamerican Items	Chinese Items
Domestic	Food Prep/Storage	Metal/Enamel Cook pot: 1 Metal/Enamel Kettle:1 Tin Food Can (key): 2 Non-dianostic Crown Caps: 15	
	Dinnerware/Servingware/ Consumption	Silver Spoon:1	
	Heating and Lighting	Metal Oil Lamp: 1	
	Floral/Faunal	Beef:3 Pork:2 Mule Deer: 1 Peach Pits: 6+ Horse Dung:1	
Personal	Indulgence		Opium Cans (brass): 9
	Clothing	Leather Shoe:1	
	Accoutrement	Silver Pocket Watch:1	
	Medicine	Metal Pill Box: 1	
Activity	Commerce (Laundry)	Mixed Material Buttons:10+ Wooden Laundry Pin: 1 Metal Safety Pin: 5 Metal Scissors:1	
	Firearms	Discharged Shell Casing:3 12 g: 1 .45 (Colt): 1 .41 (Long Colt): 1	
Structural	Building Materials	Wood fragments Window Mortar	
	Hardware	Square/Round Nails Horseshoe Nails Bailing Wire	
	Other	Unknown metal hardware	

There are several items in this group that could possibly be connected to the laundry itself. There are numerous buttons made of both metal and shell. These probably did not all belong to the Chinese occupants themselves, but rather any one of their customers' clothing items. Also related to the laundry are also several metal safety pins, one wooden laundry clip, and a pair of scissors (Figure 25, d and e). Scissors were also used to cut the wick of opium lamps, and as such, could link the item to opium consumption (Bronson and Ho 2012: Opium Tools). Another item that could be associated with laundry work is an enamel kettle used to heat water (Figure 25, g). The kettle, however, would have been too small for large jobs, meaning it was probably used for food preparation.

Household items in this group of artifacts included several tin food can keys, a metal spoon, a metal and enamel cook pot, a brass oil lamp and floral and faunal remains (Figure 24 a, b, c). All of these items lack manufacturing identifiers and could be used for numerous household tasks. Key opened tin cans were introduced after 1895 and held numerous types of preserved foods, including sardines and meat (Passport in Time: Key Opened Cans; IMAC 2012: Tin Can Guide). The assemblage also included 15 metal crown caps, none of which contained a label or marker. They were patented in 1892 and were mass produced by the turn of the century (Lindsey 2012: Crown Cap). They are not counted as representative of a vessel because they could belong to other bottles throughout Operation 8, including the 22 (MNI) beer bottles. The oil lamp parts included the lamp burner, burner cover, two mesh fragments, and a knob (Figure 25, b). The lamp parts represent a very simple kerosene oil lamp probably used at least until Ouray gained electricity in 1885, and possibly even after (Smith 2001:58). Again, there are no manufacturer's marks on the lamp. These lamps were produced in a variety of shapes, sizes and designs throughout the 1800s (Sonoma Anthropological Studies Center, Archaeology of a San

Francisco Neighborhood 2012: Lighting). There is also a single metal spoon whose handle is delicately decorated with floral accents (Figure 25, a). The spoon did include a maker's mark, "SILVER PLATE CO," however, the entirety of the mark could not be distinguished. This could indicate a number of flatware manufacturers, including Oneida, the American Silver Plate Company, the Chicago Silver Plate Company and the New Haven Plate Company (Woodhead 1991).



Figure 25: Metal items recovered from Operation 8, from top left: a.) spoon, 8-A-6; b. Oil lamp parts, 8-C-2; c.) metal and enamel bowl, 8-A-4; d.) safety pins, 8-A-2, A-6, A-9, D-1 and wooden laundry clip, 8-D-1; e.) metal scissors, 8-A-6; f.) American Watch Company silver watch casing, 8-C-1

There were two peach pits included in this assemblage, however, the field notes suggest there were many more, possibly twenty or so. Peaches have been grown in the state of Colorado since at least the 1890s, if not earlier, and the state has become somewhat famous for their deliciousness. The Museum of Western Colorado writes that the first fruit orchards of apples, peaches and pears were planted on the Western Slope near Mesa Verde by 1894 (The Museum of Western Colorado 2012). Even earlier in the 1880s, peaches were grown in Palisade, Colorado, a small agricultural community located one hundred miles north of Ouray. The town became so famous for their peaches, they hold the Palisade Peach Festival every year, which started sometime in the late 1800s (Palisade Peach Festival 2012). It seems that all residents of Ouray

would have had an easy time procuring fresh fruits and vegetables grown on the Western Slope by the 1890s, especially once the trains were running by the turn of the century.

Excavations from Operation 8 also recovered faunal remains. Baker employed Ronald Rood in 1981 to examine the faunal remains from 5OR30 and conduct a detailed analysis that identified the animals used for food and those that were not; to understand the butchering techniques used to break down animals for consumption; and to compare the Vanoli collection to other historic sites (Rood 1981:1). Rood notes that faunal remains were recovered from most features at the Vanoli site, including trash middens and privies. Over 3000 animal bones were recovered from 5OR30, however, only 23% of them were identifiable according to Rood (Rood 181:2). Species identified include domesticated cows, pigs, chickens, and sheep, as well as wild species, including deer, fish and wild turkey. Rood calculated a conservative minimum number of individuals (MNI) as represented by identifiable bones. Further, Rood worked to record the butchering techniques as evidenced by marks on the bone as well as determine the ages for animals, when possible (Rood 1981:2).

According to Rood's analysis, Operation 8 contained twenty-nine identifiable bones. The bones represent at least three cows, two pigs and two mule deer all of which were determined to be food sources (Rood 1981:4-5). Rood reports that most of the cow bones from the Vanoli site indicate butchering was done with a saw, with the exception of one instance where an animal was butchered with an axe (Rood 1981:8). The butchering techniques used were similar to those used today in which animals were cut into halves and quarters, and individual meat cuts were broken down from there, including cuts similar to contemporary steaks (Rood 1981:9-10). Based on this evidence, Rood posits that the animals were obtained from a butcher, rather than grown

on-site (Rood 1981:10). This conclusion is supported by the lack of skull fragments, metapoidials and phalanges.

Evidence for the butchering of pork is not as clear as beef, however, according to Rood (1981). The assemblage does include pig metapoidials, carpals, tarsals and phalanges, indicating that occupants at the site consumed pig's feet (Rood 1981:24). Based on this evidence alone, it cannot be completely known whether or not pork was raised on site or if these parts were obtained from a butcher. Based on the evidence represented by beef and sheep butchering patterns, Rood came to the conclusion that pork was likely also obtained at least partially broken down from a local butcher (Rood 1981:28). Also, butcher and grocery advertisements from the *Ouray Herald*, as well as notes on Sanborn Fire Insurance maps from 1893, 1899 and 1908 also reveal that these types of meat would have been available in Ouray at the time (see *Ouray Herald*: October 5, 1899; January 17, 1908).

Evidence from the bones of mule deer recovered at the site suggest that the animals could have been brought back to the site whole, and later butchered by occupants living on the Vanoli Block (Rood 1981:27). This conclusion is based on the recovery a skull fragment associated with a deer. Rood is not sure whether wild species could have been obtained by local butchers or were hunted by individuals (Rood 1981:27). All of the deer were cut with a saw, a standard Euroamerican tool, rather than an axe, a standard Chinese tool.

Based on Rood's (1981) analysis of the faunal remains recovered from Operation 8, it seems that the Chinese living at the site were predominantly consuming beef as well as some pork, both likely obtained from a local butcher. Based on the remains of the mule deer, it is possible that the occupants living near Operation 8 indeed hunted wild game, at least some times.

However, this cannot be known for sure without more research into the history of animal consumption in Ouray, and a better understanding of the food industry there.

Graduate students working in the historical archaeology lab at Colorado State University have begun efforts to reanalyze the entirety of the faunal assemblage from 5OR30. This work is led by Steven Sherman, an archaeologist who is currently managing the historical archaeology lab, as well as graduate student Richard Burnette. Their preliminary analyses suggest that the assemblage is actually much larger than what Rood reported in 1981. Based on this new evidence, the faunal data from Operation 8 will not be considered in any interpretations for this project.

Opium Cans

At least nine brass opium cans were recovered from Operation 8. The cans are made of a copper and zinc alloy which allows them to remain somewhat intact in the archaeological record (CINARD 2012: Opium Cans). Wylie and Fike (1993) have identified two types of cans: a rectangular can made up of five metal pieces; and a round, narrow can (Wylie and Fike 1993:287). All can sizes were standardized so that each held precisely 5 Chinese ounces of refined opium (CINARC 2012: Opium Cans). Opium brands stamped their mark on the lid or the bottom of the can and indicate the refinery. There are many different manufacturers' stamps, some of which originated in China while others originated in British Columbia or even San Francisco (CINARC 2012: Opium; Wylie and Fike 1993:288). Paper labels would have been found on the lid or one of the largest faces and indicate the wholesaler (Figure 26).

All nine cans in this assemblage are rectangular and include several different brand stamps and labels. It was difficult to identify all manufacturers' marks because of the effects of various natural and cultural formation processes in the archaeological record. Also, many of the

stamps themselves are very similar in shape, size and style, making it difficult to distinguish one from the other, especially without a background in the Chinese language. MNI counts only included can parts that contained a label or a stamp in order to ensure that numbers were not inflated. Of the nine opium cans whose manufacturer could be identified, one came from British Columbia and two from Hong Kong (CINARC 2012: Opium Trade). There are likely more opium brands represented in the assemblage, however, they could not be identified.



Figure 26: Opium tin lids from Operation 8, top row from 8-A-2 and 8-C-2; right is close up second from right, imprinted brand of either *Lai Yuen* or *Fook Lung*, made by *Yen Wo* company in China (CINARC 2012)

Several of the cans still contained somewhat intact paper labels, however, all were illegible, so wholesalers could not be identified. Most of the paper labels recovered are white or cream paper with dark green, black and brown print – very similar to the style and coloring of an American dollar bill (Figure 26). The other paper label was red-orange in color and contained black printed script. It is very similar to labels originating in British Columbia. Despite the fact the labels could not be read, they were still very telling - almost all of them were cross-hatched right through the paper label and into the can itself. This cross hatching was done to opium cans prior to 1909 when opium was still legal in the United States in order to prevent low-grade

opium producers from reusing high-grade-opium producers' cans (Wylie and Fike 1993:288). This indicates that the cans must predate 1909 and could possibly have once held a medium to high grade of opium.

The price per can for opium varied depending on the quality and where it was manufactured. In 1871, mid-quality opium from Victoria sold for around six dollars per can while high-quality opium from China sold for around nine dollars per can. Very low-quality opium could have sold between two and five dollars per can (Wylie and Fike 1993:262). The price for opium rose through the end of the 1800s and after 1909 when opium was made illegal in China, a can of opium could sell for up to seventy dollars (Wylie and Fike 1993:262).

The cost of smoking opium depended on a variety of factors, including the quality of opium, the experience, preferences and income of the smoker, and also the preferences and policies of the dealer. Prices per smoke varied from place to place and could depend on the cook and the smoker. Wylie and Fike (1993) report that varying grades of opium could be mixed to the smoker's preference, affecting the cost per smoke. Opium for smoking was sold in grains or *fan*; the prices for each were based on quality (Wylie and Fike 1993:262). The number of grains smoked and for what cost was dependent on the experience of the smoker, the quality of the opium and the policies of the opium dealer. If a smoker was a novice, he or she would only have one or two smokes. However, seasoned smokers usually needed and wanted more, and could smoke ten or more pipes per session. Fewer grains of high-quality opium were smoked, and were purchased at a higher price as opposed to more grains of low quality opium for the same price. Wylie and Fike (1993:262) illustrate this by noting that 32 to 181 grains of opium could be purchased and smoked for twenty five cents depending on the quality of the opium and who was selling it. Similarly, the amount of opium grains per can was dependent on quality. Opium cans

were standardized by weight, however, high quality opium cans consisted of more opium as low quality opium cans contained filler like pipe bowl scrapings, ashes, cow dung and even dirt (Wylie and Fike 1993:261). More low quality opium had to be smoked to feel the drug's effects than high quality opium. And more seasoned smokers also had to smoke more opium in order to obtain a high.

Wylie and Fike (1993:262) note that the number of smokes per twenty-five cent purchase of between 32 and 181 *fan* is not known. If very high quality opium was sold at twenty-five cents for 32 *fan* and provided one smoke, a novice would spend up to fifty cents per session while a seasoned smoker might spend up to \$2.50 per session. Lower quality opium probably cost far less per smoke for both novice and seasoned smokers. It is likely that those smokers with higher incomes smoked higher quality opium, while lower income folk smoked lower quality opium. Working and middle class people consumed opium somewhere in between. This is also the case for beer consumption in saloons in Denver during the same time period as the Chinese occupation at the Vanoli Site. Beer could be found priced between five and twenty-five cents per mug, which is comparable to the price per smoke of around 100 *fan* of mid-grade opium (Slatta 1987:160). The quality of beer sold divided saloon patrons by class. Higher quality beers were purchased by men with higher incomes, like cattle ranchers and businessmen, while lower quality beer was purchased by men with lower incomes (Slatta 1987:160).

Based on the legible brand stamps it seems that at least two brands came from Hong Kong, *Lai Yuen* and *Fook Lung* (see Figure 24). They were produced by the same company, *Yen Wo* (CINARC 2012: Opium Brand Names). In the 1880s, *Yen Wo* merged with its rival company, *Wo Hang*, creating the *Sing Wo* Company, who went on to monopolize the opium trade in Asia for several years. *Sing Wo* Company expanded into Victoria, British Columbia, and continued to

sell the most popular opium brands, despite the fact that theirs was among the most expensive brands on the market (CINARC 2012:Opium Brand Names). The third brand refinery that could be identified is *Tai Soon*, from Victoria, British Columbia. This brand likely represents the low end of opium quality recovered from Operation 8 (Bronson and Ho 2012: Opium Brand Names). British Columbia was at one time one of the largest opium producers and distributors in the world, outside of Hong Kong, and housed over twenty-five opium refineries between 1880 and 1908 (Bronson and Ho 2012: Opium Producers). Opium processors in British Columbia and San Francisco would sometimes acquire high-quality opium cans from Hong Kong Processors, and reuse them to sell low-quality opium at a higher price, thus resulting in the cross-hatching of paper labels (Bronson and Ho 2012; Wylie and Fike 1993).

Other Items

The assemblage also includes one silver pocket watch back (Figure 24, f). The watch back has a delicate floral border with an image of a crest or shield. The inside of the back has a maker's mark and an alphanumeric number. Based on this mark, the watch was made by the American Watch Company of Waltham Massachusetts. The alphanumeric label indicates that the watch was made sometime after 1871 and the "SS307" indicates that the watch is sterling silver (Old Watch.com 2012: Identify Your Watch; Shugart 1981:94).). There is no way to know exactly where the watch comes from or when it was made because it is missing its serial number, which would have been located on the moving parts of the watch, rather than the back cover (Shugart 1981).

Included in the assemblage are three bullet shell casings, all of which have been discharged. One is from a 12 gauge shot gun, however there are no marks to indicate its manufacturer. One shell casing includes the marks "WRAC COLT .45," which indicates the

bullet is a .45 caliber bullet made by Winchester (Ashmore 2010:23). It was used for a Colt revolver. Based on the measurements of the .45 shell casing, the bullet was military issued and manufactured sometime between 1873 and 1895 (Barnes and Simpson 2009:302). The other shell casing reads “UMC LC .41,” indicating it is a .41 caliber bullet made by Remington, used for a Long Colt pistol. This bullet was also a military issue, and was used as early as 1877 (Ashmore 2010:23). Besides the fact that all the bullets have been discharged, they were all also found within the privy, rather than in the area surrounding the privy, meaning someone either deliberately discarded the shell casings in the privy, or they were picked up off the ground and either thrown away in the privy, or they fell out of someone’s pocket while in the privy.

Recreational discharging of firearms often occurred at saloons, so it is no surprise when discharged shells are found in their vicinity (see Erdoes 1979; Dixon 2005). Guns are also implicated in violent activity associated with saloons and western mining communities. When combined with the violent aggression Chinese migrants witnessed all over the country, it is easy to imagine more sinister uses (see Lister and Lister 1989b; McKeown 2005; Orser 2007). Ouray’s Chinese residents were no exception to violence. Several Ouray newspapers report incidents of violent and deadly attacks on the area’s Chinese residents: Mr. Tom (Lee) Foley was robbed, beaten and killed in 1919 (Ouray Herald February 6, 1919); Wing Kee was assaulted by two laundry customers in 1907 (Ouray Herald March 17, 1907); Jim Lee was assaulted and robbed in 1904 (Ouray Herald February 12 1904); Wah Lee’s home was set on fire while he was in it in 1905 (Plaindealer March 24, 1905); and Lee Qong was shot and killed in 1890 (Ouray Herald November 21, 1902). While there is no way to know who the shell casings belonged to and what event resulted in their discharge and deposition in the privy, they are a stark reminder of the more violent history of Ouray.

There are also numerous structural items recovered from Operation 8. These include both square and round nails, wire, wood, and mortar. These items are not explored in great detail here because most lack features that could help lead to understanding production, acquisition and use contexts. Further, based on the fact that the standing structures at the Vanoli Site were razed in 1972, much of the structural material could be associated with any one of the buildings.

OPERATION 8, IN SUMMARY

Artifacts recovered from Operation 8 included: low priced Euroamerican whitewares; low and high priced Chinese imported tablewares; high quality opium cans and both high and low quality opium pipe bowls; glass gaming pieces; Euroamerican beer, wine, liquor, food and medicine bottles; metal food items and cookware; floral and faunal remains; and personal items. Many of the artifacts date to the same time period of the Chinese occupation at the site, while others either pre and post date their residence. Because not all artifacts could be directly linked to the Chinese in terms of date, or because the production, use or acquisition contexts could not be identified, most artifacts are not used in later qualitative analyses or interpretations (Table 7).

Table 7: 5OR30, Operation 8, Artifacts Chosen for Network Analyses and Interpretations

Functional Category	Euroamerican Items	Chinese Items	Provenience s	Dates of use or manufacture
Domestic: Food consumption and Preparation	Whiteware tableware		8A 1-7; B 1; C 1-2; D 1	Ironstone and whitewares date as early as 1860s and into 1910s (thepotteries.org 2012; thebrothershandmade.org 2012)
	Faunal and floral			Butchering patterns consistent with Euroamerican butchering patterns of the late 1800s and early 1900s (Rood 1981)
Personal: Indulgence		Imported Tableware	8A 4-6; C 1-2; D 1	Associated with Overseas Chinese sites in the United States after 1860s and in the interior in the 1880s (Greenwood 1996; Lister and Lister 1989a; Wegars et al. 1993)
		Opium Pipe Bowls	8 A2-4, 6-7; B 1; C 1-2	Associated with Overseas Chinese sites in the United States after 1860s and in the interior in the 1880s (Greenwood 1996; Lister and Lister 1989a; Wegars et al. 1993)
		Opium Tins	8A 2, 6; C 1-2	Associated with Overseas Chinese sites in the United States after 1860s and in the interior in the 1880s (Greenwood 1996; Lister and Lister 1989a; Wegars et al. 1993)
Activity: Gaming		Black <i>zhu</i>	8 A 9; D 1	Associated with Overseas Chinese sites in the United States after 1860s and in the interior in the 1880s (Greenwood 1996; Lister and Lister 1989a; Wegars et al. 1993)

Based on the artifactual evidence of these items, the Chinese living and working at the Vanoli Site worked to obtain both Chinese and Euroamerican objects, likely employing them in both Chinese and Euroamerican ways. These artifacts not only represent some of the *things* the Chinese living at the Vanoli Site had, or the daily practices that made up their lives, but they also represent some of the social interactions that occurred between them and other Chinese in the area, as well as Euroamerican men and women. The activities associated with the artifacts, including eating, gaming and opium smoking, were imbued with numerous social meanings and played different social roles, all of which varied depending on the local, historical and cultural contexts. These contexts are discussed in Chapter 5, as well as the attitudes of Euroamericans in Ouray towards the local Chinese, the context of the historic red light district of Ouray and the context of life as a Chinese laundryman is also explored.

CHAPTER 5:

LOCAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

The quantitative analyses described in the previous chapter were only the first step in the analytical process that leads to an understanding of the lives of the Chinese living at the Vanoli Site. Qualitative analyses are needed to identify social interaction and networks. Although the artifacts recovered from various Overseas Chinese sites may be the same, specific local historical contexts usually are not (Rains 2003; Voss 2005). As such, we must identify other dimensions of context (Hodder 1991), including the context of the Overseas Chinese laundry, the Chinese of Ouray, and the attitudes of Ouray citizens towards them. Culture is not homogenous, even within a single ethnic group, rather, it is extremely complex and diverse. The social conditions and cultural practices of one person's life are dependent on a variety of variables, the formula of which worked to create unique experiences. Among the Chinese, some of these variables include kinship, class, social status, religion, occupation, personal associations, regional heritage, and even the location of one's business or residence (Rains 2003:34). These variables cannot be understood through artifacts alone, making the inclusion of specific historical and local contexts essential when trying to understand past peoples' lives. Investigations of the historical and local contexts result in qualitative data that create the lens through which *things* and *experiences* must be viewed.

For this project, primary and secondary historical sources regarding Overseas Chinese living and working in the United States and Ouray have been examined in hopes of clearly understanding the historical and local context of their lives in Ouray. This chapter begins with a discussion of the context of Overseas Chinese as laundrymen, followed by the history of Overseas Chinese living in Ouray based on primary historical documents. Historic Ouray

newspaper articles relating to the Chinese locally and in general were investigated in order to understand the attitudes of Ouray residents towards local Chinese, and vice versa. The conditions of the red light district are also explored. This chapter, combined with the previous chapter, forms the foundation for understanding the nature of the social relationships that Chinese living on the Vanoli Block may have formed and provides essential insight into past experiences.

Among the most useful primary historical sources used to explore context are Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps and the information recorded on United States Censuses. Both help lead to a better understanding of an area, including the built environment and the demographic of the people living there. Fire insurance maps include information about what a building was used for, how it was constructed, adjacent buildings, and its city designated address. They are furnished online by the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map Collection housed at University of Colorado, Boulder's library (see <http://libcudl.colorado.edu/sanborn/index.asp>). United States Census records can be accessed a number of ways online, the easiest of which is through ancestry websites like Heritage Quest, which is hosted by the Denver Public Library and available for public use at no cost. Censuses accessed include 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, and 1920. The Denver Public Library also houses the Western History Digital Collections, an online source for thousands of historic photos from around the state. Photographs from that collection which depict Overseas Chinese in the West are also used as informative sources. There are costs to the public for publishing or printing these photos, however, browsing them is free and can provide a small glimpse into the past which cannot always be conveyed in words (see <http://history.denverlibrary.org/>). Finally, historic Ouray newspapers are used, including the *Ouray Times*, the *Ouray Herald*, the *Silverite-Plaindealer* and the *Plaindealer*. All of these are available at coloradohistoricnewspapers.org. This website is the result of the combined efforts of

History Colorado (formerly the Colorado Historical Society) and the Colorado State Archives. The site allows for easy and free access to thousands of historic newspapers from all over the state. Its usefulness is maximized by the ability to query by keyword, making the search for specific topics easy and efficient (coloradohistoricnewspapers.org).

Another primary historical source used in this project deserves special mention. *The Chinese Laundryman* (1987) is the work of Dr. Paul Siu, who during the late 1930s and into the 1950s, worked closely with Chinese laundrymen in Chicago to develop an ethnographic manuscript. This work is based on his observations of the laundrymen's daily lives, and through the collection of multiple oral narratives from them about Chinese life and the laundry business. Siu, a Chinese immigrant himself and the son of a Chinese laundrymen, worked to understand the lives and social conditions of working class immigrants, and his ethnography was among the earliest of this kind. While Dr. Siu completed the work in the 1950s, the text was not published until the 1980s, and at the time was the only ethnography focused on Overseas Chinese living in the United States (Tchen 1987 xxii, found in Siu 1987). Siu's work offers an *emic* perspective of Overseas Chinese life in the United States and only post dates the Chinese occupation of Ouray by a little over a decade. Therefore, the ethnography can offer some insight into the context of Overseas Chinese living in Ouray, Colorado. Further, the narratives offer specific details of laundry work and the daily tasks associated with it that cannot be understood through artifacts alone. The context of laundry work can also help us better understand the Overseas Chinese experience, in general (Siu 1987).

I must make mention of several limitations on qualitative data collection for this project. I was unable to access the Ouray Historical Society's archives or make arrangements to access the majority of another historic newspaper, the *Solid Muldoon*. Both resources could shed new light

on my interpretations, and would only enrich information gleaned in this project. It is my hope that access to those sources will occur in the future. Also, while primary historic sources are extremely valuable and contain priceless information, it should be noted that they cannot and do not represent everyone. For example, while some Chinese individuals were mentioned in various newspaper articles, not all appeared on corresponding census records. Further, the racialized and classist attitudes of Euroamericans towards minority groups, including Chinese migrants, resulted in their exclusion from various records, including federal records and local histories. This is illustrated in numerous newspaper articles that simply refer to Chinese individuals as nameless “Chinamen” or the fact that the Ouray Historical Society’s museum briefly describes a single Chinese man who lived in Ouray, despite the fact that there were many more. Also, census takers may not have been able to clearly understand a Chinese resident, nor could all Chinese residents clearly understand census takers (Chinese-Canadian Genealogy 2012; Jung 2007). This inability to communicate resulted in incorrect information about Overseas Chinese to be recorded in census records.

THE CHINESE LAUNDRYMAN

Paul Siu (1987) describes Chinese laundrymen and their experiences based on a series of ethnographic investigations that took place in Chicago, Illinois between the 1930s and 1950s. Siu was largely interested in why ethnic immigrant groups tended to take up the same occupations – more specifically, why so many Overseas Chinese became laundrymen (Siu 1987:1). Siu’s father relocated to the United States in the early 1900s and became a laundryman in the Midwest (Tchen 1987:xxv in Siu 1987). Siu soon followed and was admitted to the University of Chicago to study sociology, a department whose students and faculty were among the first social scientists to study the social conditions of immigrant and working class populations (Tchen

1987:xxvi). His ethnographic research there included participant observation, oral narrative collection, and the study of hundreds of personal letters written and received by the laundrymen (Tchen 1987).

The experiences of the Chinese documented by Siu would have differed from the Chinese of Ouray, however. While the ethnography only postdates the end of the Chinese occupation of Ouray by ten years, it also postdates the earliest Chinese occupation of Ouray by fifty years. At that time, the Chinese of Ouray lived in wood-frame houses, on unpaved roads, used outhouses and likely did not have indoor plumbing. By 1930, the Chinese living in Chicago, on the other hand, would have had access to not only indoor plumbing and electricity; they also would have had access to the very large Chinese community of Chicago. Also, the early Chinese residents of Ouray likely did not have had access to the same items as did the Chinese of Siu's study, including electric laundry technology like washing machines or machine laundry wringers. Further, as we have learned, the Chinese population in Ouray remained very small, and did not extend past the 1920s meaning they couldn't rely solely on the Chinese community for economic and social support. On the other hand, their experiences were likely very similar in terms of the conditions of laundry work, the social interactions among fellow Chinese and Chinese cultural practices (i.e. food consumption, philosophies, or religious practices). This is because of the Chinese tradition of cultural continuity, in which cultural practices change little from generation to generation. This "tradition" has allowed many daily practices to extend through long periods of time, and to transcend Chinese borders into the United States. Because of these factors, Siu's (1987) ethnography does allow us to view the Chinese of Ouray from a more emic perspective than could be done without the text. However, it must always be remembered that Siu's work is not representative of all Overseas Chinese everywhere, no matter the time period.

According to Siu (1987), there are multiple factors that drew Chinese migrants into the laundry business and that kept many of them in it for so long. One Chinese interviewee suggested that the Chinese laundry enterprise in the United States began in San Francisco in 1850 when several women offered work to some young Chinese boys:

“They offered the boys something to do, helping them on wash days. Then men learned how to wash and iron then...I don’t know how it became an enterprise in this country. But I think they just learned it from each other. After all, laundry work is not difficult,” (Siu 1987:52).

Another Chinese man also describes the beginning of the Chinese laundry:

“There were few women in the camp. Like our Chinese countrymen, whites did not bring their women folks. Then who would wash their soiled clothes? They did it themselves, some of them. Most of them were too lazy to do it. That was how Chinese learned to make a few dollars by doing the laundry work for them,” (Siu 1987:53).

These statements represent two aspects of the history of the Chinese laundry in America: the Chinese laundry as a product of economic need; and the Chinese laundry as a result of the layered social and racial conditions affecting Overseas Chinese at the time (Siu 1987:54). The latter suggests that the Chinese laundry expanded because as new Chinese migrants arrived in the United States, they were taken in by established family members, who employed them in their own laundry and taught them the business. The process was repeated a thousand times over, and resulted in the establishment of Chinese laundries in most cities and towns of the United States by the 1930s.

The men Siu interviewed all came to the country with dreams of economic success, but because of the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882, 1892, 1902; Jung 2007), only those who had connections to Chinese already established in the United States were able to make the journey to the United States. Chinese laundrymen here fared better financially than Chinese railroad workers or laborers, and as such, were the largest group of Chinese who could afford the cost of

bringing family members to the United States (Siu 1987:110). They all emigrated from one of four districts in China: Toyshan, Haiping, Enping and Xinhui (Siu 1987:107). All of these areas were located within a few hundred miles of Canton (Guangdong Province). None of the men worked in the laundry business in China, nor were they poor, laboring “coolies” there. Rather, they were working class and middle class men who worked as shop keeps, office clerks, medicine men, merchants, teachers, and fishermen (Siu 1987:107). Many had been formally educated and even came from wealthy families. Many also left wives and children behind in China. The familial connections and the financial success of Chinese laundries (compared to wages earned in China) resulted in a very stable economic and social environment for many Chinese laundrymen in the United States (Siu 1987). As educated, middle class men who travelled to the United States to better their lives economically, here they became common laborers (Siu 1987:114).

Laundry work was described by some of Siu’s interviewees as extremely hard and much harder than the work they did back home (Siu 1987:115). Most worked seven days per week and between ten and sixteen hours per day (Siu 1987:75). The beginning of the laundry day began with preparing the laundry equipment, the amount of which varied depending on the size of the laundry. Usually this would include starting fires in the stoves, starting the washing machines and the steam boiler, and boiling water and heating irons (Siu 1987:73). One day was set aside for sorting the laundry; three days were used to wash the laundry; and three days were used to dry, iron and ready the laundry for customer pick up or drop off (Siu 1987:72). After laundry was first sorted (*mai funn*) it was rinsed, washed and rinsed again. These tasks were most often done in the mornings. Then the laundry was wrung out on wringing machines, hung to dry, starched, ironed and folded (Siu 1987:70, 73). This latter process usually took the longest time

because of the complexity of working with different garments (Siu 1987:74). Once the laundry was ready for the customers, it had to be *poun-funn*, the process of the laundry being wrapped in brown paper with a string, the ticket attached, and the bundle readied for customer pick up or home delivery (Siu 1987:75-76).



Figure 27: Illustration of Chinese men working in a laundry in San Francisco. Used with permission, CINARC 2012: Laundries

The rate at which that these tasks were completed and on which days they were done depended completely on the amount of work any one laundry had at any given time (Siu 1987:70). The Chinese working in Ouray probably did not have access to washing or wringing machines or steam boilers in their laundries – especially in the earliest days, and these tasks likely took far longer than it did for the laundrymen living in 1930s Chicago. And with the large influx of miners in the town, it is likely most of the laundries in Ouray also saw large volumes of work (Figure 27).

Most Chinese laundries in Siu's (1987) studies were divided into four spaces. The first space was located at the front of the building near the entrance. Customers came in through the

front entrance to a counter, where they were greeted by a laundry worker. Here, customer transactions were made over the counter, behind which ironing, folding, or other business duties took place (Siu 1987:58). Transactions usually remained professional and impersonal which created distance between the laundryman and the customer and usually involved the exchange of a laundry ticket for the laundry (Siu 1987:60, 137). Siu (1987:63) notes that the earliest laundry workers rarely spoke English, so instead of writing English numbers, they would draw various sized circles in place of numbers, indicating the different sizes of coins representing the cost of the laundry (Siu 1987:62). The second section of the laundry would have been divided from the first section by shelves, a curtain, or a door. This area made up the living space of those laundry workers who lived in the building. Small beds or cots would be pressed against a wall, or hidden away under a table. Several meals throughout the day would take place in this area, as would more leisurely activities (Sui 1987:58). The third space of the laundry would have been the drying room, and would have been in the middle or the rear of the building (Siu 1987:58). Tin plates would have lined the bottom half of the walls, and the ceiling would have been strung with wire in order to hang the laundry. The building's stove was often located in this area, and was either a wood or coal burning stove. It was kept burning hot to help dry the laundry more quickly. During warmer months, laundry would also sometimes be dried outside (Siu 1987:58). The fourth space of a laundry was the washing area and housed the cook stove, washing machines or sinks, a steam boiler and the building's restroom (Siu 1987:58). Some laundries, depending on how well off they were financially or the types of services they offered, included wringing machines and sewing machines in this area, as well.

According to the men Siu (1987) interviewed, laundry work began as early as five or six o'clock in the morning, and sometimes did not end until after midnight. Because of these long

hours, meals were usually eaten at work and many laundry workers lived on site (Siu 1987:72). One of the laundrymen usually did all or most of the grocery shopping and food preparation. Suppers were usually eaten when the work for the day was completed. This would serve as the largest meal of the day, and would consist of soup, stews, and plates of meats and vegetables (Siu 1987:74). This meal was usually eaten as a group, and allowed for some time to relax and talk about the day. On the last day of the work week, Siu (1987) observed that some laundry workers worked harder to get more work done in order to have more free time for that evening, although, at least one person had to remain on site to watch the laundry (Siu 1987:76)

Labor within a laundry was usually divided evenly among employers and employees, and everyone worked together to get the work done (Siu 1987). As we learned before, this was in part because proprietors most often hired friends, relatives, and friends of friends or people from the same village in China (Siu 1987:70). In these cases employees usually lived on or off site with the owners of the laundry, and wages included living expenses and either profit sharing or weekly wages. Other workers were also sometimes hired, many of whom were African American or Hispanic women, retired Chinese men, or young Chinese boys (Siu 1987:71). In these cases the “outsider” did not live with the proprietors, and his or her wages were based on an hourly pay rate, or work was exchanged for food (Siu 1987:71). One laundry studied by Siu in the 1940s included four workers, two of whom were the owners, while the other two were the employees (Siu 1987:71-77). In this case, one proprietor of the laundry managed the books and made laundry deliveries while the other proprietor did all of the shopping, ordering of supplies, and cooked for everyone. The worker who spoke English worked at the counter, managing customer transactions and did most of the ironing work, while the other did most of the laborious laundry duties (Siu 1987:74).

Based on Siu's accounts, it seems that the laundrymen highly valued their social time, not only as an escape from the long days of laundry work, but also as a chance to connect with other Chinese (Siu 1987). They spent the money they earned on their families back home, and also on the simple luxuries of good food, good clothing and good friends (Siu 1987). Most of the laundrymen tended to socialize amongst each other and with other Chinese living in Chicago's Chinatown (Siu 1987:137). Siu adds that this practice was also due to the fact that "the outside world of [the] laundry [was] cold and strange," (Siu 1987:138). During the little free time the laundrymen had, the men would most often find themselves simply relaxing with each other, and other Chinese laundrymen (Siu 1987:139). On Sundays, one of these men usually hosted a large dinner where several men from different laundries gathered to eat, play games, share news or talk politics and business. Other social events corresponded with traditional Chinese festivals or holidays and birthdays, all of which also included large meals and games. Siu also observed that some Chinese men also celebrated American holidays, specifically Thanksgiving, Christmas and the New Year (Siu 1987: 152, 154), while others took part in other American activities, including going to the movies or attending a bible school (Siu 1987:138, 145). Despite these activities, interactions between the laundrymen and Euroamericans largely remained professional (Siu 1987:137). Close connections to family and friends in China were maintained by most of the Chinese men Siu interviewed – if they did not keep up on these connections, they were reminded to do so by their wives and families back home (Siu 1987:164).

THE CHINESE OF OURAY

It is hard to know exactly when Chinese migrants began settling in Ouray, but the United States Census indicates that three Chinese men were living in the area by 1880 (United States Census, City of Ouray, 1880). This is less than a decade after the town was settled and means

that Chinese were among the earliest Ouray residents (Figure 12). Based on the 1880 census, the earliest individuals listed were See Hong, Sam Paine, and Moo Sang (United States Census, City of Ouray, 1880). They shared a single household, were aged between 30 and 42, worked as “washermen,” were all married, and were all recorded as not being able to speak English (United States Census 1880, Ouray County: 6). By 1885, the census reveals that the number of Chinese residents in Ouray doubled to six men - Sam Pang, Chee Sing, Joe Lee, Young Lee, Wing Lee and Long Sam (United States Census 1885, Ouray County: 25). The ages of the men were more varied than in previous years, which ranging from 17 to 40. All were listed as working in a laundry, but only Sam Pang was recorded as married. As in previous years, none of the men are listed as speaking or writing English.

It is not clear what happened to these early Chinese residents of Ouray as none but one of them appears on later censuses. It is likely Sam Paine is actually Sam Pang, who does appear on later censuses, and that the earlier recording was a mistake or misunderstanding on the part of the census enumerator. The other two men listed in 1880 may have remained in Ouray and were just simply not recorded on later censuses. Further, many Chinese in Ouray may have never appeared on censuses in the first place. This could be because they may have lived where they worked and census takers only visited known residences, or language barriers could have prevented census takers from acquiring all of the information they were looking for (Vancouver Public Library 2012: Chinese-Canadian Genealogy).

After 1885 and before 1900 nearly twenty more Chinese men made their way to Ouray, tripling the Chinese population. The United States Census from 1900 also reveals more about where the men were living. While it is still difficult to read the addresses, nearly all documented Chinese residents are listed on the census in a row and living on 2nd Street (United States Census

1900, Ouray County 1900:20), and at least three Chinese men were living somewhere on 3rd Street. All Chinese listed in 1900 were aged between 31 and 55, and all but three men were married. Many were even listed as having lived in the United States for many years, sometimes twenty or more. Most spoke English and most were working in the laundry business, although there were other Chinese who found work in the area in different fields. One man, Yee Wong, worked as a house servant, while Yup Lee and Wing Wo were both working as cooks on 3rd Street. Chin Lee, also a cook, was even listed as a naturalized citizen (United States Census 1900, Ouray County: 20). The inclusion of new information like naturalization, or the fact that occupations other than laundrymen were recorded, and that more Chinese were included could be a product of the census enumerator's ability to speak to English speaking Chinese rather than just population increases, alone. These changes could also be a result of the fact that the 1890s were a time when Ouray witnessed a huge boom in business and population, which could have been seen as a business opportunity for many Chinese.

Despite this major increase in the Chinese population, by 1910, most of the Chinese had left the area. Only five men are listed on the year's census, all aged between 48 and 66 (United States Census 1910, Ouray County). The 1910 census is written much more legibly and some of the individual addresses and streets are more easily deciphered. Jim Lee, age 47, was listed living at 429 Oak Street, which was on the far west side of town. He was working as a laundryman and could also speak English. Lee Wah, also known as Wah Lee, was listed at 410 3rd Street, was working as a laundryman and could also speak English. Sam Pang, who seems to have lived in Ouray longer than other Chinese residents and was a naturalized citizen, was listed as living on 3rd Street, and was aged 66 at the time (United States Census Ouray County 1880 and 1910). Jim Kee, also living on 3rd Street, worked at a hand laundry and also spoke English. Wang See, age

48, was living at 357 2nd Street and worked as a servant and cook for a female boarding house operated by the madam Lille Maurelle (United States Census Ouray County 1900). By 1920, only two Chinese residents were still living in the city: Charlie Lee living on the Vanoli Block and working at a “hotel” laundry; and long-time Ouray resident, Jim Lee, living on 6th Avenue, also working at a laundry. Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps from that year only recorded one Chinese laundry in Ouray, the one on the Vanoli Block.

Historic Chinese communities in the United States were made up of friends and relatives who migrated to the United States from the same village (Sinn 2005). These familial relationships can often be seen in Chinatowns when whole sections could be found with residents all having the same proper name and can be an indication of whole families or even villages living in one neighborhood (Lister and Lister 1989b). This does not seem to be the case in Ouray, however. There, the most common name was Lee, followed by Wong, however there are also a variety of other names, including Pang, Wang, Sing, Sang and See (United States Census, City of Ouray, 1880, 1885, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920). It is hard to know whether these names are correct or Americanized. Census records do indicate all Chinese in Ouray either lived alone or with other Chinese. Based on the information about Chinese household dynamics, their households were likely comprised of people with whom they had an established relationship – brothers, fathers, friends, cousins, fellow villagers or business associates.

Other than those addresses on census records that are legible, it difficult to know exactly where these Chinese men were living in Ouray, especially prior to 1910 as addresses are not listed on all of the censuses. In 1900, the census records begin to include addresses which indicate that several Chinese men lived on 3rd Street, one lived on Oak Street, while nearly fifteen lived on 2nd Street (Sanborn Fire Insurance Map 1899/1900, 1910; United States Censuses

1900). Chinese men living on 2nd Street were listed as living next to prostitutes as well as miners, lawyers, teachers and families, suggesting that the men probably lived along the whole extent of the street. In fact, all of the census records investigated reveal that all of the Chinese in Ouray were living in close proximity to other working class, Euroamericans - men, women and children from a variety of ethnic and occupational backgrounds (Figure 28).

In 1880, Sam Paine (Pang), See Hong and Moo Sang were listed as living next to miners James James and James McAllister, merchant J .T. Wallace, and druggist J.F. Taylor (United States Census: City of Ouray 1880). In 1885, Sam Pang, Chee Sing, Joe Lee, Young Lee, Wing Lee and Long Sam lived next to packer U. Ashenfield and his wife, miner J. Beran, and civil engineer J. Affott and his family (United States Census: City of Ouray 1885). In 1900, twelve Chinese men lived in three adjacent houses, on 2nd Street, however, their surrounding neighbors were still Euroamericans - teamster Chase Carney and his family, and farmer Thomas Yiffith, his wife, daughters and miner sons. That same year, six other Chinese men also lived in adjacent houses on 3rd Street. Their neighbors were miners Pete Lawrence, Chas Nelson and Marion Leake (United States Census: City of Ouray, 1900).

In 1910, Jim Lee lived on Oak Street next to engineer Walter Wheeler and his family, delivery driver Arthur Doane, and freighting manager James Donald; Wah Lee lived on 3rd Street next to prostitute Nellie Gray and carpenter Edward Ely, and porter Leon Edwards and his family; Sam Pang also lived on 3rd Street, next to salesman Samuel Cominsley and his family, Chinese laundryman Jim Kee, and dressmaker Marie Smith and her three children; and Wang Gee lived in what seems to have been a brothel on 2nd Street, along with prostitutes Elsie Stewart, Ruby Wilson, Lorene Dewitt and madam Lilly Maurell. Their neighbors were saloon keep Martin Beck and prostitutes Tempest Roberts and Jessie Starr and madam Laurie Maurell

(United States Census: City of Ouray 1910). In 1920, Charlie Lee was living 832 Main Street, the laundry associated with the Vanoli Block. His neighbors were Minnie, Mary and Barney Vanoli, and porter Edward Graves (United States Census: City of Ouray 1920).

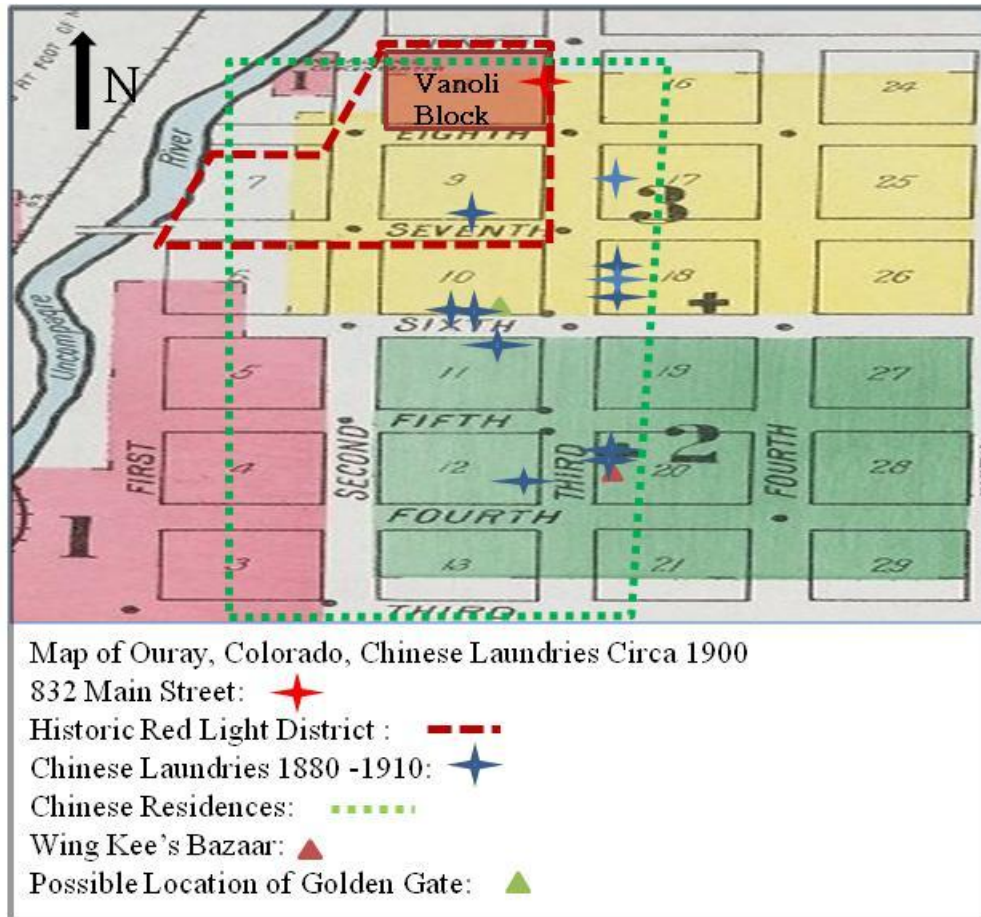


Figure 28: Based on Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps: 1886, 1893, 1899, 1900, 1908, background from 1899 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map

Sanborn Maps indicate that Chinese businesses were also located next door to Euroamerican businesses in Ouray's main business district, most along Main Street or one block west on 6th and 7th Avenues (Figure 28) (1893, 1896, 1899, 1900, 1908). In 1886, there was one Chinese laundry, located on 3rd Street (Sanborn Fire Insurance Map 1886, City of Ouray). In 1886, the building associated with the Chinese laundry on the Vanoli Block was listed as a dwelling and could have been occupied by anyone. By 1893, the Sanborn Maps indicate the

existence of five Chinese laundries; all but one were located on 3rd Street. The laundry on Block 16 is located next to a livery and several homes; the laundry on Block 17 was located next to a hotel, a blacksmith and a florist; the two laundries on Block 19 were located next to a barber, a grocer, a butcher, a second hand store and a pharmacy. In 1899, Chinese businesses continued to open in the business district, right next to a variety of Euroamerican businesses. Sanborn Maps indicate there were nine Chinese laundries, most of which were located on 3rd street, with several located on 6th and 7th Avenues. Wing Kee's Oriental Bazaar was located on Block 20, next to the Delmonico Hotel, a furniture store and millinery (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps: City of Ouray, 1886, 1893, 1896, 1899, 1908).

The Chinese seem to have been spatially integrated in the Ouray community, as residents and as businessmen, and would have been seeing and interacting with Euroamericans on a regular basis. Combined with the fact that Chinese businesses continued to be established until 1900, it seems the Chinese in Ouray must have been somewhat accepted by Euroamericans in the community. Euroamericans and Chinese both would have been customers in Chinese businesses and similarly, they also would have sold items to Chinese consumers. Interethnic interactions would have been a normal part of Ouray residents' daily lives. This sharply contrasts with Chinatowns, in which social and economic networks could be accessed almost completely within the Chinese community. Chinese interacted with their Chinese neighbors, and Chinese businesses were patronized by Chinese consumers. Another difference between the Chinese of Ouray and Chinatowns that is suggested by data from the census records and the Sanborn Maps is that most of the Chinese businesses were located outside of the red light district. This contrasts with the fact that in urban areas, like Denver or Los Angeles, Chinatowns were usually located in, or adjacent to, the local red light district. This means that the Ouray's Chinese were not being

pushed to the outskirts of the community. In fact, only two laundries seem to ever have been located in the red light district: the one associated with Operation 8, one located on 7th Avenue, and one located on the north side of 6th Avenue. The rest of the Chinese businesses were located south of the red light district on 3rd Street (Figure 28).

Among the Chinese businesses in Ouray was also a single Chinese restaurant called the *Golden Gate* and a Chinese operated *Oriental Bazaar* (Figure 28). The restaurant was located in the Munn Building, “opposite the Dunbarton Bathhouse,” (Ouray Herald: December 31, 1896). It is not clear where the Dunbarton Bathhouse was located, however, there was a bathhouse opposite a restaurant on 6th Avenue (Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, City of Ouray, 1886, 1899, 1908). In earlier years, the bathhouse was unnamed, while in later years it was called the Ouray Bathhouse. Roger Henn (1999:140) notes that the Munn cabin was located where Citizen’s Bank is today, which is on the northwest corner of Main Street and 6th Avenue. Based on this information, it seems the restaurant was located on the north side of 6th Avenue, but this is not known for sure. The *Golden Gate* had a series of Chinese operators, including Wooh Wang and Lee Sing (Silverite-Plaindealer: April 21, 1899). Neither person appears on any of the United States Censuses from Ouray between 1880 and 1920, so information about age, marital status or primary occupation isn’t known. A specifically Chinese restaurant is not identified on the Sanborn Maps, despite the fact that Chinese laundries are clearly distinguished. Like the laundries, the restaurant was probably located next door to other Euroamerican businesses. It’s not clear when the restaurant opened, but it is clear that it was closed by 1902 when the restaurant and the building were purchased by Joseph Macan (Ouray Herald: May 11, 1902).

Something New In Oriental Elegance.

Wing Kee's Importations for the Christmas Holidays are Replete with Many Beautiful.

If you want to make a Christmas gift that is out of the ordinary, and something everybody else has not got, visit Wing Kee's Oriental Bazaar, near the St Elmo hotel, and look over the many new and choice articles he has imported from China and Japan especially for the holiday trade. The prices are astonishingly low, also, when it is considered that the goods are genuine importations from the Orient. He has elegant silks, handkerchiefs for both men and ladies, a handsome assortment of decorated and unique china of all kinds, queer jugs, odd vases, rare bric-a-brac, exquisite baskets, and a hundred other beautiful things, all very appropriate for presents.

Figure 29: Wing Kee's Oriental Bazaar, Plaindealer: December 9, 1904

The only other Chinese businessmen in Ouray besides laundrymen and restaurateurs were Chinese merchants: Wing Kee who owned the *Oriental Bazaar* (Figure 28); and the merchant Ah Jake Sing. It is not clear where Mr. Sing's business was at or what kind of goods he sold based on the information that is available. Much more is known about Wing Kee, who first appears on paper in 1900 on the United States Census for Ouray and is also listed again in 1910. In 1900, he is listed as 38, married, working at a laundry and living with several other Chinese men. In 1910, he is listed alone and is working at his own laundry on 3rd Street. A newspaper advertisement in the *Plaindealer* announces Wing Kee's bazaar, and the Japanese and Chinese imports he suggests for holiday trade (Plaindealer: September 18, 1903). At this time, the advertisement indicates his bazaar is located across the street from the Wright Opera House on 3rd Street, which could be the laundry located at 428/318 3rd Street. In 1904, Kee took out a much larger advertisement in the *Plaindealer*, advertising "Something New in Oriental Elegance" (Plaindealer December 9, 1904). This time, he notes his shop is near the St. Elmo Hotel which is a few doors south of the Wright Opera House, possibly indicating Kee moved his place of business. Again, Kee boasts imported Chinese and Japanese silks, handkerchiefs, decorated table wares, "queer jugs, odd vases, rare bric-a-brac, exquisite baskets,

and a hundred other beautiful things, all very appropriate for presents.” (Plaindealer: December 8, 1904).

Wing Kee is among the few Chinese residents to appear numerous times in the local papers by his full name and not simply as an unnamed Chinaman, *Chinee*, or celestial. A series of newspaper articles report that Kee was arrested by the Department of Immigration in 1905 for allegedly violating section 6 of the Chinese Exclusion Act and Geary Law (Plaindealer: January 6, 1905). He was accused of operating a laundry along with his bazaar, which was illegal under the Geary Law. Mr. Kee’s arrest was broadcast in two of Ouray’s newspapers on the same date, including the *Plaindealer* and the *Ouray Herald*. After his arrest, Kee was taken to Pueblo, Colorado, a bustling industrial town several hundred miles east of Ouray (Ouray Herald: January 3, 1905). Kee did in fact work in the laundry business which was indicated on the United States Census from 1900 as well as several newspaper articles covering his affairs (Plaindealer: March 3, 1905).

Despite his obvious violation of the Geary Law, Kee still received the support of much of the Ouray community, which supports the notion that at least some of the Chinese were accepted into the local community. The *Ouray Herald* mentions that Kee “has the sympathy of all the citizens of Ouray who knew him, as he was a good citizen and attended strictly to his business at all times and was always found to be gentlemanly,” (Ouray Herald January 3, 1905). The *Plaindealer* also sent Kee their sympathies, writing that he had been an upstanding member of the community for many years (Plaindealer: January 13, 1905). Despite the community’s support, in March of 1905, Kee sold his laundry and his bazaar, and traveled back to Pueblo for his trial (Plaindealer March 3, 1905). In May of the same year, Kee was cleared by the courts, and returned to Ouray for a short time (Ouray Herald: May 12, 1905). By December 1905, Kee

once again advertised his assortment of Japanese and Chinese imports, however at this time his store seems to have been located across from the Elks Home, which would put it in the same area as his previous business (Plaindealer: December 8, 1905). Sometime thereafter, Kee left Ouray once again and returned to China for a time, where he was married possibly for a second time, and later opened a mercantile store in Pueblo (Plaindealer: December 25, 1908). Kee returned to Ouray, however, and opened yet another laundry, despite his previous conflicts with the law. In June of 1910, the laundry caught fire which had spread from another fire in a different building (Ouray Herald: June 10, 1910). What became of Mr. Kee is unknown— he doesn't seem to appear in the *Ouray Herald* or the *Plaindealer* after 1910 nor is he listed on the 1920 United States Censuses. It may be that like other Chinese in the area, he left Ouray sometime before 1920 and possibly moved back to Pueblo or China.

A few other Chinese individuals living in Ouray also appear in several newspaper articles, including Jim Lee, Jim Kee, Ah "Jake" Sing, Lee Qong, Sam Pang, Wah Lee and Lee "Tom" Foley. Very little is known about these men. The majority of the newspaper articles that include named Chinese men reported on crimes against them or their laundries. Unnamed Chinese men also appear in newspaper reports, however, those articles are usually reporting on the crimes committed by them.

Jim Lee is listed on the United States Census first in 1900. He, and possibly the men he lived with, worked at the laundry, located "west of the Ouray Herald's office," (Ouray Herald: February 12, 1904). Lee was listed again the 1910 and 1920 censuses, at which time his address was listed as on the east side of 6th Avenue, "between 2nd and 3rd Street," (United States Census, City of Ouray, 1920). The Sanborn Maps of 1908 indicate there were two Chinese laundries on 6th Avenue, which could mean Lee was actually living at his laundry. Over the period of time

Lee lived in Ouray he endured vandalism, violence and what seems like severe depression. In 1901, the *Plaindealer* reported that Jim Lee attempted suicide and was taken to the hospital for treatment (Plaindealer: October 18, 1907). The same report mentioned that Mr. Lee was a known gambler and drinker and not well liked by other Chinese living in the area (Ouray Herald: January 17, 1908). The *Plaindealer* continued to update the town of Ouray on his condition following his hospitalization. In October, it was stated that he was in poor condition (Plaindealer: October 25, 1907), and in December, the newspaper reported he had been diagnosed with rheumatism (Plaindealer: December 6, 1907). While the motivation for Lee's suicide attempt can never truly be known, it seems that substance abuse was definitely a factor, as was violence. The *Ouray Herald* reported on several attacks aimed at Lee and his laundry which took place over several years beginning in 1904 (Ouray Herald: February 12, 1904). It is not clear what became of Mr. Lee after 1920. Also, it is hard to know if the newspaper reports are reporting on the same Jim Lee. "Jim" and "Lee" are both very common names, and appear hundreds of times on many United States census records. Further, the report of the suicide attempt and the subsequent updates refer to goings on in Ridgeway, a small town located north of Ouray, while the Jim Lee whose shop was vandalized was located in Ouray's business district. It could be that there were two (maybe more) Jim Lee's living in the area.

Another Chinese resident also attacked by Euroamerican men was Wah Lee, who was first listed on the United States Census in 1900 (Plaindealer: March 24, 1905). At the time, he lived with several other Chinese men on 2nd Street, was 40 years old, worked as a laundryman and was married (United States Census, City of Ouray, 1900). In 1910, Lee is listed on the United States Census again, however, at this time he is 63 years old and lives on 3rd Street. Based on the discrepancy in ages it is not known if this is the same man, or two different men. Also,

Wah or *Ah* was an informal prefix added to a given name, or nickname that many Chinese men went by, possibly indicating they could indeed be two separate men (Chinese-Canadian Genealogy 2012: Chinese Names in Canada). Regardless, in March 1905, the *Plainedealer* reported that a Wah Lee was attacked in his laundry around midnight (Plainedealer March 34, 1905). The assailants filled Mr. Lee's chimney with rags, making the wood burning stove spew smoke into the laundry. The stove caught fire, and soon Mr. Lee's laundry was up in flames. In 1909, the *Ouray Herald* reported that Wah Lee left Ouray and moved back to China (Ouray Herald December 3, 1909). The report also states that Mr. Lee was among the oldest Chinese men in Ouray and had been running his laundry opposite the Cascade Grocery.

Like Wah Lee, Sam Pang was also among the longest established Chinese residents of Ouray. It is likely he is first listed on the 1880 United States census as Sam Paine. At that time he was 30 years old, married and worked with two older men in a laundry. It could be that these three men ran one of the earliest laundries of Ouray, which seems to have been located on Block 18 of 3rd Street (Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, City of Ouray, 1886). Mr. Pang is listed again on the 1885 census, living with four different Chinese men. He is also listed again in 1900 and 1910, at which time he was listed as 66 years old. By 1900, Mr. Pang had learned to speak English (United States Census, City of Ouray, 1900). At that time he is also listed as living on 3rd Street, and based on his association with an opium den, it could be he resided at the Vanoli laundry. The *Ouray Herald* also reports that Sam Pang was the "biggest" Chinaman in town and led the celebrations for the Chinese New Year (Ouray Herald: February 7, 1901). The same article mentions humorously that the Chinese of Ouray liked to imbibe during the New Year, and that they resembled Irishmen working on the railroad more so than a Chinamen working in the laundry. Another article in the *Ouray Herald* suggests that Mr. Pang operated an opium den

along with his laundry as the article reports that Kittie Drew, presumably a prostitute working in Ouray's red light district, was picked up by the night marshal from Mr. Pang's den (Ouray Herald October 24, 1904). In 1905, Ms. Drew died from her opium addiction (Ouray Herald August 4, 1905). That same article notes that Ms. Drew frequented Chinese "opium joints", possibly indicating there were more than one. It is not clear where Mr. Pang's laundry or opium den were located. The only mention of an opium den in the local papers was the one on the Vanoli Block near Operation 8 (Ouray Herald: June 10, 1897). Based on this information, it could be that Mr. Pang lived on the Vanoli Block and is associated with the assemblage recovered from Operation 8. However, opium dens could have been located at any Chinese laundry located in or near the red light district – and really, any Chinese laundry for that matter. If Mr. Pang's laundry was not at 832 Main Street, it was probably one of the other laundries located in the red light district, possibly one of the laundries on 7th or even 6th Avenue.

Other Chinese residents are only briefly mentioned in the local papers. Lee Qong is mentioned in the *Ouray Herald* in 1902 when his brother, Lee Tong of Durango, came to Ouray in order to exhume Qong's remains to take them back to China for reinterment (Ouray Herald: November 21, 1902). It seems that Mr. Qong was killed in Ouray in 1890. Qong is not listed on any of the United States Censuses for Ouray. Another man, Ah Jake Sing was also a Chinese merchant in Ouray. The only mention of him is a small advertisement in the *Ouray Herald* in 1911, in which Mr. Sing announces that the telegraph office made a mistake and a missing message should be sent to him immediately (Ouray Herald September 15, 1911). Sing is not listed on any of the United States Censuses, nor is a Chinese shop identified on the Sanborn Maps from the time period.

Based on which Chinese residents the newspapers chose to report on, and how those reports were written, it seems that Ouray citizens perceived of the Chinese community as divided into at least two social groups which were dependent on income and business location. For example, Wing Kee was a merchant, a business that required more capital than the laundry business. Further, his laundries and his shop were located on the south side of the town, several blocks from the red light district. His affairs with the law and the acts of violence towards him were consistently recorded by the *Ouray Herald*, which offered the community's support in his times of need. Similarly, other vandalized laundries reported on in local papers all seem to have been located outside of the red light district. On the other hand, events taking place among the Chinese living in the red light district are only reported on when the law had been broken or when a prostitute was involved. For example, the laundry associated with Operation 8 was raided for its business in opium in 1897 (*Ouray Herald*: June 10, 1897). Several Euroamerican men and one woman are named in the report, however, the Chinese residents involved were only referred to as "two Chinamen". Based on this information, it seems that the Chinese who did not have business dealings associated in the red light district received the support of the local community during hard times – while those who were associated with the red light district did not.

It is not clear *who* was living or working at the laundry associated with Operation 8 until 1920 when it was occupied by Charlie Lee (United States Census, City of Ouray, 1880, 1885, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920). Lee and the other Chinese men associated with the Vanoli Site were probably perceived as having a lower social status than Chinese not associated with the district, such as Wing Kee. Not only was their business in the heart of the red light district, they also lived there, in the cribs located directly behind the laundry building. Roger Henn (1999), a native of Ouray, writes, "there was a section of cribs in the back of the Chinese laundry near Rawley's

barn that was occupied by the Chinese," (Henn 1999:111). There were two sets of cribs located directly west of the laundry (see Figure 13). The laundry itself was a very small, wood-frame structure, measuring roughly 10 x 12 feet which seems far too small to house a business and a residence.

The main entrance of the laundry faced Main Street, looking east. Until 1908, directly across Main Street from the laundry was a stone structure accompanied by several wood frame homes (Sanborn Fire Insurance Map 1899). As mentioned before, to the building's north was C.H. Rawles (also called C.H. Rawley) livery, corral and a mule barn. To the building's south were two saloons, the Vanoli Saloon and the Roma Saloon, and the 220. Directly behind the laundry, in the alley, was the privy associated with Operation 8. Directly west of that were two sets of cribs which housed prostitutes working in the area (See Figure 29). The cribs were also wood frame structures, and were quite small. To the southwest of these cribs was the Gold Belt Dance Theater. The alley area behind the buildings on Block 8 seemed to be like a courtyard area for customers of the red light district. There were several other privies and trash piles throughout the space.

The area was probably quite loud and boisterous in the evenings, especially on the weekends when several hundred miners came into Ouray to eat, dance, gamble and engage with sporting women (Smith 2006). By the turn of the century, Block 8 would have smelled of outhouses, mule barns, and trash, intermingled with mountain air. Into the late evening, the sounds of drunken men would have been heard against the backdrop of music coming from the Gold Belt Theater. These men could have been seen accompanying working women into their cribs, or moving from saloon to saloon. Every once in a while, gunshots could be heard, causing the mules to stir and waking others from sleep. Working women would have been seen engaging

with each other, spending time at the local bath house, or returning to their cribs after a night's work. Like many prostitutes in the United States, they probably also found themselves in the homes of Chinese men, as customers smoking opium, and as service providers fulfilling sexual needs.

Although pictures were not found of any laundry in Ouray, it probably resembled other wood-frame structures in the area as well as other laundries of the time (Figure 30). Chinese laundries located elsewhere suggest that most painted signs for the store front in red or white text which indicted the owner of the laundry (Siu 1987:57). Red was culturally meaningful among Chinese, and symbolized luck and prosperity (Siu 1987:57). Signs on Chinese laundries were sometimes painted directly on the windows or the face of the building, and other times the signs hung out perpendicular above the door. The laundry was probably open from very early in the morning until very late in the evening, seven days a week, and likely only closed the week of the Chinese New Year (Plaindealer: January 31, 1908).



Figure 30: Early laundries in Colorado. From top left: a.) City Laundry in Red Mountain, 1882-1893, x-11521; b.) Laundry in Telluride, 1892, DPL x-123. Used with permission, Denver Public Library, Western Genealogy Collection.



Figure 31: Chinese men in western-style clothing. From top left: a.) Chinese man in unknown Colorado town, 1880-1900, DPL x-21520; b.) Chinese –American men in Georgetown, 1890-1910, DPL x-21660; c.) Chinese family in Idaho, DPL x-21512. Used with permission, Denver Public Library, Western Genealogy Collection

Although it was located on Main Street, in clear view for all to see, the laundry was probably mostly patronized by residents living and working in the red light district area or the working class citizens living on 2nd Street. This notion is based on Ouray residents' attitudes towards the red light district and more specifically, the activities going on in the area, discussed later in this chapter. Customers would have entered on Main Street. Upon coming in the front door, they would have been greeted by one of the Chinese men standing behind the counter. Depending on the laundryman's political preference and whether or not he supported the Qing Dynasty, he or they may or may not have worn a queue - the long braid worn in his hair (Voss

2005:432). It seems that after the turn of the century, many Chinese men in Ouray did not support the “Flowery Kingdom”, and chose to wear their hair short (Ouray Herald: January 19, 1912). According to historic photographs, many Chinese men living in the West, and perhaps some of the Chinese in Ouray, chose to wear western clothing, much like other working class men during that period (Figure 31). Other Chinese in the West chose to continue to wear traditional Chinese clothing, like the style worn by Ah Sing, pictured here in Kansas (Figure 32).



Figure 32: Sing Lee in Kansas, 1880-1900. Used with permission, Denver Public Library, Western Genealogy Collection, x-21521

Once inside the laundry, the customer would have seen the Chinese laundryman standing behind the counter, where he would have been managing multiple tasks, including ironing, balancing books or making lists of supplies to pick up for both the laundry and the household. Chinese décor may have adorned the wall, or an abacus may have lay beside the laundryman’s paperwork (Siu 1987). The customer would have brought his or her laundry to the counter, for which they would

be given a ticket. The matching ticket would have been attached to the laundry bundle by the laundrymen, and it would then be placed under the counter for sorting. In the earliest days of the laundry, some of the Chinese men may not have spoken English. This would make customer interactions purely professional with little conversational exchange, save for a hello, exchange of laundry, a good bye and those associated facial expressions. However, after the late 1890s and

into the 1900s, many Chinese living in Ouray did speak English, which would have allowed them to have more complex interactions with their customers, say about the weather, local news or specific tasks needed to clean the garments. Once the customer left the laundry, the Chinese man behind the counter went back to work, either managing books or actually doing laundry work.

The attitudes of Euroamerican residents towards Chinese residents, and vice versa, would have had a significant effect on the social meanings of different objects and activities, as well as the nature of social relationships. In the United States, attitudes were mixed. Many Chinese faced discrimination and violence, which not only stemmed from local Euroamerican communities, but also from state and federal governments (Lister and Lister 1989b; Orser 2007). These negative attitudes were fueled by racialized stereotypes, a poor understanding of Chinese culture, and the perception that the Chinese were a threat to American society (Jung 2007). However, not all Chinese experiences were negative, and not all Euroamericans disliked Chinese immigrants. Many Chinese were accepted by local Euroamericans, and many went on to lead happy and successful lives in the United States. In Ouray, Euroamerican attitudes were definitely mixed, which is reflected in historic newspaper articles. Some reports reflect stereotypical perceptions of Overseas Chinese or denounce their presence in the community and call for their removal, while others publicize support for Chinese presence in the community. It seems that while local Chinese were somewhat accepted into the community as neighbors, many Euroamericans were still wary of their presence, as expressed in an article in the *Plaindealer*, “The Chinese are not a bad lot - if kept away from Sunday schools and gushing females,” (Plaindealer: July 16, 1909).

One article published in the *Ouray Herald* reports on the strange habits of Chinese people and tells a tale of how they are able to tell the time of day by looking into the eyes of cats, “even

when it is cloudy,” (Ouray Herald: February 18, 1897). There are also several articles that describe Chinese cultural practices, most of which are viewed as “peculiar”. One describes Chinese dietary habits as “shocking” and “absurd” because their favorite foods were pickled eggs and fricasseed dog, and because they ate nothing cold (Ouray Herald: August 12, 1897). There was even an ethnographic-like article written in 1902 which explained the “peculiar” burial customs of the Chinese, while another described their “foolish superstitions” (Ouray Herald: February 2, 1902; October 26, 1905).

Another stereotype that affected attitudes was opium use among Chinese in the United States and in China. Around the turn of the century, many Ouray residents began to fight the area’s immense population of gambling and prostitution houses, and local Chinese were thought to be associated with these businesses because of opium use – regardless of whether or not they were actually associated with the drug or the businesses. The *Ouray Herald* illustrates how Chinese opium dens were viewed in an article about cigar manufacturing:

“If people knew and stopped to consider unsanitary conditions under which these so called high class trust goods are made, they would undoubtedly be more solitious [sic] as to who made their cigars...the arrangement of having the weeds made under contract in filthy tenement houses and in Chinese opium dens is revolting in the extreme. Just stop to think, is your favorite brand rolled by one of a mob of Chinks in a reeking coolie joint?” (Ouray Herald: July 10, 1908).

And another article illustrates how most local Chinese were thought to have used opium:

“The police have been on the lookout for some time for violators of the law relating to opium and other arrests are more than likely to follow....Of the latter [Chinese men] very few to not smoke,” (Ouray Herald: June 10, 1897).

As in other parts of the United States, it is clear that local Chinese were not accepted even as businessmen by many people in Ouray, and negative opinions about were manifested by boycotts, vandalism and violence. Newspaper reports suggest there was a large population of

miners and union workers that despised their presence, and beginning at the turn of the century, these groups gathered in unofficial groups and boycotted Chinese businesses in an effort to chase them out of the San Juan area. Notices of the boycotts were created and posted in gambling halls throughout the area, stating that the “Almond-eyed Chinese” were un-American because of their opium use, their willingness to work hard for little money and their practice of sending money back to China (Plaindealer: October 11, 1901).

The *Plaindealer* reinforced its support of local miners by stating it hired *only* union workers and that other businesses should do the same (Plaindealer: December 6, 1901) and also published a number of articles and editorials covering the subject over several years. The feelings of miners and union laborers are illustrated in an article written by the editor of the *Plaindealer* in 1902:

“In fact, [the Chinese man] does not become a citizen at all and as a rule, he pays no taxes and contributes nothing toward the upbuilding [sic] or support of the community, its welfare or institutions. And last, but not least, the bulk of the money which he eternally scrambles for night and day, Sunday and Sunday night, he forwards to his rat eating constituency of the Orient, and that is the last that is ever seen of it in this county,” (Plaindealer: March 14, 1902).

Adding to the fire, during the same period of time, union organizations around the country were fighting to improve working conditions for laborers. Chinese workers and businessmen were known to work long hours, in poor working conditions and for little pay (Jung 2007). This work ethic completely undermined union values and added to the list of reasons local miners and union laborers wanted to remove Chinese from the area is reflected in the following newspaper report:

“Ouray maintains a half dozen of these establishments [Chinese laundries and chophouses], yet boasts of being a union camp. Ouray has a number of good restaurants and a first class steam laundry, yet the Mongolian joints thrive while the competing establishments worry along in the nine hole – and this is a union town....It is no

uncommon thing to see the union man dodge the laundry wagon in order to connect with a heather “washee-house”...rather than pay a fair price for a good meal in a restaurant that employs union labor,” (Plaindealer: December 6, 1901).

Another article in the *Plaindealer* notes that young women of the area who were engaged in the laundry business were forced to make only half of what they required in order to compete with Chinese laundries, and that “white” labor should strengthen the quality of their services in order to obtain more customers:

“In order to turn the laundry work from the Chinese to white labor, the latter must first provide as good a service as that given by the Chinese, which up to this time has not [been] done. As long as white labor does not do as good work as the Chinese, it must not expect to get the work to do,” (Plaindealer: March 14, 1902).

In September 1901, the Miner’s Union No. 15 officially passed a resolution discouraging Ouray residents from patronizing Chinese businesses or hiring Chinese laborers (Plaindealer: December 13, 1901). And in October 1901, the *Plaindealer* reported that organized labor groups in Telluride also moved to boycott all Chinese businesses and labor (Plaindealer: October 11, 1901). By March 1902 the affair had reached the Ouray county court. A committee of five men was developed, each representing the unions in the area. They discussed how and why Chinese and Japanese immigrants should be forced out of the area pending federal legislation that would move to deport all Chinese living in the United States, regardless of their naturalization status or their status in their own community (Ouray Herald: March 17, 1902).

Violence against Chinese residents increased around 1902 as a result of the negative attitudes of local miners and union workers. In 1902, several Chinese men were attacked in an alley by “a gang of toughs” who also later broke into a Chinese laundry and assaulted another Chinese man (Ouray Herald: April 25, 1902). Jim Kee was robbed and beaten by a man named Andy Maloy in 1903 (Ouray Times: May 22, 1903), and in 1904 Jim Lee’s laundry was

vandalized (Ouray Herald: February 12, 1904; Ouray Herald August 7, 1907). In 1905, Lee was nearly killed when the assailants filled Lee's chimney with rags after he was asleep (Plaindealer: March 24, 1905). That same year, Wah Lee's laundry was also vandalized. And in 1907, Jim Lee was attacked for a fourth time and Wing Kee was assaulted at his shop by two men (Ouray Herald May 17, 1907). The men were arrested and held only briefly and fined only ten dollars for the assault.

Despite the attitudes that fueled this violence, anti-Chinese sentiments were not held by all Ouray residents, and the verbal and violent attacks aimed towards them did not go unnoticed by the larger community (Figure 33). Further, it seems that much of the extreme anti-Chinese sentiment were mostly held by those miners, union workers and businessmen who were either not permanent residents in Ouray or who were in direct competition with Chinese in the area. The editor of the *Ouray Herald*, Ernest C. Bacon, pointed this out in an editorial he wrote in response to the boycott, which he called "a ridiculous absurdity," that brought about "needless suffering" for a humble and menial people (Ouray Herald: March 14, 1902). Bacon went on to write:

"The business men of Ouray, the working men with homes do not propose to become engaged in a bitter and profitless boycott. If the miners or anyone else want to withdraw patronage from the Chinese such is a freedom to be exercised...no one shall be compelled to enter into the boycott; that would be the meanest and lowest of tyranny. Ouray will not stand for that. We have too much to do, too much to live for, too much to love, too much to hope for, too much of sunshine and equity, for any such detestable, brutal and vicious plan of compelling citizens to join in a boycott,"(Ouray Herald March 14, 1902).

Over the course of the next few years, Bacon consistently voiced his opinion against the boycott as well as his support for the local Chinese. In 1903, he warned of "untruthful accounts of the Chinese," in Ouray, that it made the citizens "appear as a vicious, lawless, hating lot" and that

the boycotts and the anti-Chinese sentiments were in fact hurting other Ouray businesses (Ouray Herald: May 22, 1903). He called the attack on Wah Lee a “dastardly trick” and demanded the assailants be brought to justice (Plaindealer: March 24, 1905). He also pointed out that all Chinese were, by law, allowed to live and work in the United States and as such, have as much freedom to be in Ouray as anywhere else – until it was illegal for Chinese to be in the United States, it was also illegal to force them out of any community, including Ouray (Ouray Herald March 7, 1902). Two newspaper articles, one from the *Plaindealer* and one from the *Ouray Herald* illustrate the two conflicting opinions of Chinese boycotts in Figure 33.

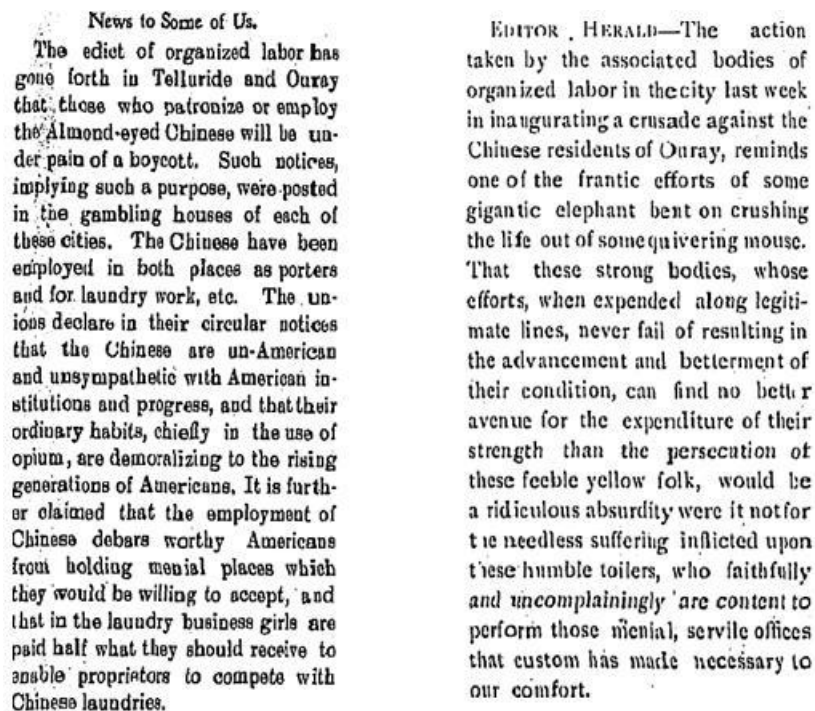


Figure 33: The Plaindealer (left) and the Ouray Herald (right) discuss the Chinese boycott driven by local organized laborers. Plaindealer: October 11, 1901; Ouray Herald: March 14, 1902

While much of the violence towards Chinese was a direct result of the negative attitudes of miners and union laborers towards them, there were also other incidents of violence which were fueled by the behaviors of the Chinese involved. Their behaviors and the associated

incidents would have negatively reflected on other Chinese in the area, and in turn, would have affected how Ouray residents viewed the Chinese, in general. For example, the killing of Lee Qong was the earliest report of violence towards any Chinese resident in Ouray. In 1891, Quong (Qong) was shot and killed by two Ouray residents for allegedly sexually assaulting a young girl (Ouray Herald: November 21, 1902). The act was corroborated by an African American woman named Minnie and another Chinese man (Solid Muldoon: August 28, 1891). The *Muldoon* reports that the incident was the third sexual assault against young women in the area, all of which were said to have been perpetrated by local Chinese men (The Solid Muldoon: August 28, 1891). The fact that Qong's actions infuriated the local population is not surprising, however, the way the situation was dealt with was a result of racialized perceptions. The fact that Qong was killed by local men without the chance to defend himself or receive a fair trial is indicative of racist attitudes towards Chinese in Ouray a decade before miners pushed for Chinese boycotts.

Similarly, Lee "Tom" Foley was killed in 1919 at his laundry, not necessarily because of "bad behavior" but it seems because he was a successful gambler (Ouray Herald: February 13, 1919). The *Ouray Herald* reports:

"Tom Foley, wealthy Chinese laundryman and a character for thirty-five years on the Western slope, was found murdered at Ouray. Robbery is believed to have been the motive," (Ouray Herald: February 13, 1919).

The *Herald* reported earlier that the man responsible for the crime killed Mr. Foley and burned his laundry in order to conceal the crime (Ouray Herald: February 6, 1919). Foley was a well known gambler in the area, and likely not immune from the hazards of living "Out West" or engaging in violent or illicit acts, himself and was known to spend time in saloons with other Euroamericans gambling and drinking (Silverite-Plaindealer: June 17, 1989). The robbery of Mr. Foley took place many years after the string of attacks against Chinese during the earlier part of

the century, and he was actually the only other individual Chinese resident who was reported to have been killed since Lee Qong's death in 1891. He could have been viewed as competition or as a threat, a direct result of the racialization of Chinese in America (Orser 2005).



Figure 34: Chinese public celebrations and ceremonies in Colorado. From bottom left: a.) Festival of Mountain and Plain, 1896, Denver, DPL x-22071; b.) Chinese Funeral Procession, Denver, 1875-1885, DPL x-21496; c.) Chinese Parade Festival for the Mountain and Plains, Denver, DPL x-18263

Chinese men in Ouray experienced the same violence and discrimination as Overseas Chinese elsewhere, reinforcing the stereotypical narratives. These negative attitudes were held by a variety of people in Ouray, the most vocal of whom were local miners. However, there were also interactions between local Chinese Euroamericans that were not always negative and may have even been pleasant. This is illustrated by Chinese interactions with Euroamericans in business, leisure and celebration. Obviously, Euroamericans patronized Chinese laundries, despite calls for boycotts, and also lived next door to Euroamericans despite racial tensions, but Chinese and Euroamericans may have even become friends. There are a number of examples that might illustrate this: Wing Kee's problems with the Geary Law made headlines in a number of

newspaper articles; Tom Foley spent much of his time at local saloons and probably would have developed relationships with Euroamericans that went beyond business; Ernest Bacon was known to frequent the local Chinese restaurant and voiced support for the local Chinese during his newspaper campaign against Chinese boycotts; local Chinese took an active part in the Oriental Parade and celebration in Grand Junction, much to the delight of the community there; and Jim Kee, Jim Lee and Wing Kee donated money for the town's Fourth of July festivities. So while negative interactions with Euroamericans were indeed a regular occurrence in the lives of local Chinese, so were positive interactions.

Chinese first came to Ouray in 1880, all were men aged 17 to 66, and most came to the area to work in the laundry business, a lucrative enterprise in Ouray at the time. By the 1890s, the number of Chinese men living in the area had tripled, and there seemed to be a Chinese laundry on almost every block of Ouray's Main Street. Some of the men probably lived in the laundries where they worked while others lived away from their place of work on 2nd or 3rd Street, intermingled with the multi-ethnic, working class residents of Ouray. While most of the Chinese in Ouray at the time worked in laundries, others worked in the restaurant business, or as servants, cooks, or shop owners. They seemed to have spent much of their free time eating Chinese foods and playing games Chinese with other Chinese in the area. They continued participation in Chinese festivities and holidays and cultural practices, and also worked to enjoy aspects of American culture. Violence and discrimination were conditions dealt with by most, but so were positive interactions and support. Positive relationships between Euroamericans and Chinese would have been essential in order to access Euroamerican customers for business and to obtain goods from Euroamerican businesses.

It seems for individual Chinese, a unique combination of these factors contributed to their experience in Ouray. As a community, the experiences of the Chinese in Ouray were deeply affected by racist attitudes and as such, were similar to those of Overseas Chinese throughout the United States. However, it seems that experiences within the Chinese community differed from person to person, and were dependent on a complex combination of a variety of factors, including wealth, occupation, personal association, social status, business or residential location rather than on ethnicity alone. The attitudes of Euroamericans were affected by how residents understood Chinese culture, how racialized stereotypes were perceived, and whether or not local Chinese were viewed as a threat to society. These attitudes affected the social conditions of local Chinese, and whether or not they were accepted members in the community or viewed as a detriment to the community. Because Chinese and Euroamerican interactions made up such a large percentage of their experiences, it is necessary to explore the nature of these interactions in more detail. In the preceding chapter, the social meanings of *things* were reconstructed by outlining the cultural context of those activities in China, the United States and Ouray at the time. Based on these contexts, the possible social relationships that would have been established surrounding the acquisition or use of the items are described, as is the nature of those relationships.

CHAPTER 6:
RECONSTRUCTING SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS
AND NETWORKS

This chapter discusses the *cultural* contexts of the artifacts and focuses on understanding their histories and social meanings to people in China, to Overseas Chinese in the United States, and to both Chinese and Euroamericans living in Ouray. This information is combined with the archaeological, local and historical contexts, to identify the possible social interactions that are represented by the artifacts. This process is based on concepts borrowed from social network theory, rather than the application of specific methodologies associated with that school of thought. The *nature* of those interactions is also identified, which allows us to place those relationships within the larger context of social networks or communities that the Chinese at the Vanoli Site were a part of. This includes identifying whether relationships made up an *intimate network* and comprised of very close friends and family; *an effective network* comprised of friends, colleagues and others who make up a support system; or an *extended network*, made up of friends of friends, associates of associates, or acquaintances (Gamble 1998:432). This chapter is divided into three parts based on the artifacts (see Chapter 4). The first section discusses food related artifacts, including the Chinese imported tablewares and food stuffs, the Euroamerican whitewares, and the floral and faunal remains. The second section discusses gambling items, including the small *zhu* recovered from the assemblage. The third section discusses opium use and the the abundance of opium pipe bowls and opium cans. Finally, three social networks are identified, indicating who the Chinese men of the Vanoli Site interacted with on a daily basis.

EATING FOR BALANCE AND GOOD FORTUNE

“In China...food is heaven” -E.N. Anderson (1988)

The assemblage of tablewares recovered from Operation 8 was dominated by Euroamerican whiteware, most of which is plain. The presence of these vessels means the Chinese living at the Vanoli Site were interacting with Euroamericans in order to obtain these items. The assemblage also included an array of imported Asian tablewares, suggesting they were also interacting with Chinese merchants in order to obtain these items. What unites the two seemingly disparate groups of artifacts is that as a whole, they are both dominated by bowls, the vessel form predominant in Chinese food consumption (Lister and Lister 1989a). Combined with the presence of Chinese brown glazed stoneware, which represent imported Chinese foods, and indicates that the Chinese at the Vanoli Site were probably eating foods flavored with Chinese tastes, prepared with Chinese techniques and served in a Chinese fashion.

These vessels also possibly what food and eating meant to them at the time. The daily actions of food preparation and consumption transcend necessity in most cultures and are imbued with social meanings. In 19th century America, the cultural meaning of food to Overseas Chinese was affected by the meaning of food in China as well as in the United States in which multiple social interactions were required. So by understanding the meaning of food to people in China, and how those meanings were translated by Overseas Chinese in the United States, we can learn what food may have meant to the Chinese at the Vanoli Site and the social relationships that are represented by the food related artifacts.

Food has been an integral aspect of Chinese culture for much of the country's history and has become integral to the Chinese social world (Ng 2010). Chinese cuisine is extremely diverse, and ingredients and prepared dishes vary region to region. However, there are fundamental

elements of Chinese cooking that unite regional foods into the singular Chinese cuisine, including the way foods are prepared and served, as well as the cultural significance of food and eating. Adapting dishes to what foods were available has allowed Chinese cooking to be easily adapted to almost any environment while a tradition of fundamentals and values has simultaneously allow for cultural continuity.

Historically, Chinese philosophies have been centered on the *Tao* and the balance of *yin* and *yang* to maintain *ch'i* - the vital energy of the mind, body and environment (Carus 1896; Lee 2006; Simoons 1991). This philosophy is rooted deeply in China's history, and can be traced back two thousand years, to the days of Confucius and Buddha (2500 YBP). To maintain this balance of *ch'i* when eating, food is consumed in a balance of *yin* and *yang* or hot and cold (Simoons 1991:18; Diel et al 1998:19). Illness and disease are seen as an imbalance of the two and can be remedied by ingesting foods to offset the imbalance (Anderson 1988; Diel et al 1998; Simoons 1991). In this, food serves two vital purposes - to nourish and energize the body and maintain health –in order to enhance and ensure the quality of one's life (Anderson 1988; Simoons 1991). This philosophy of food has been so influential to Chinese cooking, it still affects how food is prepared and eaten today (Bjorkell 2009).

As part of this concept of balance, Chinese food was also nutritionally balanced with starches or *fan*, and vegetables or *ts'ai* (Bjorkell 2009; Diel et al 1998: 19; Simoons 1991:19-22). *Fan* composes the foundation of a meal and includes noodles, rice, porridge and breads. *Ts'ai* accompanies *fan* to add flavor, and includes meats, vegetables and fruits. This combination of *fan* with *ts'ai* unites regional Chinese flavors into one Chinese cuisine (Simoons 1991:13). Because the foods available throughout China are extremely diverse, the possibilities of *ts'ai*

dishes are nearly infinite and far more diverse than *fan*, but for the same reasons, it is also more affected by seasonality, availability or affordability than *fan*.

In Canton (Guangdong Province), where most Overseas Chinese emigrated from, *ts'ai* included a variety of foods, especially seafood, which was (and still is) integral to the diet (Spier 1958). Other food items included poultry, pork, eggs, leafy greens, cabbage, bok choy, mushrooms, bamboo, lychee, kumquat, and soy products (Ng 2010:113). Meats and vegetables were delicately steamed in lotus leaves, or fried in deep oil or a wok, and served with rice, noodles, buns and pastries (Civitello 2011:281). *Fan* foods in Canton included the Chinese staple of rice and rice products, but also employed other grains to make dumplings, pastries and noodles (Ng 2010). Cantonese dishes were complex in flavor and balanced with sweet, salty, spicy and sour. Flavorings included chilies, sesame oil, soy, vinegar, hot mustard, and a variety of dried, fermented and pickled seafood items and vegetables. Although complex, Cantonese food required the use of restraint, in which complex flavors actually remained mild to taste (Civitello 2011: 281). A customary table setting included a small bowl for soup and rice, chopsticks, a small saucer for soy sauce, a porcelain spoon and a small tea or wine cup (Lee and Lee 1979; Ng 2010). *Ts'ai* dishes were served in large bowls in the center of the table, and several smaller bowls were filled with condiments meant to enhance and personalize the flavor of the dish (Lee and Lee 1979).

Throughout China, the meaning of food went beyond balancing health and flavors, and came to form the foundation of Chinese society in which food and eating were integral to most social interactions and cultural events (Anderson 1988; Ng 2010). Further, as foods were thought to embody *yin* or *yang*, they were also thought to embody more abstract concepts like fortune, faith and spirituality. Early Chinese texts specify that specific foods were to be prepared a certain

way for specific events to appease specific gods, celebrate specific ancestors, and bring good fortune and wellbeing to family members, events, and rites (Anderson 1988:245). In less formal settings, food and eating also marked social interactions: guests to a friend or family's home were always greeted with a meal for good luck, and business transactions took place over a good meal (Newman 1996). In any setting, the quality of food, its preparation and its presentation, were used to send specific messages from the host or cook to the diner regarding emotions, intentions, ethnicity or status.

At the turn of the century in the United States, the multi-ethnic makeup of the immigrant population, new advances in food preservation technology, and the recently finished railroad system, all led to changes in the American food system. These changes enabled Overseas Chinese (and other immigrants) to easily access a variety of foods, even in the most remote mountain towns (Weintraub 1979:463-465). European immigrants imported olive oils, lemons, herbs, pickled foods, fruits and vegetables, and Chinese immigrants imported Cantonese foods and flavors, cooking utensils, and serving dishes. Local foods were adapted into all immigrant cuisines, and as more Chinese began to settle down, many also worked to establish and maintain small kitchen gardens, growing both local and Chinese foods (Diel et al 1998; Lister and Lister 1989a:39; Spier 1958). These efforts allowed food preparation and consumption patterns to remain largely customary among Chinese migrants, if they so desired (Spier 1958:79).

Chinese merchants carried a variety of Chinese imported food items by the late 1800s. Chinese brown glazed stonewares were used to import Cantonese flavors, including soy sauce, pickled ginger and cabbage, oyster sauce, tofu, dried shrimps, bean paste and more (Ng 2010:113). Tablewares manufactured specifically for Overseas Chinese were designed with Chinese symbolism in mind. *Four Seasons* style tablewares were covered in images of flowering

plants and fruits meant to bring well being and longevity to the user (Koehn 1952:132). *Bamboo* style wares were painted with delicate images of bamboo plants, a plant that was symbolic of longevity, peace and friendship (Koehn 1952:135). Even the simple looking *Celadon* wares (the least expensive and plainest of those tablewares found at Overseas Chinese sites) were imbued with meaning - the minty green coloring of the tableware was meant to convey confidence and hope to the vessel's user (Hutchings 1997:55). As they brought with them their foods, Overseas Chinese also brought with them their food values, and food continued to be integral to their social world. Siu (1987) observed this well into the 1950s.

By the 1880s in Ouray, a wide range of stores offering a variety of foods lined Main Street, many of which offered ethnically distinct flavors. Bakeries, like the Italian Vienna Bakery (Ouray Herald: October 12, 1899), and restaurants like the 6th Avenue Restaurant (Ouray Times: June 22, 1878) or the Bon Ton Restaurant (Ouray Herald: September 10, 1896), offered a variety of foods. Butchers and produce shops like Schwend and Mostyn Produce Company (Ouray Herald: May 31, 1907) and grocers like C.H. Rawles (Ouray Times: February 28, 1880), made local and imported foods available to food establishments and private homes. By the 1890s, this included at least three which catered to local Chinese: Wing Kee's Oriental Bazaar, Ah Jake Sing's merchant shop and the *Golden Gate* Chinese Restaurant. Based on what was available in Ouray at the time, the Chinese living there would have had access to a wide variety of foods to eat, including the imported flavors of their home, and locally available fresh vegetables, fruits and meat. If they so chose, it would not have been difficult to continue eating customary Cantonese style dishes with Cantonese flavors; nor would it have been difficult to obtain fresh fruits, vegetables and meats and add them to their repertoire of *ts'ai* dishes.

Eating at 832 Main Street

The assemblage from Operation 8 reveals much about the types of foods Chinese living at the Vanoli Site may have been consuming and why they were consuming them. Most obvious is the prevalence of both Chinese and Euroamerican bowls that when combined with the presence of imported Chinese foodstuffs (Chinese brown glazed stonewares), suggests they indeed worked to maintain customary eating habits, which likely included soups, stews and *fan*, combined with plates of *ts'ai*. Their diets would have been comprised of a diverse array of local and imported vegetables, fruits, and starches procured from local grocers; Euroamerican cuts of beef and pork offered by local butchers, as well as wild game; and imported Chinese spices, pickled condiments and soy obtained from Chinese merchants in the area. However, the maintenance of a Chinese diet was not necessarily performed in resistance to assimilation or as result of isolation, rather, it is likely the result of the *meaning* of food in China and their efforts to maintain health and well being and bring good fortune. Further, because eating in China was so integrated into the Chinese social world, food probably also served as a medium to socialize and maintain social networks.

Based on these interpretations, the items in the assemblage can be viewed as representative of a variety of social interactions and networks. The reconstruction of these networks is based on what we know of the long tradition of Chinese food culture, the values of food (which include health and social interaction), as well as the archaeological and historical evidence of the efforts of Overseas Chinese to maintain these practices. Within the context of Ouray and the Vanoli Site, the presence of imported Chinese foods suggests that like Overseas Chinese throughout the United States, the Chinese there also worked to preserve their food culture by eating locally available foods prepared and served in Chinese ways. However unlike

Chinese living in Chinatowns, the Chinese living at the Vanoli Site and in Ouray interacted with both Euroamericans and Chinese on a regular basis in order to obtain Chinese food items and fresh foods, and to engage in social eating in both formal and informal settings.

Imported Chinese artifacts represent the relationships between Chinese consumers and Chinese merchants. This particular relationship would have been an *effective* relationship, meaning both parties would have been part of a support system made up of friends, colleagues and business associates (Gamble 1998:432). One Chinese merchant was Wing Kee, whose bazaar was on the south side of 3rd Street, several blocks from the Vanoli Block. Along with his exotic Chinese and Japanese imports marketed to the local Euroamerican consumer, Kee also likely sold Chinese household items for local Chinese consumers. Ah Jake Sing was also a merchant in Ouray, however, it is unclear what products he sold and to whom he sold them. Besides providing imports, merchants had ongoing connections directly with China, and could have provided a way for local Chinese to stay in touch with families in China. And while at the shop, or through interactions with the merchant, local Chinese would have also been able to meet other Chinese in the area.

The same artifacts also represent the more *intimate* relationships among Chinese living at the Vanoli site, like those between family and very close friends (Gamble 1998:432). The Chinese at the Vanoli site were probably related as kin, friends, or as fellow villagers. They probably ate most dinners as a group, and joined other local Chinese for more leisurely social meals on weekends or for holidays (Siu 1987). Documentary evidence confirms that local Chinese gathered in celebration of the Chinese New Year, during which time they closed their laundries and spent a week eating, drinking and playing games (Plaindealer: January 31, 1908). Also, Siu (1987) observed that the Chinese laundrymen would get together with other

laundrymen at least once a week to eat, play games and socialize. The restaurant may have also played a social role, a place where local Chinese met to eat, relax and interact. The *Golden Gate* (Figure 35) opened sometime in the 1890s (Ouray Herald December 21, 1896).

Everybody says that you can get
the Best Meal for 25c. at the

GOLDEN GATE RESTAURANT,
(Opposite the Dunbarton bath house.)

Open Day and Night.

**Meals 25c. during the Day. Short
Orders at Night.**

*Importers of Japan and China Teas. For sale in
large or small quantities; 30c. and 35c. per lb.*

*Also have for sale LICHEE, a delicious canned
Chinese fruit.*

Figure 35: Golden Gate restaurant. advertisement Ouray Herald: December 31, 1896

Located in the Munn Building on Ouray's Main Street, it catered to both Chinese and Euroamerican patrons. Like other Ouray restaurants, the *Golden Gate* was open twenty-four hours a day to accommodate miners and it also offered American foods - even the editor of the *Ouray Herald* was known to eat there regularly (Ouray Herald May 11, 1902). However, the restaurant was operated by Chinese men who probably served up Chinese-style foods for local Chinese. According to historic newspapers, the restaurant was first opened by Lee Sing

sometime before 1896. In that year, Wooh Wang purchased the restaurant from Mr. Sing (Silverite-Plaindealer 4/28/1899). Like other Chinese restaurants in the United States, the *Golden Gate* probably hosted social gatherings that included food and games, specifically for the Chinese community. Unfortunately, it was sold to a Joseph Macan in May of 1902 who “overhauled” the entire Munn Building (Ouray Herald May 11, 1902). This was likely a result of the miners union’s move to boycott all of Ouray’s Chinese businesses, including the restaurant, in an effort to drive all Chinese laborers out of the area (Ouray Herald March 7, 1902).

What distinguishes the Chinese of Ouray from Chinese living in Chinatowns is evidence of their daily interactions with local Euroamericans. Artifacts associated with Euroamericans, including the tablewares, and the faunal and floral remains, reflect the interactions between Chinese and Euroamericans in Ouray, and their participation in both *effective* and *extended* networks comprised of day-to-day business relationships. Euroamerican tablewares could have been procured at any one of the local mercantile shops, including Stratton’s Grocer and J.J. Mayers, both located on 3rd Street (Silverite Plaindealer: April 21, 1899) (image here). Rood’s (1981) analysis of the fauna recovered from Operation 8 reveals Euroamerican butchering practices used to break the animals down into smaller portions, similar to cuts of meat eaten today, indicating the Chinese at the Vanoli Site purchased meat from a local, Euroamerican butcher like the Schwend-Mostyn Produce Company, also located on 3rd Street (Ouray Herald: May 31, 1907). The presence of peach pits in the assemblage supports the notion that Chinese in the area were interacting with Euroamerican merchants, grocers and maybe even farmers in order to obtain a variety of foods, including fresh produce, meat, tablewares, canned and bottled food items.

GAMBLING WITH FRIENDS AND FORTUNE OF THE HEAVENS

“A little gambling is soothing and relaxing; heavy gambling could affect your health”

-Chinese Proverb, Wong and Tse (200)

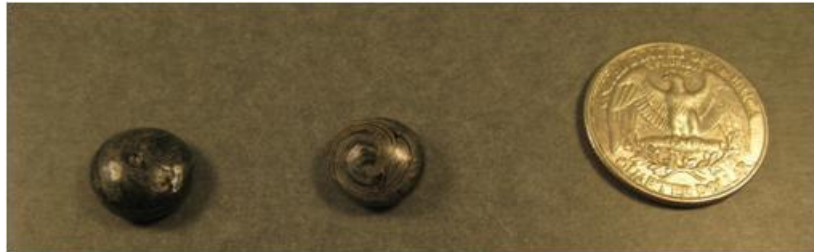


Figure 36: Black *zhu*, recovered from 8-A-9 and 8-D-1

The assemblage recovered from Operation 8 includes two black *zhu* which were used as markers or counters in a variety of Chinese games, including *fantan*, *weichi*, and *pop kop kew* (Culin 1891; Wang and Voss 2004). Like the food related items, the Chinese associated games with fortune and the spirit world, and they also played a significant social role in Chinese society. The gaming pieces in this assemblage not only represent the actions of Chinese residents actually playing games, but also the social relationships required to take part in those activities.

Games and gambling have been part of Chinese culture for thousands of years (Basu 1991; Loo et al 2008:2). During the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), gambling was an activity of the very wealthy, used as entertainment during social activities (Basu 1991:229; Siu 1987:229). Over time, lower classes also began to play games and gamble, and it has since become an integral aspect of many Chinese lives (Basu 1991:230). Like the meaning of food in China, gambling is symbolic of personal fortune, and a person’s relationship with the spirit world (Wang and Voss 2004). Gamblers offered sacrifices or prayers to the spirit world in order to secure good fortune in the living world. This fortune, or “spirit power”, would be then used at the gambling table in hopes of increasing luck and financial gain (Basu 1991; Wang and Voss 2004).

This connection between the spirit world, personal fortune and gambling can be seen in the names of Chinese games, including *tin kau*, which means, “turning heaven and nines,” (Wang and Voss 2004). Because of gambling’s association with the spirit world, superstition also played a role for many Chinese gamers, specifically the notion that regularity and familiarity would bring good luck, in which case, the same people played the same game at the same places for many years (Culin 1891; Loo et al 2008; Wang and Voss 2004). Because of this, games were often played on a regular basis among familiar friends, families and colleagues whilst smoking opium or drinking tea. Games were also played during more formal occasions like weddings and the New Year (Basu 1991:232; Wang and Tse 2003).

Like other aspects of Chinese culture, gambling also required balance and the ability to resist overindulgence, a notion illustrated in the Chinese proverb mentioned above that suggests that, in moderation, the sport is safe, while overindulgence in it can be dangerous. (Wong and Tse 2003:4). The negative social and financial impacts associated with gambling affected many people in China, so much so the sport was outlawed by the Chinese government numerous times (Siu 1987). Despite this, gambling persisted throughout China and simply went out of public view. In the United States, gambling was also very popular, and despite multiple measures to outlaw it in most states, the activity has persisted (Dunstan 1997).

It seems the sports’ popularity in China and in the United States is largely due to the social nature of the activity. Gambling halls in both countries and saloons in the United States provided a leisurely atmosphere in which to socialize, compete, and let off steam. Like Overseas Chinese, many men in the West were also far from home, family and support systems. The activities that took place within gambling establishments served as a stand in for these support systems, and provided human contact outside of the working atmosphere. In these spaces,

miners, railroad workers, laborers and homesteaders could gather to not only drink and gamble, but also to eat, socialize, network, conduct business and procure employment (Collins 1986; Erdoes 1979:9). The sport also continued to be popular among Overseas Chinese, who seemed to open gambling halls almost everywhere they went (Basu 1991:232). Most of their establishments catered to other Chinese and offered a variety of traditional Chinese games and lotteries, although, Euroamericans were also known to play in Chinese gambling halls, especially to take part in the lotteries (Dunstan 1997). In these places, Chinese men played *fan tan*, lotteries and cards – and ate, drank tea, and smoked cigarettes (Siu 1987:230). Siu (1987:227) observed that the laundrymen socialized in gambling halls and also gathered in laundries or Chinese restaurants to gamble most Sundays.

In Ouray, gambling was also popular and took place in the gambling halls and saloons established throughout the community (Gregory 1982). To business men, gambling was an economic asset that allowed the town to prosper; to miners and other laborers, it was an important social activity, its popularity illustrated by the thousands of workers who rushed into Ouray each weekend to patronize local gambling establishments (Gregory 1982; Smith 2001). Despite this, gambling was banned in Ouray numerous times (Ouray Herald: August 20, 1909). But, as in China and other parts of the United States, municipal anti-gambling ordinances drove the activity underground, or the sport simply went on without consequence (Dunstan 1997; Ouray Herald: May 27, 1920).

Gambling at 832 Main Street

The presence of the *zhu* in Operation 8 suggests that Chinese in Ouray and at the Vanoli site were gambling, too. It is hard to know exactly which games were being played and during what time period, however, we do know that *fan tan* was at least one game played among those

in the Chinese community during New Year celebrations, as illustrated in an article published by the *Plaindealer*:

“The Chinese New Year commenced, Tuesday. It lasts a week and the Chinks all imbibe freely, hit the pipe and play fan-tan. No wash no tickie this week [*sic*],” (February 17, 1907).

Zhu were used as counters in several Chinese games, including *fan tan* (Culin 1891; Wang and Voss 2004). *Fan tan* translates into “spreading out” and is based on luck and counting skills (Culin 1891:2). *Zhu* were used similar to casino chips. Black *zhu*, also called *pak zhu* or *pak chu*, were traditionally worth one dollar or one unit, while white *zhu*, also called *hak zhu*, were worth five times black *zhu* (Culin 1891:2). Little else is mentioned in the newspapers about Chinese gambling in Ouray, except that the Chinese were supposedly responsible for the spread of the gambling vice across the United States (Ouray Herald: August 1, 1913). The *Ouray Herald* does report on several Euroamerican and Chinese men who were arrested in a “Chinese gambling joint,” however, the incident occurred in Delta, Colorado (Ouray Herald: September 30, 1910).

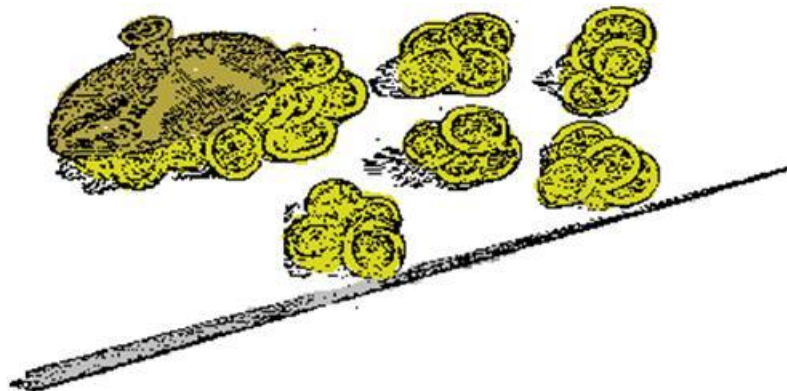


Figure 37: Fan tan, the game of spreading out from Stewart Culin’s *The Gambling Games of Chinese in America*. Found at Elliot Avedon Virtual Museum of Games

The lack of documentary evidence for Chinese gambling halls in Ouray suggests the Chinese at the Vanoli Site gambled as a means to engage with friends and colleagues rather than

a way to make money. Therefore, the social interactions represented by the *zhu* recovered from Operation 8 are gambling activities between them and their friends and colleagues - as opposed to gambling with strangers. These relationships would have made up part of their *intimate* and *effective* social networks, and are probably the same relationships as those represented by the Chinese food-related items. As Siu observed, the Chinese at the Vanoli Site probably gambled with other Chinese in their homes, laundries or in the restaurant (Culin 1891; Siu 1987).

While the *zhu* themselves probably do not represent games that took place between Chinese and Euroamericans, they do force us to think about those relationships, too. Historically, Euroamericans were known to patronize Chinese gambling halls in larger cities like San Francisco (Culin 1891). Gambling was a sort of medium for Chinese and Euroamerican interactions aside from those at the laundry, in the mines or on the railroad (Dunstan 1997). In Ouray, interactions in this sphere indeed took place for at least two Chinese residents, Jim Lee and Tom “Lee” Foley, however, it was the Chinese men who played at the Euroamerican gambling hall, rather than the other way around. Jim Lee was noted as a gambler in an article reporting on his attempted suicide (Ouray Herald: January 17, 1908); and Tom Foley was present at the Cabinet Saloon in 1899 when it was robbed (Silverite-Plaindealer: June 17, 1899). These two incidents may be the exception, however; the local boycott of Chinese businesses and labor were driven by local miners would have affected the nature of social interactions between Chinese and Euroamericans in this sphere. This could have resulted in fewer and less frequent occurrences of Chinese men patronizing Euroamerican social establishments, including saloons (Plaindealer: January 31, 1902). This supports the notion that most Chinese gambling activities probably took place among other Chinese.

OPIUM SMOKING FOR HEALTH, PROFIT AND WELL BEING

“In traditional Chinese societies, the use of opium was a choice, and those who made that decision refined it to an art with the same care and attention to detail that went into tea and cooking, gardening and herbal medicine” -Peter Lee (2006)



Figure 38: Chinese man in Denver smoking opium with his cat. Used with permission, 1880-1900. Denver Public Library, Western Genealogy Collection, x-21494

The assemblage recovered from Operation 8 includes a large number of ceramic opium pipe bowls. The majority of them are low quality, inexpensive bowls made in China by the *Fu Ji* company (Bronson and Ho 2012: Opium manufacture). All of these bowls are similar in manufacture and style and lack intricate designs (see Figure 19). There are two opium pipe bowls that stand out from the rest. The first is an orange, earthenware pipe bowl that is either six or eight-sided. The other is also an orange pipe bowl, however, it is made of stoneware, and is covered with intricate decorations and writing (see Figure 21). These two bowls likely represent the most expensive in the assemblage. Other opium paraphernalia recovered from Operation 8

includes several opium cans from Hong Kong and British Columbia, both of which were probably smuggled into the United States by Euroamericans (Bronson and Ho 2012: Smuggling Opium). Based on the cross hatching over the paper labels on the can lids, most of the cans predate 1909. Identifiable refinery stamps indicate several brands, two of which are *Fook Lung* and *Lai Yuen*, both produced by the *Yen Wo* Company, in Canton, China. These brands were among the highest quality and most popular brands among Overseas Chinese in the United States. The *Yen Wo* Company monopolized opium in this country for many years (Bronson and Ho 2012: Opium Brands). The other brand identified in the assemblage is *Wa Hing*, produced by the *Wo Hang* company in Xinhui, China (Bronson and Ho 2012: Opium Brands). This was a less popular brand among Chinese in the United States and Canada, despite the fact that there was a large population of Overseas Chinese that actually emigrated from Xinhui (Bronson and Ho 2012: Opium Brands). There are also several cans with red and black paper labels that look similar to labels of distributors in San Francisco, however, they are completely illegible, so it is not clear where they came from.

The activities represented by the opium paraphernalia are the acquisition, preparation and smoking of opium by Chinese and Euroamericans in Ouray. However, the meaning of opium to the Chinese is very different than the meaning of opium to Euroamericans, which results in the possibility that multiple types of social relationships were represented by these artifacts. Historical research into opium use among Overseas Chinese has been somewhat controversial, as reported by Bronson and Ho (2012), who note that many researchers “shy away” from reporting on its use and cultural importance out of respect for the Overseas Chinese population. Also, Siu (1987) does not discuss opium use among the Chinese laundrymen he interviewed. Despite this, the drug was used widely in the United States by Chinese and Euroamericans and is integral to

understanding those past experiences. We, however, must rely, on secondary historical sources to understand the use and meaning of opium in China and the United States.

Opium was consumed in the United States by Chinese and Euroamericans throughout the 1800s and into the 1900s (Lee 2006:6; Wylie and Fike 1993:256). In both countries, it was used medicinally to relieve a variety of ailments; it was used as a social, recreational drug; and it was also a form of addiction, used as an escape from reality (Lee 2006). Despite the history of opium use in China since the 1600s, it is actually native to the Mediterranean. China did not begin growing poppies and refining opium until after the Second Opium War, however, they are responsible for bringing the drug from the personal use realm and into the social realm for recreational use (Lee 2006:1). Prior to that time, opium use was illegal in China, and the opium sold on the black market was actually supplied by the British via British opium fields in India. The British government used the drug as a tool to access Chinese tea despite the fact that China did not participate in international trade. This led to conflict between Britain and China, and resulted in the Opium Wars, the first of which began in 1842. China lost the first, as well as the Second Opium War in 1856, at which time the country was forced to cede several ports to British rule, to open its borders to international trade, and to legalize opium in the country (Lee 2006:19). After the Second Opium War, however, China chose to compete with Britain economically, and began to grow its own poppies and produce and refine its own opium (Lee 2006:20). By the late 1800s, China became the largest exporter of opium, producing over twenty-two thousand tons in a year. At the same time, Britain began to grow its own tea in India, and therefore was no longer dependent on Chinese tea (Lee 2006).

Opium has a history of widespread use in China, but in part because of the negative effects of the drug, and in part because of Britain's involvement, China outlawed the drug in

1726 (Lee 2006:10, 54). The sale of the drug, however, persisted despite the laws, and most of it was sold on the black market (Lee 2006). Like other Chinese cultural practices, moderation was key, and its restrained use was a socially accepted part of a healthy lifestyle and was thought to be a valuable tool in the maintenance of health and well being (Lee 2006:54-57). For the Chinese, the drug had multiple applications: it was used to cure physical ailments occurring in any part of the body; it was used to restore the balance of *yin* and *yang*; it was used to cure men of predatory behavior and also act as an aphrodisiac; and it was used recreationally, with friends and colleagues whilst drinking tea, playing *mah jong*, or celebrating cultural events (Lee 2006:68). The drug was so important, it became integrated into most daily activities, including meals, games, sex, well being and the home (Lee 2006:13). Wealthy Chinese homes usually housed special rooms and furniture dedicated to opium smoking (Lee 2006). There, opium was offered to guests, along with tea and food. Men and women usually had separate smoking rooms in a single house which included gender specific décor and smoking paraphernalia (Lee 2006). Public areas for opium smoking were known as opium houses. Only men used opium in these spheres and would often meet to smoke, drink tea, play games, eat and talk. Rooms in these opium houses could be ornately decorated and lavishly furnished, and some users would spend entire days and weeks at an establishment (Lee 2006:24-25).

Members of the middle and lower classes in China also used the drug, both in their homes and in opium establishments which catered to a variety of social groups. Because of this, opium could be obtained in any quality and for any price. However, cheap opium came at both a physical and mental cost and is probably the cause for most negative impressions of historic opium use. This low quality opium, also called *tye*, was a mix of poor quality opium with the side scrapings of opium resin left over in a pipe bowl after many smokes (Lee 2006:25).

Sometimes *tye* could be found with fillers, including dirt, ashes and animal feces (Bronson and Ho 2012: Opium Brands). The mixture was toxic, and resulted in very different physical effects than higher quality opium. Opium dens distributing low quality opium were very different than the wealthier opium houses. Extra services, like snacks or tea, were not offered in these dens. Historical accounts report that users were not socializing, eating or playing games and that in many dens, not even furniture was provided. Rather, they lay out on the hard floor or on wooden beds, most in a comatose state (Lee 2006:25).

The effects of opium are dependent on its quality and the social background of the user. Historic reports indicate that wealthier smokers did not require large amounts of opium to obtain a high, and also did not suffer the negative physical effects of opium. (Lee 2006) This is because wealthier smokers, or any smoker who could afford it, were able to purchase and smoke high quality opium which contained far fewer additives than lower quality brands. They were also able to feed their bodies healthy foods. Both of these factors meant that they did not have to consume as much opium (Lee 2006:25). Further, they were afforded the luxury of using the drug in positive social atmospheres where it was a healthy way to relax and ease ailments and a catalyst for various social activities, very similar to the activity of tea drinking or meeting at a pub in England or America. Lower classes were often financially forced to use lower quality opium, and were thus more susceptible to the negative aspects of the drug (Lee 2006). Addicts with low incomes spent what little money they had on opium, rather than on food for themselves or their family, and as a result, many lost their friends and their status within the household. And, without good health, the physical effects of opium and poor nourishment take hold (Lee 2006:26). In this arena, opium use loses its positive social function, and like other debilitating drugs, becomes a social menace, ruining the lives of many, financially, physically and mentally.

Historical accounts and photographs of opium smokers during the late 1800s suggest the drug was used in the United States as both a social and recreational activity as well as a personal one. As in China, the quality of the drug and the environment in which it was used were dependent on the social background of the user (Wylie and Fike 1993:259). Opium was likely first introduced in the United States by Europeans who obtained it abroad, as well as by early Overseas Chinese working in mines and on the railroads (Casey 1978). Despite popular belief, the drug was consumed by both Chinese and Euroamericans, by both men and women, and for a time, was quite widespread (Figure 38). Estimates of opium use in the United States during the late 1800s were as high as 40% of the population (Wylie and Fike 1993:257). However, Chinese opium smokers made up only 20% of all opium users in the United States while Euroamerican men and women comprised the other 80%. Opium was more often smoked by the Chinese rather than by Euroamericans, who tended to consume the drug through patent medicines purchased over the counter (Wylie and Fike 1993:258).



Figure 39: European woman smoking opium, 1909. Illustrated London News, March 13, 1909 .Used with permission, CINARC 2012: Smuggling Opium

During the late 1800s, in the United States, the drug was completely legal, easily obtained and marketed as a medicinal remedy that could relieve most ailments (Casey 1978). Numerous over the counter medications contained opium, including cough suppressants and laudanum, a drug prescribed to women to relieve ailments associated with menstruation (Casey 1978). Further, Overseas Chinese opened opium dens wherever they went because, not only because it a lucrative business, but the dens also served as space for personal and social opium use. As in China, American opium dens ranged from those which only served good-quality opium, to those that offered only the lowest quality (Lee 2006:32). In these places, people from a variety of backgrounds mixed together to use the drug and engage socially (Lee 2006:29-30). Many opium dens tried to offer a similar quality of experience as the more luxurious opium houses of China and served meals from in-house kitchens or local restaurants; offered massages and tea served by working women; sexual services could be provided by local prostitutes; lavish furniture filled space and decorative fabrics covered walls, and users could sleep and relax in cushioned bunks (Lee 2006:28-29, 33).



Figure 40: Illustration of Euroamerican men and women smoking opium in a Chinese opium den, Harpers Magazine, 1890s. Used with permission, CINARC 2012: An Addicted Prostitute Testifies

The act of smoking opium was the same no matter what context the drug was used in. It was a long process that involved an elaborate preparation and use ritual. First a cook or seasoned user prepared the opium for the smoker using tools from the smoking kit. The process could take as long as twenty or thirty minutes (Wylie and Fike 1993:262). The kit (Figure 39) included a small bowl or cup to hold the opium; a needle to manage and move the opium; an opium lamp to heat the opium; a wet sponge to cool the pipe bowl between inhales; several knives used to clean the opium pipe bowl; and another container for the opium ash (Wylie and Fike 1993:262). These items were usually kept on a tray and could range from low-quality and home-made, to very elaborate, decorative and expensive. Once the opium was cooked it was rolled into a ball and forced into the opium pipe bowl with the needle. The bowl itself was held over the lamp to heat and vaporize the drug, rather than incinerate it. The user lied on his or her side, often on blankets or pillows for support and comfort. He or she inhaled the vapors and then exhaled them. The process was then started over if the user desired another inhale (Kane 1881:647 in Wylie and Fike 1993:259-260). New smokers would often take one to five inhales, while seasoned smokers could sometimes desire thirty or more.

By the early 1900s, an opium den could be found in every Chinatown and every city in the United States, regardless of the motivations of the drug's users (Lee 2006:26; Lister and Lister 1989a:80; Wylie and Fike 1993:257). The widespread use of the drug and its association with red light districts in the Chinese, state legislators all over the United States moved to eradicate opium, along with other drugs like alcohol and cocaine (Casey 1978). The first federal action taken was the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 which forced manufacturers to clearly label the use of cocaine or opiates in all food and drugs. This was followed by the Harrison Narcotic Act of 1914 which taxed those importing, manufacturing, or dispensing cocaine or

opium (Casey 1978). By 1924, the federal government made it completely illegal for opium or heroin to be imported into the United States (Casey 1978).

Like other Victorian vices, many Ouray citizens viewed opium negatively; perceptions which stemmed from the drug's association with "heathen Chinese," prostitutes, red light districts, and crime, as well as its adverse effects on the body and mind (Ouray Herald July 10, 1908). But like opium use in China, opium dens continued to operate in Ouray, despite municipal laws. There were probably at least two Chinese opium dens: one "below the Vanoli Saloon"

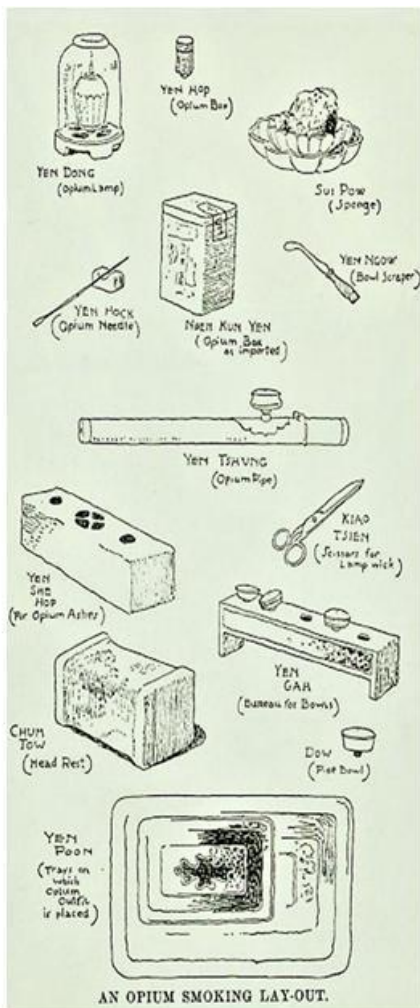


Figure 41: Opium tool kit. Used with permission, cited as Beck 1896: 148, CINARC 2012: Opium tools).

(Figure 41) (Ouray Herald: June 10, 1897), and another at Sam Pang's laundry (Ouray Herald: October 24, 1904). It is unclear where Mr. Pang's laundry was, however, although it makes sense that it was probably located in or very near the red light district. These dens likely attracted a variety of users of different classes and ethnicities, including prostitutes, miners and Ouray citizens not otherwise associated with the red light district.

Much to the dismay of many Ouray residents, local opium dens were patronized by both Chinese and Euroamericans, and by both men and women. An article from the *Ouray Herald* demonstrates the use of opium among local prostitutes in a report of the arrest of Margaret "Kittie" Drew, an "inmate" of "The Club" who was known to work all over the San Juan area (Ouray Herald: August 4, 1905). She was arrested in 1904 at Sam Pang's opium den, where she seemed

to be a frequent visitor as she was warned by Night Marshal Hobson “to keep away from the laundry of Jim Sam Pang,” (Ouray Herald: October 10, 1904). Kittie reportedly died in 1905 from an overdose of opium, which many Ouray residents viewed as a suicide rather than an accident (Ouray Herald: August 4, 1905).

We also know that at least some of the Euroamerican men who were using opium in Ouray were miners as illustrated in the *Ouray Herald's* report on the death of Peter Sveldi, and Italian immigrant miner who died of an alleged opium overdose in 1898 (Ouray Herald: February 11, 18898). Sveldi was a patron of the “Italian saloon,” lived at one of the local boarding houses, and worked at the Revenue mine, which had recently laid the miner off. Kittie and Peter’s stories illustrate the darker side of opium use and prostitution, and the mental and physical effects of addiction. Sadly, many addicts - both men and women, Euroamericans as well as Chinese - likely met the same fate.

Another report from the *Ouray Herald* supports the notion that local Chinese, and Euroamerican men and women were indeed frequenting local Chinese opium dens, but that the activity was not unique to the working and lower classes. The article reports on five people who were arrested for opium related violations in the “Chinese Laundry just below Vanoli’s saloon [with] a secured opium layout ready for use,” (Ouray Herald: June 10, 1897). Those arrested included two Euroamerican men, “Red Headed” Gert Hurley and “Taller Face Kid” Burns; one woman named Minnie Marley (who may be the same African American woman who witnessed Lee Qong’s assault on the young girl); and two Chinese men who are unnamed. And while the previous articles mentioned leads us to believe the majority of those patronizing opium establishments were from the working or lower classes, it also seems that other more upstanding citizens were also known to use the drug, “The police have been on the lookout for some time for

the violators of the law relating to opium and other arrests are more than likely to follow: some that may cause a sensation, for the use of opium is not confined to the demimonde, their parasites and Chinamen,” (Ouray Herald: June 19, 1897).



Figure 42: Chinese opium den in San Francisco, California. Harpers Weekly 1888; Used with permission, CINARC 2012: How Opium Pipes Worked

Opium Use at 832 Main Street

The archaeological data from Operation 8 clearly demonstrates that the Chinese men living at the Vanoli site were using opium for economic and personal purposes; opium for medicinal or social use is likely represented by the two more expensive pipe bowls and opium cans in the assemblage, specifically the two orange pipe bowls that are highly decorated and the opium cans from the *Yen Wo* Company; Opium as an economic tool is represented by the large number of inexpensive opium pipe bowls and the newspaper evidence they were operating an opium den either at or near the laundry. It seems the men living at the site valued high quality opium and related products and were also able to afford it. This could indicate the men used the

drug for medicinal purposes and they valued the drug as an integral part of their overall well being. Local and historical investigations into opium use in Ouray at the time illustrate that they were using the drug with both Chinese and Euroamericans, probably in both personal and professional atmospheres. And, the cultural meaning of opium in China and in the United States suggests they were using the drug as a medicinal tool to aid physical ailments or to relax after a long day of laundry work, and during social engagements, in which its use accompanied social meals and games.

Based on all of this information, the artifacts can be viewed as representative of a variety of relationships of varying quality, relationships that could change depending on specific circumstances. First are those interactions between the Chinese at the Vanoli Site and other Chinese in the area who probably gathered together and used the drug recreationally and accompanied other social activities like meals, games and conversation. Like those relationships associated with gambling and social meals, these interactions were probably between friends and family or others who made up part of their *intimate* or *effective* social networks; however, it is hard to know the exact nature of these relationships, and whether they were friendly, familial or professional. The evidence suggesting the Chinese at the site engaged with prostitutes, in the opium den and probably as neighbors does offer some insight into this. Siu (1987) interviewed, he observed that the households made up of close relatives, like fathers, sons and uncles, experienced a far more conservative lifestyle than those households made up of cousins or fellow villagers (Siu 1987:141). More specifically, when multiple generations were present within a household, the topic of sex was never discussed because it was considered an “Old World” taboo (Siu 1987:140). On the other hand, Siu observed that households (or laundries) of men who were cousins or friends talked about sex often, most specifically in regard to wanting to meet girls and

prostitutes (Siu 1987:141). So based on this information, the location of the laundry within the red light district, and newspaper accounts which associate the Chinese men at the Vanoli Saloon with prostitutes, it could be that the Chinese men living at the Vanoli site were friends or cousins and not immediate family members. This affects the nature of the relationships represented by the opium paraphernalia as well as the atmosphere of their household, and suggests, they probably lived in a more liberal household, and as such, may have been more likely to entertain Euroamerican practices in dress or activity, as indicated in several historic photos of Chinese men in Colorado.

The evidence also suggests the Chinese at the site would have interacted with both Euroamerican men and women who also probably used the drug for recreational purposes. As operators of an opium den and a laundry, the Chinese were also businessmen, and as such, would have developed relationships with the Euroamerican men and women who owned, or were employed by, any one of the various saloons or brothels. These relationships could have ranged from professional and cordial, to personal and intimate - in any case, these relationships would have made up part of the Chinese' *effective* social network. Similarly, they also would have developed relationships with Euroamerican men and women who just lived in, worked in, or patronized the red light district. This would have included patrons of the red light district, local prostitutes, bar keeps, dishwashers or even servants who used the drug in the Chinese den. In this case, the relationships are between those users and the Chinese as dealers and cooks. The *Ouray Herald's* account of the arrest of the two Euroamerican men, the single woman and the two Chinese men probably illustrates the norm of users at that particular site (Ouray Herald: June 10, 1897). This interaction between Chinese and Euroamericans is not different from interactions that would have occurred in Chinese opium dens throughout the United States, many of which

catered to Euroamericans or those living and working in the red light district. Mining, prostitution and the laundry business seem to have been among the most laborious and draining types of work at the time, and opium use probably provided at least some relief from the stress – a working class condition that connects them all.

But because of the negative attitudes Ouray residents had towards opium and the red light district, as well as the negative attitudes of many local miners and union laborers towards the local Chinese, it seems there must have been a certain amount of trust between all those participating in opium activities at the site: trust to ensure the Chinese would not divulge who was patronizing the den or participating in any other activities that went on in the area; and trust to ensure the physical and financial safety of the Chinese men. This reveals two things. Firstly, it seems that the Chinese at the site may have developed personal relationships with Euroamerican men and women in the red light district. In turn, they would have made up part of their intimate and effective social networks. This may differ from Chinese operating opium dens elsewhere in cities and Chinatowns. Especially in Chinatowns, the Chinese may not have had any reason were to engage personally with their Euroamerican patrons.

Secondly, any person interested in using the drug who did not already have some established relationship with the Chinese at the den, had to know someone who did, requiring a third party to connect them to the Chinese dealers. All three of these participants made up an *extended* social network through which the Chinese dealers accessed customers and potential patrons accessed opium, but each could only occur with third party involvement. The specific third parties could have been any person working or living in the red light district who knew the Chinese dealers, most likely prostitutes. Evidence for this may be the *Ouray Herald* article that places Minnie Marley, a likely prostitute, at the Vanoli opium den, along with two Euroamerican

men (users) and two Chinese men (cooks) (Ouray Herald: June 10, 1897). The prostitute's role as this third party is supported by the fact that the Chinese men at the Vanoli Site lived in very close proximity to prostitutes who also lived at the site, and therefore, they likely interacted on a daily basis. Further, researchers suggest interactions between Chinese laundrymen and prostitutes occurred frequently, and that relationships between them were not only about sex, but sometimes developed into friendships and even more intimate companionships (Siu 1987: 259; Wang 2004:84). No matter the nature of the relationship, local prostitutes would have played an important economic part in the Chinese men's' opium business and their relationships would have been complex. Yes, they could have been working just as prostitutes, or the Chinese could have been working just as opium cooks. But more likely, their association was a mixture of personal and professional interactions in which the prostitutes served as the third party connection between Euroamerican users and Chinese. And in working together and living in close proximity, they were probably also friends, and maybe something more. In Ouray, one of these women fulfilling this important social role may have been Minnie Marley. The *Solid Muldoon* reports an African American woman named Minnie who was with a Chinese man at the time of Lee Qong's assault on the young girl (Solid Muldoon: August 28, 1891). She may be the same Minnie arrested in the opium den below the Vanoli saloon just six years later (Ouray Herald: June 10, 1897).

SOCIAL NETWORKS REPRESENTED

We have learned that the Chinese living at the Vanoli Site interacted with a variety of people in Ouray: as businessmen and customers, the Chinese interacted with local Euroamericans who were customers of their laundry, or merchants in the shops the Chinese patronized. As Chinese men, they interacted with other Chinese to obtain Chinese goods at the

local import shop and also as friends to socialize during leisurely activities of meals, games and opium use. As operators of the opium den, they interacted with Euroamerican men and women, as well as local Chinese, in which they provided and prepared opium for a variety of users. Further, because their residence and business were in the red light district, they also interacted with the Euroamerican men and women who lived and worked there, who were neighbors, colleagues and possibly even friends. All of these relationships suggest the Chinese of Ouray, including those living at the Vanoli Site were active members of the community of Ouray as opposed to operating within an isolated Chinese community. Within this overarching community, the Chinese living at the Vanoli site were, simultaneously, active participants in three other social networks (Table 8).

Table 8: Chinese Participation in Ouray Social Networks				
Ouray Social Networks	Ouray Community			
		Chinese Social Network	Ouray Business Network	Red Light District Network
Parties Involved	Everyone living and working in Ouray	Chinese merchants Chinese laundrymen Chinese restaurateurs Chinese cooks Chinese servants	Chinese businessmen Euroamerican businessmen Customers	Chinese opium den operators Prostitutes Business owners, workers Euroamerican and Chinese users, active and potential
Type of Network	<i>Effective</i>	<i>Intimate</i> <i>Effective</i>	<i>Effective</i> <i>Extended</i>	<i>Intimate</i> <i>Effective</i> <i>Extended</i>
Artifacts	All artifacts	Chinese imported food items <i>Zhu</i> Opium paraphernalia	Euroamerican Items	Opium paraphernalia
Activities	Participation in Ouray economy, holidays Neighborly interactions	Games Social meals Recreational opium use Purchase/sale of imported Asian items Celebration of Chinese holidays	Purchase and sale of goods	Opium use, socially and economically

Ouray Community

The first social network was simply the community of Ouray and is represented by both the Chinese and Euroamericans artifacts recovered from Operation 8. Unlike Chinese living in Chinatowns or large Chinese communities, the Chinese of Ouray were active participants in the broader community of Ouray. The members of this social network included all people of Ouray who actively participated in the community and would have excluded those people who were not permanent residents or businessmen of Ouray. Participants in this network contributed to the local economy as customers and businessmen; they were neighbors in business and at home; they participated in local events and holidays; and interacted with each other on a daily basis under a variety of circumstances. For the local Chinese, this network would have been both an *effective* and *extended* network, made up of friends, families, colleagues, business associates, and all those potential relationships that could be accessed, therein. The network would have worked as both a social and economic support system from which to access customers, goods and possibly friends. There were probably numerous smaller social networks which operated simultaneously within the community. The Chinese living at the Vanoli Site were active participants in at least three of these social networks.

Ouray Business Network

The Ouray business network is represented by the Euroamerican artifacts recovered from the assemblage. The network was comprised of all those who patronized local Euroamerican and Chinese businesses. Like the Ouray community, this would have been an *effective* and *extended* network, but would have mostly provided economic support. This support system would have been essential to local Chinese because they had to patronize Euroamerican businesses in order to obtain a variety of goods, including the food related items discussed in this project. This

differs from Chinese living in Chinatowns who would have purchased most of their household items from other Chinese in the area. These day to day interactions between Chinese and Euroamericans may have resulted in Euroamerican sympathy towards the Chinese during the boycotts and associated violence. Further, these relationships would have been responsible for the success of Chinese business in Ouray from the 1880s until 1910. Without Euroamerican customers, Chinese businesses would not have survived, and without Euroamerican goods, the Chinese themselves, also would not have survived.

Chinese Social Network

Because of their Chinese heritage, the men associated with Operation 8 were also members of the local Chinese community. This is represented by all of the Asian imported artifacts in the assemblage and was a network made up of local Chinese laundrymen, merchants, servants, cooks, restaurateurs, and opium den operators. This network would have been *intimate* and *effective*, composed of close friends, family and intimate companions, as well as friends, extended family, colleagues and business associates. The network would have provided economic support through which Asian imports were accessed and Chinese celebrations continued, but the network would have also provided essential social support, through which members assisted others emotionally and financially when needed. The Chinese in Ouray obviously valued their interactions with other Chinese and their continued participation in Chinese holidays – the Chinese population of Ouray was very small, and yet a small Chinese community developed. This seems to connect the Chinese of Ouray as a group, as well as with other Overseas Chinese, and is similar to social networks that occurred in Chinatowns. What differentiates the Chinese community of Ouray from Chinatowns, however, is that the Chinese of Ouray did not isolate themselves or their community from the rest of Ouray. This is evident in

their participation in other social networks, as well as the fact that they lived and worked with Euroamericans.

Red Light District Business and Social Network

What separates the Chinese at the Vanoli Site from the rest of the Chinese in Ouray is their participation in the red light district as a business and social network. The opium paraphernalia associated with the site represents this network and proves to be the most complexly layered in terms of social meaning and relationships. There are multiple social relationships represented: they were businessmen in the red light district and interacted with others who owned, operated or worked in other red light district businesses; they were opium cooks and dealers who provided the service to prostitutes, patrons of the red light district, and maybe even the men and women who operated the businesses in the area; they were also neighbors to prostitutes and others living in the area, with whom they would have interacted on a daily basis and may have even become friends or companions. Because of their association with so many people within the red light district, it is likely that many of their relationships with Euroamericans in this network were friendly and personal, which may have differed from Chinese-Euroamerican relationships outside of the red light district network.

As members of the red light district as a community or network, the Chinese at the Vanoli Site would have played multiple social roles, simultaneously. This would have affected how they interacted with others in this particular community, as well as how the larger Ouray community viewed them. Also, they likely supplied the drug to all levels of social status within the red light district, affording them the power of knowing something personal about another person. It is likely that most of their business came from the red light district, making them employees and business owners in that community, which would have given area residents a

certain amount of power over them. To the larger Ouray community, however, the Chinese living at the Vanoli Site were likely viewed more negatively by area residents than those who didn't live or work in the area. This, alone, would have created at least two tiers of social status within Ouray's Chinese community in the eyes of Euroamericans. All of these social roles associated with opium use suggest a variety of social relationships, which are all part of the red light district as its own community.

We have learned a great deal about the Chinese men who lived at 832 Main Street. Census records suggest they were probably no younger than 17 and no older than 66, and may have spoken English (United States Census Records, City of Ouray: 1880, 1885, 1900, 1910, 1920). Sanborn maps indicate they opened the laundry sometime after 1893 and before 1899, that it was a very small building, and that it was located in close proximity to saloons, female boarding houses, cribs and animal barns and corrals (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, City of Ouray: 1886, 1893, 1899, 1900, 1908). Roger Henn's (1999) narrative suggests they did not live in the laundry itself, but in the cribs located directly west of. Their closest neighbors would have been prostitutes who lived and worked in the area. Dr. Siu's (1987) ethnography suggests the men were probably all related in some way as cousin, friends or fellow villagers, but not fathers, sons or grandfathers. Because of this household dynamic, they may have lived in a more liberal household which took up Euroamerican cultural practices more readily. Siu's investigations also suggest that they would have socialized with other Chinese, eating leisurely meals, playing Chinese games and celebrating Chinese holidays.

Historic Ouray newspapers confirm that they operated an opium den that catered to both Chinese and Euroamericans, and both men and women; the same newspapers reveal that they were subject to incidences of discrimination and violence, while at the same time, they were

somewhat accepted as fellow community members as well. Archaeological analyses reveal that they maintained a customary Chinese diet which incorporated local fresh produce and meats with Chinese staples of rice, soups and stews. These foods were prepared with Chinese cooking techniques and flavored with Chinese flavors. To obtain Chinese imports, they walked south down Main Street several blocks to Wing Kee's Oriental Bazaar. During this walk, they would have interacted with other Ouray folks when they stopped in the butcher shop or the grocers or the bakery, all of which were located on Main Street.

The archaeological data confirms some of Siu's (1987) observations in that they played Chinese games for fun and probably used food as a medium for socializing and also confirms historical newspaper accounts of their association with the opium den, which they likely operated for personal, social and economic purposes. Investigations into the cultural significance of eating, gaming and opium use has suggested the maintenance of customary Chinese practices was not in resistance to assimilation, but rather because these practices were meaningful to them.

All of this information allowed us to reconstruct possible social interactions, which revealed that these men interacted with a variety of people on a daily basis, including other local Chinese as well as Euroamericans. They were active participants in at least three social networks which existed simultaneously within the community of Ouray, including the local Ouray business network, the Chinese social network and the red light district social and business network. From each social network, they created relationships of varying degrees in order to access economic and social support systems. Some of these relationships were as minimal as those between merchant and customer in which they were purchasing fresh produce for dinner; while other relationships were far more meaningful and important, such as that between neighboring prostitutes and the Chinese men at the site, who may have interacted for economic

and personal gain. As active participants of three social networks which existed simultaneously, they also played multiple social roles. This affected how others viewed them in terms of social status. The social conditions that made up their lives and thus their experiences were affected by other factors besides ethnicity alone, factors which are specific to their context and vary even within the Chinese community of Ouray.

CHAPTER 7: OVERSEAS CHINESE IN OURAY, COLORADO

The assemblage recovered from Operation 8 was indeed very similar to those recovered at other Overseas Chinese sites, suggesting that many of the experiences of the Chinese who lived there were also similar to other Chinese in the United States. Shared experiences probably included the journey across the Pacific and the migration from China to an unknown country, leaving friends and family behind; laborious working conditions on railroads, in mines, and in laundries or other businesses; racism caused by stereotypes and competition; and aggressive opposition stemming from working class laborers all over the country, much of which resulted in violence (McKeown 2005; Orser 2005; Rains 2003; Voss 2005; Zhu 1995). They also shared the value of tradition and heritage, illustrated in the continuity of Chinese cultural practices in the United States. In Ouray, they incorporated their food culture, social activities, and values into their everyday lives. They were active participants in a local Chinese network which reinforced their ethnic identities, supplied them with Chinese things, remembered Chinese holidays, and economically and socially supported the Chinese community. These experiences make up part of many early Asian American narratives, and as such, connect all Overseas Chinese as a diasporic group.

However, the results of the analyses of this project suggest the experiences of the Chinese living in Ouray were also different from other Overseas Chinese. Using concepts borrowed from social network theory, specifically the notion that artifacts can be indicative of social interactions, we were able to learn that their lives and experiences were affected by a variety of variables, including ethnicity and racial perceptions, but they were also greatly affected by

factors unique to specific contexts. Unlike Chinese living in Chinatowns, the Chinese of Ouray were isolated from large Chinese populations and their associated social networks, and were therefore required to depend on Euroamericans in many aspects of their daily lives. While many Chinese chose to live in Chinese households, they did not isolate themselves, and their neighbors, in business and at home, were Euroamericans who came from a variety of ethnic and occupational backgrounds. Chinese businesses served Chinese and Euroamericans alike, while Euroamerican businesses did the same. They interacted socially and professionally with Euroamericans on a daily basis and developed *intimate, effective and extended* networks with local Chinese as well as Euroamerican business owners, residences, and others who lived and worked in the red light district. And depending on where each Chinese individual lived or worked, who they chose to interact with, and what occupations or activities they chose to participate in, perceptions of them were varied and social statuses shifted from person to person. In this way, their lives were very different than Chinese living anywhere other than Ouray.

The most important lesson to be taken away from this project is the necessity of closely investigating the dimensions of context, including the context of the artifacts and associated activities, as well as the local and historical contexts of all communities being investigated. Without these contexts, ratios of artifacts can indeed seem like assimilation, or lack thereof, instead of the conscious choices people make regarding their own lives. Ubiquitous artifacts can tell us much about an ethnic group, however, they do not mean ubiquitous experiences.

While this project illuminated many aspects of the lives of Chinese Ouray, there are many aspects of their experience there that have yet to be explored. More in depth research into these relationships, especially those within the red light district, could further illuminate the Chinese experiences there. Also, little is known about the Chinese miners in the area. Chinese

miners were generally much poorer than Euroamerican miners and Chinese laundrymen. An exploration of their experiences would also add to the growing body of work in the subfield. Also, an investigation into the movement of Chinese goods could illuminate larger networks, at the regional, national and even international scales. Historical sources from the Ouray Historical Society as well as investigations into the historic newspaper the *Solid Muldoon* could further enhance our knowledge of the information gleaned through this project, possibly illuminating new and different aspects of the Chinese history in Ouray.

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